

**THE IMPACT OF TRADITIONAL LIQUOR BREWING AND
CONSUMPTION ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF
IKORONGO LOCATION, KISII DISTRICT.**

BY

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DECLARATION:

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Pho 30/8/98

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

Casper Odegi Awuondo 31/8/98
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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my parents, Teresa Mokeira and the late Haggai Sinange whose commitment to formal education has enabled me to come this far. Their contributions to my education are indeed paramount-

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ABSTRACT

This study focused on the impact of brewing and consumption of traditional liquor (*busaa* and *chang'aa*) on the rural people of Ikorongo location in Kisii district. The study was prompted by the assertion of the Kenya Government that traditional liquor retards rural development. The study focused on two specific areas: one, how the brewing and consumption of traditional liquor impacts on rural development in terms of housing, dietary needs, clothing, farming, self-help activities and formal education and, two, the causes for traditional liquor brewing and consumption.

Two theories were advanced for the study: Symbolic interaction and modernization theory. The sample selected for the study included brewers and consumers of traditional liquor and the ordinary public (those who do not drink or brew traditional liquor). Questionnaires with both open ended and closed questions were administered to 100 respondents. Direct observation and documentary materials were also used as sources of information for this research.

The study found out that traditional liquor has socio-economic and cultural connotations among its users and like any other type of alcohol, if abused can have negative consequences for the abuser's life and the community. According to the research findings, traditional cultural practices, lack of alternatives to livelihood, absence of recreational activities and community socialization both combine to perpetuate the brewing and consumption of traditional liquor.

The data reveal that the ban on traditional liquor is still ineffective due to corruption and the poor approach in its enforcement. The use of force in arrests, fines and imprisonment of illicit liquor has had little success. Instead the issue of illicit liquor

has gone underground. The study suggests that individuals who brew and consume illicit liquor may only be reformed outside their social environment because the liquor is part and parcel of their social menu.

Further, the data indicates that religion, age, level of education and gender influenced the respondents' views and their stand on the issue of traditional liquor in relation to rural development. According to the data obtained from the field, promotion of farming activities and government aid to farmers in terms of farm inputs and crop marketing was said to be important in boosting rural development. However, attainment of formal education, moderate drinking of alcohol, unity and business undertakings can combine to promote rural development.

Also the study suggests that the ban on traditional liquor portrays the Kenya Government's insensitivity in harnessing of local resources to develop local brewing industries in favour of multinational companies like Kenya Breweries Limited. However, a better solution about the problem of illicit liquor (*chang'aa* and *busaa*) in Kenya still lies with the individuals involved in its brewing and consumption. On the basis of the findings, the ban on traditional liquor should be lifted and better methods of controlling its brewing and consumption for the welfare of the rural people be devised.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFC	-	Kenya Agricultural Finance Corporation
SRDP	-	Special Rural Development Programmes
DFRD	-	District Focus for Rural Development
RUBS	-	Rural Urban Balance Strategy
DDC	-	Rural Development Committee
DIC's	-	District Industrial Committees

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

This study was designed to investigate the causes of traditional liquor brewing and consumption, and its impact on the rural people. The colonial Government had put sanctions on brewing and consumption of traditional liquor for two main reasons: One to create a sober and health human labour for exploitation and two, to curb association geared towards Kenya's struggle for independence. After independence, the Moi government sanctioned the ban on traditional liquor particularly in the rural areas (Daily Nation, Wednesday, December 20th, 1998).

This "ban" has received various reactions from parliamentarians and the general public. For example, Mr. Khasakhala (M.P) in his contribution to the *Chang'aa prohibition Act of 1980* said that the Act should cater for the interests of the poor in terms of alcohol by giving them an alternative: (National Assembly, Official Report, Fourth Parliament 16th July 1980 et. Seg Column 916).

Dr. Wilson Njue (giving his observations in the Daily Nation, October 4, 1996), said that when examining the social implications of illegal alcoholic drinks one should not ignore the element of poverty. He presumes that helplessness drives many people into illegal beer such as the search for their

The following questions arise:

- (a) After the ban on traditional liquor what alternatives has the Government of Kenya given to the rural people?
- (b) Has marked development been achieved in the rural areas since the ban on the traditional liquor?
- (c) Why do rural people continue to brew and consume traditional liquor irrespective of its ban?

Donde (1984:17) observed that, lack of assets that generate income (or lack of job opportunities) lead people into brewing of *busaa* or *chang'aa* as alternative sources of income or as a way of supplementing their meager earnings. This indicates that traditional liquor can be an economic source.

There seem to be an unclear situation about the impact of traditional liquor on the rural people and the actual causes for its brewing and consumption which form the basis of this study.

1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The study focused on traditional liquor (*Busaa* and *Chang'aa*) in relation to the rural people.

Specifically, the study focused on:

- (1) The impact of brewing and consumption of traditional liquor on rural development.

(2) The causes for brewing traditional liquor.

(3) Reasons for the consumption of traditional liquor.

1.3 RESEARCH JUSTIFICATION

The following reasons were used to justify the conducting of this research.

The impact of traditional liquor is not well understood. For instance, other people feel that traditional liquor is not detrimental until it is misused (Daily Nation, 18 September 1996, P 6). For the local authorities, brewing and consumption of traditional liquor retards rural development. It weakens the rural people leading to poor participation in the local *barazas* and harambee meetings. Either through the mass media or local *barazas*, people of Ikorongo location seem to be aware of the negative consequences (such as deaths and ill health) resulting from brewing and consumption of traditional liquor but they have not abandoned it. For instance the news about the death of twenty people as a result of taking lethal alcoholic drink in Kigumo division of Muranga district on September 1996 which appeared on the Daily Nation, Friday, October 4, 1996 became widespread.

The government of Kenya has banned traditional liquor for blaming it as a cause of underdevelopment in the rural areas but still people of this community (Ikorongo location in Kisii district) continue to brew and consume traditional liquor.

The research was conducted in the home area of the researcher (Ikorongo location in Kisii district) because familiarity with the respondents was crucial in the actual field study.

1.4 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS:

The operational definitions of the following terminologies indicate how they were used in the study.

a. Illicit liquor

This denoted any alcoholic beverage whose use, possession, or sale is illegal according to the laws of the Kenyan government. For instance chang'aa is an illicit brew in Kenya hence banned.

b. Rural development

This refers to the betterment of the rural people's living conditions. Education, housing, diet, clothing, farming and self-help activities were the indices adopted to measure rural development in this study:

Education: Refers to the construction of schools, sending children to school and affording them basic facilities required for learning activities.

Housing: Here the researcher was concerned with the actual houses where the rural people dwell and looked at the materials used in construction of houses in order to classify them into permanent, semi permanent or grass thatched house.

Diet: This refers to the type of foods individuals consume at the rural environment in terms of balanced or imbalanced diet.

Farming activities: Focused on the growth of cash and food crops and the keeping of domestic animals like cows and goats.

Self-help activities: Refers to community efforts geared towards the welfare of its individuals like forming groups for an economic function or pulling resources together in order to undertake a project.

c. Traditional liquor

This connotes two types of alcoholic beverages (*busaa* and *chang'aa*) which are brewed by the indigenous people (*Abagusii*) through traditional methods.

Home grown raw materials such as maize and finger millet are normally used for the preparation of traditional liquor.

d. Temperance

This refers to the practice of moderation in alcohol consumption. It is only those human beings who are endowed with the virtue of self-control who can afford to practice moderation in alcohol intake.

e. Drunkenness

The term is used in this study to refer to the state of an individual being under the influence of alcohol such that mental and physical faculties are impaired.

This is a consequence of severe intoxication. It is a disease which needs therapy.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES:

Alcoholic beverages are assumed to be of ancient origin. The origin of alcohol brewing and its consumption is traced as far back as the emergence of agriculture (McCarthy 1978: 1-8). According to the Old Testament, "Noah was the first tiller of the soil, he planted a vineyard and he drank of the wine and became drunk and lay uncovered in his tent" (Genesis 9:20-1). The exact reason for the first drink of alcohol still remains unknown, though one myth suggests how grapes were left fermenting naturally and ever since then man started drinking alcohol. According to history, the Sumerians produced alcohol before 7000 B.C. and wine by the Assyrians in 3500 B.C. Alcohol can be a source of good and evil alike. For a long time it has been used as a tension reliever and for developing social ease and yet man under the influence of alcohol has committed a number of crimes (Chafetz 1962:3). The use of alcohol since time immemorial is associated with social festivities: religious functions, initiations, marriages, harvesting among others. The idea of excessive drinking was abhorred and discouraged. Drinking was normally organized as a communal affair and society was safeguarded from outrageous sort of behaviour and actions that may be born out of drunkenness. There is no universal pattern in alcohol consumption. It varies with cultures and differential styles of life hence "consumption of intoxicating beverages is a culture variable

as are other items such as food, clothing and shelter"(Gusfield 1966:24). Alcohol consumption, like smoking, has been greeted with varying degrees of approval. The subject "why people drink" is often multifaceted – like religion alcohol serves man, it changes perception in times of stress and thus offers a temporal relief (Chafetz 1962:5). Alcohol is used to meet specific demands and desires on the psychological and social life of man. Alcohol has the power to stimulate the mystical faculties of human nature (James, 1902:377). Also the primary function of alcoholic beverages in all societies is the reduction of anxiety. However, drinking is not a direct source of anxiety, where anxiety level of culture is high but drinking is prohibited, it does not occur (Donald Horton, 1943). However, the anxiety suppressing action of alcohol is commonly seen in the gradual removal of social inhibitions. Shy people become outgoing or bold, well-behaved people become disorderly, the sexually repressed become amorous, the fearful become verbally or physically aggressive (Encyclopedia Britannica Vol. 1, 1977: 437-450).

The woes brought by industrialization include depriving men a good life and exposing them to immorality: Engels observed that "their mental state is threatened by being subjected alternately to extremes of hope and fear. They are goaded like wild beasts and never have a chance of enjoying a quiet life. They are deprived of all pleasures except sexual indulgence and intoxicating liquors. Every day they have to work until they are physically and mentally exhausted. This forces them to excessive indulgence in the only two pleasures

remaining to them." (Engels 1975:396).

In many parts of Africa, alcoholic beverages were obtained from tapping the tree and clothing the sap which was allowed to ferment before it was consumed. The majority of Africans are oriented to alcoholic beverages of low alcohol content (fermented) than the distilled ones. Usually the consumption of alcoholic beverages was restricted to elders of the community and drinking was a social affair. Women were excluded from drinking unless it was absolutely necessary (Mushanga 1988:136).The art of distillation has been introduced to Africa. Alcoholism was the first 'gift' presented to Africa by Europe. Thus Europeans and Arab slave traders introduced distilled alcoholic beverages to Africa. Today, illicit distillery has increased over the continent. Mushanga (1988;136-137) discusses the functions of alcohol. Alcohol was used during the following occasions and activities.

