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WORK

EFFECTS OF ILLICIT BREW DRINKING AND INTERVENTION
MEASURES ON UNEMPLOYED YOUTH IN BUNGOMA
COUNTY, KENYA

BY
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DECLARATION

This Project paper is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other University.

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This Project Paper has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor

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DEDICATION

This Project paper is dedicated to my wife Tabitha Nzula Wakhungu and my son Samuel Wasike Wakhungu for their prayers, moral support and understanding. I cherish your contribution to most of this work.

It is also dedicated to my late mother Lonah Nakhumicha, for her invaluable contribution to my academic foundation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABV	– Alcohol by Volume
ACK	– Anglican Church of Kenya
AIC	– African Inland Church
ADA	– Anti-Drug Abuse
CADCA	– Community Anti-drug Coalitions of America
CBST	– Core Business Skills Training
COA	– Characteristics of Children of Alcoholics
ESPAD	– European School Survey Project on Alcohol and other drugs
EST	– Entrepreneurship Skills Training
FM	– Frequency Modulation
GBD	– Global Burden of Disease
GSHS	– Global School-Based Student Health Survey
HBSC	– Health Behaviour in School Children
ICT	– Information Communication Technology
KYEP	– Kenya Youth Empowerment Programme
KNH	– Kenyatta National Hospital
KCSE	– Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education
KEPSA	- Kenya Private Sector Alliance
KNBS	– Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
MSE	– Micro and Small Enterprises
NACADA	– National Agency for the Campaign Against Drug Abuse
NDP	– National Drug Policy
NHSDA	– National household survey on drug abuse
NYS	– National Youth Service
USA	– United States of America
UN	– United Nations Organisation
UNICEF	– United Nations Children’s Education Fund
UNFPA	–United Nations Population Fund
UNAIDS	– Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
WHA	– World Health Assembly
WHO	– World Health Organisation
SPSS	– Statistical Package for Social Scientists

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify the effects of alcohol consumption and intervention measures taken to help youth who were aged between 15-25 years and unemployed in Bungoma County.

Literature on history of alcoholism, levels of the consumption, types of brews and characteristics of the young consumers was reviewed. The study was guided by three theories; social learning theory, symbolic interaction theory and deviance theory.

Data was collected in several wards of Bungoma East Sub-county from among ninety (93) unemployed youth consumers of alcohol, several key informants and case studies.

Findings of the study indicated that majority of the unemployed youth were from poor homesteads and dependent on their parents for their livelihoods. Most of the drinking youth ventured into drinking as a result of stress notwithstanding the dangers involved in it. Peer pressure played a role in luring most of them into drinking with hope of solving stress. The drinking youth perceived problems related to alcoholism as health, accidents, crime, immorality, and unemployment. Intervention measures by the government, church, community, and parents to save the youth indulging in drinks had no feasible impact to the youth. There was a danger of the drinking youth transforming into a youth culture of alcoholic addictions, leading to unproductive members of society unless adequate mitigation measures were promptly undertaken.

There is need for urgent professional intervention measures including training and employment opportunities that could discourage the youth from engaging in drinking and make them productive.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Alcoholism among the youth is increasingly becoming a challenge to their well-being by exposing them to various hazards. The study of illicit brew therefore underscores concerns over the hazards caused to the youth in the study area of Bungoma county, Kenya. The problem of alcoholism has attracted attention of central government (police), county governments, National Drug Policy (NDP), National Agency for the Campaign Against Drug Abuse (NACADA) and the international community in an effort to reverse the emerging trend. The purpose of this study is to identify the main factors that influence unemployed youth to indulge in alcoholism, a practice that may result in their failure to successfully play their socio-economic roles in their adulthood.

In many countries there are beverages which either fall outside of the usual beer, wine and spirits categories or which are traditionally produced in villages and homes, common in many African countries. These traditional forms of alcohol are usually poorly monitored for quality and strength, and Pose health consequences related to harmful impurities and adulterants. Extreme cases might even result in death as the common case in Kenya where the brews were laced with methanol and other dangerous additives such as car battery acid and formalin (Mureithi, 2002). Similar cases of poisoned brews were cited in Zimbabwe (Riley & Marshall, 1999) and other African countries (WHO Global Status Report on Alcohol 2004). As a remedy, there may be health benefits from replacing cottage-produced with industrially-produced alcohol in terms of the purity of the product (Room et al., 2002).

The study focuses on the indulgence of the youth in drinking the illicit brews at the expense of economic contribution to the community. It also focuses on the dependency level on their families and determines how it influences their behaviour in the community.

Since consumption of alcohol is likely to cause their alienation of youth by the community, it is necessary to study the impact of such alienation to enable appropriate intervention into their livelihoods.

Earlier studies did not adequately address alcohol effects on the unemployed youth. Some studies mentioned youth alcoholism but focused on other areas of concern than the specific issues touching on the unemployed youth. For example, Birech's (2003) study dwelt on illicit brew amongst members of Nandi community and to some extent effects on the family. While Matimu (2010) examined illicit brew abuse on the youthful Matatu workers and a study by Gikandi (2008) dwelt on the effects of alcoholism on the productivity of the youth. In the studies, the authors did not give insight accounts of the effects of alcoholism on the unemployed youth who form the bulk of the potential work force and who are more vulnerable than other types of youth. Other studies focused on youth generally without adequate concentration on the unemployed youth who form the majority of the youth engaged in drinking the illicit brew.

The young in Kenya constitute 36% of the population, estimated to be about 39 million people. Similarly, a survey by Forbes Africa (2013) listed Africa's 30 best entrepreneurs under 30 years, among which, 7 were Kenyan entrepreneurs. The high number of Kenyans on the *Forbes Africa (2013)* list was representative of the energy, talent, and creativity that abound in the country. Incidentally, the problem of youth alcoholism persists and, there is also rising rate of unemployment in Kenya. According to Obonyo (2013), youth unemployment is a ticking time bomb waiting to explode. Muthee (2010) says that Kenya's youth unemployment rate stands at 65 Per cent, and is among the highest in the world. While a study by World Bank (2005) estimates that approximately 800,000 Kenyans join the labour market each year, and only 50,000 succeed in getting jobs. Those failing to get jobs become prone to abusing alcohol and fail to contribute to their own individual as well as family and community well-being.

It is worth noting that alcohol drinking continues to being consumed with disregard of the cultural norms that regulated the drinking. In the absence of the communal regulatory mechanisms cases of the youth getting affected seems alarming. This therefore forms the basis of this study to unravel the motivations to the changing trends of drinking especially among the youth.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The problem of youth indulgence in alcohol drinking is of concern to families and the

government. Intervention measures by government have been initiated but the problem persists (Mwenesi, 1996:15). Most youth leaving school and remaining unemployed have mostly entered drinking of alcohol, a trend that continues to worry their families and communities. The situation has been aggravated by shortage of employment opportunities to cater for the youth leaving schools, compelling them to remain in the villages.

Whereas, some youth grew up in families without exposure to alcohol drinking and unaware that alcohol is a depressant than refreshment and that its sustained intake leads to life threatening consequences, even if taken in small quantities (WHO 2002, Page 6), others get influenced into drinking through peer pressure. On the other hand, some young people hold positive view of illicit brew from their home experiences where they witnessed the consumption or sale of the brew that was even used to pay school fees for them (Beckman 1995, page 22). As a result, the drinking habit has been worsening the situation worldwide with most families affected with alcohol addiction. This situation has deteriorated in most industrialised countries where the youth go into addiction during adolescents through consumption of alcohol stocked in their homes. For instance, it is estimated that in the U.S.A, a member of one out of four families is affected with addiction of either alcohol or hard drugs (Hoffman, et al, 2007).

The youth on leaving schools socialize with a mix of other youth from different backgrounds and orientation and with a variety of those holding different academic qualifications. Among the out of school groups seeking for employment, are those that are unskilled as well as skilled. Kennedy (1985 page 315) notes that since most youth at this stage endeavour to discover their identities in preparation to fit in the world and are bound to undergo positive or negative social influences that expose them to advantage or disadvantage. He added that, the community and the families are oblivious of the social transformation of their children, making it difficult to regulate their behaviour.

Hoffman (2007) observes that families of the unemployed youth and the community find challenges in monitoring their young who are mostly idle and come to know later when they have already started drinking alcohol. There is also a problem of sustaining the unemployed youth considering the economic hardships parents face. Majority of the youth end up being absorbed into drinking alcohol and eventually become addicts without the community and their families understanding how they started. Eventually, there emerges an alcoholic

subculture where the youth waste away and become unproductive members of their families and communities.

NACADA (2011), in their study findings indicated that in Bungoma county, the rising cases of youth alcoholics threatens to alienate them from their families and communities, raising fears of existence of generational conflict and family instability. It further observed that the alcoholics are unlikely to ensure protection of the hard-earned heritage of resources and uphold the traditional values for a moral society. More importantly, they are unlikely to look for opportunities to improve their lives, waste away and become a burden to their families and the larger society.

This study focuses on effects of two main illicit brews consumed in the study area which are; *Busaa* and Nubian Gin (*Changaa*). *Changaa* and busaa use hold them to be illicit on grounds that they have not been legalized by the government.

1.3 Study Questions

- a. What is the extent of illicit brew drinking among the unemployed youth?
- b. What are the characteristics related to the youth who drink illicit brew?
- c. What types of illicit brews are consumed by the youth?
- d. How are the unemployed youth affected by the drinking of illicit brews?
- e. What are the on-going interventions to mitigate the problem of alcoholism among the youth?

1.4 Objectives of the study

Main Objectives

To investigate the effects and intervention measures of illicit brew drinking by the unemployed youth in Bungoma County, Kenya.

Specific Objectives

- a. To investigate the characteristics of the unemployed youth engaged in drinking the illicit brews
- b. . To determine the levels of illicit brew abuse by the unemployed youth
- c. To find out types of illicit brews consumed.

- d. To investigate the perception of the unemployed youth about effects of illicit brew drinking.
- e. To assess the on-going interventions to improve the livelihoods of the affected youth.

1.5 Justification of the study

By examining the effects of illicit brews on the unemployed youth, this study will generate information which will assist the National government, County governments, NACADA and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to formulate policies, enact laws and develop appropriate interventions on the alcoholic problems as well as ways of addressing the high rate of unemployment and idleness among the youth.

The study also aims at generating information to assist the stakeholders in understanding the problems affecting the youth engaged in drinking alcohol in order to seek solutions to the problems posed by such youth. This information will go a long way in tracing the behavioural trends of youth in various environments and from different life orientations so as to come out with the best approaches of dealing with the youth engaging in drinking alcohol.

This research also targets to unravel the correlation between the youth who drink and unemployment. It will therefore encourage further researches to seek deeper understanding of the youth behaviour in relation with the drinking of alcohol. The findings therefore will seek solutions to the problem of youth drinking by providing solutions in the addressing and interventions measures to assist the youth and to safeguard future generations.

The findings of this study would also assist NACADA and other institutions to carry out further research on the problem of youth alcoholism.

1.6 Scope and limitations of the study

The study targeted out of school youth who were not in formal employment, full time business or profitable farming or any other sustainable income venture. The study included those youth who were married but within the age bracket of 15-25 years, being the age after circumcision at which they either drop out of school or complete primary or secondary school and go out to seek employment.

The focus was on establishing the extent to which the unemployed youth were affected with illicit brew drinking, the motivating factors and their characteristics.

The study sought to ascertain their sources of income and the manner in which they sustained their drinking habits. It examined their levels and frequency and their behaviours when intoxicated.

The study also examined the interventions to the affected youth by their families, communities, government and other stakeholders and the effects on their health and other aspects of their life. To identify the interventions, Key Informants were interviewed who comprised: chief, assistant chiefs, police officer, village elders, church leaders and teachers. We also carried out case studies to understand the insights of the behaviour of the youth. The study aimed at identifying government intervention policies at the County and National levels and whether international standards were being applied to limit the problem of the unemployed youth indulgence in illicit brew drinking.

1.7 Definition of key terms

The study used the following terms, which were common and defined according to how they applied to the study.

Illicit brew: Refers to any type of intoxicating drink, which its sale or consumption is deemed illegal under the liquor regulating laws in Kenya.

Unemployed youth: These are youth aged between 15-25 years who have dropped out of school or completed school and who had no sustainable means of supporting their daily needs.

Alcoholism: This is a chronic and often progressive disease that includes problems controlling ones drinking habits, continuing to use alcohol even when it causes problems, drinking more to get the same effect or having withdrawal symptoms when one rapidly decreases or stops drinking. Indicators of alcoholism include; intolerance, withdrawal, loss of control, desire to stop but can't, neglecting other activities, alcohol takes up greater time, energy and focus and continued use despite negative consequences.

Addiction: It is a chronic brain disorder and not simply a behaviour problem caused by engaging in excessive drinking of alcohol. Indicators of addiction include; repeatedly neglecting responsibilities, alcohol use in dangerous situations, legal problems due to drinking, continued drinking despite relationship problems and drinking to de-stress.

Livelihood: Livelihood refers to ones means of securing the basic necessities of life of food, water, shelter and clothing. It also includes the capacity to acquire necessities in life for meeting the requirements of the self and his/her household on a sustainable basis.

Interventions: These are activities by stakeholders aimed at improving the status of the youth affected by alcoholism or prevent the youth from venturing into drinking of alcohol to revert the situation back to normal life.

Community: This is a social unit of any size that shares common values whose inhabitants reside in one or more adjacent villages inhabited by kinsmen and whose members are regulated by a common cultural and historical heritage.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature and theoretical framework. The literature, clarifies the effects of illicit brew use and interventions measures among the unemployed youth in Kenya and Bungoma county in particular. It covers historical aspects, levels of alcoholism, characteristics of the consumers, effects of drinking as well as intervention measures.

2.2 Historical background of alcohol

Alcohol has for centuries played an important part in people's lives that include; celebrations, settling disputes, during wars by soldiers as refreshment and during rituals among other functions. Oakley, (1993:29) observes that beverages existed in early Egyptian civilization and that there is evidence of an early alcoholic drink in China around 7000 B.C. In India, an alcoholic beverage called *Sura*, distilled from rice, was in use between 3000 and 2000 B.C. The Babylonians worshiped a wine goddess as early as 2700 B.C. In Greece, one of the first alcoholic beverages that gained popularity was *mead*, a fermented drink made from honey and water. In America, several Native civilizations developed alcoholic beverages in pre-Columbian times such as *Chicha*, which was a fermented beverage from the Andes region of South America prepared from corn, grapes, or apples.

In Britain, according to Lucia (1963:36) spirits were purposely used for medicinal purposes in the sixteenth century and that due to flooding of the spirits in the market, in early eighteenth century, the British Parliament passed a law discouraging the use of grain in their brewing. In the U.S.A., law was passed which prohibited the manufacture, sale, import, and export of intoxicating liquors in 1920. The prohibition encouraged illegal alcohol trade that flourished and by 1933, the prohibition was lifted (Oakley, 1993).

Obot (2000) similarly observed that alcohol controls globally led to emergence of beverages which either fell outside of the usual beer, wine and spirits categories or which were traditionally produced in villages and homes, common in many African countries. The brews were produced by fermentation of seeds, grains, fruits, vegetables or from palm trees.

Through fermentation, the alcohol content did not rise very high and often the beverages got spoilt after a short period. He observes further that some home or locally made beverages were cheaper than mass or factory produced branded beverages. This means that it was mostly the poorer segments of the society which consumed these local beverages, except in the case of some culturally important beverages like in Nigeria, which have ceremonial value.

Mustonen, et al (2001) notes that producers of brews are a heterogeneous group such as widows or divorced older women who resort to selling the brews as a means of sustaining their livelihoods.

These traditional forms of alcohol are usually poorly monitored for quality and strength and pose health consequences related to harmful impurities and adulterants. Extreme cases even result in death as the common case in Kenya where the brews laced with methanol and other dangerous additives such as car battery acid and formalin caused deaths to their consumers (Mureithi, 2002). Similar cases of poisoned brews were cited in Zimbabwe by Riley and Marshall (1999) and other African countries by WHO (2004).

It is clear that in some African countries illicit brew drinking have caused serious effects to the consumers as those engaged in their brewing for commercial reasons strive to make them more potent by adding poisonous adulterants to appeal to the drinkers.

2.3 Levels of alcohol drinking among the unemployed youth

Many young people drink in order to get drunk. Drunkenness is widely tolerated or positively approved by them. Drinking to get drunk does seem to be the pattern favoured by a substantial and growing majority of young people (Global Alcohol Policy Alliance, 2001). Studies have shown a high prevalence of drunkenness as well as the trend towards more drunkenness especially those involving the use of spirits among youths in many countries (Schmid, 2003). A comparative study conducted in six European Union (EU) countries found that in all the countries but one (Italy), young people showed a higher frequency of intoxication than their elders (Leifman, 2002). Another concern was the emergence of alcoholic carbonated drinks, more commonly called “Alco pops” in the market today. Given their marketing, cartoon-style labelling and sweet taste, many of the drinks targeted young people (McKibben, 1996) and concerns as to whether Alco pops acted as a bridge to stronger

alcohol products and/or reduced the age at which young people started consuming alcohol. Many drinkers have quite complex patterns of drinking. Midanik and Room (1992), provide the following pattern of a week's drinking by a relatively heavy-drinking respondent in U.S.A:

- a. One drink after work on Monday with a work client;
- b. Two drinks with family at dinner on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday;
- c. No drinks on Wednesday;
- d. Eight drinks at a party on Friday night;
- e. Two drinks on a Saturday afternoon while relaxing in the backyard;
- f. Four drinks out at dinner with friends on Saturday evening; and
- g. No drinks on Sunday.

According to Brooks (2001), each level of alcohol intoxication affects the body in different ways and includes its emotional and its physical state. Brooks points out three levels of alcoholism: low levels of Intoxication is when the blood alcohol is between 0.01- 0.03, and this level is legally accepted until when the blood alcohol level reaches 0.08, one is considered legally drunk.

Brooks further states that a moderate level of intoxication is when the blood alcohol level is between 0.09 and 0.125 when a person shows impaired speech, poor balance, blurry vision and delayed reaction time. The motor coordination is delayed and judgment skills are reduced.

Brooks also states that, at high Levels of Intoxication, blood alcohol level rises between 0.16 and 0.20 and results in a strong feeling of dysphonia and nausea and the drinker may experience inability to continue drinking. The effects of the alcohol on the body becomes obvious and the drinker is visibly intoxicated, needs help when walking and gets mentally confused. The feeling of dysphonia and nausea continues and vomiting may occur. Blood alcohol levels of 0.30 result in a loss of consciousness and above 0.40 the drinker will have sweaty skin and may slip into a coma or die due to respiratory arrest or will be unable to cough out the vomit ending up blocking the airways.

According to Brooks, Blood alcohol levels are the most accurate way to find out how much alcohol is in the body. Its best-known use has been based on the categories of drinking traits of pure alcohol consumption per day.

The studies show that the higher the level of alcohol consumption, the higher the proneness to effects. Such effects have not been studied especially in Bungoma and one to be examined by this study.

2.4 Characteristics of the consumers

The rate of alcoholism consumption in the world has been experiencing persistent change with a recent United Nations (2013) study indicating that one consumer in five is between the ages of 15 and 24 years. The study shows that the population of the less developed regions is still young, with children under the age of 15 accounting for 26 per cent of the population and young persons aged 15 to 24 accounting for a further 17 per cent. The numbers of children and young people in the less developed regions are high- 1.7 billion children and 1.1 billion young people, posing a major challenge for their countries, which are faced with the necessity of providing them with education and employment. The study further showed that in contrast, in more developed regions, children and the youth account for 16 and 12 per cent of the population, respectively.

According to Ndeti (2006), Cultural norms strongly influence drinking patterns and the age at which one is allowed to drink is significant. He further observes that in most African communities, there are sanctions against excessive women's drinking and that the drinking mates for instance share emotional feelings that provide social interactions and group solidarity.

According to Mwenesi (1996), consumption of traditional beverages was widespread during the pre-colonial period and exhibited several unique features. First, the indigenous drinks were fermented, not distilled. Sorghum and millet beers and palm wine dominated, generally ranging between 2% and 4% of alcohol by volume (ABV). Alcohol production and consumption tended to be highly seasonal, especially with respect to the grain-based beers and mostly associated with male elders, who held the highest status in Africa's rural communities. During this period, the consumption of low-alcohol drinks, during special community-wide ceremonies and occasions marking life cycle passage, was an important

social experience.

A study of teenagers in 10 developed and developing countries, conducted by Daniel (2013) found little evidence of a generation gap between drinking youth and their parents. However, a striking finding was the gender gap between boys and girls. Boys expressed greater self-confidence, less vulnerability, and more happiness, pride and a subjective sense of well-being than did girls. The study indicated that two thirds of the world's children who never went to school or who dropped out before completion were girls. As a result, adult women made up two thirds of the one billion people who were illiterate at that time. However, according to UN statistics (2013), more boys than girls attend secondary school in 25 countries and that enrolment in higher education was growing faster for young women than men. In Latin America the rate is ten times higher for women than for men. In general, there are more women enrolled in colleges and universities in developed and developing countries, Latin America and the Caribbean, and South-Eastern and Western Asia than in Sub-Saharan countries.

According to Sher (2005) a study of psychological characteristics of children of alcoholics (COA's), states that more than 20 years before the study, COAs appeared to be affected by a variety of problems over the course of their life span. The problems included foetal alcohol syndrome, which is first manifested in infancy: emotional problems and hyperactivity in childhood, and the development of alcoholism in adulthood. The Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Weekly (1999 September, 6) noted that children living in two parent household with a poor relationship with their father were 68% more likely to smoke, drink, or use other drugs compared to their counterparts in similar households. Teens in single mother households were at a 30% higher risk than those in two-parent households. Even after controlling for community context, there was significantly more drug use among children who did not live with their mother and father (Hoffman, 2002).

2.5 Types of illicit brews

Illicit brews is a generic term for alcoholic beverages prepared in rural homes made throughout the globe from indigenous ingredients reflecting the customs, tastes, and raw materials for fermentation available in each region. Riley (1999) notes that the term frequently applies to small-scale production and that all over the world, various communities

engage in illicit brewing from the available foodstuffs through either fermentation or distillation.

Midanik and Room (1992), observe that in North and South America, the indigenous people prepare illicit brews through fermentation and distillation. In Brazil distillation is carried out traditionally in rural homes. Artisanal liquors (especially *cachaça* made on small farms) tend to be of good quality and prized by collectors. One form that can be qualified as illicit brew is known as *Maria Louca* (Crazy Mary), made in jails by inmates from many cereals, ranging from beans to rice or whatever could be converted into alcohol, including fruit peels or candy, using improvised and illegal equipment. In Panama and Peru, illicit brews comprising of *Chirrisco* and *chichi* have been allowed and even children permitted to drink them.

Leifman (2001) says that in Europe, distilled illicit alcohol is prepared mostly by rural communities. In Russia, *Somogon* made from malted grain and similar to whisky is mostly preferred, while Germany's favourite brew prepared from fruits is *Schwarzgebrannter* while in France the brews included: *pear, plum, and mirabelle*.

Liefman further says that in Asia, most of the illicit alcohol is distilled from fermented rice. For example, in India locally produced illicit brews consist of: *tharra* made by fermenting the mash of sugar cane pulp, *Toddy* (or *taddy*) made from the sap of palm trees, and *arrack* from fermented fruit juices and the sap of the palm tree.

In Africa, illicit brews are fermented through the use of maize, millet, sugar and fruits. In some instances palm sap is tapped and fermented to produce brews. For example in Nigeria home brews include: *ogogoro, kai-kai, kainkain* and *Abua* (first eleven). In Uganda, bananas are used to prepare homemade brews like *Waragi tonto, mwenge, murumba, marwa, kweete* and *musooli*.

NACADA (2011) notes that in Kenya, illegal alcohol include *busaa, mnazi, karubu, muratina* and *changaa*. The Kikuyu of Kenya brewed and still brew *muratina* from honey and sugarcane while the people at the Kenyan Coast have their *mnazi* fermented from the coconut fruit. In Eastern Kenya the Kamba drink *uki*, brewed from fermented sugar or honey while *chang'aa* is widely brewed and is the drink of the poor in rural areas and city slums.

According to the Daily Nation Newspaper (2014, May 9), drinking of Kenya's brews traditionally was harmless but due to commercialization of the brews, more so *chang'aa*, some poisonous chemicals like formalin, battery acid and methanol are added to make them more potent. *Changaa* has been known to cause blindness and death in various parts of the country. This has been associated with unscrupulous adulteration by sellers who want to give the beverage more potency like adding battery acid. The drinking of the brew is so widespread in Kenya to the extent of the government having little control and has considered legalization to avert deaths. In Bungoma County, busaa and chang'aa are mostly brewed by women due to availability of maize, millet and sugar/molasses from Nzoia Sugar Factory found in the locality. It is the effect of these brews that are examined by this study.

2.6 Effects of Alcohol

There is widespread agreement that health and well-being of many young people in the contemporary societies are seriously threatened by use of alcohol. Worries have arisen as emerging trends in consumption are starting to permeate youth culture, showing increasing signs of transcending national boundaries. WHO (2004) observes that there appears to be an international pattern towards a more pleasure-seeking attitude to drinking through the use of alcohol for its pleasurable psychological effects.

According to a study by Global Alcohol Policy Alliance (2001), associated with this is a trend of increased drinking to intoxication. Increased drinking and intoxication in young people has been observed in countries such as France and Spain in which drunkenness was traditionally rare. In the Mediterranean countries, changes in drinking styles are associated with changes in beverage preferences and beer replacing wine as the main beverage of choice for young people. There is emerging evidence that this change of beverage preference is linked to the increasing spread and popularity of Anglo-Irish style pubs across Europe and Internationally.

The U.S.A Department of Health and Human Services (2000) noted that alcohol use has been associated with increased risk of injury in a wide variety of settings including road traffic accidents (vehicles, bicycles, and pedestrians), falls, fires, injuries related to sports and recreational activities, self-inflicted injuries or injuries resulting from interpersonal violence.

Fuller (1995) and Li et al (1997) observe that the presence of alcohol in the body at the time of injury may be associated with greater severity of injury and less positive outcomes. Other effects are violent behaviour and suicides as well as impairing the drinkers' ability to think and proneness to emotional responses.

Windle (1999) observes that alcohol use among adolescents co-occurs with a range of other risky behaviours including tobacco use, sexual activity, violence, and reckless driving. Similarly suicide based on data collected from more than 4,000 adolescents (ages 13 to 18 years) by Johnson (2000) reported strong relationships between alcohol drinking and smoking.

Community anti-drugs coalitions of America (CADCA) (2009) study carried out on correlation between rapid rise in unemployment and alcohol abuse found that a rise of 3 per cent in unemployment is associated with a 28 per cent alcohol abuse in the younger population.

According to WHO (2014), about 25% of liquor in the world is produced illegally, most of which contribute to about 200 diseases including: Cancer and risk to the foetus when the mother consumes alcohol during pregnancy as well as heart and blood related diseases. The report attributes to about 3.3 million deaths worldwide to alcohol in 2012. Global Burden of Disease (GBD) (2010) found that alcohol was the fifth leading risk factor for death and disability globally, accounting for 3.9% of disabilities.

It is clear that the negative effects of alcohol on the well-being of youth is continuous and are to be examined in detail by this study.

2.7 Alcohol reduction interventions

Heise's (2013) study notes that UN agencies: United Nations Children's Education Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) reached consensus on the following five major interventions to promote youth health:

- a. Create a safe and supportive environment;
- b. Provide information;

- c. Build skills;
- d. Provide counselling; and
- e. Improve health services;

The UN agencies found from experience that the active involvement of young people was one of the most important principles of successful efforts aimed at improving their health.

In Kenya, several intervention measures have been initiated by the government and other stakeholders as noted by NACADA (2011) including; the need for advancing Anti-Drug Abuse (ADA) research in Kenya, the need for peer reviewed journal of ADA in Kenya to serve as an avenue for information sharing, media involvement in the campaign including reporting of ADA findings, regular information sharing forums held by NACADA, collaboration and networking ventures to improve quality, promote knowledge transfer, and avoid duplication of efforts, funding for ADA research and utilization of research findings by regularly updating all players such as youth groups and civil society.

The government had also established initiatives to create jobs and empower the youth for instance, the Kenya Youth Empowerment Program (KYEP) whose component on Private Sector Internships and Training program (2010-2014) addresses issues raised by Kenyan employers, especially lack of skills and work experience for the disadvantaged youth. The Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) targets to provide job training and internships to 10,000 youth aged between 15-29 years, who had a minimum of 8 years of schooling, were out of school for at least one year and are not working (GoK 2008c). The intervention measures for the youth include; creation of internships in the private sector, provision of training designed by employers relevant to the work experience, training of Master Craftsmen (Informal Sector) and enhancement of skills for mentors.