- (1) During meetings when elders assemble to settle domestic or inter-clan disputes or when marriages or divorces are being arranged.
- (2) When men return from a hunting expedition.
- (3) When a son is born to a family.
- (4) To celebrate the new harvest.
- (5) To celebrate entry into a new house.
- (6) Ceremonies that mark birth of twins.
- (7) Naming of children and funeral ceremonies

Today alcohol, is used during baptism, graduation, promotion, transfer or retirement, winning or losing an election. Thus drinking of alcohol serves

social, religious, medical and even dietary needs of people. In modern times, spending an evening well is to drink heavily. The drinking patterns have altered over time. The drinking of alcoholic beverages has lost some of its traditional values as much as it has acquired new ones. Drinking of teenagers, women and girls is becoming a socially accepted norm. Family and religious sanctions against drinking by young people are no longer applicable (Gold and Scarpitti, 1967:463). Those who abuse ethanol suffers the consequences - when under its influence, they transgress accepted code of law and behaviour. The western world understand that inhibition is intolerable and impossible to enforce, but they also know that total license threatens their existence (Sournia, 1990:198). Alcoholism is blamed for the decline of moral standards and cause of many evils. Abuse of alcohol causes family breakdown, divorce, separation, desertion, homicide, wife victimization, battered husbands, road accidents and juvenile delinquency due to family disorganization. Drunkenness reduces production out of absenteeism, industrial accidents, inefficiency and carelessness. Corruption, forgery and embezzlement are crimes which an alcoholic may engage in to support his drinking. Many drunkards lose their employment (Mushanga, 1988:137-138).

Some people become addicted to alcohol (alcoholics) while others drink alcohol even in large quantities and over a long period of time but do not become alcoholics. Unlike drugs, alcohol has no physiological forming habit; one cannot become an alcoholic as a result of first, twentieth or even hundredth

drink of alcohol (WHO, Geneva, February 1979). A distinction exists between drinking and alcohol addiction. A committee of World Health Organisation sitting in Geneva in 1951 and 1952 defined alcoholism and an alcoholic as follows:

Alcoholism: "Any form of drinking which in its extent goes beyond the traditional and customary 'dietary' use or the ordinary compliance with the social drinking customs of the whole community concerned, irrespective also of the extent of which such etiological factors are dependent upon heredity, constitution or acquired physiopathological and metabolic influence" (Moser, Geneva: February 1979).

Alcoholics: Are those excessive drinkers whose dependence upon alcohol has attained such a degree that it shows a noticeable mental health, their interpersonal relations and their smooth social and economic functioning; or who show the prodromal signs of such developments. They therefore require treatment (WHO Sub-committee Geneva, 1952). Keller-and Efron (1955:62 1) observed "alcoholism is a chronic illness, psychic or somatic or psychosomatic, which manifests itself as a disorder of behaviour. It is characterised by the repeated drinking of alcoholic beverages with the social customs of the community and it interferes with the drinker's health, or his social or economic functioning." Thus, alcoholism is not an accepted norm in society. Studies of drinking and alcoholic addiction show that drinking decreases with age. It

reaches its peak between ages of 21 to 35 and reduces remarkably after the age of 55. Drinking starts at about age 16, college and university students drink almost as frequently as the general public. Also certain psychologists and sociologists have advised that children be introduced to alcohol at an early age to combat the growth of the desire to drink alcohol to excess (mushanga, 1988:141).

The brewing, sale and consumption of alcohol is often perceived as income generating venture. *Chang'aa* distillation and *busaa* brewing are classified among informal sector activities (Mukui, 1976:3). In a study conducted in *Mathare*, one woman said, "*Busaa ni shamba yangu (Busaa is my farm)*" (Nelson, 1973:16). A girl who has conceived and given birth to two children may join illegal brewing of traditional liquor to earn a living for herself and the children (Gachuhi, 1973).

Efforts to prevent alcoholism are faced with many drawbacks. Alcoholism is a disease with a social aspect attached to it. Lermert observes that a more serious flaw in the educational model of alcohol control lies in the probability that values surrounding drinking and embedded in drinking patterns are primarily shaped by experiences in the family and in the peer groups rather than by formal educational agencies (Gold and Scarpitti, 1967: 475).

At government level, the desire to collect revenue from sales, fines and taxes from trafficking in alcoholic beverages outweighs the dangers posed by

alcoholism.(Mushanga. 1988:147) observes that. to prevent alcoholism "needs to isolate those values that tend to discourage alcoholism and work on those in the attempt to promote them so that they become much more widespread."

Many authorities feel that the prevention of alcoholism can be achieved by altering the social structure..... alcoholism can be averted by developing behavioural controls which eliminate the possibility of drinking as a means of adaptation (Gold and Scarpitti, 1967:470) whatever that is antagonistic to development or functioning of the moral character is wasteful and immoral. Sobriety is the cornerstone of all leisure activities because this ethic insures the cardinal quality of self-command. A drunk is often seen as a person of weak character. Both economic and religious institutions advocate for temperance and sobriety (Gusfield, 1990). According to Cardinal Maurice Otunga of the Catholic Church, drinking of alcohol is not bad if no sin is committed in the process. In 1992, many Kenyans were shocked when he said that *Wananchi* can drink as much alcohol as they wish if this makes them enjoy their lives. He argued that there was nothing sinful about alcohol as it was given to man by God. He further said that Jesus Christ drank alcohol when he was in Canaan. However, the prelate was against sinful acts committed under the influence of alcohol and asked those who cannot contain it to abstain (Sunday Nation, May 18, 1997:7.)

According to the Bible, the book of Proverbs advised: "Give strong drink to him who is perishing, and wine to those in bitter distress; let them drink and

forget their poverty, and remember their misery no more" - that is a reminder that soughting escape from oppressive social conditions through intoxication is not necessary a cardinal sin. Today, the brewing and selling of alcoholic beverages is perceived as profiteering business even in the rural villages. *Chang'aa* distilling is a source of income to the rural man. Mr. Okioma, a local politician from Nyamira district commenting about *chang'aa* said, "I do not see why *chang'aa* should be illegal when it is a good source of income. Many poor parents have been able to obtain school fees for their children both in the country and even abroad through selling *chang'aa*" (The Mirror Newspaper, June 2nd – 15th 1997 :3).

Alcohol use may boost industrial production paving way to economic growth. After long hours of work, a worker can use alcohol as a reward and relaxant. Possibly a worker who settled clown with a beer is likely to be more productive at work than one who became fidgeted nervously in front of the TV or yelled at the kids the previous day. (Goode, 1994) observes that, the U.S. in the 1950s economic growth coincided with the peak of alcohol consumption. He further says, "despite a pronounced shift since 1970s from hard liquor to white wine, low-alcohol beer and the ubiquitous persier wish- a twist, industrial productivity has been stagnant. Americans are drinking less, but not working better as a result. Thus beer can serve as a motivator in human labour.

The departure from alcohol has always depended upon the social context surrounding its use. People around the world have widespread ambivalence

towards alcohol. For the consumers alcohol is part of their culture, but have rejected it as a destructive substance. The response towards the mention of alcohol by many people, is often accompanied by uneasy laughter of both joy and sorrow.

Chang 'aa brewing and the possession of other illicit drugs is often viewed by statutory law as offences but according to the norms of the respective communities these are activities that are part and parcel of normal living. This situation complicates the war against brewing and use of illicit drugs.

Odegi (1978:119) observes that, those who engage in *chang 'aa* brewing or trading do not see it as a crime but as a source of income. "Many families depend on it as a source of income for livelihood including educating the children".

Nowhere in the laws of Kenya has *chang 'aa* been legal. *Busaa* has been legal and is still legal to some extent. For instance *busaa* clubs operate in towns including Nairobi city. These beerhalls (*busaa* clubs) function with the licence from the office of the District Commissioner. The *Busaa* clubs are banned in the countryside with the intention of enhancing rural development. The directive to close *busaa* clubs by president Moi was reported on the (Daily Nation, Wednesday, December 20, 1978). His Excellency president Moi expressed his concern over the manner rural people neglected their farms and other development activities and instead turned to excessive drinking.

According to the Nation Newspaper, he said, "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, Wednesday, December 20 , 1975).

District commissioners all over Kenya were entrusted with the responsibility of consulting *wananchi* and find out if the presence of beerhalls (*busaa* clubs) was necessary or not. Here, one thing should be perceived positively. The president’s expression was not an order to close down *busaa* clubs but it was a directive that if *wananchi* agreed unanimously the wish of the president, then the closure of beerhalls be sanctioned. All was to happen for the interest and welfare of the rural *mwananchi*. Unfortunately, most Districts Commissioners closed down beerhalls without consulting rural people. This was over-reacting to the president’s statement since the rural man was denied the opportunity to decide over his traditional liquor. In many rural areas, district Commissioners called *barazas* where local members of parliament addressed and categorically condemned excessive drinking of alcohol and called for the cease to *busaa* clubs as the president (Moi) wished. The rural people were made to condemn the drinking of alcohol particularly *chang’aa* and *busaa* by a show of hands. Simply a show of hands mandated the district commissioner to close the *busaa* club. For instance in South Maragoli, a leaders’ conference gave authority to close down all *busaa clubs* operating in the area (Daily Nation, Tuesday, January 30 , 1979).

2.2 RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA

There is a lot of literature about rural development in Kenya. This part focuses on one that is pertinent to this study, especially government policies aimed at improving rural life.

Sheffields defined rural development as 'a multi-sectional interministerial coordinated set of action programmes aimed at improving the incomes, welfare and employment opportunities of the rural people Mbithi (1972:1). Rural development efforts in Kenya started during the colonial era. The Land Development Board was formed in 1946 by the colonial British Government to address soil conservation, livestock improvement and water supplies.

According to the Swynnerton plan (1954:12) farmlands in Africa were to be consolidated, title deeds issued and the Government to start extending credit facilities to farmers of African origin.

During post independence the Kenya Government faced the problem of imbalanced rural development inherited at the attainment of independence. Mbithi and Barnes (1974:1). The Kenya Government has adopted many programmes in order to develop the rural areas during post independence period. For instance, Kenya Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) started in 1963 among other organizations as initial government efforts to assist small-scale farmers in the rural areas Lele (1975:8).

Co-ordinated pilot projects for Kenya's rural development resulted from the Kericho Conference held in 1966. The special Rural Development Programmes (SRDP) was the brain child of this conference: Heyer et al (1971:1). According to Lele (1975:8) the SRDP covered six districts with the intent of decentralizing development efforts. SRDP was to initiate projects in certain areas and if successful, replicate them elsewhere. Lele (1975:16) sees SRDP as a major effort to boost the inter-ministerial and inter-departmental coordination; however Mbithi and Barnes (1974:17) describe the programme as having achieved little. Lele (1974:20) defines rural development as, 'improving living standards of the masses of low income population residing in rural areas and making the process of their development self-sustaining'. Many rural Kenyans seem to lack self sustenance. The Kenya Development Plan for 1974-1978 embraced a basic need approach and also planning at district level. This was realized in 1983 with the government's adoption of District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) with the major purpose of alleviating poverty (Kenya Development Plan 1979-1983: 11).

Lele (1975:20) observes that, rural efforts are aimed at improving "mass of the low income population" but Chambers (1983:2) says, so much needs to be done when 'present efforts to eliminate that misery (poverty) are so inadequate". Rural areas in the developing world (Kenya inclusive) are characterized by limited employment opportunities, low incomes and high incidence of poverty. Hence, rural development must have first priority in the

plans of developing countries simply because the misery is most pressing in the rural areas. According to Heyer et al (1971: 11) sufficient catering for development of vast rural areas is hampered by limited resources at hand, foreign debt, the ever fluctuating prices and high Population growth in the developing countries. This situation worsens when scarce resources are diverted to food importation. The rural man in certain rural parts of Kenya depend on relief food.

Two strategies for promoting rural development are emphasized in the 1997-2001 Kenya National Development Programme; The District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) and the Rural urban Balance Strategy (RUBS). The District Development Committee is burdened with the implementation of these strategies. Functions of DDC include; accelerating rural development by increasing job opportunities, encouraging local participation in the planning process and cutting down rural urban mobility. In the past rural Kenyans have not been fully involved in the planning process for instance the closure of beerhalls (*busaa* clubs). The Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 highlighted the need for an integrated development of urban and rural areas. Hence the formation of District industrial Committees (DIC's) in all districts aimed at hastening industrial development at district level, increase both farm and off-farm job opportunities, reduce income gap between the urbanites and their rural counterparts and promote agro processing industries. Little seem to have been achieved. The government seem to excel in lip-service.

To avoid pressing needs for food, employment, infrastructure and other basic needs there is need to control population growth in rural areas and urban centres. Kenya National Development Plan for (1997-2001:). The population growth both in towns and rural areas in Kenya has been relatively high and is expected to be high even by the year two thousand. See table below.

Table 1: Distribution of Population between Rural and Urban, 1990-2000 (millions)

YEAR	1990	1995	2000
Urban Population	4.07	5.28	7.44
Rural Population	19.43	22.2	24.36
Total	23.5	27.5	31.8

Kenyan towns are likely to be more congested and overcrowded in future due to continued rural urban migration.

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

THE STUDY MODEL

This study integrated two theoretical orientations viz: symbolic interactionism and modernization theory.

Symbolic Interactionism

This theoretical orientation was formulated by Herbert Mead (1934), Erving Goffman (1959), Garfinkel (1967), Blumer (1969), Burger and Luckman (1967) in their analysis of human interaction behaviour.

Interaction itself is taken as the unit of analysis. Human behaviour is explained as a form of interaction in which individuals define and interpret a situation. In so doing they give meaning to their action. Thus societies are composed of interacting individuals who not only react but perceive, interpret, act and create (Abraham, 1982:2 10).

.Human behaviour is made meaningful when people rationalize it on the basis of the meanings and impressions of their situation of interaction (Blumer, 1969) observed that:

“Individuals with their own backgrounds, self objects and role taking patterns relate and interact with their physical objects in their environment with others and in line system, in an on going dynamic, symbolic and interpretive systems located within the individual”.

The theory acknowledges the interactive and interpretive process occurring in a given context and is influenced by socio-economic order. The theory recognizes that the social milieu is not static and is always influencing and shaping us in the interaction process. The entire process of interaction is symbolic, with meanings constructed by human ingenuity. The meanings we share with others, our definition of the social world and our perception and response to reality, emerge in the process of interaction. In connection to this theory Blumer observed that:

"The term 'symbolic interaction' refers, of course, to the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings. The peculiarity consists of the fact that human beings interpret or 'define' each others' actions instead of merely reacting to each others' actions. Thus, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions. This mediation is equivalent to inserting a process of interpretation between stimulus and response in the case of human behaviour" (Blumer, 1969:179).

Herbert Mead and Horton Cooley understood symbolic interaction as evolutionary developed social skill necessary for meaningful encounter of individuals. He says, language is one and major social act evolving out of need for individuals to cooperate in a rational way. Thus human communication is interpretive due to its capacity to ascertain the 'meaning' of other persons' actions and its definitional because it attempts to convey an indication (Abraharn, 1982:231)

The theory acknowledges the fact that behaviour in general is a product of cultural imposition on biological forces and vary from one culture to the other. According to this theory, a society evolves out of a complex history of compromise, innovation, and experimentation within a group seeking to reach a mutual agreement about significant gestures and meaningful symbols. Thus the process of mapping the social framework for symbolic interaction is endless because there is a continuous flow of innovation, compromise, renegotiation in gesture usages, which necessitate redefinition of the situation in order that a working consensus can be maintained (Abraham, 1982:233).

As a theory and method of analysing human interaction, social organization and human nature, symbolic interaction, employs interpretation, evaluation definition, and remapping of concepts. As a theory, it calls attention to the symbolic nature of human interaction, which necessitates social change due to shifting definitions of the situation in society and culture. Symbolic interactionists say, interaction, social organization and human nature are not static but dynamic. And contrary to structural-functionalism, symbolic interactionism contends that social organization does not emerge from such things as system forces, societal need, and structural mechanisms, but rather from individuals engaged in a mutual interpretation, evaluation, definition and mapping of the social world. Man is seen as the creator and actor, not manipulated and deterministic.

This theory guided the study in understanding how the various categories of respondents involved in this research task perceive and interpret the brewing and the consumption of traditional liquor in relation to rural development. In connection to this study, symbolic interaction can be elaborated more by the modernization approach.

(ii) Modernization theory

Modernization theory is pre-occupied with the search for a macro-theoretical framework capable of ordering a wide range of comparative observations on

social change and economic development.

Modernization explains a total transformation of a traditional and pre-modern society into new types of technology and associated social organization.

This is transformation from one type of society into another, shift from a traditional society to a modern one. German sociologist, Tonnies called this dichotomy a shift from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft, from community to association. In connection to this theory Emile Durkheim observed that, the central fact in shifting from traditional to modern society was the dissolution of the old ties of mechanical solidarity which bound people to each other in the tightly knit communities of pre-industrial society (Roxborough, 1976:3).

In the developing world nations copy modernization programmes, adopt certain cultural and political structures as well as value systems. Cultural inclination seem to be eminent. Modernization is an interaction process in two ways: economic and socio-cultural activities and relationship do not only interact, but also old economic activities, social relationships and cultural practices change in relation to one's becoming instituted. It characterizes the process of changing the old as differentiation and instituting the new as integration.

With modernity the traditional village society become undermined since its traditional functions are replaced by available alternatives. Certain modernization paradigms stress on cultural change. Thus cultural changes in

terms of attitudes and perceptions become the prime mover of modernization. Education, infrastructural growth, the whole cultural empiricism (eating styles and food habits are indicators of modernization). Modernity, associated with the need to consume durable products such as radios, refrigerators and bicycles has brought men and women into the orbit of desire where money is seen as the end in itself. With wants come new opinions, intellectual activity goes into explanations of how modernity can be achieved without violating traditions (Lerner, 1958:4-6). According to Lerner, the moderns are cosmopolitan, urban, literate, usually well-off, and seldom devout while the traditionals are just the opposite.

Modernity uproots the old ways of life where most people are ready to trade in their old lives for new ones. There is great desire to become modern within a short time in the third world while western modernity took years.

However, secular enlightenment does not easily replace sacred revelation in the guidance of human affairs.

Most Kenyans have been affected by the wind of change. Through formal education, the mass media and other agents of change, Kenyans are now oriented towards consuming western products including foreign alcoholic beverages. Traditional liquor was meant for traditional festivities, with modernity, mostly the educated Kenyans perceive it as a block to progress.

This theory guided the research to gather data on how those respondents with modern values perceive the brewing and consumption of traditional liquor in relation to rural development. This facilitated a comparison between the rural people with modern values and those who still value traditional cultural practices.

2.4 HYPOTHESIS FOR TESTING

01. Brewing and consumption of traditional liquor retards rural development.
02. Brewing and consumption of traditional liquor is related to rural poverty.

2.5 OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES:

Hypothesis one

Independent variable.

Brewing and consumption of traditional liquor:

Brewing is the actual activity of preparing traditional liquor (*busaa* and *chang 'aa*). The preparation of *busaa* involves the fermentation of maize meal plus finger millet for a given period of time and *chang 'aa* is obtained by distillation of *busaa* through traditional method. And the consumption is the act of drinking traditional liquor.

Dependent variable

Rural development:

This refers to the welfare of the rural people in terms of better housing, eating a balanced diet, decent dressing, formal education attainment and engagement in self-help activities and farming as sources of income in order to meet demands of life.

Hypothesis two

Brewing and consumption of traditional liquor is related to rural poverty.

Independent variable

Rural poverty:

This is the misery of the rural people who lack the capability to afford basic necessities of life. For this study, rural poverty is characterized by poor housing, eating a poor diet, lack of quality education, poor dressing habits, lack of gainful employment and meager income.

Dependent variable

Brewing and consumption of traditional liquor;

As already indicated in hypothesis one brewing denotes the making of traditional liquor (*busaa* and *chang'aa*) while consumption refers to its actual drinking by the rural people.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 THE SITE SELECTION AND DESCRIPTION:

The research was conducted in Kisii district. (Masaba Division) (Ikorongo location). The consumption and brewing of traditional liquor is a sensitive issue at political and social levels. This selection enabled me to avoid suspicion and language barrier problems.

The recent demarcation of administrative boundaries cut off part of Kisii district to form Nyamira district. The study concentrated on what remained as Kisii district. Kisii district is situated in Western Kenya where the average altitude is about 1150 metres and the average annual rainfall is about 1000-1300 millimetres. The minimum temperature is sixteen degrees centigrade and the maximum is thirty two degrees centigrade. Western Kenya is hot, rainy all the year round with typical rain forest vegetation and under extensive cultivation.

The Abagusii people are among the Western Bantu along with Luhya and Kuria people. The Abagusii are well known for *busaa* brewing and *chang'aa* distillation, which is referred as "*kenaro*" by other ethnic groups that neighbour the Abagusii people.

Farming activities in the district include growing of maize, Irish potatoes,

pyrethrum, beans and other subsistence crops. Tea growing has expanded due to many out-growers. Animal keeping such as cows, goats, sheep and donkeys is practiced.

The living standard of many people is low. They practice a peasantry life. There are a few progressive families either due to gainful employment or organised agricultural activities. The population is high as portrayed by strained land fragmentation based on traditional land inheritance laws.

3.2 SAMPLING

Sampling is a method of research where a proportion of the parent population is selected for study (De Vaus 1986:52).

This study adopted purposive sampling in selecting the study population. Three categories of respondents comprised the study population. A total of 100 respondents were chosen for the actual interview in the following order:

- (a) Ten brewers of traditional liquor (*busaa* and *chang'aa*). These were only females because in Ikorongo Location, it is women who brew traditional liquor in most cases. It was easy to identify them because at community level brewers seem to be well known.
- (b) Fifty drinkers of traditional liquor (*busaa* and *chang'aa*). This category had both males and females who drink traditional liquor.

(c) **Forty ordinary public.** This included those respondents who neither brew nor drink traditional liquor but are found in other walks of life. Both males and females were targeted for interview.

According to Ackoff R.L. (1953:125), Judgment sampling is selecting a subgroup of the population which, on the basis of available information, can be judged to be representative of the total population.

The choice of purposive sampling (judgment) technique in selecting respondents for this research was based on the nature of the study: traditional liquor, especially *chang'aa* is a sensitive issue hence the researcher had to target particular respondents who are pertinent to the study from an heterogeneous population. Also the researcher had considerable knowledge of the population and subgroup selected as required in judgment sampling.

3.3 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Various methods of data collection exist and their application depends on the nature of the study. This study utilized both primary and secondary data relying mainly on the latter. The researcher conducted the interview by himself while assistants were useful as guides in identifying target respondents.

Interview Schedule: Structured interviews were conducted on brewers, drinkers and the ordinary public.

The questionnaire was the major tool for data collection in this study. Open-

ended and closed questions were administered in the field to tap the all-round advantages. The researcher conducted a pretest to determine the suitability of the questions and the nature of the responses.

Structured interviews have advantages, which include flexibility, being systematic, high response rate, clarifications, room for probing and easy follow up.

Pre-coded questions are ideal in data analysis and open-ended ones are useful where the researcher need details and opinions or where it is not easy to develop adequate scaling units.

Structured interview had questions probing on the causes, for brewing and drinking of traditional liquor and its perceived implications for rural development.