The government also rolled out the Youth Employment programme in 2000 to provide Youth employment mainly focused on public works programs, entrepreneurial development and improvement in their skills. One of the youth targeted Agencies for the skills development programmes is the National Youth Service (NYS) as an avenue for acquisition of practical life and employment skills. The NYS offers training on vocational, technical and professional skills. It also acts as a recruitment force for the Kenya Armed Forces and undertakes

rehabilitation and training of disadvantaged and orphaned youth (GoK 2008c). The NYS admits an estimated 3,500 service men and women per year in artisan, craft and diploma courses.

While, Kenyatta National Hospital (KNH) (2005) study on patients admitted with cases of drinking poisonous illicit brews recommended the following interventions through inter-sectoral approach by the Government: the then Ministry of Public Health was to create “Rehabilitation Centres” or a ‘Helpline’ to handle emergencies on illicit brew calamities and Government was to prioritize mental health services to encourage youth and families to seek counselling, particularly those who had a genetic predisposition or inborn intolerance to the effects of alcohol.

The Star Newspapers (2013, June 21) reported that in the study area of Bungoma County, sensitization by leaders against alcohol drinking was carried out in addition to the police carrying out arrests of the brewers and the drinkers.

These and other interrelated alcohol consumption measures have not been adequately studied in Bungoma County and are hence examined by this study.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

In this study, three theories were used to explain illicit brew consumption by unemployed youth: Social learning, Symbolic Interaction, and the deviance theories.

2.8.1 Social learning theory

According to Bandura and Walters (1963), change in behaviour could be observed to occur without being connected to a specific trend of positive or negative influence. The social learning process therefore can be defined as one where a person acquires new information and forms of behaviour or attitudes from other persons. The theory perceives imitation as a mental process in an attempt to resolve the crisis of autonomy versus the shame and doubt. This theory can further be explained through classical, social learning, instrumental conditioning and social comparison.

In classical conditioning, a form of learning, a stimulus initially neutral, acquires the

capacity to evoke reactions through repeated pairing with another stimulus (Baron, 2005). The role of classical conditioning to the youth drinking alcohol could be attributed to their being conditioned to engage in drinking as a result of observing repeated actions of drinking by members of the community or the family to the extent of their mind being conditioned that drinking is not bad.

Social learning can also be through observation, where a person acquires a new form of behaviour or thought through observing others (Bandura, 1997). Through this process, a youth may drink alcohol the way his/her parents do and not as they say. This process of learning is also imparted to the youth through the influence of the print and electronic media, films, peer groups and the community.

Instrumental conditioning is a process through which children are appreciated by parents due to positive outcomes (Baron, 2005). For instance, a child being encouraged to use *busaa* drink for breakfast with potatoes will grow up knowing that *busaa* drinking is good as it was approved by parents. In this case therefore a youth will grow up drinking alcohol as it is viewed as a positive action.

The social comparison means social learning is the process through which people compare themselves to others in order to determine whether their view of social reality is or is not correct (Festinger, 1954). In this case the youth tend to compare their views with those of their contemporaries that make them change their attitudes about alcohol. This is where peer pressure plays out by influencing the youth to start drinking with others who are like-minded.

2.8.2 Symbolic Interaction Theory

According to symbolic interaction theory by Mead (1971 page 19), people consider and even rehearse what they intend to do. It further states that human behaviour is directed by people who make meaning out of other people's actions, modify meanings and consequently interpret the meanings. The interpretation enables them to emulate other people's behaviour to harmonise their perceptions.

According to the theory, the unemployed youth, due to frustrations of joblessness may opt to seek social groups that share similar problems with them. In this case therefore the youth may

view the other unemployed youth who have been seeking jobs as role models and chooses to emulate their behaviour. According to the theory, the youth to be influenced will start by rehearsing through secret drinking of alcohol until they get addicted and in the process harmonise their thinking with their models in the group.

2.8.3 The deviance theory

The deviance theory was advanced by Durkheim (1952) who noted that some conditions that contributed to normlessness consisted of rapid social change and unexpected economic crises that interfered with the normal functioning of the society in situation where there was no alternative and effective means of controlling the society. The change in behaviour therefore led to moral uncertainty and failure to conform to customary expectations. The theory explains various situations that eventually culminate in disintegration of societal norms. According to Durkheim, society is vital in maintaining order as in the case of youth indulging in alcoholism, implying that their engagement in alcohol drinking illustrates - the breakdown of societal norms and regulations - a situation which Durkheim referred to as a state of normlessness.

Drinking that is seen as excess by the community is perceived as deviant behaviour. According to Lindesmith (1947), alcoholic addicts are social deviants and are viewed in society as deviating from the social norms and customs by the older generation. This is due to the way the drinking of alcohol was regulated that limited the youth in indulging in alcoholism. Therefore, the sudden shift in behaviour of the youth indulgence in alcoholism is seen as unusual as such termed as an act of defiance.

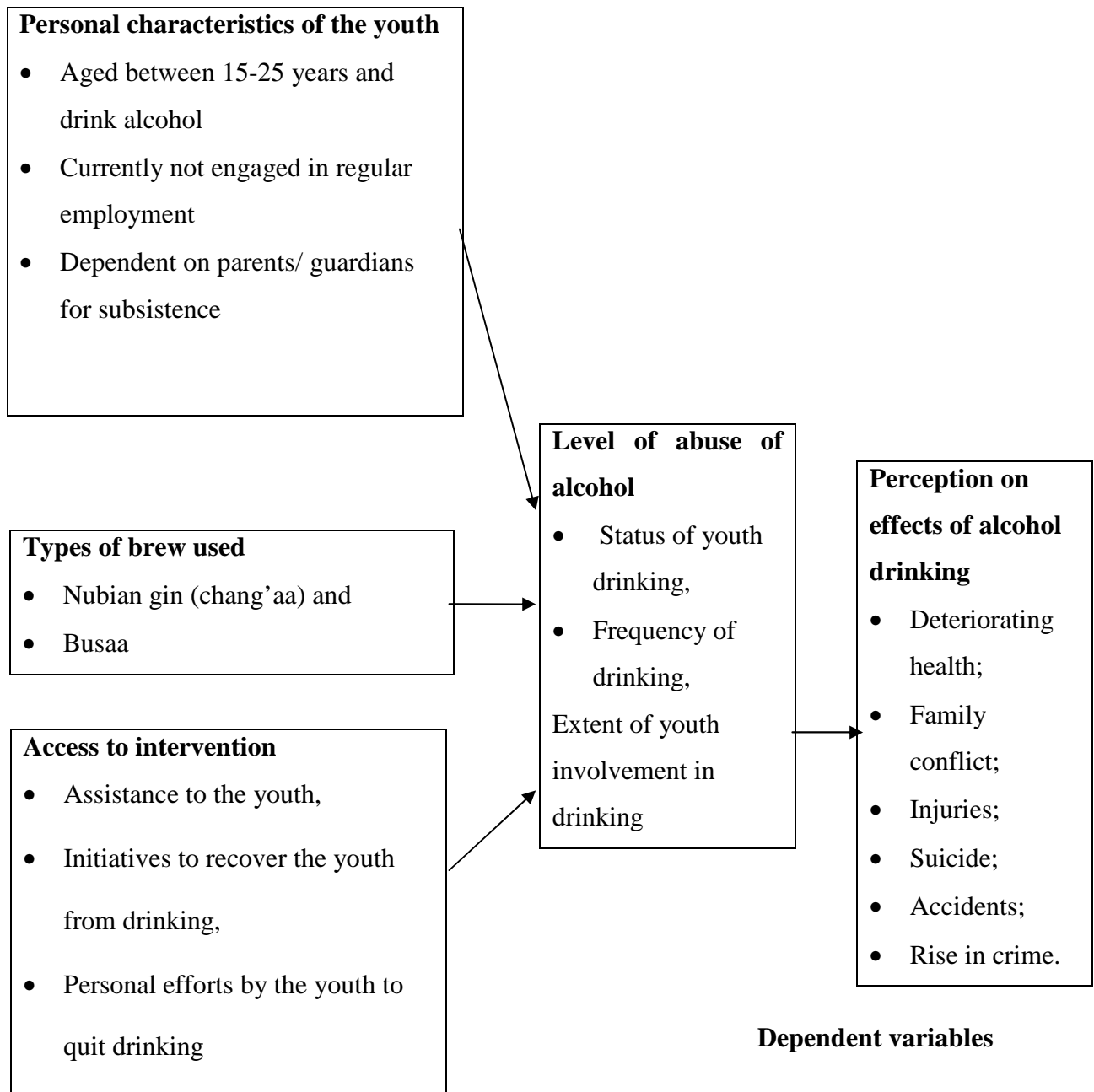
Mwenesi (1996) observes that in contemporary society, the youth rarely get mentorship from parents and tend to socialize with their peers who influence their behaviour. Therefore, failure to conform to behaviour that resonates with the society norms lead to deviant behaviours among them engaging in drinking. Further, the regulation of drinking etiquette is abused leading to addiction. Lack of mentorship on the society's norms provides weak structures making the youth vulnerable to influence of deviant behaviours. Such behaviour has been illustrated through unregulated and excessive drinking and abandoning of gender roles.

These theories are important to this study as they provide insights about alcoholic behaviour of youth of both gender and how they can benefit behaviour change through interventions by various agencies aimed at assisting them to recover and cautioning others to abstain from indulging in alcoholism.

2.9 Conceptual Framework

The effects of illicit brew and intervention measures among the unemployed youth in Bungoma County has been influenced by various factors. The dependent variables in this study therefore are “effects of alcohol drinking” and “levels of alcohol abuse.” The independent variables are: personal characteristics, types of brew used and access to intervention measures (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework



Independent variables

2.10 Operational definitions of variables of study

According to Singleton (1988:72), a variable is defined as a concept that changes, by assuming different values or attributes. The variables of this study are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: Operationalization of Variables and indicators

Type of variables	Study variables	Measurement indicator
Dependent variables	Level of abuse of Alcohol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Status of youth drinking, • Frequency of drinking, • Reasons advanced for drinking, • Extent of youth involvement in drinking
	Perceptions of effects of Alcohol use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deteriorating health due to heavy drinking of illicit brew and poor eating • Indulging in criminal activities • Injuries in fighting and accidents • Indulgence in crime • participate in family conflicts
Independent variables	Personal Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not engaged in any employment marital status • Between age 15 and 25 and drink alcohol • Dependent on parents/ guardians in the village • level of education and training
	Access to interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assistance to the youth • Initiatives to recover the youth from drinking • Personal efforts by the youth to quit drinking
	Types of illicit brew	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Types of illicit brews drunk by the youth • Rating of illicit brews preferences by the youth • Influences of gender and culture towards drinking of alcohol

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains methodological aspects of this study. It describes the selection of area of research and the respondents as well as data collection and analysis.

3.2 Study Site

Data used in this study was collected in Bungoma County. The County is located in Western Kenya and stretches along the Kenya-Uganda border with a population of 1,375,063 (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), 2010) and an area of 3,032 km². The County borders Busia, Kakamega and Trans Nzoia Counties. It lies between latitude 0 25.3' and 0 53.2' North and longitude 34 21.4' and 35 04' East. The temperature ranges between a minimum of 15 degrees with an upper maximum of 30 degrees centigrade with an average rainfall of 1500 mm per annum. The area's climate favours agriculture especially food production. Two main tarmac roads traverse the County: Webuye-Bungoma-Malaba highway and the Webuye-Kitale road which links the county to Trans Nzoia and other counties which provide a passage to the neighbouring country of Uganda.

Bungoma County was purposively selected for this study due to rampant cases of illicit brews reported in the media. About 60 percent of the population live in abject Poverty line, being one of the highest in the country (KNBS, 2010). Majority of the inhabitants of the area comprise of the Bukusu sub tribe of the larger Luhya tribe. Unlike most other Luhya sub tribes, the Bukusu still practice several traditional rites where the participants consume illicit brews. These practices have entrenched a culture of illicit brew drinking, for example, during circumcision rites that are practiced every two years. There are rampant cases of illicit brewing and frequent arrests by the police. A number of casual cane cutters for Nzoia sugar factory comprising mostly of youths, engage in the illicit brew drinking. Majority of the inhabitants plant sugar cane for Nzoia sugar factory and receive their payments after about two years. Most of the other time they depend on casual employment while some families resorted to illicit brew selling to sustain their families.

Bungoma East Sub County having the highest poverty rate at 60 percent (KNBS, 2010) and

large numbers of school dropouts who are prone to illicit brew drinking was purposively chosen as the sub site of this study.

3.3 Research design

The study was exploratory and focused on youth aged 15-25 that were engaged in drinking alcohol, effects of the drinking on their well-being and potential intervention measures. In this case the stimulus (alcohol drinking) had already occurred. We set out to find the level of its occurrence, characteristic of youth engaged in it and effects of drinking on their well-being. We also examined intervention measures that existed and potential for strengthening them.

3.4 Sampling of the sub sites

The County comprises of the following 9 Sub counties: Bungoma central; Bungoma/Kimilili; Bungoma west; Bungoma south; Bungoma east; Mt. Elgon; Sirisia; Tongaren and Bumula sub-counties.

Bungoma East sub-county comprising of 7 wards were; Misikhu, Sitikho, Matulo, Bokoli, Mihuu, Ndivisi and Maraka purposively selected because of the high incidences of poverty and illicit brewing. In consultation with the chiefs of the wards, Misikhu was purposively selected owing to low livelihood opportunities mainly in the form of maize farming, widespread poverty, famine and cases of school dropouts.

The ward comprised of 3 sub locations: Misikhu, Sirende and Mukhe with a total of 48 villages from which 6 villages were purposively selected depending on the number of the targeted respondents available in consultation with the chief and assistant chiefs. Each village was estimated to have 50 homesteads giving a total of 300.

To be able to trace the youth who drink alcohol for interview, the researcher involved each village elder (*mukasa*) from the 6 selected villages to identify from their villages homesteads with youths who were unemployed and drunk alcohol. The researcher in consultation with the elders compiled lists of 14-17 homesteads from each village who drunk alcohol and this gave a total of 93 who constituted the sample for this study (Table 2). The sampled youth were contacted with the help of the village elders and interviewed using an interview schedule.

Where a youth on the list was not found, a replacement for another one was done with the help of the village elder.

Table 2 samples sub sites and youth respondents.

Table 2: Misikhu Ward: Summary of sampled units

Sub Locations	Villages	Sampled villages	Estimated Households in the sampled villages	Sampled Households with youth drinking alcohol
Misikhu	24	Mirende	50	17
		Sabana	50	16
Mukhe	12	Manani	50	15
		Makhonge	50	14
Sirende	12	Mutekho	50	15
		Bunang'eni	50	16
Total	48	6	300	93

*We were not able to establish the actual number of homesteads per village, but from our discussions with the elders (Bakasa) and our own knowledge of the area, we estimated each village to have about 50 homesteads.