Direct Observation: focused on activities and human behaviour; brewing and consumption of traditional liquor and participation in rural development activities. This helped to assess the reasons for the brewing and consumption of traditional liquor and its perceived impact on rural development. Careful observation and recording of relevant information was done.

Documentary materials: have also been used in the study. Information from

relevant books, articles, journals and newspapers were sought. Secondary data provides background information and other dynamics on the problem under study.

Prior to the start of the actual field study, feasibility study was done to establish early rapport with some respondents. One respondent was interviewed at a time for confidentiality purpose and to avoid duplication of responses. Familiarity proved very crucial in the actual field study owed to the nature of this study.

3.4 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE FIELD STUDY

Problematic elements are inherent in research tasks. The researcher faced the following problems in this study:

- (1) Time** The study was time consuming as it involved movements within the Ikorongo Location searching for the targeted respondents. Missing and revisiting the scenery of interview indeed costed a lot of time.
- (2) Illiteracy:** The majority of respondents had little formal education and this forced the researcher to elaborate on the questions in mother tongue (*Ekegusii*) which proved tedious.
- (3.) Poor transport:** The rural access roads and paths became impassable due to heavy rains.

Some paths were almost closed up by growing thorns.

(4) Political: The field Study coincided with 1997 civic and parliamentary campaigns in Kenya and the researcher was mistaken for being a campaign agent. Respondents become troublesome in demanding favours purportedly advanced by political aspirants as a prerequisite to response.

3.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Limitations hinder the collection of required data. Moser and Kalton (1971:45) argue that every stage of the survey process is a potential source of error be it sampling, interviewing, drafting of questions, editing, coding, tabulation and analysis.

Limitations of the study were-

(1) Lack of official records:

Unavailability of official records made it impossible to examine the veracity of responses by comparing the two. Official records are usually unavailable for many sensitive questions such as illicit drug use. At the local authorities offices there were hardly any written documents about cases of traditional liquor because at this level many issues related to illicit liquor are dealt with informally.

(2) Sampling:

Our sample of 100 people in relation to hundreds in Ikorongo Location seem

rather small. A larger sample may have possibly generated more dependable data.

(3) Poor book-keeping:

In rural setting some people are unbothered with bookkeeping hence it was difficult to establish the exact amount of monthly income from their occupations. Due to guessing some exaggerated or deflated their income and we now rely on estimates.

(4) Traditional beliefs:

Traditions are known to die hard. In the *Abagusii* community it is a taboo to disclose one's property or count the children. Particularly the older respondents were reluctant to answer questions associated with children and property for fear of death or loss.

(5) Fear:

Traditional liquor is a sensitive issue. It is banned in the Laws of Kenya (particularly *chang'aa*). Many people were not ready to discuss anything about it lest they land in trouble with the government.

(6) Memory Lapses:

It is human nature to forget things over time. This situation is worsened by old age and illiteracy. Some respondents failed to recall certain events, hence the study either missed pertinent data or had to rely on approximations. A survey data that rely on voluntary information is subject to many errors because people deliberately distort the truth, inadvertently fail to recall events correctly or refuse to participate.

3.6 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis is a crucial issue in research. It helps in determining the statistical or descriptive association and explanations between hypothesized variables.

The nature of the study normally dictates the descriptive and statistical methods applied. The function of statistics is to enable us to make best possible inferences from characteristics of a sample to characteristics of a population.

This study utilizes descriptive statistics as a major tool of data analysis.

Descriptive statistics is a way of categorizing variables by summarizing patterns in the responses of people in the sample De Vaus (1986:105).

Levels of measurement were adopted under descriptive statistics. Levels of measurement are crucial and important in determining reliability and validity of the findings in research (Moser and Kalton 1971:355). Levels of measurement are distinguished by ordering and distancing properties; numbers of codes are assigned to observations. Normally a computer does not know what measurement underlies the values it is given. The researcher must determine the level of measurements of his data and apply appropriate statistical methods. This study utilized ordinal and nominal levels of measurements.

Nominal Measurement:

The scale mainly assigns names or numbers to classes of outcomes in a purely arbitrary sequence (Bohrstedt and Knoke, 1982:18). There are no assumptions made about the relations between values. Each value defines a distinct category and serves merely as a label or name (hence "nominal" level) for the category. The values are exhaustive and mutually exclusive (Babbie, 1983:135). For example nominal scale was adopted in the classification of respondents unto sex and religious categories in this study.

Ordinal Measurement:

The scale is achieved when it is possible to rank or order all categories according to some criterion. Ordering is the sole mathematical property to ordinal measurements, and the use of numerical values does not imply that any other property of numbers is applicable. Ordinal measures refer to those variables whose attributes may be rank-ordered along some progression from more to less (Babbie, 1983:135).

The ordering of respondents according to their formal educational level is exemplary of ordinal measurement in this study. The study often used percentages, the arithmetic average (mean), the standard deviation and the mode.

Percentages:

Analysis of the results has largely utilized percentages created from

proportions by multiplying each relative frequency by 100. Percentages are easy to calculate and are usually arrayed in 'percentage frequency distribution' (Borhnstedt and Knoke, 1982:28).

Mean:

The mean is also called arithmetic average. The sum of the values of all observations divided by the number of observations gives the mean (Gupta, 1987:142). Thus X is the variable which takes values $X_1, X_2, X_3 \dots X_n$ over N items. then the arithmetic mean (or simply the mean of X is given by)

$$\text{Mean} = \frac{\sum x}{N}$$

Standard deviation:

A measure of dispersion, where standard deviation falls, is a statistic indicating the extent of the scatteredness of items around a measure of central tendency. A commonly used measure of variation that is based on all observations is the variance. The square root of the variance is termed the standard deviation. While the variance is in units squared, the standard deviation is expressed in the same units of measurement as the observations. "More-over, of all the measures of dispersion, standard deviation is affected least by fluctuations of sampling" (Gupta, 1988:331).

Standard deviation(s) is the most universally used and adequate measure of dispersion. Other measures include the range, quartile deviation and mean deviation. The standard deviation measures the dispersion of scores (values) from the arithmetic mean squares of the deviations of individual items from their arithmetic mean (Gupta, 1987:210).

Statistically standard deviation is calculated by:

$$S = \frac{\sum (x - \bar{X})^2}{N}$$

The standard deviation(s) is/are useful in determining how significant the deviations are from the mean for variations values which are being compared in a distribution.

Mode:

The value which occurs most frequently in a series is the mode. It can be used for data measured at any level. The mode of distribution is the value at the point around which the items in the series tend to be heavily concentrated (Gupta, 1987:165). The mode is important in identifying the commonest response in the array. The above statistical techniques helped the researcher to make inferences pertinent to the research relations and draw conclusions about them.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

One hundred respondents were chosen to generate data for this study. Respondent categories comprised of 50 drinkers, 40 ordinary public and 10 brewers/distillers and all of them were reached for interview. A total of 61 males and 39 females of various ages constituted the sample.

Religious affiliation: The distribution of respondents according to their religious attachment indicated that 43 % were Catholics, 51 % Protestants and 6% Traditionalists. The high percentage of Protestants may be attributed to religious freedom in Kenya and the least percentage of traditionalists can be explained by changes taking place at community level. The agents of change like formal education and Christianity seem to have altered traditional institutions of the people hence the art of worship has not been left alone.

Marital Status: From the sample., 92% of the respondents were married and 8% had not married due to age or socio-economic factors. The community attaches great value to marriage as a source of having children for its continuation. The incidence of high population can be explained by high rate of marriages. Marriage starts at an early age due o school drop out or the

community's social and cultural milieu. Cases of divorce or separation were not recorded. Community norms seem to govern marriage, for instance the payment of dowry discourages the possibility of divorce. The mean number of children for those who were married was 6.209, with a standard deviation of 3.443.

Population studies in Africa have placed the average number of children per family at six. The data indicated that those who had remained in marriage for long had more children and those with few children were recently married, however given time their number of children will swell. The highest number of children a respondent had was 20 due to polygamy. For the numbers of children 5 was the mode. The table below reflects the number of children for respondent as obtained from the field Study

Table Two: Distribution of number of children for respondents

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
0	9	9
1	6	6
2	4	4
3	8	8
4	10	10
5	14	14
6	12	12
7	11	11
8	9	9
9	6	6
10	2	2
11	2	2
12	4	4
14	1	1
18	1	1
20	1	1
Total	100	100

Data generated on the age of respondents showed that mean age was 41 with a standard deviation of 12.5, maximum 90 years and minimum 18 years while 45 was the mode. For purposes of this study those respondents who were 30 years and below were considered as comprising the youth and those over 30 years represented adults and the old.

Data generated on formal education attainment indicated that the majority (51.0%) had not gone beyond post primary education and 34% had higher education while 8.0% of the respondents had trained in professions like teaching and nursing. Those who had no formal education were 7.0% and formed part of the illiterate group in the community. Possibly when they grew up formal education was not a serious issue in community life. Education and

training influenced employment or occupational activities in this community. Out of 100 respondents interviewed 70% were peasants and only 19% were in gainful employment. This indicates that people in this community grapple with hard economic conditions to survive. This has forced them to seek alternative sources of income including brewing of illicit liquor. About 4.0% of the study population had taken the brewing of traditional liquor as a full time occupation in their lives. One respondent had retired while 6 % were self employed.

Those in salaried employment for instance teachers earn substantial amounts of money and have special advantages over others – access to credit facilities. Some respondents earn a meagre income, a maximum of Ksh. 300 a month. The disparity of income is so great such that while one in gainful employment fetched Ksh. 12,302, a peasant earned a meagre Ksh 300 per month, the mean is Ksh 4,989.10 with the standard deviation of Ksh. 3,294.15. In the struggle to meet daily needs, those with low income are driven into illegal activities like brewing and selling of illicit liquor in order to sustain themselves.

In this community land ownership is based on inheritance law and about 60% of the respondents own land. Out of 100 respondents reached for interview 75% owned animals which were few and of poor quality. The small number of animals include cows, goats, sheep and donkeys held as security against misfortunes or difficulties such as sickness, death and the need for school fees.

Investment in housing for renting is low hence only 6% owned rental houses in the market centres. This may be attributed to lack of sufficient income to purchase land and materials for house construction. Direct observation on pieces of land owned by individuals indicated that they were relatively small. Peasants who till the land to earn their living are often disappointed by the small size of the land pieces, climatic catastrophes and poor marketing system of their crops .

4.2 THE BREWING OF TRADITIONAL LIQUOR – *Busaa* and *Chang'aa*

The art of brewing or distilling traditional liquor can be acquired even at an early age. One respondent learnt the necessary skills of brewing *busaa* at around age 10. Out of 10 brewers reached for interview, two of them could not recall when they started brewing or distilling traditional liquor. About 50% preferred to distill *changaa* because it is profitable and easy to sell as compared to *busaa*. And only 30% brew *busaa* not because they preferred it but because they cannot afford the costs of *chang'aa* distillation.

Periodic seasons influence the brewing of traditional liquor. About 20.0% of the brewers interviewed prepare both *busaa* and *chang'aa* depending on seasons of the year. During harvesting period of maize and *wimbi* they concentrate in *busaa* brewing and later return to *chang'aa* distillation. During harvesting period materials for *busaa* brewing are readily available,

particularly maize meal.

The brewing of traditional liquor takes place in the house at night to avoid police raids. About 88.9% of the brewers interviewed brew or distil the liquor in the house while 11.1% do it in the bushes. Early days of the 'ban' traditional liquor was prepared in the bushes which are now cleared for cultivation or habitation. Even those who brew traditional liquor in houses today have dug holes underground where they hide the liquor and associated tools. Brewers said that their customers (drinkers) are mixed in terms of age and sex. Both old and young, male and female frequent homes to quench their thirst by taking traditional liquor. The majority of these customers are peasants with their own families.

The income obtained from the sale of traditional liquor is spent on livelihood; (the purchase of food and other basic needs like soap and clothing. About 11.1 % of the brewers interviewed spent income from traditional liquor to educate their children.

All brewers/distillers reached for interview knew about the 'ban' but vowed they will continue brewing traditional liquor because they lack alternative sources or income.

Observation in the field indicated that many middlemen have entered in the *chang'aa* business and now customers do not drink the liquor directly from the distillers. These dealers often dilute *chang'aa* or tamper with its causing concern among the drinkers who keep on complaining about the poor quality of the stuff.

4.2 THE CONSUMPTION OF TRADITIONAL LIQUOR (*Busaa* and *chang'aa*)

The drinking of traditional liquor seemed to be governed by tastes and preferences. A total of 50 respondents were picked to generate data for this section. As indicated in the table below, 48.0% of the drinkers preferred to take *busaa* which they associated with food while only one respondent chose to drink *chang'aa* because of its high alcoholic content. Those who take *chang'aa* and *busaa* are basically governed by the aspect of availability. They drink what they get. See table below.

Table Three: The distribution of drinkers according to traditional liquor preference

Traditional Liquor preferred	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Busaa</i>	24	48.0
<i>Chang'aa</i>	1	2.0
Both <i>Chang'aa</i> and <i>Busaa</i>	25	50.0
Total	50	100.0

The majority of drinkers, (48.0%) started to drink due to home background. They grew up in homes where traditional liquor was made. Other drinkers started to drink due to the desire to refresh themselves while others were influenced by their peers into the activity. Idleness and freedom particularly from parents induced others to start drinking traditional liquor as portrayed in the table below.

Table Four: The distribution of drinkers as per the reason for the first drink

Reason for first drink	Frequency	Percentage
Home background	24	48.0
Refreshment	11	22.0
Influence	12	24.0
Idleness	1	2.0
Freedom	2	4.0
Total	50	100.0

Data generated from the field indicated that the majority of drinkers (86.6%) drank from the brewers, while the rest took the liquor at their own homes and from dealers. The availability of money influenced the amount of alcohol drank. Out of those interviewed, 84.0%, agreed that money governed their drinking. When they have money they drink more and lessen as money becomes scarce.

Those who find traditional liquor at their homes are not greatly affected by the availability of money in their drinking ventures.

The majority of drinkers (67.3%) finance their drinking through farming. Those in gainful employment (12.2%) drink out of their monthly salaries.

Daily jobs (*vibarua*), small time business and even sale of property like land and animals formed sources of income for drinkers. Drinkers who are highly addicted to drinking traditional liquor sell even valuable property at throw away prices to finance their drinking.

Out of 50 drinkers reached for interview 84.0% agreed that the ban on traditional liquor has affected their drinking. They hide to drink and often do it in a hurry. They no longer enjoy drinking traditional liquor as they lack freedom to sit, drink and chat. Those who have made traditional liquor a family affair, prepare *busaa* for home consumption, have not felt full impact of the ban. About 16.0% of the drinkers said that the 'ban' has not influenced their drinking of traditional liquor because they drink from their own homes.

When the researcher sought to know why drinkers continue to drink traditional liquor (illicit liquor) and not the state approved beer, 66.0% said that the traditional liquor is cheap hence affordable while 12.0% took *busaa* because they perceived it as food. Others drank traditional liquor due to idleness, addiction and the desire to refresh themselves as indicated in the table below.

Table Five: The distribution of drinkers according to the reason of drinking traditional liquor and not industrial beer

Reason for first drinking traditional liquor	Frequency	Percentage
Affordability	33	66.0
Idleness	11	2.0
Addiction	12	10.0
Food	1	12.0
Refreshment	2	10.0
Total	50	100.0

4.4. OPINION OF THE ORDINARY PUBLIC ON TRADITIONAL LIQUOR

This section targeted respondents who don't drink or brew traditional liquor but are found in other walks of life. A total of 40 respondents were reached for interview and all of them agreed knowing the presence of traditional liquor in their (our) community. The table below shows why these respondents do not drink or brew traditional liquor.

Table Six: The distribution of respondents (ordinary public) according to the reasons of not brewing or drinking traditional liquor

Reason for not drinking or brewing traditional liquor	Frequency	Percentage
Affordability	4	10.0
Retards development	20	50.0
Health	9	22.5
Religion	6	15.0
Home background	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

As indicated above the majority of these respondents (50.0%) do not drink or prepare traditional liquor because they perceive it as a factor that retards rural development. Only 4% do not drink or prepare traditional liquor on grounds that it is illegal in the Kenyan constitution. Bad health, religion and home background seemed to play some role in keeping the respondents away from drinking or preparing traditional liquor. However, home background played an insignificant part for respondents not drinking traditional liquor. This suggests that until people know the bad effects of traditional liquor they are not likely to stop its brewing and consumption.

Out of 40 respondents reached for interview, the majority (84.6%) said that many people drink or brew traditional liquor due to poverty. Only 2.6 per cent

indicated that traditions influence the brewing and consumption of traditional liquor among community members while 7.7% associated drinking of traditional liquor with addiction. They indicated that the rest drink or brew traditional liquor in the quest for leisure and due to family background. The implication here is that those who drink or brew traditional liquor (illicit liquor) are triggered by their inability to afford legal commodities such as industrial beer.

All the 40 respondents reached for interview agreed of knowing the ban on traditional liquor but responded differently to it. While 82.5% supported the ban, 7.5% showed no support and 10% partly supported it. The table below indicates responses towards the ban;

Table 7: Responses from the Ordinary public towards the ban of traditional liquor

Response to the ban	Frequency	Percentage
Support	33	82.5
No Support	3	7.5
Support partly	4	10.0
Total	40	100.0

The table above indicates that even some people who don't drink or brew traditional liquor support its existence. It can be a source of income to the poor and a refreshment venture as they observed.

Responding about the effect of traditional liquor on rural development 85.0% of the respondents (ordinary public) saw it as a block to rural development while 15.0% said, to develop oneself and the community largely depended on what goals individuals have set to achieve irrespective of whether they drink traditional liquor or not.

4.5 RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND TRADITIONAL LIQUOR (*Busaa* and *Chang'aa*)

A total of 100 respondents were interviewed in regard to this section. They comprised 10 brewers/distillers, 50 drinkers and 40 ordinary public who have been presented in early sections. All these respondents agreed to have heard the terms 'rural development' from either the government, other people or the mass media. However they had varied definitions of these terms.

The majority of the respondents (64.6%) simply understood rural development as farming while 29.3% said rural development connotes improved welfare; good housing, rural access roads, availability of health services, provision of educational facilities among others. The rest perceived rural development as having peace especially at family level or doing work with the government or private organizations. And 1.0% of the respondents lacked the definition of rural development.

Data from the respondents indicate that the government has failed and may continue to fail in implementing the ban on traditional liquor. The table below indicates why the government has failed to combat the brewing and consumption of traditional (illicit) liquor. However 1.0% of the respondents did not know why the ban has failed to eliminate illicit liquor.

Table Eight: Responses on the government's failure to implement the ban on traditional liquor

Reason for government's failure on the ban	Frequency	Percentage
Corruption	26	26.0
Poverty	36	36.0
Traditions	28	28.0
Idleness	2	2.0
Poor approach	2	2.0
Addiction	5	5.0
I don't know	1	1.0
Total	100	100.0

It is evident from the table above that poverty, traditions and corruption are crucial issues the government should address in its attempts to curb the brewing and consumption of traditional liquor.

The area's sub-chief said that traditional liquor can never cease due to rampant corruption between police and *wananchi* and the law courts. Criminals associated with illicit liquor often buy their freedom. Impeccable sources indicate that Kenya is among the most corrupt countries in the world.

Out of the 100 respondents reached for interview, the majority (73.0%) said that great attention in farming is the sure way of enhancing rural development. Thus the government should afford the rural man the necessary facilities like credit facilities (farm inputs), construct proper rural access roads and streamline the marketing of farm produce in order to speed up rural development. Others felt that sobriety, temperance in alcohol intake and business are a key to rural development. Even if it seems that intensification of farming activities can bail rural areas from underdevelopment, observation indicated that government intervention, especially by providing a good infrastructure and advancing credit facilities to the farmers may be of greater help in boosting farming activities. In an oral discussion one peasant said that; rural farmers cannot afford to purchase farm inputs due to escalating prices and the government seems to be doing nothing to arrest the situation.

Self help activities done at community level in order to improve the welfare of the people are embedded in women groups, co-operative farming (group farming) and money lending among particular groups of people who have come together. Out of 100 respondents interviewed 58% participated at least in

one of these activities and 42% were non-participants due to one reason or another. Those who did not participate in women groups, especially men saw it as a women affair while others chose to be passive due to alleged mismanagement and disorganization that bedevil these activities.

The farming activities taking place in this community include the growing of food and cash crops besides the keeping of animals like cows and goats. *Pareto* and tea form the major cash crops in this community. Maize is grown as a staple food. The majority of the respondents (95%) engaged in farming partly because it is a sole source of livelihood or as a supplement to total income earned. Those who were not engaged in farming (5.0%) either had health problems, lacked land or worked outside their homes. Earnings from farming are spent on the purchase of food, education and family upkeep. Direct observation indicated that the rural people are not self sufficient in terms of food hence they sell their cash crops like tea and *pareto* to purchase food among other needs.

In order to supplement income badly needed for survival, about 48% of the respondents engage in other productive activities like business outside farming.

The understanding of a good standard of living varied among the respondents. The table below portrays their responses about this aspect.

Table Nine: The distribution of respondents in regard to their understanding about a good standard of living

Responses about a good standard of living	Frequency	Percentage
Affording necessities	69	69.0
Enough food	11	11.0
Peace at home	14	14.0
Enough money	5	5.0
I don't know	1	1.0
Total	100	100.0

As indicated on the table above the majority of respondents (69.0%) referred a good standard of living as affording the basic necessities like housing, clothing, and food while 14.0% attributed it to having peaceful moments at home. The latter meant that one who lives happily with his wife and children in the absence of squabbles, conflicts, diseases and misfortunes indeed has a good standard of living. During an oral interview one respondent said that having good money and a lot of peace in life is a good standard of living. It is evident from the table that affording the basics of life is a measure for good standard of living.

In regard to house of habitation, the majority of respondents (53.0%) live in grass thatched houses, 35.0% in semi-permanent houses while 12.0% dwell in permanent houses. Many of those living in semi-permanent houses or permanent houses were relatively well to do peasants or employed persons.

Data generated about dressing habits indicated that about 51.0% of the respondents rarely change clothes owing to the nature of the work they do, working at farms most of the time. However, they dress decently during special occasions and on worshipping day (Saturday or Sunday). The pressing needs of life has made many rural people to own very few clothes. For example, one can choose to buy food or pay school fees for his children than buy himself a second cloth. About 45% of the respondents seemed to dress decently especially those attending work in the office, school or hospital. And some farmers (peasants) dress decently after farm work. And 4.0% of the respondents had not changed their clothes for a long period of time due to lack of clothing or negligence. Direct observation was a major tool used to collect data on this issue.