Case studies

Three (3) case studies of the youth who were more alcoholic were purposively selected through assistance of some of the village elders and interviewed in depth using an interview guide.

Key Informants

Thirteen (13) Key Informants were purposively selected by the researcher from among the community leaders and includes: the Chief, 3 assistant chiefs, 6 village elders, pastor, headmaster of one school and a police officer.

Direct observations

The author while interviewing the youth in the villages, visited market places and some drinking joints of illicit brews and directly observed some of them in their natural environment.

3.5 Data collection and Analysis

Sources of data

Secondary data were collected from literature reviewed including journals, books, newspapers, NACADA publications, internet sources and research reports. The data was vital as it showed the nature and the extent of the problem and at the same time complemented the primary data.

Primary data was gathered from the field by visiting and interviewing the sampled youth, Key Informants and case studies using interview schedule and guides.

Direct observations were carried out in the Natural environment of the study area especially at the shopping centres of Makhese, Mukhe, Sirende, Lugulu and Misikhu to understand the behaviour of the sampled youth. Visits were also carried out to some drinking joints of illicit brews to observe the youth's behaviour in a field notebook. The researcher recorded the observation of any a unique behaviour. The researcher also observed and noted the drinking by gender, mode of socialising during drinking and any violent behaviour whenever it occurred.

Three (3) case studies were purposively sampled, from the villages of the study and comprised of youth seriously affected with illicit brew drinking. This was done through the assistance of elders. The youth were contacted and interviewed in depth at places, which were convenient to them.

3.6 Tools used for data collection

Interview Schedule

The Interview schedule with closed and open-ended questions was administered through face-to-face interview with the respondents by the researcher and the three research assistants. They were guided in the filling of the interview schedule and others who were unable to do so were asked questions and answers recorded.

Interview guides

The 13 Key Informants were contacted and interviewed at their offices and village elders such as village elders at their homes, using the prepared interview guide. The interview guide

contained questions touching on the five objectives of the study namely; levels of drinking, characteristics of the youth drinkers, types of brews drunk, effects of drinking and interventions that targeted the drinking youth.

3.7 Data analysis

The raw data was categorized into qualitative and quantitative types. Quantitative data was coded and analysed through the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) using descriptive statistics such as percentages. Qualitative data were analysed descriptively.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, data is presented on the basis of the objectives of the study. Data on levels of drinking are presented followed by characteristics of the unemployed youth and other variables of the study. The data are presented using tables, graphs, pie and bar charts.

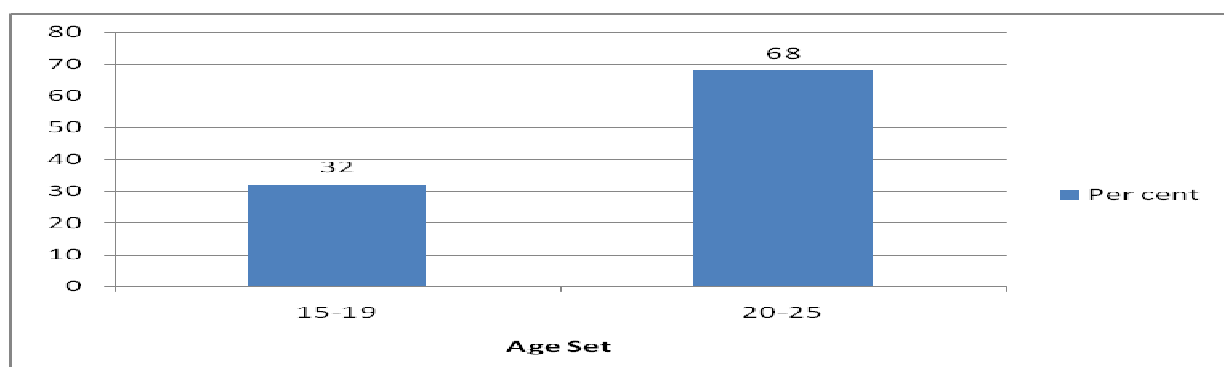
4.2 Personal characteristics of the respondents

The first objective of this study was to investigate the characteristics of the unemployed youth engaged in drinking of illicit brews which included: Age, gender, marital status, level of education, religious denomination and marital status.

4.2.1 Age of the respondents

Figure 3 shows the distribution of the respondents categorized in various age sets. Majority of them were in the age category of between 20-25 years (68%) and 15-19 years (32 %) respectively. According to one Key Informant (village elder), “drinking of busaa by children as young as five years was allowed in some homesteads. He further said that passage of rite for boys into manhood among the Bukusu community was done from early age of below 15 years from where they were initiated into manhood.” The findings implied that alcohol was part of passage of rite for youth into manhood and could partly explain their drinking behaviour later in life.

Figure 2: Distribution of the respondents by their age



n=93

4.2.2 Gender of the respondents

The respondents in this research comprised of males of 65.4% while females were 34.6% giving a ratio of about 2:1. Therefore, the study found that more than two thirds of the youth drinking illicit brews were males as compared to females.

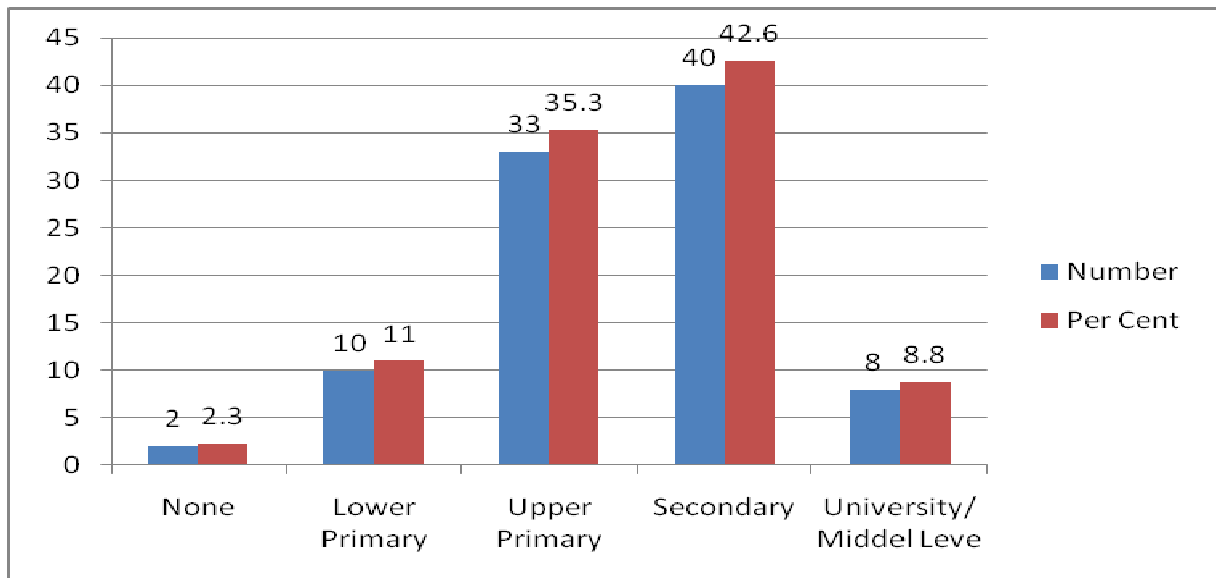
Table 3: Distribution of the respondents by their gender

Gender	Number	Per cent
Male	61	65.4
Female	32	34.6
Total	93	100

4.2.3 Educational levels of the respondents

Figure 4 shows that 42.6% of the respondents had attained secondary school, 35.3% had upper primary, 11% had lower primary, 8.8% had university and tertiary while 2.3% had never attended school. This implied that more of the respondents had secondary and upper primary educational qualifications.

Figure 3: Distribution of respondents by education levels



n=93

4.2.4 Religion of the respondents

Table 6 showed that majority of the respondents worshiped in Catholic Church (42.2%),

followed by Pentecostal (35%), Anglican (12.3%), African Inland Church (4.7%), Muslim (0.7%) and 5.1% did not respond to the question. One Key Informant, (church minister) said, “most homesteads in the study area go to catholic church that includes the youth due to among other reasons the relaxed restrictions on alcohol drinking.”

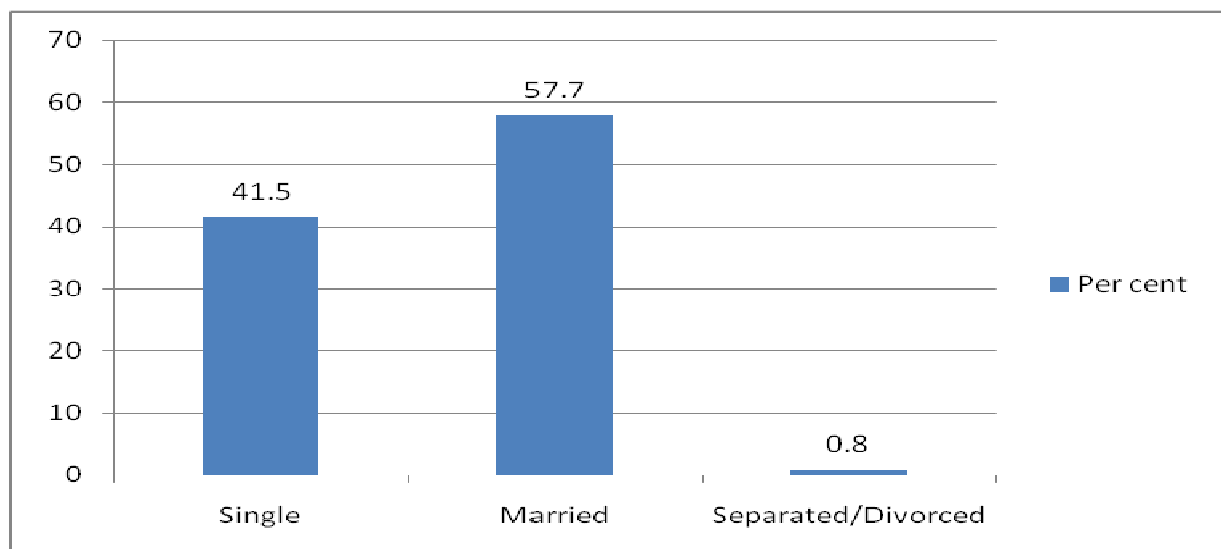
Table 4: Distribution of Respondents by Religious denominations

Type of Religion	Number	Per cent
Catholic	39	42.2
Anglican	11	12.3
Pentecostal	33	35
African Inland Church	4	4.7
Muslim	1	0.7
Non Response	5	5.1
Total	93	100

4.2.5 Marital status of the respondents

Majority of the respondents were married (59%), 41.5% were single while 0.8% were either separated or divorced. One Key Informant (pastor) cited “female church members complaining of frustration arising from alcoholic husbands.” This therefore implies that more of the married youth engaged more in drinking than those who were unmarried.”

Figure 4: Distribution of the respondents by their marital status



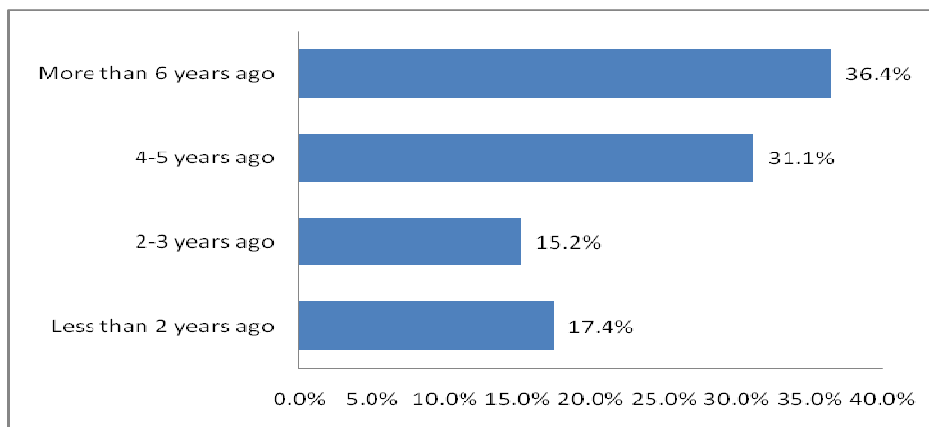
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4.2.6 Distribution of the respondents by the period the respondents were out of school

The study indicated that the respondents left school at least 6 years ago (36.4%), 4-5 years (31.1%), 2-3 years (15.2%), while those who did so less than 2 years back were 17%.

One Key Informant (Chief) said “the drinking of school leavers was influenced by other youth who drank it.” This implied that those youth who had been out of school for a longer period indulged more in drinking and influenced others to do so than those who left school much later.

Figure 5: Distribution of the respondents by their period of leaving school

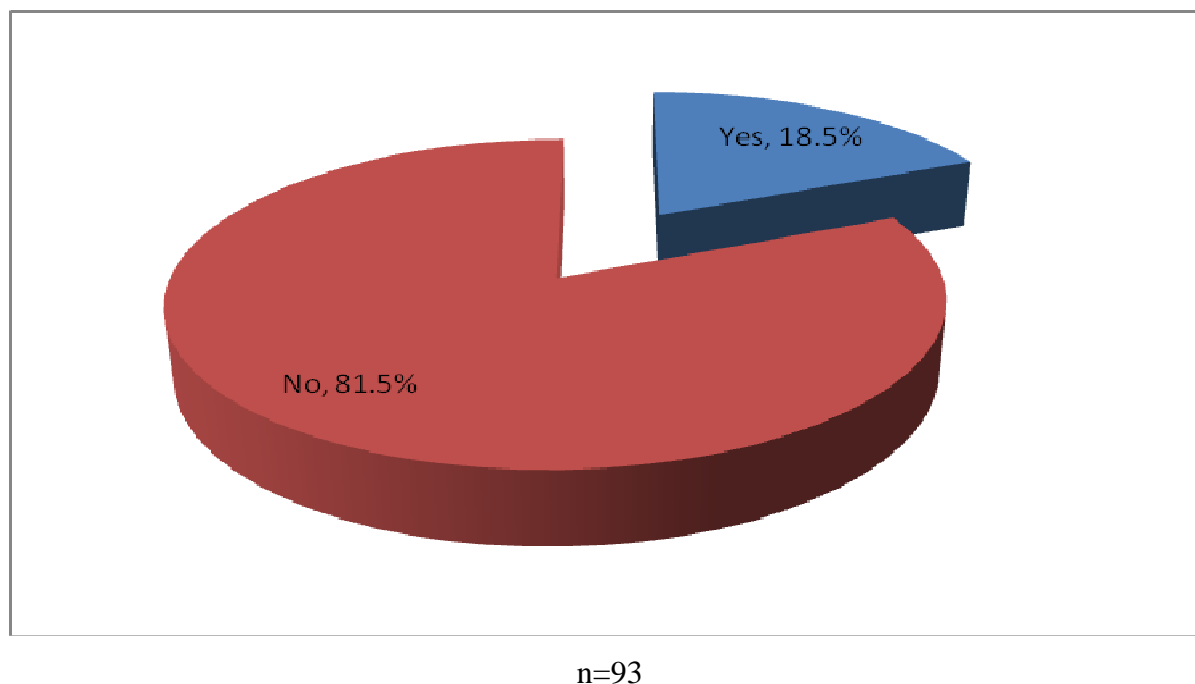


n=93

4.2.7 Training received by the respondents

Figure 7 shows that a majority of the respondents left school and had not attained any training (81.5%) as opposed to a small proportion with training (18.5%). One Key Informant (teacher) indicated that “most youth lacked funding to pursue training due to their poor family backgrounds.” This showed that most students leaving school and involved in drinking mostly lacked skills to secure employment.

Figure 6: Distribution of respondents by their training



4.2.8 Previous employment of the respondents

When asked whether they had been previously employed, majority of the respondents reported that they had not been previously employed (86.8%) while a smaller proportion had been employed (13.2%). One Key Informant (chief) said that “most of those youth who consumed alcohol and had attained training frequently lost employment through alcoholism”. This therefore implied that most school leavers could not secure jobs without further training and those trained and indulging in drinking could not sustain employment due to alcohol effects.

Table 5: Distribution of the respondents by their past employment

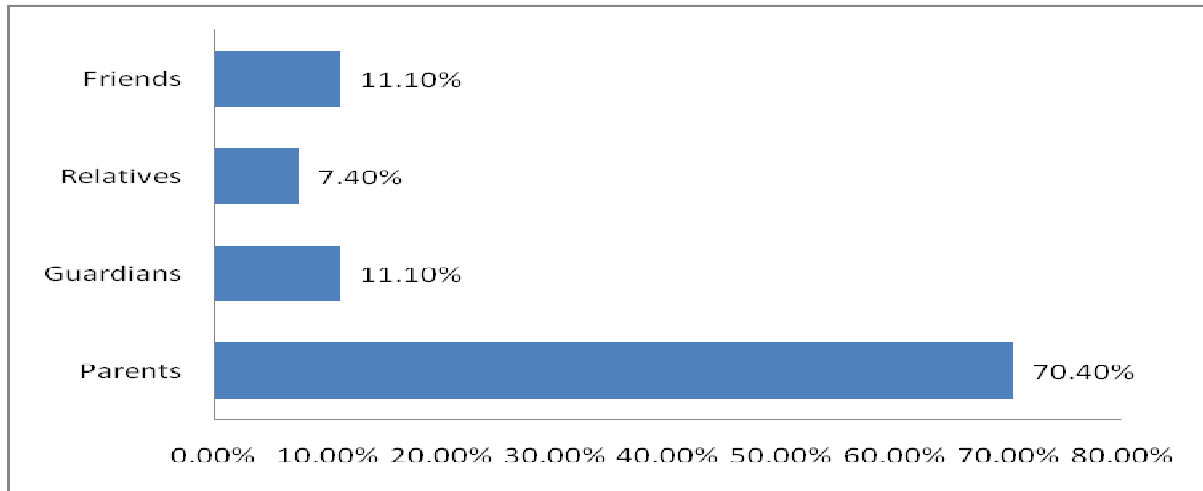
Status of past employment	Respondents	Per cent
Yes	12	13.2
No	81	86.8
Total	93	100

4.2.9 Level of dependency of the respondents

Figure 7 shows that majority of the respondents depended on parents (70.4%), followed by guardians (11.1%), friends (11.1%) and relatives (7.4%). This implied that most jobless youth indulging in alcohol drinking depended on their parents and other relatives for their

livelihoods and may have been a burden to them.

Figure 7: Distribution of respondents by their reports of dependence on parents and other relatives

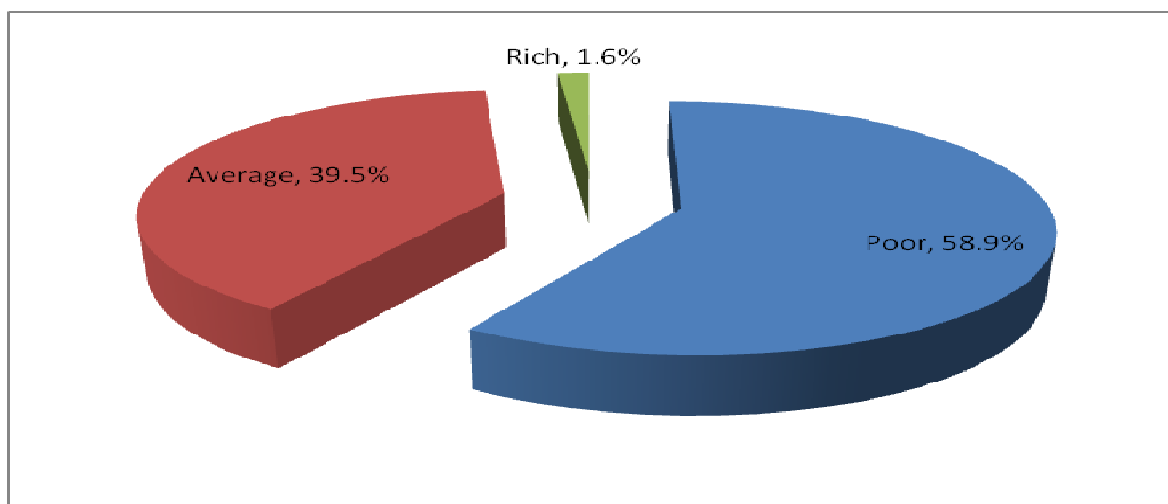


n=93

4.2.10 Family background of the respondents

When asked about their family backgrounds, the respondents' answers showed that majority were from poor (58.9%), average (39.5%) and 1.6% from rich families. One Key informant (village elder) said "there were few rich families in the community and that is why there were few cases of alcoholism of youth from such backgrounds." The findings show that most youth drinking alcohol were from poor or moderate family backgrounds.

Figure 8: Distribution of the respondents by their family backgrounds



n=93

4.2.11 Respondents' reports on their participation in supporting their livelihoods

When asked whether they engaged in any income generating activities to support their livelihoods, majority of them did not engage in supporting their livelihoods (55.2%) while 44.8% were involved in supporting their livelihoods. One Key Informant (village elder) said that “those who supported their livelihoods were mostly married and participated in small scale vegetable gardens, charcoal and brick-making among other activities.

Table 8: Distribution of the respondents by their reports on their participation in supporting their livelihoods

Participation in supporting livelihood	Frequency	Per cent
Yes	42	44.8
No	51	55.2
Total	93	100

Overall, there were more male than female who indulged in drinking alcohol due to culture that regulated female drinking habits. Most of the unemployed youth had dropped out of schools/colleges, making it difficult for them to secure employment and also were highly dependent on their families for their livelihoods. The youth also married early, probably influenced by the community perception of an adult. Most of them were from poor backgrounds.

4.2 Levels of alcohol drinking

The second objective of this study was to determine the levels of illicit brew abuse by the unemployed youth. The indicators of this variable were: status of youth drinking, frequency of drinking, reasons advanced for drinking, rating of youth drinking and levels of youth drinking in the community.

Among the 136 unemployed youth selected, 93 were aged between 15-25 years and unemployed, while 9 were below 15 years and 34 were either engaged in income generating activities deemed to be sustainable and/or were above 25 years. The researcher therefore selected the 93 respondents for this study and the focus of the data presented in forthcoming sections:

4.2.1 Frequency of alcohol drinking in a week

When asked how frequently the respondents drunk alcohol, majority replied they drunk at least 1-2 times a week (63%), 24% drunk at least daily and 13% drunk 3-4 times in a week (Table 3). One Key Informant (Assistant Chief) indicated that “majority of the youth in their respective areas drunk on daily basis and that they skipped only when constrained by money”. It was clear that majority of the respondents drunk at least twice per week and they did not do so when they lacked money.

Table 7: Distribution of respondents by frequency of their alcohol consumption

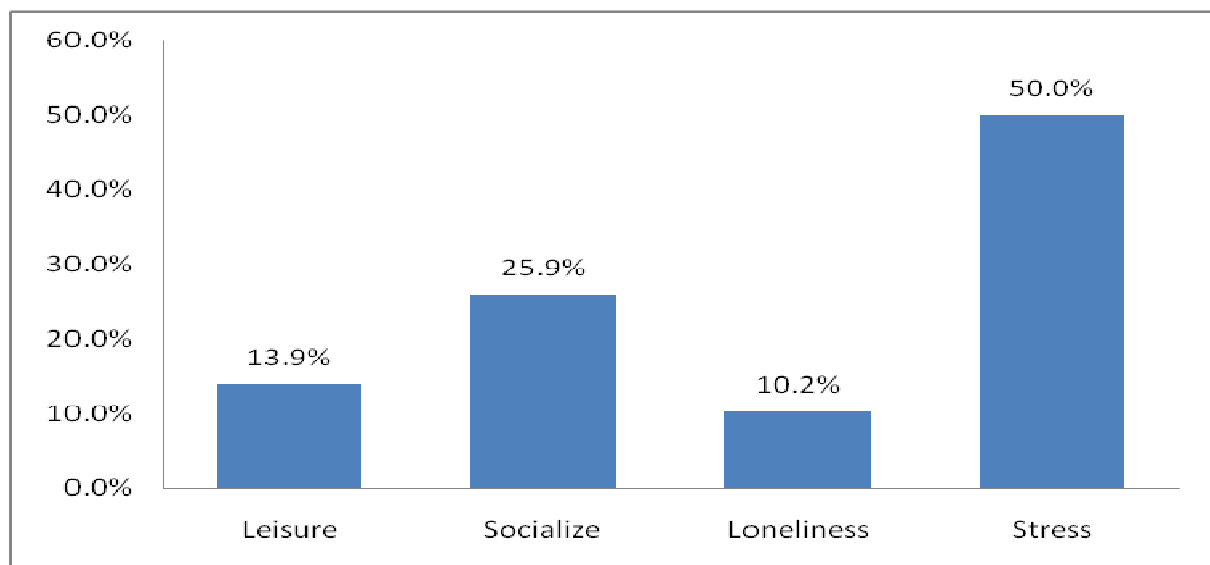
Regularity of drinking per week	Number	Percent
Daily	22	24
1-2 times a week	59	63
3-4 times a week	12	13
Total	93	100

4.2.2 Reasons for drinking

The youth interviewed attributed their drinking habits to stress (50%), 25.9% did so to socialize with others, 13.9% did so for leisure, while 10.2% drunk to avoid loneliness.

It was clear that majority of the youth drink due to stress (Figure 2).

Figure 9: Distribution of respondents by their reasons for drinking Alcohol



n=93

4.2.3 Youth Level of alcohol drinking

Asked on their level of drinking, 48.5% said they were moderate, 22.5% were high and 29% were low drinkers (Table 4). One Key Informant (Chief) rated the youth in the area as moderate drinkers who drunk almost on daily basis and that a few who got money for drinking had were seriously affected by drinking.

Table 8: Distribution of the respondents by their level of alcohol drinking

Personal rating of alcohol drinking	Number	Per cent
Low (1-2 times a week)	27	29
Moderate (3-4 times a week)	45	48.5
High (daily)	21	22.5
Total	93	100

It was clear that majority of the youth in the study area drunk alcohol with an insignificant number abstaining from drinking. Most respondents rated their drinking as moderate as opposed to the general high rating of drinking in the area and this therefore implied that the youth seemed to hide that they were high drinkers. This fact of high drinking was echoed by one Key Informants (chief) who said “that the youth were high drinkers but constrained by lack of money for drinking alcohol more frequently.”

4.4 Types of illicit brews

The third objective of this study was to find out types of illicit brews consumed. The indicators for this variable were: Drinking of chang’aa and busaa brews by the youth, brewing of chang’aa and busaa in the villages, preparation and sale of the brews in the villages.

Table 9: Distribution of respondents by their preferences of brews they drunk

Type of brew	Numbers	Per cent
Busaa	27	29
Changaa	53	57
Both	13	14
Total	93	100

4.4.1 Busaa

When asked about the types of brews consumed in the study site, one Key Informant (village elder) said that “mostly the brew consumed in the homes was busaa.” Figure 10 show that the respondents’ preference to busaa drinking was 29%. According to another Key Informant (police), “busaa was considered as a beverage since most members of households drink after work to refresh themselves and that it also boosted libido in both gender.” It was further stated that the brew was the primary brew from which other brews like kangara and chang’aa were prepared. Kangara is usually not consumed as it is seen as a raw product for preparing chang’aa. According to a Key Informant (village elder), busaa was prepared from maize and millet. He explained that the maize flour fermented for at least five days, roasted on fire and left to cool. The specially prepared millet flour in form of yeast was added to the roasted flour in a jar of water. The concoction then was covered and kept for 3 days to brew. The brew at this stage was ready for consumption.

The village elder said further that the brew was consumed in two forms: sieved using warm water and drunk in cups or put in a pot and mixed with warm water to dilute, where the patrons use siphons to drink the brew (see figure 10). The later mode of taking busaa was popular among the older generation. The measure for selling busaa was a 2 kilogram tin for kshs 50 and 1kg tin for kshs 25. One Key Informant (assistant chief) said that “an average consumer of busaa drinker a 2 kg tin, while a high drinker could take as much as 5 tins without getting drunk, preferring chang’aa instead as a measure to cut on expenditure of drinking.

Figure 10: Picture of youth and adults drinking busaa brew during circumcision ceremony in Mirende village



4.4.2 Chang'aa

Table 9 shows that majority of the respondents drunk chang'aa (57%). One Key Informant (assistant chief) said that “chang'aa was mostly preferred as it intoxicates faster than busaa and that it was believed to cure flue and stomach ailments like typhoid and diarrhoea. He said that it was prepared from busaa by sieving and adding molasses or sugar and left for about a week to brew to produce kangara that is used to extract it.” Another Key Informant (village elder) explained the process of chang'aa distillation where he said, “through distillation process, the pot with kangara half full was boiled. A clean pan was placed on a trapping inside the pot and a basin full of cold water placed on top of the pot, ensuring that the steam is secured. The cooling effect made the vapours to collect in the pan. It was

explained further that the collected brew was kept in 5 litres container to cool before being sold to the patrons or sold in wholesale to the retailers of the brew from various outlets.