Out of 100 respondents interviewed only 25% would afford to eat a balanced diet while 75.0% seemed to eat the same kind of food almost daily. Many people eat the food they grow all the time without necessarily considering the issue of balanced diet. Low income, ignorance and partly illiteracy seem to be the causes.

Advises given by respondents about the welfare of the community showed that the majority (68%) preferred intensification of farming activities, 6.0% stressed on government aid, another 6.0% advocated for unity among the rural people, 7% emphasized on sobriety, 8% were for promotion of formal education, 3.0% moderate drinking while 2% advocated for people to start business.

See table below.

Table ten: The distribution of respondents according to their advice about community development

Advise on community development	Frequency	Percentage
Promotion of farming	68	68.0
Government aid	6	6.0
Sobriety	7	7.0
Education	8	8.0
Moderate drinking	3	3.0
Unity	6	6.0
Business	2	2.0
Total	100	100.0

However, the researcher understood that to achieve community welfare the rural people should make personal initiatives to develop and work towards that end. Government efforts can achieve very little if aimed on people who have

not realized the need to develop. Hence sensitizing the rural man about rural development programmes is indeed pertinent.

4.6 . PERCEPTION OF RESPONDENTS ABOUT TRADITIONAL LIQUOR AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN RELATION TO THEIR AGE, SEX, RELIGION AND EDUCATION

Age, sex, religion and education appear crucial in this study because they influenced the stand of respondents about traditional liquor and rural development. Data obtained from the Field indicate that respondents aged between 18 and 35 years, 31% supported the ban on traditional liquor while 8.0% did not support it. Those in age group 36 to 55, 38% supported the ban and only 9.0% did not favour the ban. Respondents of over 55 years of age had 6% in favour of the ban and 8.0% against the ban. The percentage of those not for the ban in age group of over 55 years is higher than those who support it. This may be attributed to cultural aspects; old people treasure the use of traditional liquor in certain cultural practices like sacrifices. The majority of respondents in all three age groups suggested that improvement in farming activities can promote rural development as opposed to mere elimination of traditional liquor from the rural environment. The table below indicates advise of respondents on rural development.

Table Eleven: The distribution of respondents according to age groups in relation to their advise on promotion of rural development

Advise on promotion of rural development								
Age group	Farming	Government assistance	Unity	Sobriety	Education	Moderate drinking	Business	Total
18 to 35	24	1	5	2	6	1	-	39
36 to 55	32	5	1	5	2	1	1	47
Over 55	12	-	-	-	-	1	1	14
Total	68	6	6	7	8	3	2	100

It is evident from the table above that drinking of traditional liquor is not a crucial aspect in rural development but the need to improve farming activities.

The researcher sought to know sex based responses towards traditional liquor. A total of 61 males and 39 females were reached for interview. In this interview 26% of males and 21.0% of females supported the ban on traditional liquor respectively. About 17.0% of females and 9% did not support the ban. Those who partly supported the ban included 18.0% of males and 9.0%

females. The majority of males and females seemed to be in favour of the ban claiming that traditional liquor retards rural development as observed in the table below.

Table 12: The distribution of respondents according to sex in relation to the ban on traditional liquor

Response to ban				
Sex	Support	No support	Support partly	Total
Male	26	17	18	61
Female	21	9	9	39
Total	47	26	27	100

However the majority of both males and females showed that it is not sobriety nor moderate drinking of traditional liquor that can promote rural development but the intensification of farming activities. Out of 61 males and 39 females reached for interview 38% males and 30% females said that improved farming can boost rural development. The table below indicates sex based advise of respondents on rural development.

Table Thirteen: The distribution of respondents according to sex in relation to their advise on the promotion of rural development

Advice on promotion of rural development								
Sex	Farming	Government aid	Unity	Sobriety	Education	Moderate drinking	Business	Total
Male	38	5	4	5	6	1	2	61
Female	30	1	2	2	2	2	-	39
Total	68	6	6	7	8	3	2	100

It is evident from the table above that the government should divert its efforts from the 'ban' to invest in rural farming in an attempt to improve the welfare of the rural man. And affording the rural people formal education would act as a catalyst in rural development. Provision of education also plays a role in rural development.

Educational level played some role in portraying the stand taken by respondents about traditional liquor. Those with some formal education, the majority supported the ban because they seemed to understand the consequences of breaking the law and the bad effects of traditional liquor. The majority (4.0%) of those without education did not support the ban simply because they saw the government as one interfering with their mode of life. The table below shows how respondents of various educational background

reacted to the 'ban' during the interview.

Table Fourteen: The distribution of respondents according to their educational background in regard to the ban.

Reaction towards the ban				
Educational level	Support	No support	Partly Support	Total
Lower	23	13	15	51
Higher	18	8	8	34
College	5	1	2	8
None	1	4	2	7
Total	47	26	27	100

In an attempt to safeguard their integrity, most of the educated respondents supported the ban on traditional liquor. However basing responses on educational background, respondents did not consider the drinking of traditional liquor or its moderation as a key to rural development. Those with lower education, out of 51 respondents reached for interview 42% advocated for enhancement in farming as a way of developing the rural people while those with higher education 19% out of 34 respondents interviewed shared the same opinion. However those with post high school education, the majority (5%) embraced education as the key to rural development. And out of

respondents interviewed in the category of those with no education 5.0% emphasized on farming as a sure way towards achieving rural development.

See table below.

Table Fifteen: The distribution of respondents according to their educational level in relation to their advise on promotion of rural development

Advice on promotion of rural development								
Educational level	Farming	Government aid	Unity	Sobriety	Improved education	Moderate drinking	Business	TOTAL
Lower	42	1	2	2	3	-	1	51
Higher	19	5	3	5	-	1	1	34
College	2	-	1	-	5	-	-	8
None	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	7
Total	68	6	6	7	8	3	2	100

However, direct observation indicated that land issue and population growth are impediments to rural development. There is urgent need to control population growth and alter the system of land ownership to favour new techniques of farming.

Some religious churches tolerate drinking of alcoholic beverages while others consider drinking alcohol as sinful. 43 catholics were reached for interview where 11.0% supported the ban, 20% did not support it and 12.0% partly supported it. Catholicism accommodates drinking of alcohol and even smoking of cigarettes. The majority of protestants (32.0%) supported the ban. Most protestant churches prefer their followers to be teetotalers to avoid sinful acts associated with alcoholism. And the majority of traditionalists (4%) supported the ban possibly because they feared the law. The table below indicates responses towards the ban based on religious background.

Table 16: The distribution of respondents according to their religious affiliation in relation to the ban on traditional liquor.

Response towards the ban				
Religion	Support	No support	Partly support	Total
Catholic	11	20	12	43
Protestant	32	4	15	51
Traditional	4	2	-	6
Total	47	26	27	100

Even from the religious point of view respondents did not see drinking of traditional liquor or its moderation as crucial in rural development. The majority of respondents from all religions said that improved farming can save the rural people from misery. The table below indicates responses based on religion about what can be done to promote rural development.

Table 17: The distribution of respondents according to their religious affiliation in relation to their advise on rural development.

Advices on promotion of rural development								
Religion	Farming	Government assistance	Unity	sobriety	Improved	Moderate drinking	Business	Total
Catholic	29	4	3	1	4	1	1	43
Protestant	36	2	2	5	4	1	1	51
Traditionalist	3	-	1	1	-	1	-	6
Total	68	6	6	7	8	3	2	100

It is evident from the data generated in the field that brewing and consumption of traditional liquor per-se does not retard rural development. However traditional liquor can stagger rural development. The Kenya Government should do comprehensive research to identify real enemies of rural development and work to alleviate them.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was designed to find out the circumstances that lead to the brewing and consumption of traditional liquor and its impact on rural development.

Modernization paradigm and symbolic interactionism theory were adopted as study models for this thesis. The former presupposes that modernity has influenced the brewing and consumption of traditional liquor including the definition of rural development and the latter is committed to explaining the varied perceptions attributed to the research topic.

The divided opinion of Kenyans over the existence of traditional liquor was crucial in the problem statement. The designing of this study was based on the persistence of some Kenyans in the brewing and consumption of traditional liquor irrespective of its dire consequences like death, blindness, health problems and the “ban”.

The research findings are based on data generated from 100 respondents who were selected for interview 10 brewers, 50 drinkers and 40 ordinary public. Respondents comprised of men and women, youth and the old as it was deemed appropriate.

The distribution of respondents according to their religious affiliation indicated that the majority were Protestants and Catholics, 51% and 43% respectively, only 6% still belong to traditional religion. This can be explained by the impact of the Whiteman's religion on the Kenyan man. Most Kenyans are trading in their cultural practices including their religion in favour of western culture. Kenyans are also guaranteed freedom of worship.

The majority of respondents (92%) were married with relatively high number of children. The number of children seemed to depend on the number of years couples have stayed in marriage. The community considers marriage and children to be very important in its own perpetuation. Having a family is very crucial in this community. Those not married and do not have children are looked down upon and excluded from certain privileges like drinking traditional liquor with others at community level.

Most respondents (70%) were peasants with low education, a factor which triggered some of them to engage in illegal activities like *chang'aa* brewing in the quest to survive. It is difficult for a person with a family and a monthly income of Ksh.300 to afford life basics.

The issue of land ownership in this community is based on traditional laws of inheritance and about 60% of the respondents owned land. Direct observation indicated that the pieces of land owned by individuals are small and are already

over-utilized.

The art of brewing traditional liquor is acquired from those members of the community who know the skills and it can happen as early as age 10. The brewing of traditional liquor is often triggered by poverty and lack of alternatives to support life. Brewing is often done at night as means to defeat police raids. Age and sex are no criteria for drinking like in old days. Brewers interviewed said that women and men of all ages and of varied occupations constitute their customers. Income from brewing is spent on sustaining life and education. About 11.1 % of the brewers reached for interview spent income earned from traditional liquor to meet educational demands of their children, all brewers/distillers know about the ban on traditional liquor but vowed to continue making the drink as long as alternatives to survival remain absent.

The dealers who purchase traditional liquor- (*chang'aa*) from the brewers in wholesale often frustrate customers (drinkers) by diluting the drink in the quest to reap huge benefits from the business. Many drinkers feel that special distillers be allowed to prepare and sell the liquor in order to safeguard its quality. The indication is that pure *chang'aa* if taken in reasonable doses is harmless to the human body.

Tastes and preferences seemed to govern the type of traditional liquor consumed. Those who go for *busaa* associate it with food and *chang'aa* drinkers cherish its high potency. Availability was crucial in the consumption of traditional liquor. About 50% of the drinkers could drink *busaa* or *chang'aa* depending on what they got first. Many drinkers (48.0%) had their first drink due to home background. Others started to drink in the quest for refreshment and happiness or because of beer group influence. The availability of money influence the drinking of traditional liquor. About 84.0% of drinkers reached for interview saw money as being crucial in their drinking. With money they drink more and lessen when it gets scarce. Sales from farm produce are a major source of income for most drinkers.

About 67.3% of the drinkers financed their drinking through farming. This can be attributed to the nature of their occupation; the majority are peasants.

Daily jobs especially in the farms are seen as quick means of getting money to drink. Others work in exchange for liquor. Addiction to traditional liquor may force a drinker to sell his valuable property like land in order to achieve the drink. Those in gainful employment use their monthly salaries to drink and often drink themselves silly at the end of the month. Drinking of traditional liquor is no longer enjoyable due to the ban. Drinkers take the liquor in hurry and with a lot of fear. The social function of traditional liquor is often not achieved. About 84.0% of the drinkers reached for interview said that the ban

on traditional liquor has seriously affected their drinking. Over-drinking often result as drinkers gallop the liquor in the quest for satisfaction and to evade police raids. Impeccable sources indicated that those napped in the raids buy their freedom through graft. Some respondents blamed corruption for perpetuating the brewing and consumption of illicit liquor.