The residue was further recycled to produce second grade chang'aa called "muna" by adding yeast and fermenting and adding sugar/ molasses to distil the brew. The second grade chang'aa was sold at half price or given for free to the reputable buyers. At this stage therefore, the first grade chang'aa was sold at kshs 90 per litre (bottle) and shs 30 per glass. Usually the glass was the standard measure as those who fear to be arrested by the police gulped a class of chang'aa quickly commonly called *one touch* and moved away. One Key Informant (village elder) said that "different consumers of chang'aa took in the following proportions to get drunk; high drinkers, 3-5 litres, moderate, 1-2 litres and low drinkers less than a glass of chang'aa."

One key informant (chief) said that "chang'aa was prepared and sold in some homesteads where the patrons also drunk the brew. Since the brews were sold illegally, the patrons maintained alertness, by strategically deploying young boys as watchers to alert the patrons to escape in case of the police attempt to arrest them. In some instances, the patrons drunk from the thicket fearing to expose the brewing homesteads to the authorities. The chief also disclosed that the brews were hidden in the sugar cane plantations usually in unhygienic conditions and that some instances had been told of rats and even snakes falling into busaa brew but removed and still served to the drinkers."

This study therefore implied that brewing and sale of chang'aa and busaa were rampant in the area and that the brews were popular among the locals despite the government effort to curb the drinking and brewing of the brews.

4.5 Respondents' perceptions of effects of drinking alcohol

The fourth objective of this study was to investigate the perception of the unemployed youth about effects of illicit brew drinking the indicators of this variable were effects on alcohol drinking on: health, body injury, suicide, early sex, crime, violence, family hostility, accidents, unemployment, early pregnancies, peer pressure, source of problems and rate of awareness.

When asked what effects alcohol consumption had on the youth the respondents replied that different proportions of the youth who drunk alcohol were exposed to a variety of effects including health (99%), hostility from family (99%), rarely got employed (97%) and suffered injuries (96%). While lowest responses were on committing suicide (40%), involved in accidents (45%) and caused serious problems in the community (53%).

Table 10: Distribution of respondents by effects of alcohol drinking to the youth

Effects	yes	No	Total
Have poor health	99	1	100*
Influence other youth to drink	79	21	100
Likely to engage in crime	72	28	100
Rarely get employed	97	3	100
Participated in family conflict	65	35	100
Most likely to be violent	75	25	100
Experience hostility from their families	99	1	100
Most likely to suffer injury	96	4	100
Mostly cause serious problems in the village	53	47	100
Mostly involved in accidents (road, fire, drowning etc)	45	55	100
Mostly associated with early pregnancies	72	28	100
More likely to indulge in early sex	72	28	100
Think of committing suicide	40	60	100

*Each row was calculated out of n=93

4.5.1 Awareness of problems caused by alcohol

When asked whether they were aware of the dangers involved in alcohol drinking, majority of the respondents showed that they were fully aware (34.8%), were aware (54.5%) and the remaining were not aware (5.3%) and not aware at all (5.3%) (Table 11).

The findings implied that majority of the respondents drunk alcohol with full knowledge of the dangers involved and only an insignificant proportion were unaware of the dangers of drinking.

4.5.2 Health

When asked whether they agreed that alcohol causes health problems (Table 11), majority of the respondents strongly agreed (50.7%), while others agreed (28.7%), indifferent (8.1%),

disagreed (4.4%) strongly disagreed (5.9%) respectively. One Key Informant (chief), said that “the drinking of chang’aa among the residents was believed to cure flue and stomach sicknesses like typhoid and diarrhoea as such could not be blamed on causing poor health.”

The study findings implied that a large proportion of the respondents were oblivious of the effects of drinking alcohol despite their continued consumption of the brews.

4.5.3 Injuries to the body

The respondents when asked whether they were aware of alcohol drinking that led to sustaining of injuries (Table 11), majority of them agreed (41.2%), while others strongly agreed (32.4%), indifferent (7.4%), disagreed (11.1%), and strongly disagreed (5.9%). One Key Informant (village elder) said that “most youth who drunk alcohol have visible injuries in the face and others were seriously affected and experienced convulsions while drunk.”

It was clear majority of the youth under intoxication were also most likely to get injured as they became unstable while drunk than when sober.

4.5.4 Commit suicide

When asked on the extent to which the youth drinking alcohol were likely to commit suicide (Table 11), a large proportion strongly agreed (30.2%). while others agreed (27.2%), unsure (11.1%), disagreed (17.6%) and strongly disagreed (11.8%). One Key Informant (Police) said “some isolated cases of suicide and attempted suicide involving the youth who drunk alcohol by consuming rat poison and hanging on the rope had been reported in the area.”

It was clear that some cases of suicide among the youth had some correlation with alcohol drinking.

4.5.5 Early sex

When asked whether drinking of alcohol by the youth encouraged indulgence in early sex (Table 11) Majority of the respondents strongly agreed (43.4%) while others agreed (24.3%), indifferent (9.6%), disagreed (13%), strongly disagreed (11%). Some Key Informants (village elders and assistant chiefs) explained that “they had several cases reported in the area involving early pregnancies by youth indulging in alcohol drinking, leading to early marriages.” The findings show that majority of the youth involved in drinking also engaged in early sex.

4.5.6 Crime

When the respondents were asked as whether they were aware of cases of crime involving the unemployed youth who also drink alcohol (Table 11), majority of them strongly agreed (44.1%), while others agreed (30.1%), were indifferent (8.8%), disagreed (8.1%) and strongly disagreed (6.2%). One Key Informant (police) explained that “youth involvement in crime in the area was common among the youth especially cases of theft of maize from farms, chicken, household electronic among other cases of theft had been reported from the study site. The police also said that most of those involved in such crime had also been previously arrested for drinking alcohol.

It was clear most of the respondents agreed that crime had strong correlation with drinking of alcohol a fact that was also exemplified by findings from police that most drinking youth also participated in crime.

4.5.7 Violence

When respondents were asked as to whether they think violence (Table 11) among the youth was caused by alcohol drinking, majority of them strongly agreed 46.3%, while others agreed (25.7%), indifferent (8.1%), disagreed (10.3%) and strongly disagreed (7.4).

One Key Informant (police) also explained that cases of youth under intoxication fighting had been reported to the police station. He said that some youth once they got intoxicated became violent leading to fighting.

It was clear that some youth while under intoxication got agitated easily and engaged in fights, implying that alcohol drinking could lead to violence.

4.5.8 Family hostility

The respondents when asked whether they experienced hostility from their families as a result of drinking alcohol (Table 11) most of them strongly agreed (41.9%), while others agreed (28.7%), indifferent 13.2%), disagreed (7.4%), strongly disagree (6.6%). Some Key informants (village elders) said “cases of youth being harassed by their parents and relatives as a result of overdependence and for being accused of being a disgrace to their families were common in their villages. Cases of some youth attacking their parents on claims that they

disliked and denied them support were also common.”

The study implied that the youth burden to the family through dependency and their drinking habits contributed to family hostility against them.

4.5.9 Accidents

The respondents when asked whether the drinking of alcohol of the youth made them vulnerable to accidents (Table 11) most of them agreed (31.6%), while others strongly agreed (29.4%), indifferent (13.2%), disagreed 13.2% and strongly disagreed (10.3). Some Key Informants (village elders) said “some youth who drink occasionally fall in abandoned latrines, drown in rivers and floods and some involved in part time motor cycle transport (boda boda) accidents.”

The study findings implied that the drinking of alcohol by the youth was one of the contributing causes of accidents.

4.5.10: Unemployment

When asked whether the unemployment among the youth was as a result of their drinking habits (Table 11) most of them strongly agreed (48.5%), others agreed (25%), indifferent (7.4%), disagreed (8.1%), strongly disagreed (11%). One Key Informant said, “most youth indulging in alcohol drinking were not keen on searching for jobs and those who attempted were most unlikely to be hired as they exhibited indicators of drunkenness.”

It was clear that the drinking youth rarely got employed irrespective of their qualifications.

4.5.11 Early pregnancies

The respondents when asked whether early pregnancies in village had any connection with the youth who drink and are unemployed (Table 11) most of them strongly agreed (33.1%), while others agreed (26.5%), did not know (17.6%), disagreed (9.6%), strongly disagreed (13.2%). One Key Informant (village elder) said that most male youth had the tendency of having girl friends a behaviour he said encouraged early pregnancies. The study findings also indicated that early pregnancies were common as the youth believed in keeping girl friends.

4.5.12 Peer Pressure

When asked whether peer pressure played a role in influencing the unemployed youth to

drink alcohol (Table 11) more than half of them strongly agreed (50.7%), while others agreed (28%), not sure (7.3%), disagreed (6.6%) and those who strongly disagreed (7.4%). One Key Informant (teacher) said “most youth leaving school were alcohol abstainers but got involved in drinking illicit brews after a short period of staying in the village, implying that there was influence on the youth to drink in the village as opposed to the situation in school. The study therefore implied that peer pressure is one of the contributing factors of drinking among the unemployed youth.

4.5.13 Source of problems in the community

The respondents were asked whether the drinking of alcohol by the unemployed youth contributed to problems in the community (Table 11) most of them strongly agreed (35.3%), while others agreed (27.2%), those who were not sure (13.2%), those who disagreed (14) and those who strongly disagreed (10.3%). Some Key Informants (village elders) said “most security related cases, fighting instances and family problems had been associated with the youth who drink alcohol unlike those who abstain.”

On the overall, most of the problems associated with the youth livelihoods were in one way or the other related to the drinking of alcohol. Evidence of involvement of various activities deemed as deviant in the community had also been connected to the youth who drink. Unlike the public, the youth also were oblivious of their predicaments as stemming from drinking, mainly aggravated by being idle and lacking a source of steady income to sustain their livelihoods and their drinking habits.

Table 11: Distribution of respondents according to their perception of the effects of alcohol drinking by them

Effects	Strongly agree %	Agree	Indifferent %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %	No response %	Total* %
Aware of dangers of drinking	34.9	54.5	0	5.3	5.3	0	100
Poor health	550.7	28.7	8.1	4.4	5.9	2.2	100
Sustain injuries	32.4	41.2	7.4	11.1	5.9	2	100
Commit suicide	30.2	27.2	11.1	17.6	11.8	2.1	100
Indulge in early sex	43.4	24.3	9.6	9.6	11	2.1	100
Commit crime	44.1	30.1	8.8	8.1	6.2	2.7	100
Engage in violence	46.3	25.7	8.1	10.3	7.4	2.2	100
Faced family hostility	41.9	28.7	13.2	7.4	6.6	2.2	100
Involved in accident	29.4	31.6	13.2	13.2	10.3	2.3	100
unemployment	48.5	25	7.4	8.1	11	0	100
early pregnancy	33.1	26.5	17.6	9.6	13.2	0	100
Influenced by peer pressure	50.7	28	7.3	6.6	7.4	0	100
Cause problems to the community	35.3	27.2	13.2	14	10.3	0	100

*Each row was calculated out of n=93

4.6 Alcohol reduction interventions

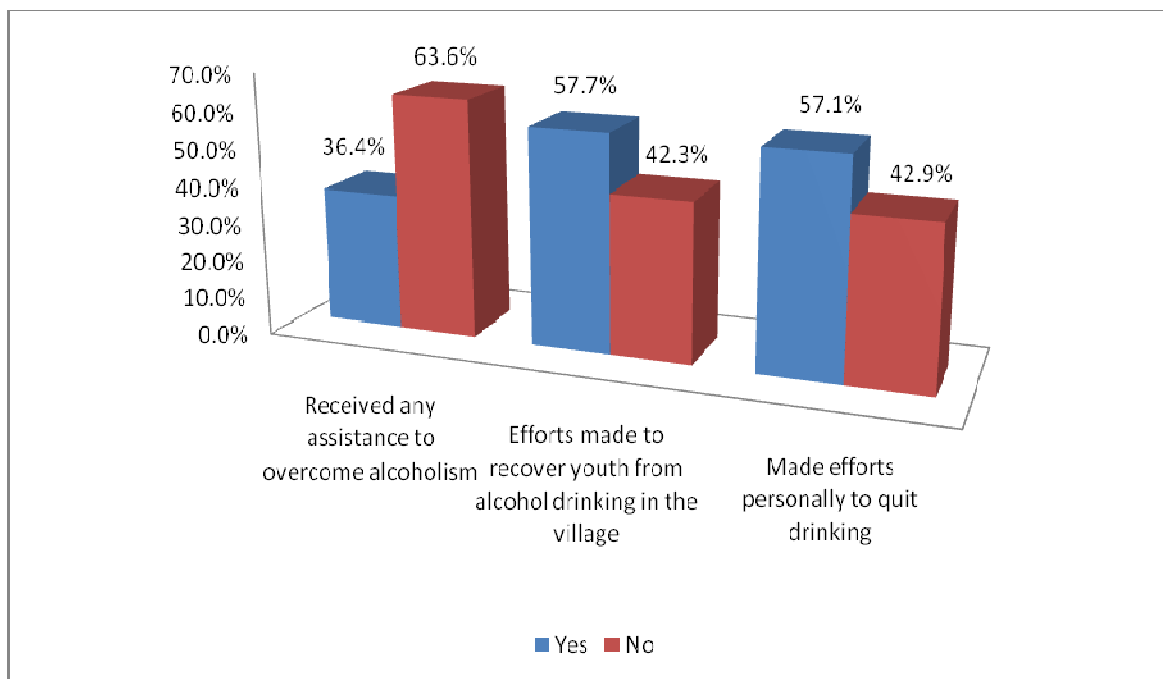
The fifth objective was to assess the on-going interventions to improve the livelihoods of the affected youth. The indicators of this variable were: assistance to the youth, initiatives to

recover the youth from drinking, personal efforts by the youth to quit drinking.

4.6.1 Assistance to the youth

When respondents were asked whether they were aware of any efforts to assist them in drinking most of them disagreed (63%) and others said they were aware (36.4%) (Figure 12). Most of those who agreed said they had received assistance from parents, church clerics, assistant chiefs and members of the families and relatives. Some youth were convicted and sent to prison for drinking chang’aa or Busaa. While one Key Informant (chief) said “some youth convicted over drinking quit drinking after imprisonment although others resumed after being released from prison. Non of the respondents reported receiving professional assistance other than from family and the community.