The inability to afford high prices of industrial beer drive the rural man into drinking traditional liquor. About 66.0% of the drinkers take traditional liquor because it is cheap. In the fight against traditional liquor, the Kenya Government should avail industrial beers with cheap prices in the attempt to discourage the consumption of traditional liquor. However the cheap ones that currently exist such as sorghum may not meet the taste and satisfaction of the rural man. In the provision of alternative beers to the rural man, his decision and approval seem to be important. And to discourage the brewing and consumption of traditional liquor the rural people need to be engaged in productive activities. Direct observation in the field indicated that lack of occupation lead to indulgence in the consumption of traditional beer.

The majority of respondents in the ordinary public category (58.0%) do not advocate for the consumption of traditional liquor in our Kenyan society because it retards rural development. Others disapproved it on grounds of health, religion and home background. However many (84.6%) saw rural poverty as one triggering the rural man to brew and consume illicit liquor. A

few (7.5%) of these respondents were against the ban because traditional liquor can be a refreshment and source of income to the rural people.

In this community, developed farming is synonymous with rural development and this is due to environmental influence. People have lived and succeeded in their lives through farming. However climatic conditions and lack of land and money to purchase farm inputs disappoints the peasants.

Respondents said that for the ban on traditional liquor to be effective the government should work to shun corruption, continued rural poverty and use appropriate measures. In this regard the government should become sensitive to the needs of the rural man. While the personal initiative of the rural man to develop himself is crucial, government intervention is more important. It should afford the rural man the necessary facilities of development more especially credit facilities and rural access roads.

The self-help activities taking place at community level like women groups and other groupings are often frustrated by inherent poor management and incompetency. Local leaders seem to neglect these activities hence worsening the condition. The success of such groups depend on streamlined management which some government machinery should ensure.

Farming activities in this community are often frustrated by limited pieces of land and the inability to afford farm inputs. As a consequence some people engage in off-farm activities like small businesses in order to increase their income.

Respondents interviewed simply understood good standard of living as affording the basic necessities of life and having peace at family level mostly characterized by the absence of marital problems. Majority of these respondents (53%) dwell in grass thatched houses because they cannot afford to construct modern houses. Their dressing habits are dictated by their occupation and what they hold as special occasions like going to the church or some journey. However due to pressing needs of life rural people in this community seemed to have few clothes. The foods eaten comprise of those locally available hence the balanced diet is not a major consideration in the lives of many people.

Age, sex, religion and education of respondents appear crucial as they seemed to influence the response of every item the researcher sought to measure in this study.

Deductions from the Literature Review indicate that man should not be left to sink into drunkenness. Excessive drinking is a bad habit, detrimental to individuals' health and society. People do not drink 'pure alcohol' (a toxin

which is lethal) but they take a beverage containing alcohol especially ethyl alcohol (ethanol). Alcoholic drinks may be categorized into three; wines, beers and spirits. The alcohol content in all these beverages is ethyl or ethanol ($\text{CH}_3\text{CH}_2\text{CH}$). Alcohol consumption has marked effects depending on the type and quantity of alcohol one drinks. While consumption of beer in small quantities may be tolerated, over-inebriation is abhorred.

Alcoholic beverages have been known to man as much as 100,000 years. Kenyan traditional liquors have been here since old times. Each ethnic group has its own traditional liquor: Kikuyu (*muratina*), Mijikenda and other coastal people (*mnazi*), Luo, Luhya, Abagusii and other lake folks (*busaa*), Kalenjin (*kipketiniki*) Kamba (*Kalubu*) and Ameru (*kathoroka*). *Chang'aa* has never been a traditional liquor of any community, though associated more with Abagusii and Luo people.

The ban on traditional liquor and *chang'aa* is the brain child of the 'Nyayo' government. However, this has had negative consequences. Illicit distillery and brewing has increased at homes. Naout (1981:20), observed that "where traditional beer halls cease to exist, two alternatives are open to the consumer, namely either to switch over to expensive foreign fermented beverages (in particular foreign beers), or to illegal consumption of traditional fermented beverages". The increased consumption of illicit *chang'aa* was reported soon after the closure of beer halls.

Alcoholic beverages have social and economic implications in society. The need for revenue in form of taxes has made some governments to turn a blind eye on alcoholism in their countries. Some Africa nations have undermined their traditional alcoholic beverages in favour of foreign alcoholic beverages. Kenya for example has banned *chang'aa* but has approved the consumption of its equivalent (*waragi*) from Uganda.

According to the Kenyan situation, banning traditional liquor and allowing industrial beer is an attempt to create a class of people who are allowed to drink a type of beer while others are denied. Many people advocate for re-establishment of *busaa* clubs to serve the common man whose income cannot afford him industrial beer or whisky and sanction the ban on *chang'aa*. *Busaa* is like food and has a good taste. *Busaa* clubs helped to boost revenue of county councils and the municipalities where they operated. The government denied itself such tax by closing *busaa* clubs while brewing has increased at village level. If *chibuku* and *waragi* pay tax to the government, also *busaa*, *muratina* and *mnazi* in the beerhalls can pay cess or tax to the same government. The problem is not with traditional liquor but the drinking habits involved. Indications are that drinking at *busaa* clubs can enhance discipline unlike homes where drinkers are not controlled.

It defeats logic to single out *busaa* and *chang'aa* from all alcoholic beverages consumed in Kenya and accuse them of causing underdevelopment in the

countryside. Government's efforts to ban excessive alcohol drinking should start with industrial beer and whisky: strict regulation of bars and night clubs. The ban of traditional liquor in the rural area and subsequent closure of beerhalls claiming that they are a source of immorality in society is wrong. What about bars that sell industrial beers both in urban and rural areas? In fact some bars are legalized brothels today.

If the rich and middle class can be allowed to enjoy the company of prostitutes what about the rural poor man! The ban on traditional liquor is discriminatory and undemocratic. Allowing town residents to enjoy *busaa* and other traditional beers portrays a government of inconsistency. The voting procedure used to close down *busaa* clubs and subsequent ban on traditional liquor was awkward. Just a show of hands, indicates that the rural people were being bull-dozed by District Commissioners and chiefs whom they feared to deny themselves the right to drink. Secret balloting would have been fair. The *Chang'aa* Prohibition Act of 1980 ignored the participation of the rural '*mwananchi*'. The habit of legislators passing legislations that deeply affect individual rights in the absence of consultation is too unfortunate and portrays a weakness of conventional notions of a representative government. One respondent said that it is the people themselves who can decide to stop brewing the traditional liquor. The law should not be a will of the ruling class. It was not *wananchi* who realized that drunkenness was retarding development, but that it was basically the political strategy adopted by the president (Moi) to

establish his legitimacy. The development strategy used as a justification for the banning of *chang'aa* and other traditional liquors like *busaa* is perceived as not harnessing of local resources but rather the use of local finance or money and labour for participation in international capital; Kenyans are asked to invest in Kenya Breweries Limited if they want to drink alcohol. The government instead of providing an economic environment which could ensure active development of local brewing industries, a criminal or penal legislation was preferred. Here the government ignores the use of local raw materials to develop; the consumption of goods that are in accord with the culture of the people in favour of multinationals. Lessons learnt from the rural people indicate that since the ban on traditional liquor was effected, the people whom the law choose to reform, have sunk unto deeper squalor, poverty, unemployment and excessive consumption of *chang'aa* and *busaa* (traditional liquor).

The social system. can be blamed for perpetuating alcoholism. In the rural environment the social system naps many drinkers in a vicious circle of work and drink. There are no social institutions to provide many leisure activities hence after work people turn to drinking traditional liquor as the only source of refreshment and the continued misery and poverty of the rural woman makes her to remain brewing all the year round in order to earn a living. The government should start social institutions to provide widespread leisure activities in the rural setting. Rural government sponsored projects should

target on women in the attempt to discourage them from brewing traditional illicit liquor. The form of punishment imposed on those found brewing or distilling traditional liquor is not genuine. For example fining a poor rural man Ksh. 10,000 for being in possession of *chang'aa* is too unfair. Punishment should be 'teaching' and not punitive. Rural people need to learn the badness of *changaa* and *busaa* in order to reform.

The government's intensifications of raids as the only means of ending the brewing of illicit liquor suffer from a great loophole. Police raids seem to achieve little. Brewers and drinkers have devised other means to beat the law; bribing the police and using young children as watchdogs who sound an alarm at seeing police. The policemen only arrive to arrest innocent *wananchi* to end their frustrations. Apart from raids the police should target the tools used to distil *chang'aa* and brew *busaa* like molasses, drums, pots and yeast. No wonder one respondent said that the government can never abolish traditional liquor because the rural people own the necessary tools to brew and distil the liquor they need.

The law that mandates the police to enter even into private property in search of illicit liquor (*chang'aa*) digs into personal liberties as enshrined in the Kenyan Constitution. This law should be amended to safeguard individuals' private lives.

Sournia J. (1960:64) observed that "all efforts to combat potential irregularities by prohibition are deemed to failure". Man is always jealous of his liberty, which includes his right to drink. Traditional liquor satisfies those with little money to get drunk and be happy hence the government should allow consumption of traditional liquor in a clear way by controlling the amount of alcohol content. In fact traditional liquors are not only part of the culture of the people but they also encompass the social menu and life of a people: The law is not always the solution to contemporary social and economic problems. It is one thing passing the law, and it is quite another ensuring that the law is enforced. As a consequence, innocent people have suffered under the hands of the police by being planted illicit liquor or getting arrested while in the company of *chang'aa* drinkers. It seems that by taking a tough line on traditional liquor, illicit brewing has increased.

Casualties (death and blindness) reported from the consumption of traditional liquor dens, lack clear evidence. The government has a duty to safeguard its citizens from injurious drinks to escape blame or negligence. The crude methods employed in the brewing of traditional liquor and the lethal substances added to it to increase potency calls for close monitoring. For instance Ms. Martha Wanjiku who became blind after drinking lethal liquor at Kirere Village in Kiambu District on September 1996, remains worried why the liquor was allowed to be sold. She said, "I just accepted what came my way ; but I've no strength to cope with it. There is no parent who does not question this drink

and why it was allowed to be sold." Source: *Sunday Nation, January 18, 1998* .

In brief the government's approach to the problem of illicit liquor and rural development in Kenya may adopt the following **recommendations**:

- (1) Kenya should follow Uganda's example by legalizing traditional liquor (*chang'aa*) by forming a central co-operative society to purchase *chang'aa* from distillers, process and sell it as a Kenyan whisky. The rights to processing, bottling and distribution should be reserved by the co-operative. At the long run the government should open a factory for *chang'aa* distillation and keep the quality high in order to discourage local distillers. Such factory licencing should tally with health requirements, environmental programme (disposal of residue) and selling of the produce direct to the co-operative or company at a depot for distribution.
- (2) People should be afforded the opportunity to discuss the law before it is passed on them. In this regard the rural people need a chance to decide on what alcoholic beverages satisfy their needs and the rural development strategies to be adopted.
- (3) Lift the ban on *busaa* clubs in the rural areas and legalize *chang'aa* for easy monitoring. *Busaa* clubs should open after work, sell high quality liquor and pay tax in order to remove the anti-social perception attached to the police who are seen as

terrorists by the rural man. Reliable sources indicate that a social evil cannot be removed by criminalising it.