Figure 11: Distribution of the respondents by their perception of interventions to the drinking youth



n=93

4.6.2 Initiatives to assist the respondents

The respondents were asked whether there was any initiatives by any stakeholders to assist those affected by the drinking of alcohol, majority agreed (57.7%) and others dissented (42%). Most of the respondents said that no intervention measures had been taken from stakeholders from outside the community to assist them. Mostly they said the chief and

assistant chiefs and the church leaders sensitized them on the dangers of drinking. One Key Informants (chief) said “most of the youth who drink alcohol had been abandoned by the community and that chief/assistant chiefs’ efforts to assist them were frustrated by the village elders who also drunk the brews and the police who were bribed by the brewers to protect them.”

These findings implied that there were no professional measures to address the persisting problem of youth disintegration into alcoholic addiction.

Table 12: Distribution of the respondents by their report of’ initiative by stakeholders to assist them to stop alcohol drinking

Initiative to assist the youth	Number	Per cent
Yes	53	57.4
No	40	42.6
Total	93	100

4.6.3 Youth’s personal efforts to quit drinking

When the respondents were asked whether they had personally attempted to abandon drinking, majority of them affirmed (55.9%), while the remainder (44.1%) said they had not tried to do so. One Key Informant (pastor) said “some youth had confessed in church that they had quit drinking but later resumed doing so.” This implies that there was some efforts by some respondents to quit drinking and which could be strengthened by professional interventions.

Table 13: Distribution of the respondents by reports of their efforts to quit drinking

Decision to leave drinking	Number	Per cent
Yes	52	55.9
No	41	44.1
Total	93	100

Generally, there are no remarkable intervention measures to assist the youth quit drinking. The informal intervention measures through parents, chiefs/ assistant chiefs and the church had not had much impact on the affected youth. Some actors like the village elders and teachers who could have assisted also indulged in illicit brew drinking. Professional actors

like Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), NACADA, lobby groups like Alcoholic Anonymous had not ventured in the study area.

4.7 Case studies

The study also interviewed 3 case studies selected from the 3 sub locations, comprising of the unemployed youth who were also cases of alcoholic addiction. The study aimed at getting the insights in the youth drinking patterns, extent of the effects of drinking and mitigation measures to address the problem. The youth were identified through the assistance of the assistant chiefs of the three sub locations and they were purposively selected. Three unemployed youth and affected by illicit brew drinking were interviewed.

Case Study one

The case study said” I’m aged 24 years, a resident of Bunang’eni village of Sirende sub location and a university graduate separated with my wife who left me with a child aged 3 years. I come from poor family with parents mainly engaged in farming maize for subsistence on a two-acre land. The parents also engaged in informal employment among them weeding sugar cane and cutting cane for their livelihood. Occasionally, the parents brew chang’aa for sale to support our family. I’m the third born in a family of seven children and the only one who had attained university qualification. Our family used to attend Catholic Church but I left going about a year ago since most of my friends do not go to church.”

On his drinking life he said, “I began drinking Busaa brew while in upper primary up to the time of completion of university studies. I started drinking chang’aa while in secondary school and continued drinking through my university. I and other students carried chang’aa disguised in bottled juice to be drunk at night or during weekends in the school. Occasionally, we caused strikes while drunk and whenever we wanted to go home to get an opportunity to drink alcohol. While in the village, during school vacations I used the money saved from school pocket money to buy chang’aa which I drunk together with my friends in the bachelors houses (*simba*). I developed liking for chang’aa when my school mates introduced me to the brew in school and found that it was sweeter than busaa. This was after abstaining until upper primary although my younger siblings consumed busaa while as young as five years.”

On the quantity drunk he said, “i had progressed from taking as little as one glass of chang’aa to an average of three bottles of chang’aa in a day depending on availability of money or from friends to buy the brew. While at home I drink on daily basis even when I have no money my friends would offer me a drink. Usually, students were not allowed to drink in public as such we could buy our drinks and hide in a bush or in homes where parents were not strict with alcohol drinking.”

On the reasons of drinking the illicit brew, the case study said, “i felt that i was a great let down to my family and covered the shame by engaging in heavy drinking. I was heavily stressed due to failure to sustain employment despite having attained university education and I’m persuaded my frequent loss of jobs is due to my drinking habits that i blamed unemployment. I felt ashamed whenever i saw successful peers who did not excel academically like myself and therefore resorted to drinking to forget the frustration, although sometimes I drink to socialise with my friends.”

On the drinking patterns of the youth in the village he said, “generally the youth in the area were moderate drinkers. Mostly I mix freely with other youth mostly those who are employed due to my academic standard as they appreciate my logical arguments. Majority of the youth prefer drinking chang’aa as it is more potent than busaa, which was seen also as unhygienic. The preference of chang’aa was based on the believe that it was used to treat stomach ailments like typhoid and diarrhoea. While some of my peers prefer busaa on the believe that it was a food supplement and that it enhanced libido in both gender. Most of us who drink the brews, busaa unlike chang’aa were not known to cause health problems.”

On effects of the drinking he said, “many consumers of the illicit brews suffer from health problems and other life threatening experiences. For instance in my village (Bunang’eni) cases of drowning in River Kituni led to many deaths of consumers of alcohol (Figure 13).

Figure 12: Picture of Kituni Bridge showing frequent accidental drowning spot



Similarly, cases of youth indulgence in early sex leading to premature pregnancies were common among my fellow youth who are also unemployed who also drink alcohol. This is attributed mostly to early marriages, most of which are through forced marriages as a result of premature pregnancies. Other vices indulged by the drinking youth included family conflicts more so for failure to contribute to the family well-being, violence through fighting or getting injured through falling or convulsion from excessive drinking. More disturbing is that most youth who drink and are jobless are disliked on accusation that we are unproductive. This is one problem we face, compounding our drinking as we seek solace from our fellow drinkers.”

As to whether there are intervention measures to assist them he said, “nobody wants to see those of us who drink alcohol as we are seen as a bad example to the community. Some of us are used as a deterrence to the upcoming youth by their parents and are warned against associating with us, lest they are influenced to drink. Most common means of discouraging us from drinking is during chiefs or assistant chiefs meetings (*barazas*). However, this was just a public relation exercise as they receive bribes from the brewers to protect them. While the police harass innocent youth who drink leaving the known criminals in the area. In fact the police encourage the drinking as in some instances they go to the drinking joints to collect bribes and leave the patrons to continue drinking. However, in some instances when they carry out swoops arresting drinkers, who either pay fines or get imprisoned. He stated that

despite the action by the police and the chiefs, there were minimal measures to assist the youth quit drinking or prevent them from drinking. He said the cultural practices in the community promoted drinking among the youth as it was viewed as a process of graduation to maturity”. Therefore, according to the case study, cases of quitting drinking were rare unless someone left the village to other places or was imprisoned. However, the case study recommended for initiatives to rehabilitate the affected youth and provide alternative means of socialization to inculcate the culture of socializing without drinking alcohol.

Arising from the findings from the case study, growing population of the unemployed youth in the villages and lack of structures to empower them may continue causing cyclic effects to the youth with the potential of breakdown of social order. Further, the rising cases of idleness among the youth apart from increasing dependency may lead to unproductive and irresponsible society.

Case Study two

Asked to know the background of the case study he said,” I’m aged 23 years, single, unemployed for about 6 years, of form four standard of education and without any training. I come from Manani village of Mukhe sub location in Misikhu ward, Bungoma County, my family is of a moderate background comprising of five children with me being the last born in the family. Other siblings in the family were employed and some unemployed. Our parents operated a retail shop at Lugulu shopping centre and had about fifteen acres of land where we plant sugar cane, maize and keep livestock for family subsistence. I mainly depend on my parents and sometimes my working brothers and sisters for my livelihood and my drinking. Occasionally, i participate in some informal employment like digging latrines, ploughing farms, making bricks among other informal jobs to supplement my drinking which my parents are against.”

On his drinking life he said that, “I abstained from drinking during my school life and only started drinking alcohol after leaving school. I had an ambition of becoming a responsible person in life but it was dashed when I failed my form four examinations. My parents persuaded me to repeat but I refused. While out of school, i tried to avoid other drinking youth but gave in since virtually every youth in the village drunk alcohol including some of my brothers and sisters making my behaviour look abnormal in the community.

The drinking made my father to hate me and most of time rebukes me for failing the exams. I gave in to friends' influence since they seemed to understand my problems and shared many life experiences with me. I fear to be seen as a social misfit by the other youth in the village forcing me to drink during cultural festivals like circumcision and memorial rites where busaa was offered free in the community and eventually I was acquainted into drinking. I joined other youth in drinking local brews, developing strong taste for chang'aa which i preferred over busaa. In my drinking life i changed drinking mates according to how much I took not to be left in the drinking places by those drinkers who get drunk quickly, considering that most of the youth in the village are heavy drinkers but constrained by lack of resources to satisfy their drinking appetite."

On the reasons for preference of brews he said, "those who preferred chang'aa was due to the believe that it was medicinal and used in the cure of flue and stomach ailments like typhoid and diarrhoea. They said that chang'aa was more potent and took long to sober than busaa, spending less money to get intoxicated as compared to busaa that was weak. Preference for chang'aa by most drinkers made busaa unpopular among the drinkers especially the youth and those selling the brew as it was fast moving. Busaa was mainly drunk during cultural rites but supplemented by chang'aa during the rites to make hardened drinkers drunk."

Asked on the effects caused by the drinking he said, "most jobless youth who drunk illicit brews more so chang'aa had visible effects. Due to heavy drinking I felt normal when under intoxication as opposed to when I was sober. Consequently, I experienced withdrawal symptoms like dullness, being miserable, headaches, sweating and sometimes dizziness. Unlike in the past when I used to eat well, I lost appetite and mostly encouraged by my mother to eat. In the state of soberness, I experienced stress when I realised I hat achieved nothing from drinking and the fact that i could not disengage from it. Arising from drinking the craving for chang'aa is too strong, compelling me to take it on daily basis to keep my spirit alive. The mere encounter with my friends i drink with arouses my drinking appetite that can only be satisfied after drinking at least a bottle of chang'aa. Sometimes I contemplated leaving the village to an unknown place away from the people who knew my background to hide the shame i have caused to my family. I also contemplated committing suicide by drowning until i experienced a near drowning ordeal in rain floods while returning home from the drinking spree. As a result people disliked me especially the village elder who

had warned the brewers not to sell chang'aa to me. The directive by the village elder made some of my friends to avoid me, a move that had aggravated my stress. However, I had not engaged in fighting or in conflict with the parents as i fully depended on them for my survival. Sometimes to continue drinking i sold my parents' chicken and sometimes eggs to drink chang'aa.”

As to whether there were any interventions to the drinking youth, “several efforts to assist by the parents to persuade me to abandon drinking did not succeed. The Friends church pastor where my parents worshipped had on several occasions prayed and counselled me to stop drinking but I was not convinced. I was arrested twice and taken to court but parents paid the fine and since my father relates well with the local police i don't fear being imprisoned. I tried to leave home to stay with my brother working in Naivasha in search of employment but could afford to stay without drinking being compelled to escape back home. The local chief and assistant chief tried to persuade me to quit drinking without success. However, in all my drinking experience I was fully aware that the drinking portents serious effects but could not sustain the pain involved in the failure to drink.

Arising from the narrative, drinking of alcohol by the unemployed youth was largely blamed on the influence within the community and failure by the family to appreciate the weaknesses of the family members and assist them. The drinking habits according to his experiences, was encouraged by fear of behaving different depending on the society's perceived values. At the community level, therefore the process of influencing the abstainers into drinking was a cyclic process without strong counter forces to safe the youth from becoming alcoholics.

Case Study three

When asked about her background she said, “she was aged 19 years, single mother of two children, of upper primary education without training, left school about five years ago, attend Pentecostal Assemblies Church and renting house away from home (Savana shopping centre) in Misikhu sub location of Misikhu ward, Bungoma County. I hail from a polygamous family and poor parents and sell chang'aa to support my children, although the father of my first child sometimes offer financial support”.

When asked about her drinking she said, “I started drinking busaa at the age of about five

years as my parents brewed in our home during traditional ceremonies. I left home following premature pregnancy that aggravated persistent quarrels with my mother. I started drinking chang'aa after leaving school and that occasionally i was accompanied by male friends and other few females to drink chang'aa that was sold in rented houses. Female drinkers avoided drinking in the villages as the Bukusu community traditions, where I belong prohibited women from drinking in public places. I had to move away from our home to rent a house to engage in the sale of chang'aa. I sold chang'aa and also drunk every day taking precaution not to be highly intoxicated to the extent of not being able to transact business. As a precaution of not getting drunk I used a solution of sugar in a glass of water to reverse intoxication in case I became drunk in the course of selling it. However, when I went out with friends I drink at least two bottles. Most female drinkers conceal their drinking habits for fear of being seen as social deviants, preferring to buy and drink from their homes.”

On the drinking habits of her clients, she said, “most youth were heavy drinkers since they were not responsible to any family. Mostly they drink in the afternoons due to their engagement in casual employment during the day. The females seen drinking in illicit brew selling joints and the female brew sellers were viewed in the community as prostitutes although I’m not a prostitute myself although I sell chang'aa.”

On the preferences of the brews to the drinkers she said, “most men prefer chang'aa but females preferred busaa. This was due to different reasons of drinking between males and females. The females drink for refreshment unlike males who drink to get drunk. In any case the females avoided getting drunk unless while drinking from their homes to avoid being a disgrace to the public. The youth drink in groups and shared drinks even if one member of their group had no money to buy the brew.”

On the commercial aspect of chang'aa she said, “there were three categories of chang'aa brewers; those who prepare chang'aa and sell at wholesale price to distributors who transport the brew to other parts of the country, those who brew chang'aa to sell directly to the consumers and those who prepare the brew and supply to their customers. I engage in retail chang'aa business which I buy from the brewers. I opted for retailing the brew because the risk involved was less as compared to the brewers who were vulnerable to police raids”.

Asked about her experiences of the youth drinking she said, “my experience of drinking and selling chang’aa and busaa showed that the youth deteriorated to look like aged people through heavy drinking. Most of them were not working and indulging in chang’aa drinking looked emaciated, unhygienic and mostly with discoloured lips as an indicator of effects to the liver. I witnessed many cases of youth physical fights mostly over female partners, verbal provocations or simply fixing their past scores. Most of them regulate their drinking or controlled by their peers. There are also cases of youth involvement in road accidents, drowning in water during heavy rains and sometimes falling in abandoned latrines. I have seen people who engage in crime and also drink alcohol.”

Asked on the solution to the youth alcoholism she said, “poor people also need some drink to refresh themselves like the wealthy ones who drink conventional beer. This could be realised through legalising busaa and chang’aa drinking in homes or licensed premises to enable those in low class to exercise their drinking rights. “

The case study narrative shows illicit brew drinking among the youth was a popular practice in the community promoted by cultural values tied to alcohol drinking. This implies that the rate of youth deterioration remains at an alarming rate requiring a strong sustainable regulatory framework to protect the youth from wasting away through alcoholic addiction.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of findings

The purpose of this study was to identify how alcohol drinking among the unemployed youth influenced their livelihoods and recommend appropriate intervention measures to address the effects of illicit brew among the youth. The study attempts to explore the in-group behaviour of the unemployed youth who also drink alcohol and the influences of attraction to the out-group of the youth leaving learning institutions. The study looked at the characteristics of the alcoholic youth, their behaviour in drinking, and their perception of its effects.

Levels of alcohol drinking

Majority of the youth (74.3%) drunk alcohol and a smaller proportion were abstainers (24.3%). Of those who drunk alcohol who were the focus of this study, 63%, drunk daily, 15.5%, 1-2 times a week and 13.6%), 3-4 times a week. Majority of the abstainers were females as the local culture regulated alcohol drinking by females. Those drinking on daily basis were mainly alcoholic addicts. The main reason for their drinking was reported to be stressed (50%) to forget their problems. Of the 93 selected youth; moderate drinkers were 48.5%, high drinkers (22.5%) and lowest consumers (29%). The drinkers cited various reasons for drinking that included to socialize with their peers (15%), refreshment or leisure (25.9%) and loneliness (10.2%).

More men respondents drunk alcohol as compared to women. The drinking levels of the youth was constrained by money and to those who become addicts were mostly from moderate or rich families due to availability of money for drinking.

Personal characteristics of the respondents and Alcohol abuse

The majority of the youth who drunk illicit brews were in the age bracket of 20-25 years (61.5%) comprising of mostly male (65.4%) and a smaller proportion of females (34.6%). Apparently, a large proportion of the youth (89.4%) indulged in alcoholism, with full awareness of the dangers associated with it; those who were not aware constituted only 10.6%. Most of them had attained secondary and primary education (42.6), others were

middle level/ diploma (5.1%), Tertiary/ university (3.7%) and those with no education were 2.2%. Further, those with specialized training and indulging in drinking (18.5%) had previously been employed but sacked. More of the respondents preferred going to Catholic Church (42.2%) where there were limited restrictions on drinking of alcohol as compared to other denominations.

The sampled youth perceived alcoholic consumption as having various effects in their lives. Those who were married reported cases of divorce or separation for reasons related with alcoholism and failing in their marital responsibilities. It was also found that those youth who had been out of school for longer periods indulged more in the drinking of the illicit brew. The more the period the unemployed youth had been out of school, the more they were affected. This was attributed to various factors including, peer pressure, stress related to unemployment and need to socialize with their mates. In order to sustain the drinking by the unemployed youth, some engaged in part time employment, while others in small-scale income generating activities such as brick making and charcoal for their livelihoods and their families.

The family backgrounds of the youth indulging in drinking alcohol had some correlation with their drinking – most of the drinking (58.9%) were from homesteads with poor parents and others with moderate backgrounds (39.5%). Those from rich backgrounds (1.6%) were few because there were a few rich families in the community. However, the few youth from the rich families had easy access to money for drinking from the family unlike those from poor or moderate homesteads. Similarly, there was dependency of the youth on parents (70.4%), guardians (11.1%), friends (11.1%) and relatives (7.4%).

Types of illicit brews

The study found that there were two major types of illicit brews consumed in the study area comprising of *busaa* and *chang'aa*. The brews were prepared locally in unhygienic conditions in known homesteads and sold to the patrons. This meant the brews were readily available for the consumers. Efforts by the police, chief, and the assistant chiefs did not succeed in curbing their brewing and sale.

The sampled youth who drunk were part of the illicit brew consumers. Chang'aa was the

most popular brew among them as compared to busaa. Reasons advanced for its preference was due to its potency of easily making the patrons drunk and low cost. *Chang'aa* was also believed to possess medicinal value to treat typhoid and other stomach ailments and even strong colds.

Youth's perception of effects of alcohol drinking

Majority (54%) of the respondents while aware that alcohol drinking posed risks to the drinkers were not discouraged in drinking the brews. The respondents perceived the drinking as causing the following effects: poor health (50.7%), injuries (41.2%), lead to committing suicide (30.2%), early sex (43.4%), commit crime (44.1%), violence (46.3%), unemployment (48.5%) and family hostility (41.9%).

While the married youth occasionally drunk to seek solidarity with peers. They were perceived to engage to various deviant activities when drunk and cause problems in the community, while heavy drinkers were devastated with the effects. According to one Key Informant, the most affected rarely married, worked, bathed, and lacked appetite when eating.

Interventions to assist the youth affected by alcohol drinking

Majority of the youth sampled indicated that they had received assistance from the community, parents and the local chief and assistant chiefs. However, there was no assistance from professional institutions and workers.

Efforts to recover those severely affected was not also forthcoming as no stakeholders were reported to have done so. However, some Key Informants indicated that some youth abandoned drinking after leaving prison.

On the youth personal initiative to quit drinking it was found that those who attempted to quit drinking went back to drinking as there were no professional support provided. One Key Informant (pastor) recounted the attempts by the youth to abandon drinking but resumed again. He said that only those who had not been involved in drinking for a long period managed to abandon drinking of the brews.

Conclusions

Based on the findings, the unemployed youth who indulged in drinking illicit brews engaged in drinking undeterred as there were little measures to mitigate their drinking problems. This mainly stemmed from the communal drinking trends and the peer pressure the youth encountered. Efforts by the government to control the brewing and selling of the illicit brews mainly, *chang'aa* and *busaa* were not effective as cases of corruption among the enforcing agencies frustrated the move to curb illicit brew drinking.

The levels of drinking were worrying as the youth seemed to be sustaining their drinking habits. Those youth from moderate and rich families engaged more in drinking a practice, that portrayed that given the resources to drink, majority of the unemployed youth would become alcoholics.

The drinking habits among the youth caused instability in the homesteads and the community level through family conflicts, hostilities against the drinking youth, indulgence in crime, and owing to cases of immorality and violence. However, while cultural factors regulated the drinking by the females, on the other hand it exacerbated the drinking among the male youth. The availability of free busaa drinks to the participants in the traditional rites such as circumcision ceremonies influenced the drinking among the youth. This was further compounded by the brewing of illicit brews in homes and the drinking among other family members that had a negative impact on the drinking habits of the youth.

Absence of mitigation measures to save the youth from being influenced to drink alcohol and lack of action to address alcoholic addiction remained a challenge to the well-being of the community. This trend could likely give rise to a sub culture of alcoholic youths.

Recommendations for policy and further reading

To avert the menace, concerted efforts by stakeholders in the community and the government may need to seek solutions to the rising cases of alcoholism among the youth. Consideration of policy shift to enable commercialization of the illicit brews to ensure hygiene and accepted levels of alcohol to safeguard the drinkers' health could ensure controls of the drinking. The youth also lacked alternative means of spending their free time and socializing with their peers other than the only available forum of socializing in the drinking places.

Policy Recommendations

The researcher recommended the following measures to address the persisting problem:

1. There is need for illicit brewing to be minimized through enforcement of the Liquor Act by the government;
2. The media should enhance sensitization of the public on alcoholism and its harmful effects ;
3. NACADA needs to be facilitated and work with the County governments to eradicate illicit brews,
4. The government and other stakeholders need to sensitize the idle youth to avoid being influenced to join alcohol drinking,
5. There is need for the government, NACADA and other stakeholders to establish vocational institutions to train the youth,
6. There is need to establish rehabilitation centres for the affected alcoholic youths,
7. The government should through its Kazi kwa Vijana provide more employment and business opportunities to the youth,
8. There is need to consider commercial production of the brews to help regulate production, drinking and ensure hygiene.

5.2 Recommendations for Further Research

The government to provide funding for research on alcoholism to find the best practices of addressing alcoholism. The following areas are recommended for further studies;

1. There is need for studies of this type be done in other areas of Kenya for comparison purposes to enable generalization of levels and effects of alcohol drinking and the required interventions,
2. There is also need for study of cultural influences on the illicit brew drinking patterns, gender and family,
3. There is a further need for study of challenges of interventions on youth alcoholism.

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APPENDIX 1
QUESTIONNAIRE

Hallo! My name is John Masinde. I am a student at the University of Nairobi. I am carrying out a research as part of my academic requirement. I am interested in illicit alcohol and its effects on the unemployed youth in this area. The information given will be treated with utmost confidentiality. I humbly request if you could spare some time to fill this questionnaire that will take just a few minutes. Thank you in advance.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

Instructions: please tick the appropriate answer

1. Your age set

- a) 15-19 ()
- b) 20-25 ()

2. Your gender

- c) Female ()
- d) Male ()

3. Your educational level

- a) None ()
- b) Lower Primary ()
- c) Upper Primary ()
- d) Secondary ()
- e) Middle level (Diploma) ()
- f) Tertiary/ University ()

4. Your Religious denomination

- a) a) Catholic ()
- b) b) Anglican ()
- c) Pentecostal ()
- d) African inland church ()
- e) e) Muslim ()
- f) Any other (specify)

5. Your marital status

- a) Single ()

- b) Married ()
- c) Others (specify).....

6. If married, how do you support your family?

.....

7. When did you leave school?

- a) Less than 2 years ()
- b) 2-3 years ()
- c) 4-5 years ()
- d) More than 6 years ()

9. Have you received training since you left school?

- a) Yes ()
- b) No ()

If yes:

Which type?.....

Which institution.....

How long

When?.....

If no, why?

9. Have you ever been in employment?

- a) Yes ()
- b) No ()

10. If no, state reasons for your unemployment.

.....

11. How do you meet your daily needs?

- a) Parents ()
- b) Guardians ()
- c) Relatives ()
- d) Friends ()
- e) Others specify;

12. Parents/ guardians occupation.....

13. Would you say your parents/ guardians are;

- a) Poor ()
- b) Average ()

c) Rich ()

14. Do you engage in any income generating activity?

a) Yes ()

b) No ()

If yes, which.....

If no, why

B. AWARENESS OF ALCOHOL BREWING AND PROBLEMS

15. Are you aware of the dangers of drinking alcohol?

a) Fully aware ()

b) Aware ()

c) Not aware ()

d) Not aware at all ()

16. If yes, which are any three such dangers?

.....

.....

.....

C. LEVEL OF DRINKING

17. Do you drink alcohol?

a) Yes ()

b) No ()

18. If yes, how often do you drink?

a) Daily ()

b) 1-2 times a week ()

c) 3-4 times a week ()

Other (specify).....

19. What is your reason for drinking?

a) Leisure ()

b) Socialize ()

c) Loneliness ()

d) Stress ()

e) Other (specify).....

20. How would you rate yourself in the drinking of alcohol?

- a) Low ()
- b) Moderate ()
- c) High ()

21. Do you drink alone or with other persons?

- a) Alone ()
- b) With others ()

22. If you drink with others, are they?

- a) Mostly youths ()
- b) Mostly adults ()
- c) Both types ()

23. How do you rate the drinking patterns of the youth in your village?

- a) Low ()
- b) Moderate ()
- c) Heavy ()
- d) Abstainers ()

D. TYPES OF ALCOHOL

24. Which of the following types of brew(s) do you drink, how frequently, at what times and why you prefer the drink.

Type of alcohol	Rate/ frequency	Time of the day	Reasons for taking
Busaa			
Changaa			
Any other Specify			

25. Which of these brews is your favourite?.....

Why.....

E. EFFECTS OF ALCOHOL

26. On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate the youth who drink alcohol on the alcohol effects indicated:

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Indifferent 4. Disagree 5. Strongly disagree.

Statements about effects on unemployed youth who drink	Comments				
Suffer from poor health	1	2	3	4	5
Suffer from injuries	1	2	3	4	5
commit suicide	1	2	3	4	5
Engage in early sex	1	2	3	4	5
Indulge in crime	1	2	3	4	5
Participate in violence	1	2	3	4	5
Participate in family conflict	1	2	3	4	5
Get involved in accidents (Road, Fire, Drowning etc)	1	2	3	4	5
Rarely get employed	1	2	3	4	5
Associated with early pregnancies	1	2	3	4	5
Influence other youth to drink	1	2	3	4	5
Suffer from hostility from their families	1	2	3	4	5
Associated with causing serious problems in the village	1	2	3	4	5

F. INTERVENTIONS

27. Have you received any assistance to overcome your alcoholism?

- a) Yes ()
- b) No ()

If yes, from which source?.....

What was the type of assistance?.....

28. Have any efforts been made to recover the youth from alcohol drinking in your village?

- a) Yes ()
- b) No ()

If yes, by who?.....

When

What was the effect?

.....

.....

29. Have you made any efforts personally quit drinking?

a) Yes ()

b) No ()

If yes, what did you do?

.....

If no, why?.....

30. What ongoing measures are being taken by the following actors to assist you and other youths from drinking?

Stakeholders	Role to stop youth from drinking
Youth themselves	
Community	
Parents	
Schools/ teachers	
Religious org./ Church	
GOK	
Other agencies:	

--	--

Remarks.....
.....31. What is
your suggestion on how to assist those already affected by the drinking?
.....
.....

Thank you for participating.

APPENDIX II

KEY INFORMANTS

Date:

Place:.....

Name:.....

Occupation:

Background information of the interviewee

Sex

Marital status

Level of education

Questions

1. How is alcohol abuse among the unemployed youth a problem in the community?
Give some indicators.
2. How does the drinking influence their behaviour? Give characteristics and indicators.
3. What is the extent of illicit brew drinking among the unemployed youth of both genders in the area? Justify the levels and reasons for disparity.
4. Which brews are popular among the unemployed youth? Justify preferences.
5. What are the problems associated with the drinking of alcohol by the youth? Probe to know; personal effects, family relationships, and effects to the community.
6. What action is being taken to assist the youth recover from alcoholism?
7. What challenges are being experienced in assisting them?
8. What would you suggest as a solution to alcoholism among the unemployed youth?

Thank you for participating.

APPENDIX III

OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

An observation checklist used to observe the behavioral trends of the youth while under influence of alcohol, aimed at studying the behavioural trends to be used as a feedback on aspects of the study.

The following checklist was used in the observation;

1. Estimated age
2. Time observed
3. Walking stability
4. Violent behaviour
5. Appeared in group or alone
6. Type of brew seen drinking
7. Seen carrying brew
8. what type of brew carried
9. Interrelation among the drinkers
10. Behaviour of groups
11. Behaviour of individuals
12. Gender in drinking place
13. Relation with adults
14. Assistance to the affected with drinking
15. Assessment of physical fitness
16. Visible scars