- (4) Educate *wananchi* on the dangers of alcohol especially *changaa*. This can be achieved through the mass media, school, church and local *barazas*. The education system need to incorporate teaching on alcoholism in its curriculum especially the bad habits of drinking alcohol and drug taking. Churches should not be institutions that condemn alcohol and alcoholism in line with the 'Nyayo' philosophy but to serve as educative centres.

As a matter of urgency, the government should stop using a ruthless approach (raids and harsh penalties) in the attempt to stamp out illicit liquor from the Kenyan society. Efforts should be concentrated on educative measures.

- (5) The ban on traditional liquor should be lifted and its actual causes of brewing and consumption addressed. Rural people should be afforded alternatives to traditional liquor. For instance leisure activities should be enhanced in the attempt to divert interest from liquor. The Ministry of Culture and Social Services be involved in promoting games, athletics, drama festivals, choirs, dances and other social amenities to deconstruct people from drink and encourage them to engage in a more productive living. In line

with this, rural farmers should get access to credit facilities from the government or private institutions in order to improve their farming activities. The marketing of farm produce to be streamlined to ensure stable and good income to farmers. The government should open up small scale industries and '*jua kali*' sector to enable off-farm job opportunities to the rural man, Land tenure system need to be revised to cease cases of landlessness which often drive desperate people to engage in illicit activities like *chang'aa* distillation in order to earn a living. Ending desperation and misery of the rural man is very crucial in the fight against illicit liquor.

- (6) Introduce radical socio-economic changes in the entire Kenyan society. The government should choose to implement clear policies for the welfare of all Kenyans without favouring particular sections or individuals. For instance declare Kenya a teetotaler society or allow freedom in consumption of alcoholic beverages that Kenyans prefer to drink.
- (7) The government should seek to net income from what it terms illicit drugs whose consumption has gone underground because of the ban. There is need to legalize these drugs to enable easy monitoring and control while gaining. There is no evidence to show that a teetotaler society is more developed than one consuming drugs. Studies from the U.S.A. indicate that when the

government took a tough line on drugs the economy slackened and now that it has relaxed the consumption of drugs like heroine and cocaine; the consumption is not as high as before and the economy has grown. This calls for research in two critical areas: one. income from illicit drugs and two the relationship between the consumption of drugs and economic development in Kenya.

Education on the dangers of alcohol especially *chang'aa* is not an end in itself to make drinkers part company with drink. Impeccable sources indicate that drinkers seem to be hardened by their own nature and until they are caught in serious predicaments they are less likely to abandon drinking of alcohol. Mr. Muriuki aged 32 who turned blind and a survivor of the lethal drink that killed 24 people on September 1996 tragedy says. he has learnt a lesson: "I do not drink or smoke anymore". he reveals "I said to myself: These vices have cost me my health, and nearly cost my life. I won't touch it again". Also the Assistant Chief of Kirere sub-location in Kiambu District. Mr. John Kamau said that after this tragedy, *chang'aa* brewing died a natural death because people fear losing their sight and life (Sunday Nation, January, 18, 1998). The implication is that lessons learnt from the consequence of taking traditional liquor are crucial in curbing the proliferation of illicit liquor. However sceptics hold that unless

chang'aa or any other traditional liquor is tampered with or, taken in large doses it is not injurious to human life.

Generally the panacea to illicit liquor seem to be embedded in education, punishment, financial incentives and therapy as a last resort. But this does not work all the time. It is evident that in a free society, banning alcohol is neither desirable nor acceptable. Though schools, governments and other institutions could do more by teaching the public the dangers of alcohol particularly ill-prepared illicit liquor, the best solution about illicit liquor seem to lie with the people involved in its brewing and consumption.

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APPENDIX I

A STUDY OF TRADITIONAL LIQUOR AND ITS PERCEIVED IMPACT ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT - THE CASE OF KISHII DISTRICT, IKORONGO LOCATION, KENYA

QUESTIONNAIRE NO

DATE OF INTERVIEW

Hello! my name is Fredrick Haggai Oyugi. I am a student at the University of Nairobi. I am doing research on traditional liquor brewing and consumption. I request you to spare some time to assist me with certain information for my study. The information will be treated with confidentiality. This study is cleared by the Office of the President.

Clearance No dated.....

General Information

- 1 Name of respondentAge.....
Sex Ethnic Group..... Religion.....
Marital Status No. of children
District Location
Educational Level

2. What is/are your occupations?
.....
.....
.....

3. What is your monthly income?
.....

4. What property do you own?
.....
.....
.....

SECTION A: (FOR BREWERS/DISTILLERS ONLY)

5. When did you start brewing/distilling alcohol?

6. What type(s) of alcohol do you brew?.....
.....
7. Why do you brew/distill traditional liquor?
.....
8. What is the average amount of alcohol do you brew/distill monthly?
.....
9. Where do you brew/distill tile alcohol? Explain your answer.
.....
.....
10. What are the majority of your customers in terms of:
Age Sex
Marital Status
Occupation
11. How much do you sell out of one brewing or distilling?
.....
.....
12. How do you spend your earnings from brewing or
distilling traditional Liquor?
.....
13. Do you know about the ban on traditional liquor?
YesNo.....

SECTION B: (FOR DRINKERS ONLY)

14. When did you start drinking?
15. What type of traditional liquor(s) do you drink?
.....
.....
.....
16. Why did you start drinking traditional liquor?
.....
.....
17. What are your current reasons for drinking it and not modern beer?
.....
.....
18. What time do you drink?
Explain you answer
.....

19. Where do you get the traditional liquor that you drink?

20. How does the availability or lack of money influence your drinking?

21. (i) Which one of the following traditional liquors do you like best?
Busaa
Chang'aa
- (ii) Give reasons for your choice above
22. How do you finance your drinking?

23. How has the ban on traditional liquor affected your drinking?

SECTION C: (FOR THE ORDINARY PUBLIC: THOSE NOT INVOLVED IN THE BREWING OR THE CONSUMPTION OF TRADITIONAL LIQUOR BUT FOUND IN OTHER WALKS OF LIFE)

24. Have you heard about traditional liquor (*Busaa* and *chang'aa*)?
 Yes.....No.....
25. What are your reasons for not drinking/brewing traditional liquor?

26. In your own opinion why do some people drink/brew traditional liquor in this Community?
27. Do you know about the ban on traditional liquor?
 Yes No
28. What is your response towards the ban on traditional liquor in the countryside?

29. What do you consider to be the effect of traditional liquor consumption on Rural development?

SECTION D: (FOR ALL RESPONDENTS)

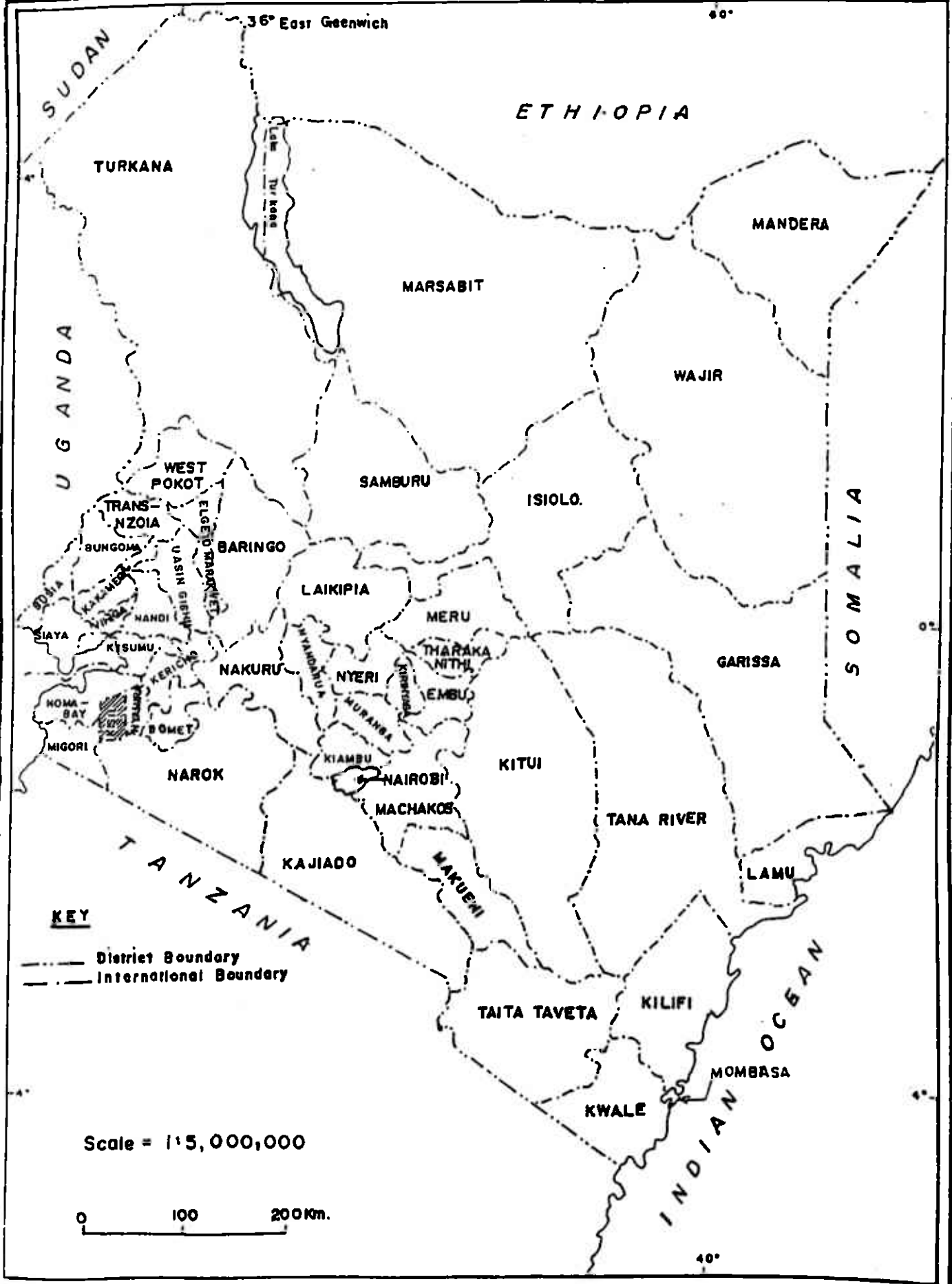
- 30.(i) Have you heard about rural development?
YesNo
- (ii) From who did you hear the terms rural development?
.....
31. What is rural development in your own opinion?
.....
.....
32. The government is blaming the consumption of traditional liquor for
retarding rural development. What is your opinion about this issue?
.....
.....
33. Why do you think the government has not succeeded in combating the
consumption of traditional liquor?
34. What do you suggest should be done to promote rural development
in this (our) community?
35. What current self-help activities that are taking place in this (our)
community?
36. Do you participate in these activities?
YesNo
37. What type of farming activities are people doing in this (our) community?
.....
.....
38. To what extent are you involved in these farming activities?
.....
.....
39. How do you spend you earnings from farming?
40. What other productive activities do you do to increase your income?
.....
.....
41. What is a good standard of living in your own opinion?
.....
.....
42. What type of house(s) do you live in?
43. How do you dress during the week?
44. What type of meals do you eat?

45. What other advise can you give about the welfare of this (our community)?

.....
.....

Thank you. Stay Well.

LOCATION OF THE DISTRICT



KISII DISTRICT

ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES

