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Alcohol use and abuse of youths in Kampala

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DECLARATION

I **Jeanette Schaffer** do hereby declare that this diploma thesis in all its presentation is my own work, and has not been presented for an award in any university or institution; all citation regulations have been duly followed.

Vienna, 18th May

Signed.....

DEDICATION

This thesis paper is dedicated to my mother and my sister who gave me the greatest support over years of studying.

Furthermore I want to thank all the Ugandans for the help to make this work possible, especially Dr. Eddy J. Walakira.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Alcoholic Anonymous
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deviancy Syndrome
APC	Adult per capita alcohol consumption
ARV	Antiretroviral
DRT	Development Research and Training
GENACIS	Gender, Alcohol and Culture: an international study
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDP	Internally Displaced People
LRA	Lord`s Resistance Army
NACAES	National Committee on HIV/AIDS in Emergency Settings
NACARE	National Care Centre
NADC	National Alcohol Drug Clinic
NAHC	National AIDS Housing Coalition
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PADA	Prevention of Alcohol and Drug Abuse
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
UNAIDS	United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS

UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UPDF	Uganda People`s Defense Force
URCS	Uganda Red Cross Society
UYDEL	Uganda Youth Development Link
WHO	World Health Organization
Y.E.A.H.	Youth Empowered And Healthy

1. INTRODUCTION

Over decades of times the brewing of alcohol is known from most countries in the world. All kind of fruits, vegetables and crops get turned into alcoholic beverages, and are used from different cultures in various ways.

“..no other drug substance-with the possible exception of nicotine-is ingested by so many different people around the world” (Mac Marshall 1979: 1).

This thesis paper focuses on the alcohol addicted youths of Uganda and is divided into two main elements; the theoretical part and the empirical research with experts and all relevant people.

The starting statement from Marshall is perfect to introduce the first part of this thesis paper, the theoretical part. It provides an insight into alcohol use and abuse in general.

There does exist a wide range of theoretical knowledge among scientists about alcohol. The consumption and the production of alcohol go back thousands of years. Alcohol was always embedded in tradition and is till today a main element of festivals and rites in many cultures. There are data and facts existing about the use and the meaning of alcohol in different cultures gathered by locally present anthropologists. In East Africa, Uganda, alcohol plays an important part in the daily life of people. In Uganda many people are producing till today high content alcohol for personal use and for disposal. It increases the income of many families and gives the poorest ones the chance to live a good life. The brewing of alcohol in Uganda is mainly a collaboration of the whole family, and the knowledge is passed from generation to generation. The contradiction today is that the traditional meaning of alcohol for people is at the same time the harm for a whole population, drinking liquids containing enormously high alcohol level. The WHO ranked Uganda as number one from 189 member states, with 19.47 liters of pure alcohol consumption per capita each year (cf. WHO 2004: 12). The population in Uganda is very young, and many youths start in an early age mainly in the school to consume high, potent alcohol. The situation a young person has to struggle with especially in the

urban area of Kampala city is not easy at all. The background of war and a high HIV/AIDS rate, which is enduring in the country over years, make the picture of the fast growing child slums of the city. It is a world without perspectives where alcohol and drugs are a daily part. In consequence of the tremendous numbers shown by experts working against the high alcohol consumption of youth in the country, the questions for this research were raised, with a focus on social, cultural and political reasons.

The author wanted to find out where the high alcohol consumption in Uganda comes from and how it influences the future of the country and every single person?

Further the author wanted to center on the reasons why so many people in Uganda are consuming alcohol and why so many children and youths are drinking regularly. The consequences are sometimes horrible ones, which destroy the youths' future perspectives and bring harm to the whole country.

The second part of this paper describes the empirical part, the fieldwork and the observation done in the central area of Uganda. Through the help of experts and stakeholders working on this subject, supported by the interviews done with youths and longtime alcoholics, the problem situation as well as the traditional background could be analyzed. The outcome of the ethnography shows the reasons, the consequences and the existing counter measures.

The scientific theoretical background helps the author to find out if these facts can be translated to Uganda.

The aim of this work is to show the reasons and the background of the increasing numbers of alcoholics in the country and why it isn't easy to ban the production. At the same time Uganda needs a solution for the harm the alcohol brings to the people. This thesis provides examples about NGOs and their fight against home production and the alcohol industry.

PART I THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2. ALCOHOL IN ANTHROPOLOGY

First of all, before I will continue with the history of alcohol in anthropology and other professions I would like to mention the difference between the wine and beer production, where the definition most easily get mixed, especially in traditional societies. Prinz talks about the basic diversity of beer and wine in its production and in its chemical transformation. "Bier wird durch die Fermentation von Stärke zu einfachen Zuckermolkühlen, die dann erst zu Alkohol vergoren werden können, gewonnen, während Wein ein Produkt der direkten Vergärung von natürlich vorhandenem Zucker ist". He points out that beer is produced by artificially adding yeast while for example wine already has the sugar contained in the fruit itself. Sometimes sugar or kind of sugar containing liquids get put to the mash to increase the alcohol strength while the brewing of beer. For example some groups in West Africa are adding honey to the beer to make the alcohol content higher what makes a kind of wine out of it. Apart from that Prinz shows that some cultural alcoholic drinks are incorrectly named. Like the Asian rice wine has a wrong notation, because it is definitely a beer. The same to the opposite is the "Honigbier" which is known in Europe and Africa as beer, but because of the high sugar content of the honey, it is a basic fermentation which takes place, which means actually it is a wine. Beer is a long time product, which is used in many countries around the world since former times as daily product, as stimulant, as food with a high nutrition content as well as donation for the gods. Prinz states that unfortunately the distillation of high content alcohol is growing especially in the urban areas of Africa, whereas the quality of nutrition gets lost, which drives many people into alcoholism and risks the health of whole societies (cf. 1992: 72ff).

For decades of time alcohol was a topic researched under consideration of various scientific professions. In most cases researchers worked on social and health problems related to alcohol, but it were the anthropologists who focused from the beginning of the 1970s on the beliefs and behaviors in diverse

societies consuming alcohol. Most anthropologists tried to focus on the usage of alcohol, while persons from other sciences have put their focus on the problems coming out of the use. Other sciences realized that social and cultural factors must be taken into observance, such as physiological and psychological factors. “..long-term strength of anthropological studies has been that they have paid attention not only to “alcoholism” but rather to alcohol as an artifact and to the complex of attitudes, values and actions that are associated with it” (Heath 1987: 18). This was a significant step which had to be taken, to fully understand the cultures where alcohol plays a part in every situation. Alcoholic beverages have different meanings and associations in various societies all over the world. Mary Douglas mentions in *Constructive Drinking* the diversity of alcohol in various cultures and traditions, and points out that the anthropological perspective is wide with a lot of distinctions. In comparison to other sciences anthropologists “do not necessarily threat it as a problem”. “The general tenor of the anthropological perspective is that celebration is normal and that in most cultures alcohol is a normal adjunct to celebration. Drinking is essentially a social act, performed in a recognized social context” (1987: 3f). Some cultures have a deep religious and traditional background concerning the production and the consumption that is embedded in their history. The (mainly homemade) brews are used in various contexts: cultural ceremonies, nutrition, pleasure, or medical propose. Scientists wanted to know everything about the interrelation between alcohol and human behavior, in the group and as individual. There was a cross-cultural study needed for understanding. Like Marshall expressed, “The cross-cultural study of alcohol presents a classical natural experiment: a single species (*Homo sapiens*), a single drug substance (ethanol), and a great diversity of behavioral outcomes” (1979: 1).

Before this decade anthropologists focused on the consumption and production of alcohol. Already in the early 1940s two important works have been established which are influencing the study of alcohol and anthropology until today. The first important paper was written by Bunzel Ruth in 1940. In her work she tried to make the readers understand, why some persons from particular cultures move and behave in a particular way, when they had used alcoholic beverages. The second milestone work was created by Donald Horton in 1943,

with an incomparable qualitative, cross-cultural study about 57 different cultures. Without making research in those societies, he took the help and empirical data from other anthropologists and tried to find out identical or diverse ways in the consumption as well as in the behavior of persons coming from different sides of the world. He built up his study on the hypothesis that “one of the psychological effects of alcohol consumption was the reduction of anxiety – and that anxiety reduction might therefore be a widespread motive for drinking” (Bacon 1976: 23). Horton took “insecurity” and “acculturation” as measures to proof his hypothesis. Indeed the work from Horton was a landmark for cross-cultural studies and the researchers following. After the study from Horton it took two decades until three scientists went on working on that topic. In the late 1950s Bacon Margaret, Barry Herbert, and Child Irving represented “A cross-cultural study of drinking” in 1965. Bacon et al. took the work from Horton (his 57 societies) and extended the research to 139 societies. “It was also decided to include as many societies as possible to test the interrelationships of variables of socialization with those of drinking behavior” (Bacon 1976: 25). In 1962 Field Peter published “A new Cross-cultural Study of Drunkenness”, based on the data from Horton. Field put his focus on the relations between social organizations and drunkenness and added to the anxiety new indexes of fear. He tried to show the differences between corporate and personal types of social organization. He thought that these are the main factors for drinking and alcoholism in societies. Another significant study was written by Klausner, when he was working in 1964 with 48 societies and tried to understand the various ways and importance of alcohol usage in ceremonies. He could not find out a regularity and togetherness between sobriety and ceremonial usage. Klausner mentions that mostly in non-religious countries the sobriety is higher than in religious ones, where the alcohol has a meaning during ceremonies. These were the first significant steps from anthropologists to the study of alcohol related to culture. The approaches help to understand the positive as well as the negative parts of the usage of alcohol in various societies. The main literature about alcohol has to do with the pathological outcomes and is approached from the medical point of view. “The ethnographic viewpoint, therefore, has not only added to our understanding of the range of variation in human beliefs and behaviors with respect to alcohol, but to the

fundamental realization that many of the outcomes of its use are mediated by cultural factors rather than chemical, biological, or other pharmaco-physiological factors” (Heath 1987: 19). Another known milestone was created by Mac Marshall in 1979. With his compilation about cross-cultural beliefs and behaviors with alcoholic beverages, he made a sustainable contribution to the understanding of all themes surrounded from alcohol in various societies. “The authors offer details on who drinks, the settings in which drinking occurs, attitudes toward drunks, expectations about drunken comportment, and the kinds of alcoholic beverages imbibed” (Marshall 1979: 451).

In Marshall’s collection he instances also African societies and their relation to alcohol. Like Robbins writes about the “Problem-Drinking and the Integration of Alcohol in Rural Buganda”, there are some other articles about homebrews in various African societies mentioned. In the study related to alcohol there are cultures, where the knowledge is a quite big one about how the community consumes, why, when, where and with whom, including the knowledge about an alcohol policy – like about the native North American people. The fact that scientists found out that ethanol and its effects work different in every society opened the eyes of people and made them consider cultural patterns. In some cultures alcohol is used as utensil for traditional ceremonies. Especially while initiation rituals; alcohol plays like other drugs an integral part in different ways. Sherratt (1995: 16) mentioned three levels of use of intoxicants: “the level of practical choice (in the selection of the plant for the collection and preparation of a product); at the level of experience (in learning how to use the substance to produce an appropriate response); and in the social assignment of contextual meaning to the act of consumption. All three aspects may vary through time”.

On the following pages I would like to show the reasons and outcomes of the Ugandan society as a long time drinking society as well as its drinking pattern, its use in ceremonies and in daily life. Considering the youths who are influenced by the alcohol industry as well the differences between the traditional ferments, the modern distills and the changing influence on the whole society.

3. ALCOHOL IN UGANDA

Uganda is an Eastern African country with a population of 34,612,250 people in 2011. From this rate 49.9% are children living under the age of 15 years, which makes the country very young and vulnerable. Only 13% of the total population are living in urban areas. Which means that a quiet big number of people are rural based. The Baganda portray, the largest ethnic group in Uganda with 17% (Lübbert 2010: 97) are domiciled in the central region including the capital Kampala. Their kingdom is called Buganda and it is today the largest traditional kingdom in the country. One of the main problems the country is fighting is the reduction of the high HIV/AIDS rate, that counts 1.2 million people infected with the disease in 2009 (cf. indexmundi 2011-06-05). There are various reasons which are pushing the rate of HIV/AIDS in the country. The factors of the spread in Uganda are 45-50% of sexual transmission in relationships, 10-20% of commercial sex workers, 10-15% over the transmission from mother to the child (cf. UYDEL 2010: 6), and furthermore show “the link between alcohol consumption and the risk of HIV infections..” (YEAH 2008: 6).

Apart from the connection of alcohol to the increasing number of HIV infected persons, alcoholism affects many varieties of health and social problems. The WHO (2011: 20) comments that “the harmful use of alcohol is one of the world’s leading health risks” and the “third highest risk for disease and disability, after childhood underweight and unsafe sex”. Furthermore “The World Health Organization (WHO 2004: 1) estimates that there are about 2 billion people worldwide who consume alcoholic beverages and 76.3 million with diagnosable alcohol use disorders”.

In Uganda the consumption rate of alcoholic beverages is one of the highest ones in the world. “The World Health Organization ranked Uganda the leading consumer of alcohol in the world” (UYDEL 2008: 1). With 19.47 liters of pure alcohol consumption per capita each year, (four times higher than the worldwide average and five times higher than the Africa region average), Uganda is ranked number one from 189 WHO states in level of alcohol consumption. “Worldwide adults (age 15 years and older) consume on average 5 liters of pure

alcohol in form of beer, wine and spirits each year. For the African region the adult (15 years and older) consumption of alcohol is about 4 liters of pure alcohol” (cf. YEAH 2007: 3). This shows a big difference between other countries and Uganda. But what exactly makes Uganda different from other countries and what are the reasons for such a high alcohol per capita consumption?

One assumption could be that in Uganda a lot of home brewed alcohol is produced and consumed illicit. In whole East Africa as well as in Uganda the process of brewing goes back to pre-colonial times and helped families over decades to generate income. It was an important possibility for surviving, and it became a significant source of money.

“In both urban and rural areas, many women and men were pushed to the sale of locally-made liquor by immediate circumstances or chronic poverty...” (Willis 2002: 210). Especially for the poor people it was a substitute to the household money, which made life a bit easier. The women and widows were the ones taking the highest advantage. If there was no central income from the male side, the brewing of alcohol let them earn at least some coins. The sale was helpful not only in cases of death but also in times of unemployment and political changes. “...alcoholic beverages in the twentieth century were among the most important items of exchange in increasingly money-oriented local economies. They have been central in accumulation strategies, and in the survival strategies of some – especially women – who have had little control over items of monetary value. Where entitlements are called into question by crisis – whether chronic or acute – exchange in alcohol of all kinds has been an important way to secure adequate nutrition” (Willis 2002: 42).

Till today many households in Uganda use the brewing and sale of alcohol for making money.

YEAH states, that “approximately 80% of the alcohol consumed in Uganda today is informally produced”. The production and sale of alcohol helps many households in Uganda to survive. It helps them to pay food, school fees and other daily needs to bear hard circumstances (cf. YEAH 2008: 7). The surviving on the sale of alcohol is quite known and common in Uganda like in the whole

East African region. In Uganda many people are living below the level of poverty and help themselves with the production of alcohol to earn some money.

There is enough alcohol produced by the industry in Uganda. The problem is that nobody can afford it. That might be one reason why the main alcohol consumed from the Ugandan population is locally produced.

UYDEL expressed, that the consumption of alcohol produced from the industrial side contains only 30% of all alcohol in the country. The other 50% to 70 % of alcohol consumed in the country is unrecorded alcohol. Unrecorded alcohols are homemade productions, illicit and licit ones (cf. UYDEL 2008: 10f).

The price differences between the factory produced alcoholic beverages and the homemade ones are quite high. What means that mainly the poor families and households are creating and consuming their own (cf. WHO 2004: 18). In Uganda industrial produced alcoholic drinks are till today associated with wealth and money. "In developing countries, commercially produced and advertised beverage types are generally inaccessible to the majority of the population, especially the young people" (UYDEL 2010: 21).

There are a lot of debates taking place from former times until today, that the local brews bring harm to communities and to the society as a whole. There were always discussions taking place, if the local brews should be banned or what steps could be made to reduce the numbers of medical problems and injuries through alcoholism. UYDEL stressed on this point, "... that many home-produced and illicit products, particularly in developing countries, use low-quality raw materials and may be contaminated, thus carrying health risks not associated with branded products" (UYDEL 2010: 21).

In Uganda a number of injuries take place year by year. For many NGOs and stakeholders working in this sector, this means an endless fight against the alcohol industry and the government on one hand and against the traditional brewers on the other hand. The main problems they have are the old laws about alcohol, related topics and the low and wrong enforcement of it. Organizations working with it try not to totally ban the local production of

alcohol, because the production same like the use of it has various meanings for the society. It is related to culture and for many families the only way to earn any income. Stakeholders are asking for help and support from the side of the government. Uganda needs restrictions and a clear enforcement about drinking age, shop hours and fair adverts from the alcohol industry. Even if Uganda is one of the countries where alcohol plays a part in the culture and while ceremonies, it is important especially for the young generation, that there are rules providing orientation. Laws and restrictions are helping to show the kids and youths, that alcohol is a drug that can bring besides joy at the same time a lot of harm.

3.1. History, tradition and culture

In many countries alcohol has a long historical and cultural background of use and abuse. Alcohol was always embedded in traditions, used and seen as an integral part for the society. There do exist various differentiations in drinking behavior and tradition from culture to culture. "In the central zone of the world's landmasses, where agriculture and urban life originated in both hemispheres, alcoholic drinks made from fruits and cereals are found and in the Old World have come to be the predominant culturally privileged intoxicants" (Sherratt 1995: 33). Till today there are various areas connected and associated with the production and consumption of certain alcoholic beverages. For example are the southern parts of Europe the more moderate wine drinking cultures, and the northern parts are more used to distilled hard drinks, which developed over years through the changes of drinking morals to the abuse of alcohol (tr. Schadewaldt 1985/86: 9). In other parts of the world same like in Europe, alcohol always had the connection to power and authority. It wasn't permitted at all for every stratum to consume alcoholic beverages. There were always rules existing about who was allowed to drink, with whom and where, what differs from country to country and from society to society. In Africa same like in Europe not every drink was for everyone. For instance in colonial times and times of slavery alcohol especially was under the control of the European masters. According to Willis (cf. 2002: 95), the colonial rulers in East Africa and their consumption of alcoholic beverages always had the association that

Africans should be controlled in their consumption, because they do not have an idea of temperance and they could never temperance themselves. The colonial masters believed in the idea that the East African people need to be ruled, if not they would drink till death. The Europeans over long time tried to prohibit the drinking of alcoholic beverages. There existed the association that Africans tend to violence and crime when drunk and that they are not able to control themselves and get unpredictable in the situation of drunkenness. Another association was that drunken men tend to be idle. That was the fear that the Africans will not work like they should work under the influence of intoxicants. "Alcohol was the white man's right; others could only drink when allowed and according to his rules. Its pleasures were denied to Indians and blacks alike. A slave who drank did not work hard and the effects of alcohol sometimes provoked him to rebel against his lot" (Sournia 1990: 28). The colonial powers tried to prevent these problems, but that was not easy at all. The consumption of alcohol in East Africa, especially in Uganda was always a part of social life, especially attached to traditional ceremonies and signs of authority throughout the whole society. "Marriages, funerals and crises of health were occasional events; but everyday drinking reproduced the same assumptions of power as ritual; this was how alcohol created authority in daily practice" (Willis 2002: 62). It was not only the use of alcohol in ritual meaning. In the past the use of alcohol had various functions in societies. In case Schadewaldt (tr. 1985/86: 4) noted that there are four functions that can be mentioned in the historical use of alcoholics through the cultures. For him alcohol had the use as a sacrifice in all societies, as staple food, as natural stimulant and for medical usage. Alcohol was over long time related to positive and negative aspects in human life. Heath mentions the irony that exists about alcohol from culture to culture. Some people believe that alcohol is a kind of poison, which is dreaded by some societies on one hand and used as food or medication on the other hand (cf. 1987: 29).

Alcohol itself, the brewing and the way of consumption, the culture and the behavior vary from country to country and is always under transformation according to politics, economics, knowledge and welfare over a decade of time.

The reasons are different living conditions from urban to rural areas as well as changing practices and acquaintance with ingredients and the final product.

In Uganda the use of alcohol while rituals or traditional ceremonies is very common and still used.

3.2. Traditional ceremonies

The usage and drinking of alcohol play an essential part in many cultures and religions. In Uganda various fermented brews are over long time entrenched in the tradition. It is part of daily life, it has social and traditional meanings in Ugandan communities.

A good overview of the usage is given by Robbins (1979: 362ff) in his article about "Problem-Drinking and the Integration of Alcohol in Rural Buganda". It is a very good summary about the ritual context of alcohol usage in the Baganda population. He differences between the traditional fermented brews and the more modern distilled ones. The longest traditional alcohol fermented in this region is the banana beer, "*mwenge*". It is prepared out of male plantains (*Musa sapientum*).

"...being considered a healthful dietary supplement and medicine prescribed for certain ailments and fevers, *mwenge* is a customary sacrament in numerous traditional rituals and ceremonies" (ebd. 370). In the context of tradition the people in Uganda distinguish between the fermented brew (*mwenge*) and the potent distilled one (*enguli*). The *enguli* is a more modern liquid, which has not the same meaning to society as *mwenge*.

Rites of the Baganda, where *mwenge* plays a significant customary role:

- "Rites of passage"; birth, name giving, twin ceremonies, marriages, lineage and clan succession ceremonies, funerals, death ceremonies, public and political celebrations
- Libation for ancestors, spirits and gods
- Ending of wars, celebration of brave warriors, kings death

Over decades of times alcohol has important functions within ceremonies, especially during the rites of passage. These rites are important for the whole community. They are marking the end of stages in life and the starting off new periods with new responsibilities, which are related to the whole group and society. The Baganda use *mwenge* also as gifts for marriage ceremonies, for the bride-price, and for the birth of a child. It is interesting that when a woman has born a child the placenta gets buried with *mwenge* near to plantains. "It is believed that the spirit will be absorbed into the plantains, subsequently consumed as food and drink, and thereby be retained" (ebd. 371). As libation alcohol plays a part in many societies worldwide to appease ancestors and ghosts. *Mwenge* was also used to clean the entrails of the dead king. The liquid was consumed by his widows in the hope that he will incarnate. Also after times of war *mwenge* was used by the king to praise the brave warriors. The traditional brew is an important utensil for rites in the Buganda kingdom till today.

Enguli (the distilled liquid of *mwenge*) doesn't have a traditional way of getting consumed. The Baganda use the potent alcohol as medication, but it has no significant customary meaning in the communities. It is a product of modernity, which is mainly used by the youths today. "Although occasionally present, and taken by some as a supplement, it plays no prominent role in any of the ritual or ceremonial contexts mentioned above" (ebd. 372f).

In all communities in Uganda alcohol represents kind of a part in society and ceremonies. The only differentiations are the beverages and the ways of consumption and production.

One example is given by the book from Suzette Heald (cf. 1999: 17 ff), where she writes about male circumcision rituals in Gisu society, where the brewing of millet beer is an integral part. The Gisu are placed in the Eastern parts of Uganda, near to Kenya on the slopes of Mount Elgon. The circumcision turns boys between the age of 17 and 25 years to men, where "the whole ritual process is orchestrated with reference to the making of millet beer" (1999: 56). The brewing of beer while this ritual is directly related to the ancestors to power manhood and sexuality. The first important act of the ritual is the preparation of

the beer by the boys, two to three weeks before the circumcision will take place. The second important step is that two days before the ceremony the boys get covered by elders with the millet yeast from head to toe. Later the mother will add water to the brew for the final fermentation. There is a direct relation from the process of fermentation to the status change of the boys. In the moment of the circumcision the boys are “in the state of fermentation, activity and change” (1999: 25). The process of brewing coming together with the circumcision makes the boys to men. Power and sexuality plays an important part. For example pregnancy in this society is also associated with the fermentation process. The mixture of bodily fluids from woman and man creates a child. “Beer-making thus exemplifies creative process, whether of fermentation, gestation and or that involved in becoming a man” (1999: 56). Alcohol and other intoxicants are utensils that are used over long time for various rituals around the globe.

In Uganda the alcohol is used in all traditional ceremonies where a passage to another status takes place. This phenomenon of getting from one step in life to the next one was well documented by Arnold van Gennep.

Arnold van Gennep (cf. 1986) splits the rites of passage into three phases, which he called the separation phase, the transition phase and the aggregation phase. He mentions that it is very important that all three stages get passed. The separation ends the day when the ritual takes place. The phase of transition is the part of the ritual where the person is neither in the old nor in the new stage. In this stage mainly ordeals and tests are taking place with the ritual members to see if the person is ready for entering the new phase. The final stage of the rites of passage reintroduces the person in the society. The person is now fully accepted in the new stage of life. Rites of passage can take days or weeks. It is mainly a ceremony where the whole society is participating.

In many societies alcohol plays an essential part for the rites, especially when it comes to entering a next passage of life.

3.3. Usage and drinking patterns

From former times till today all countries have a drinking pattern in their society. Over years of economic and political crisis a lot of changes took place with regard to drinking patterns of whole communities. Heath (cf. 1987: 30ff) verbalized that “alcoholic beverages play a wide range of roles in various cultures”. Alcohol is in most countries part of social organizations. In some cultures the alcohol beverages are drunk together in ritual combination as enjoyment or pleasure. Groups of people in many countries worldwide come to sit together to have one or more drinks and to chat about all kind of important themes, which can be related individual, the group or the society. Another part where alcohol plays a role is in religion and beliefs, politics and economics, communication, sexual related topics and behaviors in the community. All these topics are linked to the alcohol use and abuse.

For example alcohol was always used as sacrificial drink. Mainly out of religious meanings it was consumed and prepared from various people at special days. Before the alcohol industry for example in Uganda took over the distribution, alcohol was an important part in cultural ceremonies and was used in controllable ways. It was used in celebrations like, “...appeasing ancestors, during payment of dowry, celebrating new seasons, births, funeral rites, circumcision ceremonies, mending rifts between warring factions and repentance” (cf. UYDEL 2010: 8). Alcohol has various use in religious rituals in different societies. For the Xhosa communities in South Africa “beer is not a homogenous thing, but a social commodity that gives symbolic substance to a variety of ideas about moral and social relationship” (McAllister 2003: 187). In this society beer is a daily need for rituals, connected with the coming together of neighbors and friends. In what amount, in what way and from whom the beer will be consumed depends on the impact of the ritual. The environment of the ceremony taking place is as same important as how many people are participating.

In ritual context alcohol was an integral part used in several ways according to religion, believes and the meaning of the ceremony taking place. Till today

alcohol is used in religious sense. In some cultures various kinds of alcoholic beverages are used for appeasing ancestors or to propitiate and call the gods. Mandelbaum (1979: 14ff) mentions that the “religious usage is great”. There are a lot of variations between cultures, while consuming alcoholics exists, across societies, same like the detection of similarities. Some communities in countries are the more moderate drinkers and they did not need a lot to be drunk, but there are other ethnic groups, like the Camba of eastern Bolivia, who drink 89 % strong distilled alcohol of sugarcane and stay always under the influence of potent brews.

The meaning of the consumption of alcoholic beverages varies from country to country and mainly from community to community. What might be for one society a sin, is for another one deeply related to culture and a product of daily use.

In many countries alcohol historically has the denotation as sacrificial drink. In European and in Christian societies wine was used in religious context in the churches. It was also used as libation for the gods and the deceased. Especially wine already in the past had the denotation to a sacrificial drink and was always associated with gods (tr. Schadewaldt 1985/86: 4ff).

“The common integration of drinking in cultural rituals and ceremonies is further evidence of an adaptive function of drinking. The festive drinking occasions, which provide the pleasurable satisfaction of dependency and self-reliance motivation, may be beneficial for the individual and for the society” (Barry 1976: 260). Apart from that alcohol is a natural stimulant for many cultures and an important utensil to bring people together. In many societies alcohol is on the one hand associated with the enjoyment in groups of people, but on the other hand with severe health damages when consuming alcohol over long time. Willis describes drinking societies in Uganda, where always a kind of ambivalence took place and takes place in current times. “There are two aspects to this. There is a euphoric moment of intoxication which provides occasion for people to idealize their role in society and relationship to others; but they also have a wary sense of the dangers, as well as the pleasures, that altered states may bring” (2002: 9). That might be one reason why ideas and

laws about individual drinking and the consumption of alcohol were changing within groups over time. Alcohol had and has positive and negative aspects for societies; “as moments of pleasure and of the expression of social ideals, but also as moments of social danger” (2002: 14). Additionally it was associated with as being a staple food. Especially beer was seen as nutrition. The fact that beer “has a very high vitamin-B content...led some to argue that a diet of beer and meat – as was the ideal for men in many East African societies – would be entirely healthy...”(2002: 42). Especially in times of food crisis it was for many families a way of nutrition for surviving. “...alcohol is a food (in the technical sense that it affords calories), but it contains no vitamins, minerals, or other nutrients; however, alcohol does often occur in flavorful association with highly nutritional foods. When used in moderation, it is readily oxidized in the human body and does no lasting damage. In short words, there is little reason to wonder why it has been the world’s most popular drug” (Heath 1976: 43). The best known category of drugs alcohol was used in history and kept its popularity as medicinal product till today. Over a long period of time alcohol was used as a medicine and a product for healing various health problems.

3.3.1. Alcohol as medication

Before we knew so much about alcohol, doctors and naturalists in the antiquity were always interested in the reasons of the intoxicating effects on the human body and about the appetite persons create for that feeling. They got influenced with their ideas mainly by the science of body liquids from Hippocrates (460 – 370 B. C.). A Greek doctor named Galen (129 – 199 A. D.) took his idea and developed it in more detail and wrote it down. The doctrine relates to the cosmos, which is created out of the four basic elements: fire, water, earth, and air. The reason that humans, animals and plants are parts of the microcosm made him put the four elements as liquids and as reflection of the human body. The four liquids which for Galen demonstrate the elements in every human are: blood, phlegm, black and yellow bile. Every liquid was attributed to basic qualities which were: cold, warm, humid, and dry (tr. Schadewaldt 1985/86: 6). Following every liquid was connecting to various illnesses and deceases.

Blood: Heart, blood vessels and capillaries (receptacle); liver, spleen, pancreas, uterus.

Phlegm: Lymph nodes and vessels (receptacle); stomach, lungs, respiratory tract; brain, head and cranium; sinuses, veins, spleen.

Yellow Bile: Gall bladder (receptacle); liver, spleen, stomach, duodenum, small intestine, capillaries

Black Bile: Spleen (receptacle), veins of hepatic portal system, stomach, large intestine, bones, joints and connective tissue, peripheral nervous system; liver and hypochondriac region (greekmedicine 2011-07-11).

One good example was made by Schadewaldt (1985/86: 6f): Wine is associated to the basic qualities warm and humid, which meant that for everything which is cold and dry wine was a good treatment. That might be the reason why the wine is liked to be used in geriatric centers. Alcohol got even more significance since the 11th century, when people in Egypt started with the distillation of the essence of roses. From that time also the Christians started to assay the same with the wine and soon they realized that the product must be something particular because of its powerfulness. From there it did not took long that the new product got popular and people started to experiment with different ingredients in hope to get the same achievement – and it was working. Looking at the medical area people thought that they found a universal remedy for all kind of deceases and health problems and soon it got sold in all pharmacies in the cities. It got used prophylactic for purifying the body and got enacted from doctors to drink it daily. It was the strong believe that the daily vomiting from alcohol is healthy for the body because the alcohol continuously cleans the body. But that was not the only area where wine or other alcoholic beverages were used. There were various health problems which have been treated with liquids containing different alcoholic substances. “Wine had a multitude of uses: it was an anesthetic, a solvent and a coolant; as vinegar, on organic acid and a disinfectant – the first aid offered by the Good Samaritan was to pour oil and wine in the wounds. As a drink, it kept better than beer and even improved with age; it was an important element of Mediterranean diet” (Sherratt 1995: 18). People and doctors were assured by the appropriation of

wine in the medicine, same like later the distilled potent liquid had its usage. But with it the consumption of spirits increased in many countries, which costs addiction and abuse of whole populations. First Magnus Huss a Swedish doctor was the one writing and talking about alcoholism as a health problem, in 1849 (Schadewaldt 1985/86: 10); in a time where in Sweden distillates were used a lot and from everyone (Sournia 1990: 43). Later on Magnus Huss made and pointed another differentiation between the known “acute alcoholism” and a more grave addiction, the “chronic alcoholism” (Garfinkel 2006: 63), and publicized it. From that time scientists realized how serious health as well as social problems through the consumption of alcohol can get. Around hundred years after Huss’s work about “chronic alcoholism”, “Jellinek’s greatest work, The Disease Concept of Alcoholism was published in 1960. He makes research for the WHO about various alcoholism cases. He creates the first research about alcoholism as disease. His writing defines alcoholism as any form of alcoholic consumption which causes harm to the individual, to society or both”. In Dr. E. M. Jellinek’s work he “categorized the disease in his five patterns of pathological drinking”

- alpha: Purely psychological dependence to relieve physical or emotional pain, no loss of control
- beta: Physical complications resulting from cultural drinking patterns and poor nutrition but no dependence
- gamma: (Anglo-Saxon) loss-of-control drinking, craving and withdrawal symptoms but can abstain
- epsilon: Bout drinking (dipsomania) (Sournia 1990: 150).

Today we know that there are existing more varieties of drinking patterns, which depend on origin, cultural background, gender and status in the society. Jellinek’s work actually helped further modern scientists to go on in more detail with the research about health problems related to alcoholism. He was the explorer of the alcoholic disease and his concept finds till today acceptance in the work about alcoholism.

3.4. Changing drinking patterns

In many countries alcohol played and plays a role in the society. In the Eastern African countries over the past years lots of changes took place related to the consumption of traditional alcohol. “As a whole culture changes, so do the drinking mores of the people change. We can best see evidences of change and also of long-term stability in drinking practices over the long careers of the ancient civilization” (Mandelbaum 1979: 19). Over decades of exploration of alcoholic beverages, laws got steadily modified and adapted to the ruling regime and its agenda in the respective area. Times of war, the colonial occupation, the rehabilitation until the modern times of globalization influenced the East African countries in their traditional drinking patterns.

Like in former times mainly elder men were permitted to drink alcoholic beverages in coherence with rituals and ceremonies. Beside that the women who produced the alcohol, were drunk in the main time while brewing by their selves. One reason for it might be the fact that alcohol was before and is till today an important income possibility. The money earned by producing alcoholic beverages were a good support for whole families to afford food, school fees and other daily needs for survival. Situations and moments of poverty changed the production as well as the consumption. Today in Uganda many people daily consume heavy alcohol, which automatically changes the drinking patterns. “The palpable sense of drinking crisis which gripped Kenya – and, to a lesser extent, Tanzania and Uganda – reflected an economic and moral diversification, which had become central to the survival and accumulation strategies of many people across East Africa” (Willis 2002: 251).

For long time drinking has been associated with power, which is even worse today. Today everybody is drinking everywhere and every day. It is not the case that a traditional ceremony has to take place to get alcohol and apart from that it is not just a beverage anymore for having fun and dancing together. One of the main risk factors might be that the ethanol content in the alcohol is a quite higher one than it has been in former times. The consequences are various health problems and people struggling with their addiction. In earlier times the

meetings of the elders were a friendly, cultural related coming together and having one or two drinks. Today children and youths start drinking at a very early age. Earlier alcoholic drinks were brought as presents to traditional ceremonies. It was not a beverage that was consumed daily. Related to cultural functions it was mainly a product for ritual use. Today it is sold and consumed on a daily basis by almost all families in the whole country. Another change that can be observed is that many people prefer drinking alcohol alone, which was only taking place in groups before. Coming together for a drink was more or less a time of pleasure for the participants. For these drinking rounds people were sitting together at some special place mainly in their leisure time after work. Today the bars in Uganda open very early, some of them are open for 24 hours. The drinking in the bars starts in the morning and not in the later afternoon after work. The fact that you can survive by the brewing of alcohol, does not motivate people to undertake other activities. The really high consumption of alcohol in a country like Uganda influences the society as a whole and not only the single family itself. The change of drinking patterns has an influence on every single family member and often leads to destroyed structures and the loss of respect for each other. Broader consequences are the increase of violence in the country, the growing number of broken marriages and diseases. Another problematic outcome is the gap between those who accept the production and consumption of alcohol in Uganda and the other ones who see alcohol as a sin. Mostly members of religious communities see alcohol as a product of the devil, which changes people minds and influences the awareness of god. In Uganda the memberships of the Pentecostal churches are daily growing-a group that strictly prohibits the consumption of alcohol because it is seen as a sin. They changed their drinking traditions at ceremonies, from fermentations to soda drinks. "Soda drinking was a rather ostentatious display of sobriety, a public way of distancing oneself from the sociable drinkers of fermented liquor; and for the soda-drinkers traditional liquor was a twofold enemy, representative of the world of superstitious authority and of the inner devil which tempts the individual to sin" (Willis 2002: 262). These two kinds of different thinking were building a gap in the Ugandan society. Still a lot of people see the consumption of alcohol related to culture and to long time existing ceremonies (Willis 2002: 251ff), like it was "before contact with the

Arabs in the 1840s and Europeans in the 1860s” (Robbins 1979: 365). Especially the banana beer has a long history for the Baganda tribe in Uganda and like already briefly noted above, it is an important utensil for ritual and social usage.

3.5. Defining drinking and alcoholism

Drinking and alcoholism is differently interpreted and defined by societies and social groups. In some societies a lot of alcohol gets consumed by every single person. From people standing outside this culture, it might be not easy to understand, why some people daily consume a huge amount of alcohol and would therefore name this person an alcoholic. The term alcoholism and the drinking practices are under cultural influence and can be interpreted in various ways depending on the culture. What is already named alcoholism for some cultures might be traditional drinking practice for other ones. Because of different practices and customs the definition of “drinking” and “alcoholism” varies from society to society. There are distinctions between an acceptable, moderate drinking in groups, intoxication through excessive drinking and alcoholism. Where the limitations of these terms and definitions are, is decided by cultures and by every single person. Mandelbaum demonstrated and elucidated the definitions: “Alcoholism in the sense of abnormal, addictive, pathologically compulsive intake of alcohol is not the same as drunkenness, which can be quite normal culturally, and should not be confused with the standard drinking practices of any society” (1979: 29). Like described above, drinking patterns are always related to the culture and the society a person is living in and surrounded by. Rules and laws about alcohol are always in transformation and depend on the country or social groups. Besides the alteration from whole communities it is important to focus on the role of every single person and to understand drinking practices. Mandelbaum (cf. 1979: 14) explains that it is not only the whole society, which should be observed concerning its drinking practices. Every subgroup in a society is important to analyze drinking patterns, as well as any single individual in each of these groups.

It is significant to talk to individual people as well as to look at the whole group. It can help to understand the reasons of heavy alcohol consumption. This is why attention should be also drawn to the alcohol which gets consumed in a society, its amount and environment. Different scientists distinguish between low and high content alcoholic beverages as a possibility to understand the reasons why some countries or groups are drinking heavily and others are not. The kind of societies who drink daily in a heavy manner might be seen by others as pathological but for them it is their traditional normal consumption amount. Societies, who drink beverages with a high alcoholic content, are not only consisting of alcoholics. More important is the social setting in which the drinking takes place. Drinking alcohol in various settings has mainly an important cultural background. Robbins (1979: 362ff) made an interesting study concerning this topic with a rural parish in the Buganda region of Uganda. The hypothesis he raised was that “when alcohol is well integrated into the sociocultural system its positive social and physiological functions will tend to outweigh its role as a means of assuaging personal psychological problems”. In his work he focused on the differences between lower excessive drinking and heavier excessive drinking of alcohol – it relates to the personal psychological effects. This means that all the bad effects coming with the consumption of alcohol only appear when there is no social reason for it. If there is no religious background or not a ritual taking place, if there are no traditional initiations from families, elders or community members taking place, the person will primarily do it for its personal psychological effects – and it is in most societies related with high alcoholic content beverages. In Uganda, the Baganda have two drinks which were mainly consumed. Today various traditional and modern alcoholics are existing in Uganda. There are alcoholic beverages made by the industry and the ones produced homestead. The two core ones consumed till today are the traditional banana beer (*mwenge*) and the modern distilled one (*enguli*). Members of the Baganda tribe differentiate between these two types of alcoholics. *Mwenge* is for the region a long time known, brewed low alcoholic beverage which is part of the culture itself. The production as well as the consumption of *mwenge* takes place in a much more socialized way than the making of *enguli*. While *enguli* is mainly manufactured by a single person; *mwenge* involves whole families and neighbors helping together. Afterwards the

consumption takes place in groups or during celebrations. The reason why *enguli* is not accepted by everyone might be the fact that it brings danger to health, because of the high content of ethanol. Another reason why people avoid *enguli*, is the risk of explosion while distilling and that the product itself is illegal. On the contrary in the Baganda region *mwenge* is seen as nutrition containing vitamins, used as a long time traditional drink. *Mwenge* brings the people together and it does not bring you in “rude” situations like it happens with *enguli*. The Baganda believe that *mwenge* is their national beverage, which *enguli* is not. *Enguli* is seen as a dangerous intoxicant which rapidly makes the consumer addicted to it. For the Baganda people the distillates are the reason for the increasing rate of alcoholics in the country. They distinguish between drinking together and alcoholism.

3.6. Indication of ingredients and brewing techniques

There happens to be a long history of alcohol and its ingredients. In Africa same as all over the world various alcoholic beverages have been produced and consumed for 150 years.

Willis (cf. 2002: 21ff) shows in the book “*A Social History of Alcohol in East Africa 1850 – 1999*” an overview of the drinking cultures from pre-colonial to post-colonial times. Then different methods were considered in the production and in the usage of ingredients to get the right brew. People were trying to increase the alcohol content for the brews to get less easy spoil.

In former times people were fermenting all kind of fruits, grains, seeds and vegetables. Scientists like Willis guessed that the process of fermentation was known and practiced in many countries all over the world. The reason might be that fermentation is an uncomplicated method to make beverages with some alcohol content. “Sweet things turn sour easily, as sugar is turned to alcohol and associated processes produce lactic and other acids. It is widely supposed that fermentation was discovered quite independent by people in different parts of the world, precisely because it is such a simple and commonplace process” (2002: 22). Alcoholic fermentation takes place if a sort of yeast and some bacteria decompose sugar that produces ethanol and carbon dioxide. There

was a lot of experimentation taking place in East Africa with a wide range of ingredients. The outcomes of brewing always differ in taste and in content of alcohol. It depends on the ingredients and the sugar content of the fruits or the vegetables that are used. The more sugar was available, the stronger the drink was. Since former times bananas were used for the production because of the high sugar source of the fruit. Besides bananas also the saps of sugar cane, of some kind of bamboos and palm trees were used. "The regular production of an alcoholic drink with any kind of consistency of taste or appearance requires some attempt to encourage the activity of particular yeasts and bacteria through the use of what is called an inoculum, a source of desirable organisms which will reproduce rapidly in the right environment and encourage the right sort of fermentation" (2002: 23). The problem with fermented drinks is that they are easily getting spoilt. Fermented liquid cannot be put in sealed containers, because of the production of ethanol and carbon dioxide. It could come to an explosion of the container. Till today African societies are struggling with the fast expiry of fermented products, because for them it means to consume fast or to waste the material. But also in Africa more and more techniques got considered to improve the quality of the brews. In East Africa like in other parts of the world people switched from the fermentation to the distillation of alcoholic beverages. In the 20th century the production of spirits started in East Africa where people used a different fermented bases, sugar based liquor on great variations. In the 19th century the distillation was only known from the coast sides, where Arab and European traders were spreading their knowledge. In this time the distilled alcohol was more for the people working in international trading networks, who were later also the ones bringing the idea and techniques far inside the countries, which "increased the scale of production and in the 1990s locally-made distillates constituted a considerable proportion – in Uganda, the bulk – of absolute alcohol consumption"(2002: 40). The advantage of the distillation was that there is no fast spoiling and the storage in sealed containers is possible over longer time. Another benefit of the new technique was that people could hide the liquid from officials in times of illicit production. It was a very welcomed product as the distilled alcohol was stronger. That meant that with less alcohol and less money you could get drunk faster. In East Africa like anywhere else in the world the spirits with a high alcoholic content bring

harm and problems to society, gender and tradition, but in the same time these spirits are connected to power and modernity. "Particularly in Uganda, illicit spirits were associated with politically powerful Africans: haranguing the hierarchy of the Buganda kingdom in 1935..." (2002: 224).

For the distillation some more equipment was needed then for the fermentation. That might be the reason that in some countries like Uganda the fermentation of drinks is still widespread. To get a spirit with high alcohol content the water has to get deprived out of the fermented liquid. Through heating it the alcohol vaporizes, gets absorbed and afterwards cools down again to turn back to liquid.

In the beginning the utensils for the distillation were simple ones, which later got alternated by more and more contemporary and better methods. "The technology began using simple pot stills, adapting earthenware pots to serve as heating vessels, with copper tubing used to make coil condensers; now there is a fairly standard pattern of still in operation which used an oil drum and a length of copper tubing" (2002: 41). The people in Uganda started to switch from 4-gallon petrol tins, to 44-gallon drums already in the year 1955. This got realized by oil companies by the missing of more and more oil drums. The companies recognized that the people didn't bring back their drums. When they come to buy new oil mostly new drums were needed too. It was a change what happened slowly, but for many people it was an increasing economy to distill with the drums. "Distilling is profitable and provides a helpful cash settlement for producers. However, it does require some initial capital to purchase equipment, *mwenge*, sugar, firewood, and charcoal, and to pay fines and extend credit to regular customers. It is also a competitive business" (Robbins 1979: 367).

In Uganda today you can get all kinds of fermented and distilled drinks. The assortment of the alcoholic beverages is a big one - only differs in alcohol content.

3.7. The local brews

All over Uganda the local brews are similar produced and fermented. They are also using comparable ingredients for the alcohol. The only differences of the products are their given local names and the alcohol content, which changes from place to place and within every ethnic group in the country (cf. Kafuko/Bukuluki 2008: 10). “For example the Baganda brew their ‘**tonto**’ from bananas; the Iteso brew ‘**ajon**’ from millet while the Bakiga brew ‘**omuramba**’ from sorghum” (UYDEL 2010: 8).

Kafuko and Bukuluki (2008: 10f) identify a list of various names from the local brewed beverages:

Name	Meaning and ingredients
Ajabajaba	Freshly heated maize flour mixed with liquor
Ajon/Malwa/kongo/abasohi	Millet beer
Busheera	Millet beer
Kalire	Banana fermented without sorghum
Kasese/mandule/arege	High alcoholic content-liquor scud processed-sugar with bananas
Kikulu/Kaliga	A cocktail of banana beer and liquor
Kwete	Maize beer
Lira-Lira/lujutu	Low alcoholic content liquor-distilled from cassava
Mbege	Banana beer and millet
Munanasi	Pineapple wine
Ting	A residue from cassava liquor, with low alcoholic content
Tonto/Bwakata/mwenge bigere	Banana beer with sorghum

According to the literature review about Alcohol consumption in Uganda, from YEAH (cf. 2007: 6); the most common beverages consumed are:

Tonto or *mwenge bigere*, is mainly produced in the central and western parts of the country, with an alcohol content of 6-11% (YEAH 2007: 6). *Tonto* is made out of bananas and it is a very common drink in Uganda, maybe because of the big assortment of bananas growing in the country. Another reason might be the natural sugar content bananas have, which makes the brewing easier, because there is no adding of extra sugar needed. *Tonto* in Uganda is a fermented alcoholic drink, which is gladly distilled for a higher alcoholic content. "In Uganda and Sudan banana beer is distilled to produce banana alcohol or "*waragi*" (Sharrock 1996: 43). To produce and harvest a pure alcohol with a high percentage of alcohol, the traditional brews have to be distilled. The final alcohol of it is a quite potent one. It is called *waragi* and mainly "contains more than 40% v/v pure ethanol. The commonest type of *waragi* is *kasese*. *Kasese* is an illegal extra strength *waragi*. On the Ugandan market *waragi* is available both in legally bottled form and in illegally, home-made form often referred to as *enguli*" (Nsereko 2010: 20). "Waragi derives its name from "war gin", as the British colonial expatriates in the 1950s and 1960s referred to the distilled spirit known in Luganda language as *enguli*" (wikipedia 2011-05-12). In the 1950s in some parts of Uganda the selling of *waragi* was rapidly growing and by 1960 it was a large scale production of distilled alcohol taking place (cf. Willis 2002:228). In East Africa the time can just get estimated. "The exact date when distillation was learned and employed in this region is unclear, but informants think no more than fifty years ago. Some believe it was introduced by Nubians after World War I" (Robbins 1979: 366).

Ajon or *malwa* is a product made out of millet, which is used for the brewing of beers and is mostly produced and consumed in the central parts of the country, in the eastern parts as well as in the northern parts of Uganda (YEAH 2007: 6).

Grain beer has been produced in Uganda since the 19th century. They used mainly finger millet, sorghum and bulrush millet for the brewing. First the grain has to be put into water for the right preparation. After one day it starts to germinate. Afterwards the grain will be dried and grounded together with flour.

More water will get mixed to the flour, which will be later fried in a pan and dried in the sun. When it is really dry it will get mixed with water in pots, while adding some more flour. The outcome is the local beer (cf. Willis 2002: 24).

Kwete is generally used from the people in the southwestern areas of the country. It is made out of Maize (YEAH 2007: 6). The production of beer made out of maize was increasing in the 20th century. Within the brewing and developing of alcoholic beverages the sugars were centered. After all the alcohol content of the outcome is regulated to the sugar content which is used. In the 19th century honey was the only sugar resource used by the brewers for the alcohol production. This was especially the case in dry areas, where it was not possible to harvest other goods with high sugar content. It started in the 20th century when people got the access to granulated sugar. Very fast the brewers preferred to use the granulated sugar than the honey. For the brewing of alcohol with higher alcohol content, the brewers only had to buy fermented juices, add the sugar and start with the distillation. But it was not only the use of granulated sugar, people found different techniques to control the levels of the alcohol content. For example to earn some more sugar for the *Kwete* the maize sometimes was “heated and roasted, which served to gelatinize the starch and so ultimately released more sugar for fermentation” (Willis 2002: 30ff). Especially from that very time when the people in East Africa started to use granulated sugar and dried yeast, it became very easy for every person to produce alcohol and earn money through it. “Those who wish to make alcohol can just buy a bag of sugar, dissolve it in warm water, add a handful of dried bakers` yeast...and leave it. Within 48 hours, the result will be an alcoholic beverage...” Easy methods like that one in the alcohol production was helpful for that areas, where it was not possible to harvest fruits or grains, especially in times of drought (cf. Willis 2002: 39ff). Within the exploitation of the manufacture the number of people drinking heavily grew was increasing.

3.7.1 The brewing process of Banana Beer (tonto, mwenge)

In Uganda banana beer is mainly produced in the central and western parts, those areas, which are the richest ones in banana harvesting in the country. In the urban regions like Kampala it is very common in all kind of bars. Most persons see the beer as a product, which brings the people together or as an important part of socialization. The Ugandans use various bananas for the process of brewing. These types are called in the local languages: *kisubi*, *ndizi*, *musa*, *kivuru*, *kabula* and *mbidde* (cf. WHO 2004: 20). *Mbidde* is a banana which has been used for the production of beer since 1940 and which the British administrators “tried to ban because they believed that this was a ‘beer’ banana, which had displaced other traditional varieties of bananas” (Willis 2002: 38). Willis argued that the brewing of *tonto* exists in various forms since the 19th century, the time “people exploited a great variety of sugar sources for the production of alcoholic beverages”. Different techniques were developed in various regions, with a lot of “willingness for experiment and change” (2002: 23).

During my own research in Uganda I had the chance to watch the full process of the brewing of *tonto*. I was invited by local brewers who live in Sijji town, which is 32 km far from the capital Kampala. At that very place I had the chance to experience the way of producing the banana beer from the beginning to the final product. This day we used the banana types: *musa* and *kisubi*. After harvesting the bananas, they need some days to get fully ripened. There are two ways according to Musisi (1998: 28) to get the banana ripe. The first method is to put the bananas in the kitchen on top of the cooking fire, in the middle of the roof. While cooking food the steam will make the bananas ready for brewing. They get ripe by the warmth of the smoke. It normally takes 4-5 days until they are ripe.



Bananas ripening through the steam of the cooking fire, by author

The second method is to put the bananas in a hole into the ground, where they get ripe by the warmth and by covering them with banana leaves. This takes approximately 6 days.

After ripening the family will start to collect and prepare what is needed for making the banana juice. “In Uganda banana juice is produced on family basis and not on commercial levels” (Musisi 1998: 25). The whole family helps together. While some prepare the wooden boat (*etyato*) what is kind of a big pot, where the bananas will later get squeezed in, others go to cut spear grass (*esubbi*), which is used to mix it with the yellow, ripe bananas (*embidde*) to make the juice (*omubisi*).



Cutting the spear grass and preparing the boat for the banana treading, by author

After that the yellow bananas are put unpeeled in the wooden boat, where some men will squeeze them with their washed feet while stepping on it.



Squeezing the bananas by feed from a boy, by author

“The role of men in treading has been explained as a result of cultural preoccupations with the possibility of contamination by menstrual blood, but it also fitted into the overall pattern in which men dominated the less physically demanding tasks of production” (Willis 2002: 29). After some minutes they add the spear grass to it and go on stepping and squeezing the ingredients together. The use of the grass helps to cut the bananas in small pieces. The men continue stepping in the boat for one and a half hours.



Squeezing the bananas together with the spear grass, by author

Subsequent to the procedure of squeezing the bananas in the boat, the juice will be put to another place where it gets purified. For it they are building a kind of construction (*kitalili*) like it is shown on the following picture. Under it they are putting banana leaves that the juice can run in the source pan in front of the construction. The mixed husks, left, are put on top of the wooden construction and the last juice is squeezed out. The grass put on the banana leaves helps to purify the juice once more.



Squeezing the liquid out of the husks by foot and collecting the banana juice in a metal pot, by author

Following, the sorghum gets prepared. First the sorghum (*omuwemba*) is roasted over fire. Second somebody starts grinding (*okussa*) it till it turns into powder.



Pulverizing the sorghum and mixing it together with the banana sap, by author

The pure juice is now put together with the powdered sorghum back in the wooden boat. For like 13 jelly cans of juice they have to take like 14 kg of

grinded sorghum. After mixing the liquid quite well, they cover the juice in the boat with banana leaves, the juice husks for creating warmth for the turning into alcohol. This process takes only three days.



Tasting the final product with a straw, by author

After three days they uncover the boat and put the alcohol into jelly cans for consumption and disposal.

The people I was working with were still used the old wooden boots for scrunching the bananas. For that process the techniques did not completely change over times. Willis mentioned that one reason for that could be that “...the yeast and bacteria which survived in the fermenting vessel from one production to the next would have multiplied anew, encouraging fermentation which could give a beverage of a higher ethanol content than grain beers and considerably less sour”. Maybe over years the shape of the boat or tools, or the succession of adding ingredients changed a bit, but as a whole the methods for brewing the *tonto* stayed the same. According to Willis the only transformation what took place, was the squeezing by hands of the fruits through women to the mashing by feet through men. This started when the people produce a lot of *tonto*. By using the feet in a short time more juice could be squeezed out of the fruits and with this method it was not needed to peel the bananas before treading it (cf. Willis 2002: 28).

There were a lot of changes taking place in the production of alcohol in Uganda and in the Eastern parts of Africa. People steadily tried to improve the ingredients, the stability of the products and the techniques of making high alcohol content. With it other problems in different parts of Uganda started to

grow and spread through the country. Today nearly the whole population has the knowledge about the production of alcoholic beverages. Many people in Uganda ask themselves, how it was possible that it came so far. People working on those problems are pointing the government as a main reason for the heavily drinking culture in the country. They complain about the low enforcement and about the old laws which have to be renewed and adjusted to the current Uganda. What is important to mention is that the people in Uganda do not want that the total homestead production of alcohol should be banned. There have to be made differences between the traditional fermented low content alcoholics which is long time known, consumed and embedded in cultural ceremonies and beliefs, and between the new distilled and industrial produced potent liquids.

3.8. The industry and the government

Alcohol is not just an income possibility for local producers. In most countries the revenue with alcohol is made by manufactories, which belong to the government. The state plays a central role in the marketing and advertisement of alcohol. The government makes the rules and laws about the alcohol production and consumption in the country. It is in Africa like in Europe a product of income and economy. By the industrialization alcohol got “promoted throughout the world by the colonial diasporas of European populations;...”, and later till today the “usage was so deeply embedded in the fabric of Western culture that alcoholic consumerism reasserted itself; and alcohol remains today as large a contributor to the finances of Western states through taxation...” (Sherratt 1995: 32).

Willis (cf. 2002: 227ff) shows a great overview about the growing alcohol industry in East Africa and the consequences for the local distillers. In Uganda like in other countries laws and regulations were many times changed and adjusted from government and headmasters. From the time the alcohol industry started to grow, small scale producers were always under custody. In former times the colonial powers tried to prohibit the illicit produced alcohol. In the eyes of the Europeans it was associated with danger if an African person was drunk.

They believed that black people will lose the control over themselves. In these times people from Uganda started to produce concealed at clandestine places. It was an important resource to earn money and an important utensil for cultural ceremonies. In the 1950s the colonial powers tried to enforce the laws by controlling the people continuously by punishing them with imprisonment or hard labor. Some successful raids took place in this time in Uganda, but it did not change a lot. After a kind of punishment most of the alcohol producers went back home to start with the brewing of spirits again. Especially in those days the production of alcohol increased in the whole country. Alcohol was a source of income, but in the same time associated with power and authority by chiefs and policemen, who tried to protect producers from law enforcement by closing their eyes. With the time of independence many people hoped that new laws will come up for the small scale producers. What came up were new restrictions from the government, which were not in the interest of the local communities. By realizing that a total ban is not possible to accomplish, the Ugandan government legalized the local production. The regime made new laws on alcohol production by licensing the local brewers. From then on they should sell their products on a legal market. That meant that small scale producers got a license for legal production of stills, but later they had to put it on industrial sale, where they should be proven, redistilled, bottled and sold. It started when the government focused on the health risks, which come together with the illicit production and consumption of the gin. Officials saw it as the only way to protect the society from dangerous alcoholic drinks. In fact this was absurd, because the industrial produced spirits had the same ethanol content like the illicit spirits by following the same impact on health. Actually the new administrators maintain the same arguments like their colonial predecessors in reasons of banning the local brew. The new gin which was produced by the first company in East Africa was still not anyhow in the same price category like the local, illicit produced ones. That means it was still not affordable for many consumers. "The first distillery in East Africa to legally produce spirits for human consumption was established in Nairobi in early 1963 by the British company Gilbeys-Mathieson" (2002: 231), who later had a share in Uganda where the new product, the "Uganda Waragi" was produced. In the year 1965 the government, as the main stakeholder in the production of gin, established the

new law which they called *Enguli Act* (name for local distillates), that is enforced till today. Even with new laws the illicit brewing of small scale producers goes on. Through the price difference people go on brewing and fabricate the alcohol hidden. “There was a direct price incentive to do this; the factory offered 12 shillings a gallon for raw spirit at 50 % ethanol by volume (with reduction for spirit below that strength). But *enguli* could be sold to consumers for 3-4 shillings...and so licensed distillers produced far above their quota level and sold the excess illegally” (2002: 234). Actually the same happened in England in the 18th century in the time foreign hard liquor was taxed, but the local produced one stayed tax free. What happened was that in this time in London nearly every fourth house was producing and selling high potent gin. The English gin was the beverage for the poor ones and soon a whole drunken society existed, where even children were already addicted. In the end of the 18th century the government tried to prohibit the consumption of the illicit brew, which was not effective. Same like later in African countries, people went on with the brewing in hidden places (cf. Klever 1979: 166ff).

The outcome in East Africa was that police raids behind illicit brewers started again. Over many years administrators tried to ban the illicit *enguli*, but over “years of military dominance and war steadily increased the demand for spirits in Uganda, where the arrest and prosecution of distillers became rare” (Willis 2002: 235). Until the 1970s all East African countries were distilling fermented brews and it got very common. In Tanzania officials adopted the same idea of small scale producers who have to sell their products to industries. There were existing connections between the companies in the countries. In Kenya even violent incidents took place between distillers and officials. In Kenya and Tanzania like in Uganda the local produced spirits were associated with power and modernity for those people who could not afford the bottled industrial alcohol. In the 1990s the trade of illicit distillates increased, while the prosecution and the banning nearly stopped. Traders and businessman came and bought huge amounts of informal produced alcohol to sell it in the city centers or in war zones. The laws on the *Enguli Act* were nearly forgotten and not enforced at all, because the brewing was also an income possibility for authorities and police (Willis 2002: 235ff).

That might be one reason why till today only a low enforcement of laws about the consumption of alcohol and its related problems is happening. The UYDEL blames the government, which improves its revenue on the costs of the small scale alcohol producers and the related health problems through drinking. The state influences the people with advertisements through the alcohol industry. What comes out is a society with an increasing consumption of various alcohols. Today many people are addicts or suffer under the health related problems (cf. UYDEL 2010: 6). The Ugandan industries attract and catch the public with psychologically good adverts, like all other alcohol industries or the tobacco industry do. With popular and known names of the alcoholics the industry makes the drinks very attractive, especially for the youths. Brands named for example Bond 7, Tyson, Beckham Gin or Liberty allow people associations with power. Today Uganda is “dominated by three breweries, Nile breweries Ltd (a subsidiary of SABMiller plc- South Africa), Uganda breweries Ltd and Parambot Ltd” (UYDEL 2008: 9).

Even if the Ugandan alcohol industries are steadily growing, it will not be possible to totally ban the production of the local brews. There is an important connection from the traditional home made brew to ritual and social relations. It is essential for many people and societies. The homemade produced liquid will have always a different meaning for the local people than the one produced by the industry. It is the same like the differentiation between the traditional banana beer and the distilled potent liquids.

3.9. Laws, policy and enforcement

Like already noted earlier, over a long time there are subsisting policies and laws in Uganda about alcohol production and consumption. The law for alcohol in Uganda is occasioned in the year 1964. This law got enforced by the colonial government in former times: The *Enguli* Act. The *Enguli* Act 1964 covers different other laws on alcohol. “*Enguli*” or “*war gin*” is Luganda and means the distilled spirit (cf. Wikipedia 2011).

“As a matter of fact, the core legislations forbidding consumption, use, trade, and manufacture of illicit alcohol date as far back as the 1960s yet not much has been done to review or reform them to fit the current manufacture, trade, consumption, public health, society safety needs and the general socio-economic status in contemporary Uganda” (UYDEL 2009: 2). There are various reasons why it is significant that Uganda gets new laws on alcohol.

The alcohol industry in Uganda grows to an essential business for the state. There are benefits for Uganda through manufacture, sale and use of alcohol but in the same time it brings harm to the population of the country. For example there is taking place a lot of intoxication through potent alcohol. The adverts and promotion by the industry plays a major part to the related harm and the high numbers of alcohol addicted persons in Uganda. The number of people who are dependent on alcohol is steadily growing, which is in most cases connected to domestic violence, incidents and injuries caused by drunken drivers. Today the heavy alcohol consumption is not a problem of a single person; it brings harm to whole societies. It makes the people idle. Many Ugandans stop following their daily duties and responsibilities. This influences whole families and households in various negative ways. The reasons mentioned in this chapter are only a few. To save the future of Ugandans population it is a must that the laws get reconditioned and accomplished. Some regulations exist, but the problem is the wrong or hardly enforcement.

3.9.1. The laws – a short overview

“Uganda has laws that regulate and control the manufacture, production, trade, use and consumption of alcohol”. Their presentation is in some aspects “hindered by ineffective enforcement and implementation on the part of the state”. There are enough gaps existing which should be renewed, that they can be more useful and effective again (cf. UYDEL 2009: 5).

According to the UYDEL (2010: 4f) are the existing laws: *the Liquor Act - Cap 93*; *the Enguli (Manufacture and Licensing) Act – Cap 86*; *the Potable spirits Act -Cap 97*; *the Traffic and Road Safety Act – Cap 361*; *the Uganda National*

Bureau of Standards Act – Cap 327; the Food and Drugs Act – 278; and the Shop Hours Act – Cap 99.

- *The Enguli (Manufacture and Licensing) Act – Cap 86*

“It regulates the manufacture, sale possession and other dealings in *Enguli* and apparatus used for its production. It specifically prohibits consumption and export of *Enguli* and creates institutions, procedures and offices to issue licenses, regulates controls and monitors manufacture and trade in *Enguli* which is intended for refinement into Uganda Waragi. This law could be very effective in addressing issues of adulteration and necessary institutions”.

- *The Liquor Act – Cap 93*

“...regulates the manufacture and sale of liquor; provides for payment of fees; licensing of traders; sale of permits; and premises for the manufacture and sale of liquor. It also restricts consumption of liquor by children”.

- *The Portable Spirits Act – Cap 97*

“...compounding of any spirits for profit or sale without a license is prohibited”.

- *The Traffic Road and Safety Act – Cap 361*

“...prohibits driving while under the influence of alcohol, driving after consuming alcohol beyond the prescribed limit, and inducing or enticing a driver or person in charge of a motor vehicle to drink any intoxicating liquor”.

- *The Uganda National Bureau of Standards Act – Cap 237*

“...1993 established...to determine formulate and enforce standards for commodities sold to the public in Uganda including alcohol, for purposes of protecting the public”.

- *The Food and Drugs Act – Cap 278*

“...creates offences in relation to the preparation, offering, labeling, advertisement, possession and sale of injurious food and adulterated food for human consumption...”

- *The Shop Hours Act – Cap 99*

“...make provisions for the regulation of shop hours...The Act restricts shop hours to between 7.30 a.m. to 8.00 p.m. on a week day, and 9.00 a.m. to 1.00 p.m. on a Sunday”.

3.9.2. The difficulty of enforcement

The observations that UYDEL made, shows the problems on the enforcement. The *enguli* act forbids only the consumption and export of *enguli*. What makes this law weak is that the Act allows its manufacture, dealing and sale as long as the seller has a license. That fact can make it easy for sellers and consumers to misuse the law.

Other reasons for poor enforcement:

- Illegal manufacture, trade and consumption are punished with the general punishment section: 3 thousand shillings (about 1 Euro) or imprisonment for longest 6 months
- Easy and cheap available, no taxes or charges paid on it
- Affordable for all people in large amount (including children and youths)

It is definitely known that the sentences for the illegal production and consumption of *enguli* are too low and that restorations are needed (UYDEL 2009: 7ff).

The Uganda Youth Development Link (UYDEL) is a non-government organization dealing with the problems of alcohol consumption for over 15 years in the country with a focus on the youths. For UYDEL it is a must to deal with various people who can influence these problems. They make it their challenge

to talk with the people in the communities, to the government and policy makers. Today UYDEL works together with other NGOs, with international organizations as well as governmental institutions to fight the excessive drinking of people and youths in the country. UYDEL and its partners fight for a minimum drinking age of 21 years. They are sure that it would make a difference for the heavy drinking of young people in Uganda.

Today different institutions on different levels try to intervene on this topic, hoping that one day it will reach the government level and makes them react. The problem of alcohol abuse and alcoholism are steadily increasing. New laws and rules are considered as needed to reduce the numbers of alcoholics in the country and with it the impoverishment of whole societies. Today organizations look for various ways to prevent young people not to fall into that trap. The only help that is missing to reach sustainability in the reduction of alcohol consumption is the side of the government. NGOs working on that topic know that it is a long way to go, because of the economic interests and the substantial tax revenue the state gains through the alcohol industry.

3.10. Intervention in alcohol prevention and rehabilitation

In the urban areas of Uganda there are various organizations working on prevention and intervention with people in communities concerning alcohol and its consequences. Differentiations of the institutions lay in function and levels. There are “international agencies” which are supporting Uganda with the topic of abuse, as well as “institutions sustained by the government” working for the prevention and reduction of harm in the society, and “NGOs” fighting against the problems of high alcohol consumption and its policy. What might be the most significant element to make steps in the prevention of alcohol consumption is the importance that these organizations work together. Thereby it would be easier to get in touch with different communities and areas at the same time, which could make it possible to share statistics and numbers about alcohol related topics. Today they are working from government level to the local level – the same old problem is the enforcement of laws.

The booklet: “State of Alcohol Abuse in Uganda. Young people drinking deeper into poverty”, UYDEL (2008: 18f) lists all stakeholders working on alcohol and drug abuse in the country.

3.10.1. Agencies and Institutions

- International agencies
- Governmental institutions
- Non-Governmental institutions

In Uganda mainly NGOs are fighting against the alcohol abuse in the country. Besides one hospital which is supported by the government, international agencies try to draw comparisons about alcohol, drug use and abuse to other countries worldwide.

United Nations bodies:

WHO, UNODC, UNFPA, UNHCR

The international agencies try to do their main work in the reduction of harm caused by alcohol and drug abuse.

Governmental institutions:

The Butabika National Referral Hospital is the only hospital working on mental health in the country. Because of the big request of a possibility where alcohol and drug addicts can be treatment, they opened a special ward in the hospital for persons fighting with related problems in 2006. This is supported by the Ugandan ministry of health. The National Alcohol Drug Clinic (NADC) located in Butabika is always crowded with patients. It is the only hospital supported by the government working on the treatment of people with substance abuse. Alcohol and drug addicted people have the chance to get the right treatment and rehabilitation in the hospital. They provide services for in- and outpatients. Twice a week alcoholic anonymous meetings take place, where relatives of the affected persons can be part of the sessions. The hospital is a benefit for the patients, because many alcohol or drug addicted persons are victims of mental disorders.

Non-Governmental institutions:

- Uganda Youth Development Link / UYDEL

This NGO is working on the local level with children and youths in schools and in the street. Many children in Uganda do not have access to education. UYDEL makes a lot of prevention work in slums where many street children and other vulnerable persons are staying. Social workers train them livelihood skills and give them education in their treatment centers. UYDEL also undertakes media campaigns in communities with focus on sensitizing people about dangers of alcohol and substance abuse. They engage in a lot of counseling work with youth referring to the problems of alcohol, drug use and abuse, prevention and protection. UYDEL is working cooperating with all other organizations on the local and the government level searching for better solutions for treatment, prevention and protection of children and youths in that section. The head offices as well as the rehabilitation centers are based in Kampala. The children and youths stay in the center for nine months. During this time they get knowledge about alcohol and drug consumption and impact on health consequences through heavy consumption. Furthermore the youths are receiving an education in one of the vocational preparation courses. Social workers try to motivate the youngest for life and do everything that they get possibilities for their future. UYDEL works sustainable and struggles for a better life for every single client. Some persons who do not have families or future perspectives at all get accompanied by the NGO, receive funding for school fees or other small payments.

- Y.E.A.H

This organization is mainly working with young people. Y.E.A.H means Young Empowered and Healthy. They try to make a lot of prevention work especially on related topics to alcohol and drug abuse. Their main focus lays on the spread of HIV/AIDS in connection with intoxicants. With radio and TV channels the organization made it possible to reach areas with important information where it was not possible to get access before. With shows, games, music and popular musicians they try to reach the young people and influence them with

topics they are interested in. Y.E.A.H developed a network through many areas in Uganda, which is supported by many people, especially by the youth.

- Serenity Centre

This is an NGO working with individuals and families who are addicted to various substances. They are also providing treatment in their centre. The Serenity Centre offers activities in their own institution, but they are also well known for outreach projects, especially in schools and universities. They are also known for their education programs in public places on alcohol and drugs.

- Chronic Poverty Research Centre / DRT

This organization is working on different topics related to poverty. Because of the fact that the consumption of alcohol and drugs are increasing the poverty in the country, it is a main working field for the NGO to reduce heavy drinking patterns.

- National Care Centre / NACARE

It is a local NGO which provides treatment mainly for alcoholics and other services like public education and counseling for a fee. It provides a continuum of holistic care and quality treatment for individuals suffering from mental and substance abuse disorders. They also offer psychosocial support to their families, preventing addictive disorders, promote quality health and care through health and rights education. The Centre is working with the Alcoholic Anonymous 12 step program, which is seen as a very successful method for alcoholics to come out of an addiction. The NACARE also offers quality health care services for the mentally ill ones and works tightly together with the mental hospital Butabika. The institution has two rehabilitation centers, one in Bushenyi and one in Kampala, where the patients normally stay for a treatment of 90 days.

- Alcohol Anonymous groups / AA:

The AA groups are mainly connected to a religious background. For many alcoholics it can be a great help and partner in the fight against alcohol. There are Moslems and Christians teaching against the use and consumption of

alcohol and about related problems of alcoholism. The goal of the organization is to motivate the members to staying sober. For that they are following the *12 steps of the alcoholic anonymous program*, which is considered as a very effective treatment method.

“A.A.’s Twelve Steps are a group of principles, spiritual in their nature, which, if practiced as a way of life, can expel the obsession to drink and enable the sufferer to become happily and usefully whole”. Alcoholics Anonymous was found by Bill W. and Dr. Bob S. in 1935, two American men who suffered themselves from alcoholism. With a great spiritual support they could make it till today to stay sober and to spread their knowledge to other victims of alcoholism. The A.A. are a very successful institution, that counts two million alcoholics treated by the groups and it grows to worldwide associations, and “more than one hundred thousand alcoholic men and women” who try to solve their problems together (cf. Alcoholics Anonymous 1952: 15f).

The NACARE is working for years with the principles of the alcoholics anonymous, showing an increasing advance for people staying sober, even for long time addicts.

The NGOs listed are the main ones working on alcohol and drug prevention in the country. They are working tightly together and they are responsible that people get the chance of treatment for alcohol and drug related illnesses. In this chapter I tried to mention only the bigger and longer existing institutions in Uganda. Today many smaller organizations, which are connected to the bigger ones, are existent. The help is needed, because normally the abuses of alcohol or drugs are in most cases in a tight relationship with poverty, unemployment and environmental circumstances in Uganda. It is a wide range of problems especially poor people have to cope with in Uganda. Many persons use the effects of the drug to run for that one moment away from reality and its hard circumstances.

The reality that alcohol is cultural related, makes it a part of culture, which advocates the socialization between groups, friends and family members. That fact makes it not easier to fight against high consumption communities, same like to give the knowledge to the youth and children. Most of the young

generations grow up with the knowledge of brewing and consuming. The real difference to former times is that the alcohol had a ritual function, which means it was strictly controlled by whom it drank and where. Most significant was that in those times in Uganda and in other countries in East Africa alcohol was strictly prohibited for children and youths.

The situation in Uganda changed today. Through the lack of laws and its enforcement, it makes it possible for men, women, youths and children to drink anywhere and any time

In all countries where the level of poverty is high, the people most suffering from the circumstances are women and children. In a country like Uganda where more than half of the population is under the majority age the problem gets even worse. The most innocent people are the children and youths, but it is them taking the biggest damage out of it. In Uganda the problem about the consumption of alcoholic beverages through youth and children is quite known and highly visible.

4. ALCOHOL UNDER YOUTH

The access to various alcoholic liquids for kids and youths is not hard. A lot of alcohol is consumed in the streets of the ghetto areas of Kampala. Many kids have to struggle on the streets after critical times of war to find a way to survive. Alcohol is for many youths the connection to a peer group, sometimes the only kind of socialization they can achieve. Often the kids know how to brew the liquid, they sell it or consume it themselves. The demand for alcohol is a big one in the streets of Kampala, especially in the poor areas. Today a lot of alcohol is consumed in schools and universities, which leads to performance problems and sometimes even them failing subjects. Many children are addicted to alcohol from an early age on, which destroys their future possibilities. The situation of the young ones is very critical in Uganda, because of the high number of orphans and children who have to live in the streets. Apart from that

the alcohol industry is motivating the kids in every way to keep on drinking. The growing slums in the city centers together with the lack of education of the youths give them a very hard time to overcome these situations. Impacts from past wars, the political motivation as well as the cultural background of alcohol in the country are reasons for the aggravating circumstances today.

4.1. Situation of youths and children in Uganda

Because of the high numbers of children living in the country under the age of 15 years, there are various circumstances a child has to cope with. I focus on the poorest surroundings in the city centre of Kampala. A lot of children are living or working in slums, which brings them in vulnerable situations. Vulnerability describes people (in this case children and youths) staying in critical life situation out of social and economic reasons, that increases the risk of poverty, social exclusion and HIV/AIDS. Especially in the more poor areas of Uganda, the risk of getting infected is high for young persons. Because of the lack of education, shelter, money and nutrition, they are not protected at all. The children and youths in the street are marginalized and more vulnerable than any other group of people. The Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development in Kampala defines vulnerability as follows: "A state of being or likely to be in a risky situation, where a person is likely to suffer significant physical, emotional or mental harm that may result in their human rights not being fulfilled" (2004: 16). In the streets of Kampala it is very hard for the youths to survive. Besides hard living conditions, no medical treatment and a high criminality in these areas, there does exist a lot of stigmatization against the youths. People who are not living in these poor settings describe the youths in the streets as gangsters, street thugs, drug addicts or traffickers, prostitutes, gamblers etc. In the mind of those people it is better not to be in contact with those persons living in the street, because of various diseases and infections. But as a matter of fact, it is most needed to focus these problems in Uganda to decrease the high rate of HIV/AIDS infected people, as well as the high rate of alcoholics in the country. Especially orphans, who lost one or two parents, find themselves easily in risky situations. For Walakira (cf. 2009: 5) especially orphans are in a vulnerable situation. Risky living conditions: children having to work at an early

age instead of going to school, children growing up without parents, children ruling households, children living with HIV/AIDS. Those kinds of circumstances lead especially children and youths to high alcohol consumption.

4.2. Orphans and vulnerable life situations

The rate of orphans living in Uganda is a quite high one. An orphan is a person below the age of 18 years who has lost one or both of the biological parents. The reason why Uganda has so many orphaned children is that the country passed a hard time of war and revolution. The war in Northern Uganda between the LRA and the government (UPDF) lasted more than 20 years. In this period of time, "...estimated 20,000-250,000 children were abducted by LRA" (Walakira 2009: 9). The rebels took their childhood and made them adults, soldiers and murders. They used the girls as sex slaves and the boys as soldiers. Today many NGOs and social workers try to bring those abducted children back to life. It is a long and hard way back to normal life, because many of them are traumatized through horrific experiences from that time. Most of these children do not act like children – they were transformed into adults and warriors. The crisis in the Northern parts of the country was genocide against the Acholi ethnic group, but especially against their children. Most of the children who were able to escape from the rebels were made killers; some were put on alcohol and drugs to handle the situation.

Doctors without borders made an impressive documentation called "invisibles" about those children who were abducted by the LRA rebels and have passed a horrible time of fighting and fear in the bush. It was elaborated of the rebels to target this war against the children. By abducting young girls and boys in the night from their families, the rebels could be sure that alone they will not find their village or home again. Another reason mentioned in the documentary is that children learn easy and that they are not scared because of the lack of knowledge they have. At the same time they are cheap and they hardly can defend themselves. Because of their fearless the child soldiers are also called "gorillas". This war started in 1986 and killed till today 200,000 people. Every day many children search for a protected place to stay overnight, not to get

caught by the rebels. There are around 60,000 night commuters (UNICEF 2005: 119), who sometimes have to walk a couple of hours to reach a safe sleeping possibility. The project “Arche Noah” is one of the places where children and youths can sleep. Sometimes they have to leave their villages very early to reach the NGO before it gets dark. These are very important developments for children, because in these camps the young boys and girls can exchange their experience, which helps to understand the situation and brings them back to life (Bardem 2007).

Today in the Northern parts of Uganda many camps exist for the refugees. These camps are called IDP camps, where many people live in their own country under horrible circumstances. The vulnerability for all kind of health risks and criminality in these camps is very high. It is very important to take a detailed look at these camps and their situation as an extra high consumption of alcoholics can be observed in these surroundings. Furthermore are many people moving from the northern parts of the country to the southern urban area of Kampala.

4.2.1. IDPs – Internally Displaced Persons

The situation of the IDPs living in the camps is described as follows by the UNICEF (tr. 2005: 118):

- More than 100 camps exist
- 95% people of village communities are living as refugees in camps
- Estimated out of 1.6 millions of people, 1 million are children
- 20-30% are suffering from malnutrition
- Lack of drinking water and sanitary facilities
- Only 20% have access to medical treatment

The situation of people living under these conditions is described as very vulnerable. Loum (cf. 2010: 164) mentions the circumstances especially for children as critical ones. Because of a lack of education and parental guidance many children are “getting involved in petty crimes and experimenting with

sexual activities” which increases the risk of HIV/AIDS. Some of the youths and children have no perspective, which leads to a high alcohol consumption. The usage of alcohol is common in the camps and known from all age groups.

“Studies among people living in camps in war-torn Northern and Eastern Uganda indicate that alcoholism is a common problem among the internally displaced populations (IDPs)”...”Such conflict-related factors as well as associated problems like HIV/AIDS and other STIs greatly increase the possibility of substance misuse” (UYDEL 2008:3). Especially drunken young girls and boys are easily used for sexual assaults, which makes the situation critical and vulnerable at the same time.

4.2.2. HIV/AIDS

This excursus to HIV/AIDS is essential as the illness and the missing treatment are one direct reason for alcohol abuse and are boosting the numbers of alcoholics.

For long time Uganda has been facing a high number of HIV/AIDS infected people. “Approximately 940,000 Ugandans are living with HIV/AIDS” (NAHC 2010: 34). Especially people living in conflict and urban areas are in a more risky situation than persons living in rural places. While Uganda had in 2005 a “fall from an average of 18% in 1992 to 7.9%” of HIV/AIDS infected people, the numbers in the war zones in the North “ show higher rates than the national and more than twice as high rates as the neighboring regions” (cf. UNAIDS 2005: 3). People who are living in poverty do not have the access to the right healthy nutrition, which weakens the immune system and in turn it is easier for the virus to enter and spread in the body. That is how the situation looks especially in the urban areas, where areas of slums and ghettos are steadily growing. In 1992 in urban areas 30% and in rural areas 3% were infected with the virus. In 2000 the rate showed 8.7% in the urban areas and 4.2% in the rural areas of Uganda. The reason for that numbers could be that there was not so much data existing about the HIV/AIDS rates in the village places (cf. Rüb 2008: 92ff). Uganda is pointed from other countries as very successful in the fight against HIV/AIDS and the decreasing numbers of infected people. But one fact is sure: The

epidemic is destroying important social networks in communities, in the families and as a whole. The worsening conditions make people poor and bring them in awful situations. HIV/AIDS is depriving families and erases an important generation in Uganda. Many children and youths lost their relatives in an early age and have to grow up alone. The outcome is that today 2.5 million orphans are living under hard conditions mainly in the streets of Uganda (cf. ugandaorphans 2011-09-01).

In Kampala the urban slums are steadily growing, where most of this children and youth are living. It is a kind of circle these children are living in. In many cases the youths are growing up without education, knowledge, and help from relatives. The situation in the slums is very risky to get infected with the virus, on one hand. On the other hand, "HIV-positive slum residents are more vulnerable to issues of housing instability because they are often unable to work due to their medical condition and thus cannot save enough money to move into better shelter" (NAHC 2010: 34). The people living under hard conditions try to earn some money by making small businesses in the streets. They are very imaginative concerning the jobs they are doing. One main problem working in the informal sector is that the employees have no health insurance. Without help the medication and treatment is not affordable. The people in this area sometimes prefer to buy food and water, instead of medicine. A lot of money flows into drugs and alcohol in the ghettos. The consumption of high potent liquids is affordable for everyone, which might be the reason of the enormous consumption rates. One main problem caused by alcohol consumption related to HIV positive persons, is that it harms the function of the ARV drug treatment.

Obrist (2006: 95) who wrote about Tanzania and the "Struggling for health in the city" mentioned: "Not only gaining a living but also obtaining services has been and continues to be a constant struggle in Dar es Salaam, particularly for the poor". It is the same problem the people have to face in Uganda. It is money needed to get access to medical treatment. In poor areas many people are still dying from rather simple illnesses, where the right drug treatment would help them to survive.

Another example is given by Bird and Prowse, who wrote about poverty in Zimbabwe. They demonstrate how hard it is to get an HIV/AIDS treatment for people suffering under the disease. The example given by them is about a young, pregnant woman getting infected by HIV. Because of a lack of money this woman was not able to make a pre-natal check in a hospital, which means that she will not be able to bear her child in a clinic. Furthermore she will not receive the important medication to protect the child from infection while pregnancy, same like the treatment after it is born. It is important that women who are HIV positive do not breastfeed their babies to prevent them from infection. The reality in poor areas looks different. Even if the knowledge of high transmission risks is given, there is still the lack of money existing. Many women cannot afford to buy daily food for their babies, which makes them going on with the breastfeeding (cf. 2009: 133). This fact makes many children in Uganda like in other countries starting a life with HIV.

Life on the street is a very hard one. It is a rat race which is taking place day by day. Many children are not allowed to have a childhood in Uganda. It is a daily struggling for money to afford food, shelter and health care.

4.2.3. Life in the streets

Also the life in the streets is one of the main reasons why children and youths are misusing alcoholic beverages. Many young people try to reduce the harm in the slums and in the streets by the help of liquids.

Children and youths living in the streets of Uganda are many. The highest number of children is living in the urban slums of Kampala. "Approximately 93% of the urban population lives in slums" (NAHC 2010: 34). That means that in Kampala the main populations are slum dwellers. A life on the street means a life under hard circumstances. It means a daily struggling, without working possibilities, without access to clean water and food. Sondhi-Garg works over long time with and about street children. In her comprehensive book about these street children, she points out that street children are not a homogenous group and that it is important to distinguish between "market children" and "homeless street children". "Market children" are children who are working or

begging in the streets and markets of urban areas. Those children run every day to the streets to earn little money for their families, but they are not living in the street. They have a home where they regularly go. "Homeless street children" are described as the ones who are working, sleeping and living in the streets, mainly without relatives and any kind of support from others. It is very important to realize, that a street child is not at the same time an orphan. It is fact that living on the street with or without relatives "constitutes street child labor" (cf. 2004: 2ff). There are various conditions and situations existing, why children and families live in the street. One main group might be the widows who lost their husbands and end up in slums and poor settings. The loss of many relatives relates to the steadily growing of the slums in the urban areas and is the correlation with the high numbers of HIV positive people. One main problem the women have to face in this context is that for them it is culturally not acceptable to inherit property after the death of the husband. Mostly those women were surviving on the money brought home by the husband. As a widow left with some children, without financial support, the only possibility is to find cheaper housing in the slums. It is a very hard way of life in the slums with a lot of stigmatization taking place. In these poor areas where no protection is given, prostitution, sexual assaults and violence against women is a daily practice. All this problems raise the number of HIV positive people in the country. The temper and the violence in those areas is a higher one then in areas where the living conditions are better ones. The people living in the slums are excluded from the rest of the society, which built up a marginalized way of living under permanent stigmatization from outside. It might be one reason for the high alcohol and drug consumption. The access to all kind of intoxicants is a very easy one in Kampala; in particular in settings of poorer housings.

Another reason for children ending up in the street is that they run away from any kind of domestic violence which takes place in many households. In many cases children and youths get forced by relatives to do all kinds of work. Some kids, who lost their nearest family members, were gripped by relatives who are still alive. In many cases these young persons have to do everything in the household, where violence and sexual abuse is the agenda. This makes many children and youths run away from home to search for a better live in the city

centers. At this point it is important to mention that the extended family system in African countries offers many children a house, nutrition and in some cases also schooling. The ministry of gender, labor and social development talks about the importance of social family networks in the country: The existence of the extended families saves many children from extreme poverty and life in the streets. "Ugandan communities have traditionally absorbed orphans within the extended family system. One in four households in Uganda fosters at least one orphan by providing for health, shelter, nutrition, education and other needs" (2004: 2). This system of care taking is helping many children from total poverty and orphan hood, but in some cases it can bring whole families in socio-economic problem situations. Many families in Uganda have difficulties to nourish their own family. Most of the times the elder generation (the grandparents) is the one who raises the youngest ones (grandchildren). Because of the high numbers of HIV/AIDS infected people in many families a whole generation is missing.

Further more shocking reality is that in the ghettos of Kampala households do exist where only children are living in. Those children lost all relatives or do not have the possibility to live under the protection of elders. In this case children have to raise children under hard circumstances without parental guidance. Those children and youth fight every day for their surviving, in the slums and ghettos of Kampala. These are child-headed households without any kind of safety. Many times very young ones fend for their younger siblings. All of them are in a very vulnerable situation, because the young girls and boys who have to take care of the more young ones have to fight day by day for food and shelter, while providing in all kind of jobs. Especially children are loved to be used for all kind of works for the elders in the slums. The youths who are excluded from society find peers on the streets, who are going through the same circumstances of life. In the informal sector the youths find ways to survive, which make them built up "a greater self-belief and a stronger awareness of individual power and autonomy" (Frankland 2007: 49). For many youths the street is the only place where they belong to and where some of them gain a kind of a status. The informal sector makes the people survive. The "partial employment" is over long time a kind of backdoor – a way out of total

poverty. Stan Frankland mentions a reason for the steadily faster growing city the industry and the economy since World War II. "During the years of violence that followed Amin's takeover, the urbanization of Kampala and the growth of its suburbs continued and this growth has only been accelerated since President Museveni has taken power. Despite the economic rehabilitation of the country and the implementation of structuralized economic policies, the 'informal sector' has continued to grow" (2007: 39).

4.2.4. The informal sector – child labor

The informal sector gives a wide range of possibilities to people who need to gain money. Especially children are engaging easily in this kind of jobs. Living under poor conditions, takes away their chance to go to school. If there is no possibility to access education, youths have no prospects. In this case youths and children look for any kind of work to earn little money, which are mainly hard corporal labor jobs with little or no payment. One way is the brewing and selling of liquids. Walakira states that more than 3 million children are working under the age of 17. These are 32 % of all children working in child labor jobs. Those jobs are mainly risky ones that are very dangerous and hazardous without any safeguard. Before ending up without food and shelter, young people on the street enter in all kind of jobs (cf. 2009: 14). "Newly poor residents appeared to be stunned by both the rapidity and the depth of their poverty and were being driven into unfamiliar forms of coping. Illegal or adverse coping strategies are increasing: commercial sex work, crime (housebreaking, mugging), illicit beer brewing, gambling and drug dealing. Teenagers and young adults have been drawn into these activities to make a living, deepening the generation gap between the old and the young" (Bird / Prowse 2009: 137f). Unemployment, high rates of diseases and drug addiction increases the criminality in areas where people have to struggle for their daily needs.

The informal way of earning money is the one and only way giving the poorest a chance to survive. "The streets represent a space that is beyond the authority of the state, beyond the rules of the formal economy and out of the grasp of formal development" (Frankland 2007: 39).

These youths work many hours per day under unhealthy situations. These children have no childhood, living in worst economic situations, raising themselves without guidance. They become proto-adults. Those children are invisible for the majority. There is a lot of stigmatization and marginalization against those children existing. Without education and a right upbringing, it is hard to distinguish between right and wrong. This might be one problem of the high alcohol consumption taking place under children and youths in Uganda – especially in the urban slums of Kampala. The drinking of local brews as a child growing up under hard circumstances ends many times in a vicious circle, where one problem follows the other one. It is essential to mention, that the problem is not only the consumption of alcohol and drugs. Many times elder drug addicts and drug dealers use young boys and girls as drug mule. The access to various drugs is given. Sometimes elder ones force the young ones to take potent alcohol or other drugs. The daily situation in the streets is easier to handle under the influence of intoxicants. This is much common under prostitutes, girls and boys who sell themselves in various ways to gain some money.

Furthermore there do exist many companies and employees in Uganda who prefer to have children and youths as workers. The reasons are simple ones: Children are cheap and they cannot defend themselves in difficult situations. That means if you do not want to pay them, you just do not pay them. Mainly the works these children are doing are very hard ones. They are suffering under various health-related consequences, because of the risky settings they are working in. Many of the youths handle this situation with the support of any drug. In Uganda especial young people can easy get and afford high potent alcohol, due no restrictions and laws. The physical and psychological outcomes of this mixture are numerous.

Besides the hard circumstances the youths in the streets are not protected from the stigmatization, which is taking place. They are excluded from the benefits and the modern world. For many youths alcohol is the only opportunity which makes them feel self-confident and proud. It also helps to forget the situation they are living in. It should not be forgotten that the brewing of traditional alcohol is an important income source for many families and households.

4.3. The relation between alcohol, poverty and youths

The existence of problems related to alcohol and poverty are various. In particular in countries where the rate of people living in poverty is high, heavy consumption of drugs is taking place. Before I described how fast a daily consume can bring harm to the whole family and to the surrounding society. The addiction to alcohol makes humans vulnerable and brings them into risky situations. But there are various relations to the Ugandan people, to the existing alcohol, which have to be considered. Especially youths are fast influenced by things parents or the elders are doing. The young ones would not think that it can be wrong to daily consume alcohol, if the others are doing it. Sometimes youths are facing peer pressure to get part of a group, where alcohol and drugs are daily routine. Apart from that popular musicians and the alcohol industry are supporting the drinking of youths. Too many children are living in poor settings in Uganda. With the consumption of alcohol most of them debark in total poverty, which takes away their chances in life.

4.3.1. Households and culture

Alcohol can bring problems to whole households. Sometimes only one person who is regularly drinking can ruin a good working family network. In most cases the men are the ones hanging around in the bars, spending the household money on drinking heavy liquids. This is a big risk for the whole family to end in real poverty. In these cases many times the children have to quit school, because there is no money left. Having all these different problems, it can happen very fast that a family household can subside into total poverty. "Reports indicate that many households face problems of compromised health and nutrition care because husbands spend the meager household income on alcohol. Leading to the collapse of household's economic security" (UYDEL 2008: 2). Another problem which in many cases relates to alcohol is the violence taking place within the families. The WHO (2004: 63) points out that "alcohol has been shown to be a significant risk factor for husband-to-wife violence". This makes many women running away from home, finding a place in

cheaper areas like slums. It is a fact that the children and youths are suffering most, if their own family gets divided. For many youths this is the start for the drinking alcohol. A child needs support from the family while growing up, a safe and stable home. Not many children in Uganda have the chance to grow up under best qualifications. In times of crises and poverty most young persons start drinking. There are various ways how people start to drink excessively, but it is a fact that “a broken home characterizes the childhood experiences of many alcoholics” (Barry 1976: 254).

The main problem out of this is that the children and youths grow up seeing the behavior of their parents. It is hard to make youths understand why drinking at an early age and behaving rude towards women are wrong. Furthermore the traditional brewing of alcohol should not be drawn out of attention as reason for the heavy consumption in the country.

It is easy to imagine how fast the access to alcohol can be at an early age, if there does not exist any traditional background about the consumption and production of alcohol in the country. For the young persons the process is acquired knowledge, because they were growing up with the brewing process. Many mothers use alcohol against all kind of diseases which a child can get. Especially against worms, coughs and colds they believe that it helps the child to become or stay healthy. Many families cannot afford other ways of medication.

The production and selling of alcohol still helps a lot of families to survive. Today the alcohol productions as well as the selling are mainly performed by women and girls. “Women and girls who brew alcohol often ask young children to sell it, thus introducing children as 8 years to the drinking alcohol” (UYDEL 2008: 3). On the one hand it is a way of making profit, but at the same time it brings harm to the young family members.

For the youths it is in the same time a good income possibility, which helps them to earn a few coins every day. It makes them proud to earn money by themselves. The selling of alcohol in the streets makes the children and youths get to know others who are doing the same. Immediately there is togetherness under the youths, which gives them a feeling of strength. Especially as a gang

member, alcohol plays various roles on the street. Mainly it shows power, masculinity and authority to the gang members. Hunt et al. (cf. 2005: 241) shows in an article about “Alcohol and Masculinity” that many times kinds of initiations taking place, till a newcomer can get a full member of the group. This kind of testing is mainly proofed by heavy alcohol consumption. It is an ordeal which is comparable with other initiation rituals. Especially for youths the affiliation with a group is very important. If the excessive drinking is a part of entering the group, they will do it. The majority of youths have the first contact to alcohol over other peers.

4.3.2. Peers

The reason for the number of children and youths being drunk daily might be that they never saw it in a different way. In the case that there is no parental guidance many children grow up with help of the elder ones of the household. It is kind of normal that the children follow the behavior, ideas and movements of the elder ones. Peer groups and peer pressure is one of the main reasons for children and youths getting in touch with alcohol and drugs. These peers exist everywhere in Uganda because of the need of affiliation. Peer pressure exists in the streets of Kampala same as in schools and universities. There do exist few studies about the problem of scholars using alcohol in Uganda. Many young people in Uganda, who can afford to go to school, are studying at boarding schools. Over the whole school year they are living in the school. They only go home for the holidays. In these schools always competitions between the scholars are taking place. They are working with points-based systems. They have school every day and sometimes their exams on the weekends. To make it possible to study through the night, many youths help themselves with alcohol. They smuggle the alcohol into the schools to enhance their own achievement. Apart from that alcohol supports the self-esteem of the youths. It helps young shy people to talk without panic in the classroom, as on the street. Most of them do not realize that they are running into an addiction, which many times ends in risky situations like poverty.

The main reason of the high numbers of young alcoholics is the affordability for everybody everywhere. UYDEL working with young alcohol and drug addicts points out that “even the poorest and other vulnerable groups like children, students, slum dwellers and IDP communities can easily afford it and in many cases excessively consume it to their detriment and that of other members of society. It is sometimes preferred to other types of cheap alcohol because of its potency, and the attendant capacity to produce the desired outcome faster” (UYDEL 2009: 7).

The youths are an endangered part of the drinking society. Children and youths are easier to influence than adults. Many times the music, the adverts from the alcohol industry and the peer pressure rule the world of the young people.

4.3.3. The alcohol industry and the musicians

The children and youths in Uganda are steadily under the influence of the alcohol industry. Everywhere where you are going in Kampala you can see adverts about alcohol. Especially in areas which are related to children and youths, most of this kind of advertisements are taking place. In particular near to schools, youth hostels and universities; you can see the posters everywhere. In many adverts the industry uses popular personalities who are well known by the youths. Footballers and trendy musicians are mainly used on the pictures with a beer or other alcoholics in their hands. The way how the alcohol industry catches the youths is a quite effective but also dangerous one. The children and youths, who see their favorite footballer drinking, do not believe that drinking can bring any harm, as long as you make some sports. The industry uses the youths as their target audience to earn money, without considering social or health related consequences. Another way the industry in Uganda started to make revenue with kids, are the small sachets they produced. These small sachets are cheap, fit in all trousers and jackets, which means that it is very easy to hide. The youths can buy it everywhere and they can go with it everywhere.

Other places where youths were steadily confronted with heavy drinking are the Ugandan dancing clubs. There are numerous clubs around everywhere. It is

definitely a place for youths to drink without problems. A luganda proverb asserts that “few can drink *mwenge* without dancing” and *mwenge* is considered to be a necessary stimulant for musical and dance performances” (Robbins 1979: 368). The drinking in the club is used as a support for an easy dance, flirt or for a simple communication with the other sex. Alcohol gives the youths this kind of strong feelings of self-esteem, which makes them brave to behave sexually. This is one of those problem situations about the spread of any STDs. Contraception is easily forgotten while being drunk. This is especially the case with *enguli*. The Baganda men think that the high potent alcohol makes them sexually strong and does not let them fail the sex act. The drinking of *enguli* by the Baganda is also related to sexual violence from strangers, same as in the own household.

In many cases children and youths cannot understand the risks related to heavy alcohol consumption. It is hard to identify the problems of the alcohol consumption in the country, if the drinking is supported by the industry and the state itself. The alcohol turns poor lively hood situations into even more sever ones and makes the single person particularly helpless in the state of being drunk.

PART II FIELD CASE STUDY

5. EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

5.1. Background and accession

The background to my research topic of interest, I gained through my experience while working in various social accommodations, dealing with minorities and neglected people on the streets as well as providing them basic services. Many times these people are homeless persons, for whom the high consumption of alcohol and drugs is a daily part. The reason for my research area is my strong connection to the continent Africa, especially to Uganda. Since I have started to study, I focused on various health problems and how the people deal with them in disadvantaged areas. The fact that alcohol related problems affect Uganda in various ways I received from my Ugandan friends. From this moment on I focused on the reasons for the high consumption as well as on the consequences. During my first visit in Uganda I realized that the people, who are affected most by high alcohol and drug consumption, are the youngest ones. From there I started to focus on children and youths living in slums and under poor circumstances. Problems of high alcohol and drug consumption are diverse and widespread especially in these areas. With the knowledge that more than 50% of Uganda's population is under 15, I realized that the problem is not only an individual anymore. The high number of alcohol consumption in the urban areas affects the whole society. In Uganda more and more people move from rural places to urban areas, in hope to gain an employment and to earn some money. But the live in the city of Kampala is hard and unpredictable. Many of the young people find themselves living under poor circumstances in one of the endless growing slums of Kampala city. After gaining this knowledge and discussions about the problem with stakeholders and NGOs, my topic of interest was decided.

5.2. Period of time

My first visit to Uganda was in February 2010. The duration of this first stay took three weeks. My plan in this short time was to find persons and organizations working on alcohol related themes. I wanted to gain knowledge about all topics which exist in combination to alcohol and if it will be possible to improve the facts and data to it. I was lucky enough that I had the chance to meet the right people while my first stay, who gave me a great overview about alcohol in Uganda. It was an important period of time, where my research questions were finalized.

My second stay was from the beginning of January 2011 to the end of March 2011. It was important for me to have time to get in contact with the right people during my stay. I started to get in touch with experts from various institutions working related to alcohol. With the help and contact of the right NGOs I got to know the right people, as well as the data which exists to alcohol consumption in the country. The knowledge and the experience I earned through my fieldwork, was while working with the various NGOs. Because of the great support from the side of the Ugandan people I had the possibility to collect my data in rehabilitation centers, hospitals and in schools. It was significant that I had enough time for this work. Especially with alcohol or drug addicts sometimes some more time is needed to get in touch and to get to know their ways of life and movement. I was able to build up some of this trust and to earn some faith. That was the only way to get the right and truth information from the interviewees.

5.3. Study participants and scope of research

Through my collaboration with different NGOs I had a great access to persons working in the field of my interest. My aim was to get to know the experts; like doctors, nurses, social workers, counselors and traditional alcohol brewers in the country. It was essential to get a kind of an overview and an understanding about how it is possible that the alcohol consumption in Uganda is that high. First it was a must to find out the cultural and historical background of alcohol in

the central region of the country. After some time I focused on the children and youths having an alcohol related problem at an early age. With the youths I was spending most of my time. It was important for me that the young people have the chance to get to know me. I wanted to build a trustful foundation before starting to work with them in more detail. Especially in the rehabilitation centers it was crucial to use a lot of sensitiveness and carefulness. The third group of participants I have chosen were men and women who have a long time experience with alcohol consumption and intoxication, as well as with the illicit production of spirits.

The research took place in the central area of Uganda – the Buganda kingdom. I mainly worked in Kampala, where the biggest hospitals and NGOs are placed. Apart from that it is the city center where the highest rates of alcohol and drug addicted people and youths are registered, mainly in one of the slums of Kampala. I gained the knowledge for my research by working in various institutions. Outside the city center, I moved to the rural area of Mpigi, where I could found the traditional alcohol brewers. In these places I gained the knowledge of alcohol brewing and the important historical and cultural background of the production. My “hanging around” at places, where alcohol addicted persons are socially drinking or in the areas where the consumption of alcohol through youths is a high one, was a helpful method for the holistic understanding of the topic while doing my research. Page and Singer (2010: 23), who work over periods of times on alcohol and drug consumption in different societies on the world, confirmed the way as meaningful: “In the study of hidden behaviors like illicit drug consumption, “walking” with drug users (into shooting galleries, crack houses, abandoned buildings, homeless shelters, soup kitchens, drug coping sites, treatment centers and similar locations where drug users live out their daily lives) had proved to be a productive approach to generating knowledge”. It is a way of entering into the world of that very person to understand various ways of life and behavior. Especially if you want to work with kids or youngsters it is an important step to give the person the chance to get to know the person who is doing the research.

Following I will give an overview about the places and institutions I worked with.

5.3.1. Places and institutions of research

Places and institutions	Kampala	Mpigi
Hospitals and rehabilitation centers	Mulago National Referral Hospital Butabika National Referral Mental Health Institution	
Social institutions and NGOs	UYDEL Y.E.A.H PADA NACARE	
Slums, pubs and bars	city centre	
Traditional brewers		Sijji town

Like mentioned above the study area was Kampala and its surroundings, which are placed in the Buganda kingdom. Outside of Uganda I made my main research about the production of banana beer with traditional brewers in Sijji town. In the city center of Kampala I was working with experts in the state hospitals Mulago and Butabika. From there I started with my expert interviews as well as to talk with some of the clients. In the Mental Referral Hospital of Butabika I had the chance to be twice a week part of the AA sessions and to talk to the patients as well as to the relatives. Furthermore I visited different NGOs working with alcohol addicted youths. I spent my main time working with the kids in those rehab centers or NGOs, where I conducted most of my interviews. Besides working in organizations or public buildings, I made participant observation in the slums and pubs. The organizations are working in various ways, as described earlier in the chapter *Agencies and Institutions*.

The comparison of literature as well as the experience I made at the centers, hospitals and on the street through participant observation lead me to my research question. Out of one main research question, three more sub questions developed.

5.4. The research question

Where does the high alcohol consumption in Uganda come from and how does it influence the future of the country and every single person?

- *What are the reasons that already children and youths are drinking?*
- *How do the social and cultural consequences look like?*
- *Are there counteractive measures and future perspectives existing?*

5.5. Data collection methods and techniques

For the collection of the data for my research I needed information from various sides and I had to use different approaches. The table further down shows an overview over the participants and the methods which were used.

The main differentiation I had to make in the approach was between the participants and the groups. The first step out of it was to put the informants in categories. I decided to distinguish between the experts, the youths and the alcoholics, who partial stay under treatment. Different methods were needed to earn the right information and knowledge. With the key experts I decided to make semi-structured interviews. They were telling me various stories about their institutions, working methods and treatment possibilities. With this interview method I was able to guide the discussion by asking about themes which were important for my research, without having strict questions. Nevertheless I knew that I have to find another way of communication with the children and youths. Over the three month of my stay I had the chance to work the most of the time with kids and teens in various rehab centers as well as on the street. It was a good time to get to know each other. In the slums and in the bars I had the chance to make a kind of monitoring of that area. After some days of participant observation I was already known and welcomed. My aim

with the young people was that they get to know me over some time, before I did my interview with them. For the kids as well as for the people, who have long time experiences and stay under treatment, I used the narrative way of interviewing to find out more about them and their past. Mayring emphasizes the great outcome a narration can have. The results from an open speech can surprisingly be totally different from the answers of a closed interview with specified questions. The findings sometimes bring new perceptions to the researcher (tr. 1996: 54). The only difference was that sometimes it was hard for the kids to open up their mind for me, so I tried to help out with some structure as well as fun while talking. I was intentionally using mixed methods for the approach, which are considered a helpful technique for collecting data. The approach using three different methods; participant observation, interviews with the youths and expert interviews; brought forward various aspects about reasons and consequences of alcohol addiction among youths. Flick calls the correlation of different methods “triangulation” (tr. Flick 2011: 73).

Categories	Key informants Experts	Youths	Alcoholics, partial under treatment
Approach	Semi-structured interview	Participant observation / narrative interview / semi-structured interview	Partial observation / Narrative interview
Number of participants	7	10 (6 males, 4 females)	3
Processing	Literally transcription	Literally transcription	Literally transcription

The interviews were all recorded by audiotape and were literally transcribed word by word, for a better understanding of the situation where and in which context the talk took place. All participants got greatly informed about the

project and about the reason for my stay. Before the interviews took place I informed every person once more about the way of converting the data and the reason for recording it.

To do drug research on various levels and functions is very comprehensive, but at the same time a big challenge.

5.5.1 The impact on drug research

However interesting the research about drug related themes might be, it is an area where lot of carefulness and sensitiveness should be given and where the anthropological work might look different than in other cases... In many times drug addicted people are in a critical life situation where other aspects of the life of this person have to be considered and involved. It can be kind of surprising for the researcher how many themes and other persons are involved in the life of one person who is addicted to a drug. Page and Singer, who write about the ethnographic research in socially disadvantaged areas, mention that: "This approach is especially advantageous in the study of complex behaviors such as drug use, because so many aspects of the human condition affect and/or are affected by drug use-many more, in fact, than are commonly realized without reflection. Family relations, religious practice, economics, labor, diet, arts, warfare, healing, and leisure time activities are just a few aspects of the human experience that exemplify the relatedness of drug use to other human behaviors" (2010: 7). While my research I discovered several reasons why the youths start to drink from a very early age on, as well as numerous consequences. It was very important to enter in the field (whether in the slums or in the rehab centers) with respect and a kind of distance. There can be various reasons for an alcohol addicted person to behave differently in that very moment than the moment before. Especially youths who live at the social margins are involved in petty crimes, begging on the street, brewing illicit etc. To see kids struggling daily in the streets to have food and shelter, suffering of malnutrition and AIDS, contains daily management of strong emotional pressure. Beckerleg and Hundt, who made research among Kenyan Heroin users brought up, that people who are addicted to the drug are mainly

“...vulnerable people with low self-esteem whose social skills are impaired by drug use. They can be bad tempered, irritable, and unreasonable and might become upset if they think they are being slighted, ignored, or refused a request” (2004: 133). People who are under the influence of any drug are always in this special difficult situation. For the anthropologist who makes ethnography it occasionally might not be possible to get in contact with the person at any time. Drug related research sometimes needs more time than planned. While my field works I had my experience with the traditional brewing. It was hospitable to have just one drink of the homemade brew. Most of the time it does not stop with one cup and the brewers normally have already had some drinks before. In this case it could take hours till until it was possible to get the information which was needed. It is a part of Ugandan culture and at the same time respect towards the family. The one or more cups of homemade brew made us talkative and motivated the brewers start asking questions. It was time and confidence needed before I was able to start with my interviews. If the research is about an illicit drug, it is important to pay special attention to the photographs and recorded material. In Uganda the brewing of illicit alcohol is illegal, which can bring various problems to the interviewee, especially if he or she is under age. Police persecution, arrest and stigmatization can be the aftermath of doing blindfold research. Agar Michael aptly points that research on the street among drug addicted people has to be well figured out, before entering the field. He brings up that on the street it is better not to ask questions, because of the risk of putting the person interviewed in a vulnerable situation. Moreover he mentions that there should be knowledge about the movement and behavior of the people researched. To know about the youth's life, ideas and leisure activities is a must to get the first contacts (cf. 1980: 45f). It can get quite a problem to enter in a group of people, who you just get to know. To get contact and furthermore information about culture, movements and its people in a foreign country can be a challenge.

5.6. Analysis of data

The triangulation of methods which were used leads me to differentiations but at the same time to interference of problem related themes. The interviews with the youths show different ways of coping with life in disadvantaged areas and give new perspectives to the alcohol problem in the urban areas. Together with the observation of persons and areas I got an overview about how the production and consumption of alcohol is influencing the life of every family and youth. Secondly the expert interviews deepened my results and helped me to complete my research.

Out of it three main topics were considered and focused on while the research:

- The reasons for the alcohol consumption in Uganda
- The consequences for the people and the state
- The future possibilities and the existing and possible counter measures

The following chapters will show the outcomes of the research in Uganda and will explain in detail the reasons for the high alcohol abuse through the young generation in the country; the consequences on health as well as the impact on the social and cultural part. After that I will focus on the existing counteractive measures done by the NGOs and the government.

6. REASONS FOR ALCOHOL ABUSE IN UGANDA

During my research the following crucial factors and reasons for the high alcohol consumption in Uganda emerged several times, in the interviews and over the whole period of my fieldwork. I decided to focus on the following themes to give an overview about the various outcomes while my stay. It was important for the understanding of the problem of alcohol abuse in Uganda to

center and discuss the reasons from the past as well as from the present. The subject areas considered as crucial were chosen.

- Traditional and cultural usage
- Poverty
- Globalization and peer pressure
- Government and the alcohol industry

There are various reasons for the consumption of alcohol in the country. Many times it is a mixture of more than one cause, which leads many people into different crisis, where the intoxication through alcohol and drugs has its role in most cases. The main reasons and factors were well summarized by YEAH (2008: 8) after making some research with youths in problem related areas. "Influences that lead young people to consume alcohol included the home environment, peer pressure, social events, inadequate parental controls, the media, the need to prove one's masculinity or maturity, to diminish sexual inhibition and increase one's energy and desire for sex, as a coping strategy for stress and an escape for problems, to overcome idleness and boredom, to stimulate one's brain, to cure ailments, and because it is cheap and easily accessible". One reason and excuse for the usage of alcoholic beverages is the traditional brewing and the cultural meaning of the local liquid. It is quite hard to make people understand the consequences and the negative outcomes of a utensil which is used daily without rules over period of times.

6.1. Traditional and cultural usage

The traditional and cultural usage of alcohol by the Buganda kingdom is over long time a part of their society. It is an important utensil for various kinds of rites and ceremonies, but also for the daily consume together in groups. The production as well as the consumption helps many families to get regular income. Over the years changes took place in the fabrication of the local brew and with it also the behavior of the people changed. But today the Ugandan alcohol has an alcohol content which is higher than the one used for the feasts

before. That the brewing is illicit is not stopping the people to go on with the drinking of their local liquids. That the alcohol is over long time a part of Ugandan tradition makes it hard to understand why it should suddenly be stopped.

6.1.1 Rites, feasts and ceremonies

The usage of alcohol in its cultural context is deeply embedded in the life of every Baganda. The knowledge, from the production to the final product, is over long time a part of Baganda society and is passed on from generation to generation. It got a tradition especially during ceremonies, where every family member has its own part. This includes children and youths at the same time, who know from the beginning of an early age on how to brew the local liquids. A traditional brewer states:

“When we are brewing it is a family work. We do it together as a family. Mother, father and the children...They just grow up seeing the parents and then they also learn how to do it. Even the one, who made the demonstration for us, is my son”.

(Alcohol brewer 2011-01-20)



Learning by doing. Children help to put the bananas into the boat, by author

From the point of view of medical doctors and other scientists it is the main problem for the kids to get used to the alcohol as a product without harm at an early age. The fact that the whole family and the neighbors are brewing and

consuming alcohol shows the children that it is an ordinary product. Children get used to the traditional alcoholics especially during the production.

“The children know the process already very early, and while the process they already drink. That’s really a problem”.

(Basangwa, executive director of mental referral hospital, 2011-02-08)

Today it is known that children and youths in many cases copy the lifestyle of the parents or the people they grow up with. Especially if it is about a substance, which is used daily by all family members, children and youths take the consumption as normal (tr. Zink / Permien 1998: 215). Mutawee, who is the program officer of UYDEL, sees the problem especially in the village areas, where the possibilities are limited.

“In the rural area a child grows up and sees the same faces and people every day, maybe for many years, maybe for 20 years plus. So they need to have positive role models for this young people while they are in the villages, at least. They should not wake up and see the same people drinking and hanging out in the bars every day”.

(UYDEL, 2011-02-09)

In the rural places it is harder for the young person than in the city centrals to build up their own mind, because of less people and possibilities. There is also less prevention work through various NGOs taking place. They are mainly working in the urban areas. Another man told me his own childhood experience of growing up with the production of alcohol. Since his childhood James is drinking homemade alcohol daily. Today he is an alcoholic, who was abandoned from family and friends, hanging out day by day in the same bar.

“Really I was greatly influenced by my parents because they were manufacturing it and they could not deny me to take alcohol and on another hand it was accessible for me to get it at any time I liked it”.

(Client1, 32 years, Kitetika pub, 2011-01-27)

Furthermore the alcohol has a special function while traditional events and ceremonies. An interesting interview with an elder woman who brews alcohol over a long period of time, gives me a great overview about the various

functions of the local brew. She knew all kind of brewing processes, as well as about the ways how it is consumed while ceremonies. She is one of the traditional alcohol brewers from Sijji town. The day I had the chance to visit her, she gave me a great inside into the meaning and usage of alcohol in the central area of Uganda. One main usage of the liquid is while cultural fests. During traditional ceremonies the home made brew has a long time denotation in the Buganda kingdom.

“Yes it has three main duties. You can use it when you are going to marry; as when you are going for introduction, they use it, as we the Baganda (...) you have to come with some alcohol. Whether they come with it in the bottles or in special pots. Then the second one we use it for the funeral days. When someone dies or someone will die you have to come with alcohol. Then the last one, it is served on the weddings (...) like after introduction. Yes these are the cultural duties”.

(Alcohol brewer 2011-01-20)

The Baganda use alcohol as present for the ones who are celebrating. It is a sign of respect to bring the own homemade brew to the feasts. Furthermore alcohol has its special denotation during initiation rituals. In many countries like in Uganda it is in the same time used for sorcery, healing and initiation and to arrange contact to the ancestors. Hunt (2005: 227) gives one example and mentions that “...drinking for boys is also viewed as a *rite de passage* into manhood”. The use of alcohol in a ritual context is known from many societies around the world.

“...people use it (...) how to call (...) when they are going to use witchcraft. When you go to the ceremony they ask you to drink it, you or the person what is inside. You know for the ghosts. In order that you want they come in your head, you have to take alcohol. So they start to sing and drink alcohol and then they wait till the ghost comes, that they can communicate with it”.

(Alcohol brewer 2011-01-20)

Moreover alcohol is important for the social functions of the Baganda people. One Ugandan proverb says that “friendship thrives on beer”. Mainly after a hard working day the men are used to come and sit together and enjoy the chatting

and communication about the daily happenings. It is a part of the drinking culture of the Baganda, where strict rules exist and are followed. Not everybody is allowed to drink with everybody. Robbins (1979: 371) who writes about the drinking behaviors of the central area mentions that the alcohol is an important part of friendship. The drinking partners try to sit and drink together the traditional brew in a regular way. "If one partner is not present a special gourd is set aside in the event he might eventually arrive and/or to imply he is there in spirit". One boy described me the ordinary way of drinking rounds which are observed over a wide area.

"They are taking it social, like a group of ten people. They take some straws in a pot, and they start to drink it social in a group together. This is very common in Ugandan societies. It is a part of tradition".

(Youth1, 20 years, UYDEL, 2011-01-26)

Another reason linked to tradition is the improvement of the family income by brewing and selling the local liquids. The production and selling of the homemade product is long time known in Uganda and goes through various stages. Today it is illegal to brew alcohol in Uganda, but nearly every second household is trying to earn some money with brewing from time to time.

6.1.2 Surviving by brewing – the informal sector

Since long time the brewing and selling of local alcoholic brews is one way to gain money in Uganda. The informal sector especially grows in the rural areas. There are huge areas existing in the Western parts of Uganda, where people harvest the fruits and crops, prepare the local gin and transport it through the whole country, especially to the city centers. The business with alcohol guarantees the brewers over generations a regular income through the production and disposal.

Mr. Mutawee, mentions as positive fact about the informal brewing:

"We know since time of memorial, the cultures are involved and they were brewing alcohol from time to time. That is more or less part of their culture". Furthermore it is long time an income possibility for whole households, like "even the vice president himself in his book that he wrote like two years ago, said that more or less the income for his school fees came from brewing alcohol. So this is...somehow good to get money. It is in the informal sector, that people are selling beers and everything and they are getting money, they are getting income even. It is not bad really, because people don't have really so many of viable conductive they can engage in at the given time, to be able to earn income". (Mutawee, program officer UYDEL, 2011-02-09)

Especially in those areas where it is hard to make money on various sections, the brewing and selling of the local brew is an important income possibility. In Sijji the rural brewers illustrated me the reasons for the alcohol production similar.

"It helps us a lot! We pay school fees for our children. We buy sugar, clothes, salt and all kind of other home needs".

Since long time it is a significant chance to survive in the more disadvantaged areas.

"During the previous years we were used to be taxed during the production of alcohol, and we didn't pay like with money, we paid with the produced alcohol...Like there is a person in the village I will sell my hen, and he has to pay me like 5000Ushs (...) for them whenever they make alcohol, they pay with the alcohol". (Alcohol Brewer 2011-01-20)

In those former days it was possible to live a good life only by the production of the traditional alcohol and by selling crops, fruits and vegetables from the own tenure. Till today many families use the chance to get little money by the illicit production of alcohol. In the district of Kibaale (western part of Uganda) the original local *waragi* is called "liquid gold". It provides many farmers and whole communities regular revenue, especially in times where the production of vegetables and grains fail. The bananas needed for the beer can be harvest

over the whole year for a few times (cf. Tanzarn 2002: 84). The positive and practical side of the traditional alcohol is that more families are able to survive, but on the contrary at the same time brings others into total poverty and addiction.

Unemployment and poverty are reasons for the increasing number of people consuming alcohol. The population in Uganda is fast growing and the possibilities for education and occupation are getting less. Apart from that the illicit brewers will not abate their production. If there is a constant demand, Ugandan people will improve their income by the brewing. The outcomes of the situation can be seen in the urban areas like Kampala. It is getting worse day by day, which especially leads the young generation into risky situations.

6.2. Alcohol and poverty

“Drinking is a social activity. Alcohol is used back home cultural, and then there is this animal called poverty. People think that...you can drink and forget about the poverty, instead you are adding on the problem”.

(Amanya, executive director NACARE, 2011-02-21)

The chronic poverty research centre exemplifies that beside ethnic and political conflicts and physical or mental health problems, the persistent alcohol abuse is one of the maintainers of chronic poverty in Uganda (cf. Kaduru 2011: 7ff). Especially in the urban areas like Kampala many people are living under the poverty level. Where people live under hard circumstances in poor surroundings the alcohol and drug consumption is a higher one than in areas where the poverty is not as that high.

6.2.1. Life in disadvantaged areas

One of the main disadvantaged areas in Uganda is the Northern part. The conflict area in the North of Uganda has a higher poverty rate than elsewhere in the country. This situation makes the people very vulnerable to get infected by various diseases, especially under the influence of alcohol. Many people today live as refugees under horrible circumstances in one of the camps, which offer

protection. 1.5 million people live as refugees in their own country. The alcohol rate is the highest one in the conflict areas (Ali / Stoltz 2005). I received the same information from a man, who works with statistics and is aware about these increasing numbers of alcohol consumption.

“You have more alcohol consumption in the destabilized areas then in stable areas. So when there is some confusion, when there is destabilization, when there is unemployment, you find higher alcohol consumption then in areas where you don’t have this”.

(Tumwesigye, Department of Epidemiology and Biostatistics, 2011-02-26)

In the biggest slums of Kampala mainly children and youths try to survive under horrible circumstances. In these urban ghettos many of the former child soldiers try to start a new life. And in these areas the alcohol and drug consumption starts at a very young age. Here children get educated by children. Many of the people live in poor houses or on the street. The youths, I had the possibility to talk to, explained various reasons, why they are taking consuming so much alcohol. After some time working with them I understood the circle they are living in and why it is so hard to get out. Most of these children had to live a life without guidance from the beginning on. Many lost their parents at an early age and were grown up by elder children, aunts or grandparents. These people are living in a marginalized world where they earn lot of stigmatization, which curbs their labor and future possibilities. The youths only partly talked about horrible circumstances, where the only possibility to stand it was to get intoxicated. Hurrelmann (1996: 58) talks about the importance of the “occupational sector”, which is a significant factor of security of getting an employment is the imagination of every young person. The idea of one day having a family and a regular income, build the basis for the young peoples’ futures. If this is not guaranteed by the society a person is living in, the framework of security is missing and influences the youths in various directions. The topic mentioned here by Hurrelmann deals with the idea of entering a job directly after successfully finishing school. In Uganda many young people do not have the access to school education, which makes them aware of the reality that they might never be able to enter the job market, to live a good life and to offer their

children an education. Living with the idea of not having a chance makes the youths to live with hopelessness and a heavy amount of problems. The step to intoxication in this combination is only a small one. The reasons for starting taking drugs on a regular basis are numerous, Bohonnek (2007: 27) mentions. He says that alcohol and drug consumption influence the awareness, let them feel more adult, help and support them in problem situations at school or at home, they want to have fun, be more self-confident and want to relax. Many youths are curious about the intoxication and try various drugs and mixtures. Others take them to forget difficult, past life situations.

6.2.2. Street life and employment

Dr. Ian Clarke, who wrote the article “Are we becoming a nation of drunkards”, published in the Sunday Vision: “The problem with alcohol in Uganda is related to its easy availability, which coupled with a lack of employment, means that people are likely to fill their time drinking” (Clarke 2010: 10). Only very less youths living in Uganda have the chance to access education or furthermore the chance to enter the job market. Especially the young people, who are living in poor areas or on the street, start to drink very early to forget the situation they are living in.

“...there is hard life on the street, especially during the night. Those children do sleep outside on verandas or I don't know...so it's cold during the night, and sometimes there is heavy rainfall during the night. Those children are forced to take alcohol or drugs that they can survive in this kind of lifestyle”.

(Youth1, 20years, UYDEL, 2011-01-26)

The problems of children which are long time working or living in the streets, doing various kinds of small jobs to survive are in high risk to live in poverty their life long. They have no chance to be a child in the daily hustling. For them everything is about earning something to survive. Unemployment and poverty put the children and youth into total marginalization, mainly for life (cf. Sondhi-Garg 2004: 52f). There are many petty jobs, which are done by children and youth to earn few coins. One problem is that especially young people get forced

by elders to do dangerous jobs. Some of my interviewees described similar situations.

“So many youth there were drug traffickers, so some people use the youth to traffic drugs here in town, because the police don’t suspect a small kid having drugs”.
(Youth1, 20 years, UYDEL, 2011-01-26)

“Yeah, I also sold it! Those things you know...money is there! If you have drugs money is there”.
(Youth2, 18 years, UYDEL, 2011-01-26)

Young people, who do not have the possibility to go to school engage in various informal hard labor jobs, sometimes without payment.

“I was a walker! These are people what sell goods, while walking with them. I was selling movies, DVDs and CDs, plus electric lamps around the city Kampala. Sometimes I walked for days and I didn’t earn a single coin”.
(Youth1, 20 years, UYDEL, 2011-01-26)

“You know me I used to work in stone quarry, can you remember I told you...you see my wounded hands and feeds...this is all from the stones...I was also a car washer and I was collecting garbage”.

(Youth2, 18 years, UYDEL, 2011-01-26)

“For example in the supermarkets we take the rubbish to the dustbins and they give us some little money or something to eat”.

(Youth1, 20 years, UYDEL, 2011-01-26)

Many children and youths start with the consumption of intoxicants to forget the surrounding where they are living in. Sometimes the drug is the only possibility to put their mind into a calm relaxed condition.

“I was working in a stone quarry place, but when we finished working in the evening, after getting money we used to go in town to make ourselves happy. The thing we could do to make ourselves happy was to take beer”.

(Youth8, 17 years, UYDEL, 2011-02-19)

"Sometimes I took alcohol...because I had too many thoughts. I wanted to take alcohol so that I can be happy, and that I don't have to think about anything".

(Youth3, 18 years, UYDEL, 2011-01-27)

"In the evening we go and take alcohol, for relaxing and to run away from all sorrows what we have...it was the only thing that could put me somewhere alone and I didn't think about any problem that I found in life anymore".

(Youth8, 17 years, UYDEL, 2011-02-19)

The children, who engage in dangerous jobs, mainly have no other perspectives in life. Many children are living alone in the streets from the beginning of an early age on, because they lost their family members. The slums in Kampala are steadily growing, because of the high HIV/AIDS rate in Uganda. The only ways to earn some money are various petty jobs... This brings some of the youths in vulnerable life situations. Especially the girls are in danger to end up in prostitution, where alcohol plays its role to make the girls forget or to make the situation less horrible. Many of the children who lost their parents are brought to various family members, who take care of them. Some of the children are lucky and they can keep living a normal life with parents in a protected surrounding. In other cases the situation can easily run out of control. The youths who have the experience with living at an extended family place, explain partly hard conditions, where violence and mistreatment is a daily routine.

6.2.3 Extended families

The reasons why many children struggle in the streets of Kampala are that they do not have anybody who cares for them. My experience is that many youths are treated badly, when they have to live with extended family members. Some children and young people told me about horrible circumstances and violence, which made them run away from home.

The reason for this is poverty. Many households are exploding because they count too many people. This is the reason why children and youths sometimes have to cope with unfriendly, unfamiliar situations. The youths I got to know

described similar situations. Many of them decided to leave the place and live by themselves. One big problem mentioned by the youths is that there was not enough money to go on with schooling. The youths needed to start to support the family they were now living in and to work in hard labor jobs.

“The time I lost my mother I came to my brother. So my brother had a wife, and the wife started to mistreat me. She wanted me to work like a slave. Before I was allowed to go to school I had to wash clothes, cook food, look after her babies and clean them. Many times I came late to school”.

(Youth6, 18 years, UYDEL, 2011-02-01)

“After my mother died, I had to stay with my step mom. To stay with a step mom is not something what is easy. She said she will not give me the school fees...I had to quit form home, and I just came to Kampala”.

(Youth7, 20 years, UYDEL, 2011-02-07)

Some of the youths had very early experience with violence within the family they were living in. Like the situation of Ivan, who had to live with his aunt and never got accepted as a full family member. Ivan was working hard on the street, because he had to daily bring home money to his aunt.

“Sometimes when I go to work and I didn’t bring enough money, she bits me. I was still young, but she bits me. One day I asked her for little money, because I was working for three month. When she heard that I became rude, she starts to bit me, and the time I was trying to escape, she got a teapot full of tea and throws it after me...fortunately the hot tea hit the door and only small water powered on me. From this moment I run away from home, living as a street child”.

(Youth1, 20 years, UYDEL, 2011-01-26)

One main factor described by the youths as a reason to start drinking alcohol is the lack of parental guidance.

“I was alone...because my parents died very early. My mother died when I was four years and my father died when I was seven years. So I didn’t have someone to limit me in joining to take alcohol or marihuana”.

(Youth9, 18 years, UYDEL, 2011-02-19)

The death of many of parents is one reason for the horrible circumstances in the ghettos and in the streets. The aftermath of war, AIDS and political failure is the world where the youths today have to find their way. It is a hard world without assistance from the family or the state and without employment; and it is the world the youths have to survive in today. Furthermore there is lot of stigmatization in the streets, the youngsters have to face. A young person who lives in a poorer setting, moving with gangs will always be connected to crime and drug abuse (cf. Frankland 2007: 39f). These youths are marginalized from the rest of the society of the urban population.

6.2.4 Social marginalization and stigmatization

There is a lot of stigma existing, making the lives of children hard and complicated. The association of young people returning from war with being drug addicts is widespread in the country.

“...many children got kidnapped and were forced to join the rebel groups. And they were told out to take drugs that they can stay in the bushes. Rebels take drugs that they can stay in the forests, that they cannot fear they cannot feel the dangers”.

(Youth1, 20 years, UYDEL, 2011-01-26)

In Uganda the main society is frightened by youths taking alcohol, because of criminality and experiences from the past. This makes the situation in the urban areas very complex. Drunken young people in Kampala get regularly imprisoned, because of the stigmatization of being a rebel. This is what happened one day to Jeremy and his friends.

“...we were coming from the night club. It was late at night, we were all very young, and we were arrested from the security police along the way back home, because we were so drunk. They suggested that we were rebels and they arrested and imprisoned us for two weeks”.

(Youth9, 18 years, UYDEL, 2011-02-19)

There are various ways of stigmatization the street youths have to face. The stigma, which the marginalized young generation in Uganda has to face, stands in correlation with the fear of the rest of the society. A child who lives in the streets of Kampala is associated with drug addiction, being a rebel or criminal, as well as with all kind of diseases, especially HIV/AIDS. Singer, who writes about stigmatization of a street drug addict points out, that the surrounding society is part of the situation in which addicted people are living in. Living on the edge of society, where they have to suffer lot of stigmatization, did not help to solve the problems – it pushes the person more into marginalization. “...demonization, stigmatization, and blaming the victim are part of the problem, not part of the solution” (2006: 155). Similar statements are declared by Farmer and Kleinman. In the article “AIDS as human suffering” they explain the problem of scientists, who put the focus of HIV/AIDS on technology and drugs, instead of the life of the infected people and their changing surroundings. In fact the drugs are mainly accessible in the so called “developed countries”. Besides suffering by having various health related problems as a HIV positive person, the pain and losses through and in society harms them a lot. It would be very important to put the point of few of science about HIV/AIDS on the suffering of the people and their life stories to fully understand what it really means to live on the edge of society (cf. 1989: 149ff).

To live in a marginalized society can cause various health risks. Many youths take alcohol or drugs to handle the situation. These kids only find support in peer groups. This kind of social surrounding and hanging out in groups is the only togetherness most youths can achieve on the street. To help them through a critical life situation, a lot of young people are taking drugs. It gives the kids back the lost self-esteem to survive in the ghetto.

6.3 Globalization and its impact on the youth

Today the youths in Uganda are growing up in a very critical time. On one hand the western world is taking over and on the other hand the poverty in the slums under the skyscrapers is steadily growing. Stan Frankland describes Kampala as “a place of constant transformation and contradiction”. He sees the problem

in the dualism “between the desire for economic development and material gain, and the fear of spiritual loss and cultural decay brought about by globalization” (2007: 32). Especially through the western media and music there is a wrong picture of money, sex, and drugs given to the young people. The fact that the youngest ones believe in ghetto life and criminality to survive, lets them end into total poverty or in prison.

6.3.1. Music and entertainment

The Western music, which was brought to Uganda, is influencing the youths a lot. There is a lot of music which supports high alcohol and drug consumption. The client I interviewed is over long time producing hip hop music in Uganda; he blames the media. At the time of the interview he was admitted to a drug treatment in the Butabika hospital.

“Maybe these days it is getting worst, maybe because of the media. Music, hip hop, so even children are trying it...it is us what came up on the MTV what not, so we wanted to be like that”.

(Client3, 32 years, narcotic under treatment, Butabika, 2011-02-08)

The problem of hip hop is that it shows a world which does not exist in Uganda. It gives the youths strength and shows them a world full of money, girls and luxury.

“Hip hop is full of drugs, alcohol and money. This is what it is all about. This is what we do; this is the only thing we do. It is all about women and drugs and hip hop”. (Client3, 32 years, narcotic under treatment, Butabika, 2011-02-08)

The problem is that the youths can easily identify themselves with music. The demonstration of a marginalized ghetto street life that comes together with alcohol and drug consumption shows the youth a similar life like the one they are living in. The music brings the youths together and builds a kind of bondage around and between them. Peers are very important for the youths and sometimes it is the only place where they can find themselves. Alcohol is part of the experiences they make together in the group. The high consumption of

alcoholic beverages is not only consumed by the kids in the streets. In Uganda a lot of alcohol is drunk at school and at university, which affects the country as a whole. This has a strong impact and influences the development of Uganda and its future.

6.3.2. Schools and peer pressure

One focus should be the youth who are going to school. A lot of alcohol is consumed already in the schools in Uganda. There is a lot of pressure taking place. It is very hard to reach the climax to have the chance for a future with an employment. Many children and youths cannot stand this pressure and start to consume alcohol at an early age. UYDEL (cf. 2008: 5f) points out that many parents are asking for help, because of the high alcohol consumption in the schools of their kids. Especially the “secondary schools are extremely vulnerable to the alcohol problem”. The existence of alcohol in the schools is well known. The director of the National Care Center talks about the increasing numbers of youths consuming alcohol in the schools:

“We were been going to secondary schools and we found out that about 80% of the young people have tested alcohol...tested, but you will find those who have a problem are about 60%, and those who admit the problem are about 30%. The rest don’t admit”. (Amanya, executive director NACARE, 2011-02-21)

One young boy was talking to me about his experience of drinking alcohol at school:

“The peer group I joined; some are taking, some are abusing alcohol and drugs, so I got adopted. I refused to smoke marihuana, but I was drinking...taking a lot of heavy alcohol in the school...We were drinking every day, because we had a slogan: If you go in bed when you are not drunk it will not be worthy! We used it to cheer up reading”. (Youth7, 20 years, UYDEL, 2011-02-07)

Another reason why the youths easily end up in alcohol abuse is the peer group. It is described by many scientists that it is very important for a young person to belong to a group.

“Especially the young people, who are in an age of experimentation, try to find someone, they try to belong to a social group, whether in school or out of school”.
(Mutawee, program officer UYDEL, 2011-02-09)

Zink explains that especially youths and children with a past and horrible experience look for people who experience their life in a similar way. It can be the only way how they can earn some acceptance, which might not be the case at home or at school. It is kind of understanding each other and being in the same situation. That is another reason why young people end up on the street as gang members (tr. 1998: 218). The pressure from the group can be a strong one, weather in school or on the street. While talking to the youths I got to know, which enormous pressure lies on them.

I had a conversation with one boy, who told me about the fear he has to meet the same peers after the treatment in the rehab again.

“I don’t want to go home, and be with those friends and peers, which stayed at home while I was here. It would be very bad to be with them again after my school here. Those groups are very bad. I was very young. I was just seven years when I started to drink alcohol. As a group member they fight me to take it”.
(Youth2, 18 years, UYDEL, 2011-01-26)

Another similar example is given by another client. He was admitted to the alcohol unit at the mental hospital and explained me the problems about the peers he had. The people around him played an important role for his first relapse.

“I don’t know how it happens, I just got back in. That’s why I don’t know what I am going to do when I go out here...If I could cut off the whole life, my whole friends completely, maybe I have a chance. Because from 2008 I was clean, but the people around me where still the same. That’s the way how you are fast back in, if you don’t want to lose your friends”.

(Client1, 32 years, narcotic under treatment, Butabika, 2011-02-08)

Furthermore it is essential to mention that alcohol makes the youths more self-confident in their talking and behaving. Especially in the group it is important to be a strong person in front of the youngsters, because to stay a gang member you have to be rude and strong.

Mr. Amany, who is known about the various reasons of alcohol abuse from youths mentions that *“the young people tell you like, if I don’t take alcohol I cannot talk to every person, because I feel shy, but when I am dixi I can talk to everyone, I can say anything what I want to say. The alcohol strengthens their self confidence”* (NACARE 2011-02-21).

There are various reasons why young people start to drink. Especially in high risk situations or while doing risky jobs, kids take alcohol to trivialize the circumstances. Much known is the high alcohol consumption if youth engage in sexual activities for money. It makes them strong, potent and in the same time it makes them forget reality. Prostitution in general and child prostitution is widespread in Kampala, which causes various consequences, I will describe in detail later on.

There are many reasons for the high alcoholism rate among the young generation in Uganda, but it is the government who has to start creating new laws to decrease the numbers of the persons drinking.

6.4. Government and politics

There are a lot of discussions about the lack of renewing and enforcing the laws about alcohol in Uganda. For years various NGOs and stakeholders have tried to make politicians aware of the problem. For social workers, doctors and various engaged in this topic, it is a must to get support from the government who is able to make a change. The problem in a country like Uganda is that the government is closely working together with the alcohol industry and that the most important thing out of it is the right high value. This reality is well summarized by the transform drug policy foundation, who explains that “Alcohol producers and suppliers see alcohol from a commercial rather than a public health perspective. They do not bear the secondary costs of problematic alcohol

use; quite naturally, their primary motivation is to generate the highest possible profits. This is logically achieved by maximizing consumption, both in total population and *per capita* terms” (2009: 103).

6.4.1. No rules and no restrictions

The main reason for the high alcohol consumption is the lack of laws and restrictions in the country. The same problem is seen by all NGOs and stakeholders working on this topic. The director of the mental hospital states that;

“...the production should get controlled, especially from the informal sector, because they are producing it massively”.

A high number of people are illicitly brewing *waragi* in the country. They do not have controls or regulations for their products. They can brew how much they want and sell it to who they want. Especially for youths it is easy to get alcohol containing beverages, without someone prohibiting it.

“...for the sale there should be issues. Sold to anyone, anywhere, anytime. There are no limits as you see. Every shop can sell alcohol. Any homestead can sell alcohol. There are no time limits”.

(Basangwa, executive director of mental referral hospital, 2011-02-08)

If there are no restrictions implemented by the side of the police and government, it is not possible to make children and youths accept borders in drinking. For them it is normal to drink because they saw the elders doing it over long time. Another institution in Uganda, supporting and motivating the youths to drink “the alcohol industry”.

6.4.2. The alcohol industry

The alcohol industry in Uganda is working with all kinds of tricks in any way possible to catch and attract the customers, without considering any harm. A lot of advertisement from the alcohol industry can be seen in the streets of Kampala, trying to manipulate the young people.

"The adverbs you have seen they are everywhere for alcohol. Big, big, billboards...So this one's also persuade the people to drink alcohol".

(Basangwa, executive director of mental referral hospital, 2011-02-08)

Especially the youths are influenced by the posters and by the advertisements, which you can see everywhere in Kampala. For the UYDEL it was a must to get in contact with the alcohol industry, telling them:

"..if you put up adverts that advert not to be so much appealing. You should market your boarder that certain way that you also take consideration that this young generation, the children doesn't watch to the TV screens, which are moving on the roads". (Mutawee, program officer UYDEL, 2011-02-09)

Another problem which is pointed out from the side of the stakeholders is the problem how the alcohol is packed by the industry. The *waragi* is filled into very small sachets, which are portable because of their size and cheap so everybody can afford it. This got very common in schools over the last years.

"The problem is in secondary schools now. Most of the boys, even the girls are consuming this alcohol. It is easily consumed, because you have no regulations...Children and students can buy it everywhere and take the sachets easily to school, because they are small".

(Mutawee, program officer UYDEL, 2011-02-09)

The easy availability comes together with the fact, that the alcohol is affordable for everyone. One client I interviewed was a lawyer and ended up as an alcoholic. He explained his reasons, why it was so easy to get a heavy drinker.

"The liquors costs nothing, not even a quarter of a dollar. It is portable. You can put it in your trouser, you can put it everywhere. This was how everything started".

Furthermore he points out that the given names for the alcohol influences the youths to buy the product.

"Do you know Beckham? How can you write the name Beckham, who is a successful footballer, on a gin which has over 40% of alcohol content? There is

also a Tyson and a mountain of the moon gin. Whatever names come up. This is a problem, this young generation even think it gives you power. The portability, the accessibility and the costs has increased the number of people taking alcohol in Uganda”.

(Client2, 35 years, alcoholic under treatment NACARE, 2011-02-28)

Pointing out another fact; “the majority of young people in developing countries consume alcohol which is not commercially marketed or advertised” (UYDEL 2010: 21). The program officer from UYDEL mentions, that

“65% of the alcohol consumed is informal” (Mutawee 2011-02-09);
and that youths *“...for as little as 200 shillings can get it. Sometimes even without money you can get alcohol”.*

(Basangwa, executive director of mental referral hospital, 2011-02-08)

The impact on the society and on every individual is tremendous. Through the heavy production of local alcohol more and more intoxications take place. UYDEL writes about 40 deaths and blindness cases through heavy *waragi* (2010: 9). For times so many young people have been consuming heavy alcohol and the outcomes are numerous health problems as well as a loss in traditional and cultural movements. Through high alcoholism they have less future perspectives, which lead more and more people into depressions and other mental disorders. Apart from that the alcohol dependence destroys whole families, which results in many children and youths ending up in poverty. Without any help from the side of the government the situation will continue and get worse. The WHO criticizes the way politicians harm the theme alcoholism, because various health and social consequences are related to the consumption of alcohol. “Besides the numerous chronic and acute health effects, alcohol consumption is also associated with widespread psychosocial consequences, including violence, child neglect and abuse, absenteeism in the workplace, and many other impacts. Considering the significance of alcohol consumption compared to other health risks, the harmful use of alcohol is not given proper attention in public policy, particularly since other lesser health risks have higher priority” (WHO 2011: 31).

7. CONSEQUENCES

The reasons are various about drinking problems in Kampala city and its surroundings. The people in Uganda know the reasons for the high alcohol consumption as well as they can see the consequences for the society. The consequences mentioned while my fieldwork are related to health, to society and to the whole community. The production of banana beer or *waragi* was over long time a great support for families and for whole areas in Uganda. People could live a good life with the money made out of the brewing, even in times where through climate changing the harvesting of the crops failed. Few decades ago the consequences out of the heavy production and consumption were turning into critical ones. Especially the urban areas are influenced by the negative outcomes of intense alcohol consumption today. The abuse of alcoholic beverages has an influence on various “health problems (e.g. memory loss, mental illness, cancer liver disease, weight loss, risky sexual behavior including unprotected sex, casual sex, multiple sexual partnerships and rape) and social effects (e.g. domestic and community violence, communication problems, strained family relations, disintegration of relationships/separation, accidents, perpetuation of alcohol abuse in the family, financial strain) of excessive alcohol consumption” (YEAH 2008: 8). The impact of long time alcohol consumption affects not only the individual person; it can get easily a problem for the whole family or for the whole society surrounding this person. While my stay in Kampala I started to focus on the consequences, alcohol brings to the community and to the family. I wanted to know the possible negative outcomes of alcohol abuse and how it can influence the country in a broad and lasting way. Concerning the health problems related to alcohol consumption I focused on the mental outcomes and the infection with HIV/AIDS.

7.1. Health consequences

The health consequences generated by constant drinking of alcohol are globally known. Today there are “60 diseases” (WHO 2004: 35) caused by alcohol

consumption and the outcome is that “4% of all deaths worldwide are attributed to alcohol” (WHO 2011: 20).

In this chapter I decided to focus on the mental health risks through heavy alcohol consumption as well as on the spread of HIV while being in a drunken condition. In a country like Uganda, where the rate of HIV infected people is that high, HIV/AIDS counts to one of the leading consequences caused by alcohol abuse in a health related area and in the community sector.

7.1.1. HIV/AIDS

The connection of alcohol and HIV/AIDS is today a common topic in Uganda. The risk of getting infected while one person is intoxicated is high. A lot of counseling and prevention work is done on this topic especially in Kampala. It is very significant to educate the youths about the risks and the correlation of alcohol and the spread of the disease. Some experts I interviewed explained the situation and mentioned some known proverbs.

A very known alarmingly proverb in Uganda today says: *“...you know I’ve got AIDS in a bar”*. (Amanya, executive director NACARE, 2011-02-21)

The contact between man and woman is more easily given in a bar, where at least one is under the influence of alcohol. The risk to forget to use contraception in a drunken situation is higher than in a situation where both parties are sober. Even if the usage of a condom is given, the possibility to use it wrong is there. The trainer of YEAH mentions to the context of HIV/AIDS and alcohol:

“...someone who has abused alcohol is more likely to make irrational decisions. One is having unprotected sex. That is if they could not access a condom, but even if they could access a condom, they might not use it correctly. That is the one thing. Then it also leads to casual sex and concurrent multiple partners”.

(Amon, Trainer for YEAH, 2011-02-25)

Especially the young girls are in a vulnerable situation when they are drunk. A man can easily use this situation to get into sexual contact with an intoxicated

girl. Poverty and money problems bring the youngest ones in the urban areas in this horrific situation. Girls find themselves easily in sexual arrangements, because of poor situations. Commercial sex workers and prostitutes consume alcohol regularly, which lets them get easier into contact with their customers and to make them forget the work they are doing. The main problem in this situation is that some men think that the youngest ones cannot be infected and mainly deny to use protection. It is known that a punter in Uganda pays the girl more money, if she does not use a condom. For the girls the money is important and in most cases they take the risk. Child sexual abuse is increasing in the slum areas. Especially the kids from the Northern parts, who migrate to the city center, many times end up in prostitution.

Another topic related to the correlation of alcohol and HIV are the infected people, who are on an ARV medication.

“If you are on ARV’s..if you are on medication and you are taking alcohol, it interferes with the proper functioning of the medication”.

(Amon, Trainer for YEAH, 2011-02-25)

The pills have to be taken and consumed on a regular basis to achieve an effective therapy. Persons who are under the influence of alcohol easily forget to take the medicine or use it in a wrong way. Furthermore alcoholics sometimes have problems with the stomach or with the intestine. It disturbs the treatment against the infection, which leads to another problem. Besides the right medication the right healthy nutrition is significant to support the immune system in the best way. In particular persons who are addicted to alcohol subsist themselves only by drinking.

Apart from that the connection from HIV/AIDS to mental illness and the usage of alcohol is enormous, as the director of the mental hospital in Kampala mentions.

“HIV/AIDS increases psychiatric mobility. So many people that suffer, so HIV/AIDS also suffer mental illness. So that is partly responsible. Then we have people who are going in this unfortunately experience of war, psychological

traumatic. We also have people which are using a lot of alcohol and drugs, which are increasing the problem”.

(Basangwa, executive director of mental referral hospital, 2011-02-08)

There are various mental problems existing through regular alcohol consumption. Many people start to take drugs and to drink alcohol with the diagnosis of HIV. In combination with the social outcast of the communities, many youths end up in totally heavy consumption, which causes mental health problems.

7.1.2. Mental problems

Mental health problems can be the outcome after long time alcohol abuse. Alcoholics have a lot of social problems in their life. The outcomes are various types of depressions. “Depression among males may also involve anger, irritability, hostility and violent behavior, and there is evidence that alcohol and other drug abuse may influence the probability of such dyscontrol” (Salloum et al. 2000: 16). Alcoholics often lose their social backgrounds and end up with psychological problems. One interviewee described how it was to lose his family and all friends, his work and his prestige at the same time.

“Slowly I lost friends. I was on that hard local gin. That was another life! I started to lose weight excessive. My lips were becoming big. I was not worth to get called a lawyer...I had very good clients and I lost them all because of drinking. I mistreated my family and forget important celebrations, what made me almost go mad. That’s how the psychological problems started...”

(Client2, 35 years, alcoholic under treatment, NACARE, 2011-02-28)

There is a lot of shame happening for the alcoholics if it once has come so far. People, who are addicted to alcohol, often blame themselves that have lost everything. They fall into a situation of self-pity; depressions are one of the main outcomes in this connection and are often influencing the person’s alcohol consumption to an even higher amount.

Mr. Mutawee who has experience with young alcoholics mentions *“mental illness as the main health problem out of the consumption”*.

(Mutawee, program officer UYDEL, 2011-02-09)

Mental health problems in Uganda are still related to witchcraft by the society and therefore cause a lot of stigmatization. This makes it extremely hard for the relevant person to enter the community or to ask for help. The Butabika mental referral hospital tries to make the community aware of mental illness, but the stigma still exists about mental health problems. The belief that mental illness in the communities is related to the cultural area is crucial. Mr. Dr. David Basangwa criticizes the ignorance of the majority about psychological problems.

“The current of stigma is first of all, the false believes and myths about mental illness. The second one is ignorance...When people are ignorant, they formulate their own ideas and there are lots of people what come up with some explanations, why people develop to mental illness”.

(Basangwa, executive director of mental referral hospital, 2011-02-08)

Problems with mental health are steadily increasing all over the world. In areas where the poverty level is higher, normally the number of mentally ill persons is a higher one. Glasser and Bridgman mention that especially homeless people with the daily suffering and stress are showing various related mental problems (cf. 1999: 68). It is a hard life on the street, which affects many people to start taking drugs already at an early age. Many youths get psychological problems as a consequence of heavy alcohol consumption.

Besides the heavy effects on health, the regular consumption of the local brew also “led to social problems including the disruption of the family, encouragement of crime, laziness leading to unemployment and irregular attendance at work, and social instability” (Willis 2002: 232).

The social consequences are showing how many areas in life are badly influenced through regular alcohol consumption. Furthermore there are some similarities I have already discussed earlier, which can be seen as reasons for the consumption. It is a kind of vicious circle. Some people drink because of

dramatic experiences in life, which makes them losing their occupation and sometimes their social network. Many persons do not have any prospects in live, which is mainly poverty related. This makes the youngest ones already start with alcohol or other drugs, because there is no reason not to drink. Furthermore some youths grow up with the traditional production and consumption, which makes it part of their life. The social consequences of heavy alcohol consumption in Uganda is not anymore only an individual problem, it disrupts the whole social community.

7.2. Social and cultural consequences

The consumption of alcohol and drugs influences the personality of every human being and has an effect on the surrounding. For a problem drinker the social consequences are mainly the worst ones, besides various health risks. Stigmatization and outcast from family and the community can lead the addicted person into total alcoholism till suicide. Because of various reasons alcoholics mainly live a lonely life or with peer members.

Alcoholics are famous for aggressive and violent behavior, which makes many people stay away from them. In Uganda alcohol addicted persons are associated with mistreatment from family members and domestic violence, all together they are linked to rude behavior from society. The burden to carry from society is heavy. One of my interviewees explained his situation as a drug addict living on the edge of society. The time the interview took place, he has already been admitted to the mental hospital.

"You know people are stigmatizing you. You know I am looking for the people like a gangster. They are afraid of me and they think I am a drug addicted criminal. It's hard to come out of this believing...You know I came here when I was still drunk. And the time I reached here, I was so annoyed that I was abusing everybody. So maybe the person that I had become wasn't so good".

(Client3, 32 years, narcotic under treatment, Butabika, 2011-08-02)

Moreover alcoholics are known to react violent against women and children. Impolite behavior to the other sex or felonies like raping can risk others; e.g. getting infected by HIV, like one expert narrated:

“...concurrent multiple partners and alcohol increased violence against women, and violence against women has a direct link to increase the risk of HIV/AIDS”.

(Amon, Trainer for YEAH, 2011-02-25)

The problem is that men and women being in a drunken condition find themselves easier in sexual risky situations. In a drunken condition you faster forget to use contraception, which increases the risk of HIV/AIDS infection and other STDs. In Uganda especially men use the situation for having fun, by getting the girl drunk fast. Prostitutes on the other hand mainly are also heavy drinkers to handle their customers in a better way. Stakeholders know about the correlation between alcohol and HIV/AIDS and try to prevent a rising rate of infected people. The director from NACARE talks about the importance of using condoms.

“When you are drunk, you can never know where you will end. Stay faithful, and if you are not faithful use a condom. But if you are drunk you might not use it, or you will just forget. Even you decide to use it; you might not use it well”.

(Amanya, director of NACARE, 2011-02-21)

The attribution of people to an alcohol addicted person is a quiet negative one in Uganda. There is a lot of prejudice happening in the communities towards alcoholics, same like against HIV/AIDS infected people. This fact makes the situation for the concerned even more hard and leaves them alone with their misery. Stigmatization is not only to notice as a reason for heavy alcohol consumption, it is at the same time a consequence of it. It is the children suffering the most from social exclusion.

There is especially a lack of respect in the poor, urban center. There can be observed an unbelievable situation, in which only the strongest ones gain respect from others. There was a lot of cultural loss taking place in the more disadvantaged areas, where children start to get to know violence and

criminality from an early age on. Some of them never saw their parents, do not get any kind of education and never had the chance that somebody teaches them about the right behavior, moral and movements. There are problems arising through poverty, where unemployment already puts the youngest ones into criminal situations. Sondhi-Garg (2004: 68) works over period of time with street children. She wrote an abstract about what a life of one child on the street mainly includes. "Like drugs and gambling, violence is also common in the lives of street children. Living without any adult guidance, control and supervision, these children are more likely than others to turn to violence as a way of living. Most of them have experiences or observed physical abuse or violence at home. On the street, the danger and fear of beatings and brutality at the hands of employer, older street boys, peers, police and other hostile people in the child's immediate social environment is always present". The youths are always in a stress situation of not getting into another trouble. Most of these children never have the access to school, which makes them hanging out the whole day in bars. But already in schools too much alcohol has been consumed. Today in Kampala the tradition of brewing alcohol together and having a drink with elders is turned upside down. Today all age groups, male and female are included in the production of heavy alcohol and its consumption. In the city center of Kampala alcohol is consumed all day long, by all age groups, on all corners. The respect towards the elders and the traditional use is more and more lost. NGOs like UYDEL are focusing on the risk factors of heavy alcohol consumption. Their main aim is to see final restrictions and laws about alcohol and its contexts from the government. Mr. Mutawee mentions the dangers which come along, if only one person in the family regularly drinks.

"Getting in the past, people just worked and had a drink later...Today they start to drink so early in the morning. The issues of some scientists are still developing, because you can find in most cases when the people start to drink so early, the productive capacity will be low. Staying the whole day in a bar instead of looking after children and the family, caring for school fees and everything brings the whole family in danger. The family has lost out on your productive capacity at this time".

(Mutawee, program officer UYDEL, 2011-02-09)

Another young person, I had the possibility to talk with, explains a similar situation:

“You can find people taking alcohol in the morning, instead of going to work. They wake up going to bars and take waragi and other stuffs”.

(Youth1, 20 years, UYDEL, 2011-01-26)

Furthermore the production of alcohol brings households into danger as well as the agriculture in some parts of the country. One main problem in a poor household is that only one alcoholic can bring the whole household in danger. This risky situation is very good described by an example of one young person:

“Sometimes we even could not take food, because we could work, we dig and plant crops in the garden, but after harvesting, the grand mom takes the money and spend everything on one day for the alcohol”.

(Youth1, 20 years, UYDEL, 2011-01-26)

Besides the risk that households are destroyed, at the same time whole communities are in danger of sudden famine, because of the increasing cultivation of bananas and grains for the production of alcohol. In some areas the alcohol industry is influencing the farmers “to grow barley at the expense of food production and the resultant profits were spent by men in terms of drinking” (UYDEL 2011: 3). The alcohol production and consumption in Uganda is not the problem of individual drinkers only, it is influencing the whole development of Uganda and the future of its people.

To save the people out of the trap of regular alcohol consumption, countermeasures are urgently needed. NGOs, the ministry of health and stakeholders are working on various levels to reduce the harm to Ugandan society caused by alcoholism.

8. COUNTER MEASURES

Many of the youths I was working with were lucky that there was a place for them in one of the rehab centers or NGOs, who are focusing on substance addicted children and teens. Some of them are social workers or peer educators supporting the organizations today. Still there are many people in all age groups, who do not know the dangers and outcomes of heavy alcohol consumption. The acceptance of alcohol by the whole culture as a traditional tool is widespread and deeply embedded in the movement and knowledge of the people. There will be a lot of work needed to reach out for the people in a respectful way, making them understand the harmful sides of their local brew. Especially in the village places a lot of prevention work and counseling should be still done. It would be a good idea if NGOs working in this area unite and start the education from different sides. The NGOs who are working on the HIV/AIDS prevention in the country should adopt the topic of drug abuse as a risk factor for the spread of the disease. Very positive and helpful in the prevention and counseling work about heavy alcohol consumption, are the youths who had similar problems before. The same age group with similar experiences in life can be very useful in the fight against alcoholism and drug abuse. Y.E.A.H is one organization, who uses the skills and ideas from the youths to get in touch with other youngsters who are in any kind of problem situation. This NGO today is very well known in many parts of the country. Y.E.A.H is an initiative that was formed by and for young people. Over the last eight years the organization was running three important campaigns, which covered themes about sexual productive health, HIV/AIDS, early pregnancies, school drop outs, alcohol and drug problems, domestic violence etc. Important topics in this campaign are the cultural norms in which the people believe in, confirm to and practice it, which brings many of them into risky situations. Y.E.A.H teaches the youths to especially respect women. In the traditional way of thinking and believing women have in various ways less rights than men, which brings them faster into problematic situations. This organization gives the youths ideas about what it means to be a real man and what it means to responsibly drink without bringing others into risky situations. Today there are

various young people included in the prevention work and campaigns from Y.E.A.H, who spread their important knowledge throughout the country. Helpful methods are used to reach as much people and areas in the country as possible. Y.E.A.H is having a radio channel, which is called rock point 256, where youths are talking about various problems, ideas etc. At the same time there are funny comics with known action figures existing. The kids and teens are able to get knowledge about drinking problems and about HIV/AIDS and its outcomes, over the media and presented in a funny and attractive manner. At the same time there is a 24 hours hotline reachable for youngsters, who have any questions or who are in any problem situation. Y.E.A.H today is countrywide known and accepted. The feedback from the side of the young people is a very positive one. They feel included in the work and through it accepted and understood which might be the most important part and successful way to be able to reach them. There are few more NGOs in Kampala who work similar like Y.E.A.H. Together they are building a strong network in the fight against alcoholism and its aftermath. The only side missing to work sustainable is the government.

For UYDEL the most important change can and should be done by the government. The greatest aim for the NGOs would be to work together with the government, because for a change in this context strict regulations and laws have to be implemented. Uganda needs precise rules about the drinking age, the shop and bar hours, the homemade brewing and especially for the alcohol industry. For UYDEL the only way which can bring a difference is to work over the policy makers. UYDEL tries to put the interest of politicians to the topic alcohol. For UYDEL the government is the level, which has the power to renew the rules and regulations about alcohol in the country and to enforce the laws. UYDEL is the NGO in the country which has been focusing on the topic alcohol and drug abuse for 15 years. They have been working in various communities to widespread the knowledge and dangers about heavy alcohol consumption for a very long time. After some time the organization realizes that only by working on the local level their goal of keeping the numbers of alcohol addicted youths down, failed. What was needed was to work from the government level down to the communities. To show the policy makers the importance of this topic,

UYDEL tried to start to work together with various NGOs and organizations to put their agenda forward. It might be a way to reach the government faster as a group of organizations working together than as a single organization. It was important to give the policy makers the right information and numbers to make them able to move this topic forward. Out of this work they wrote a booklet about the laws in Uganda and the laws before, and about the fact that they have to be renewed, because the alcohol (especially the *waragi*) damages the future of the country on various ways. This book shows the weakness of alcohol policy in Uganda. The ministry of health in Uganda is invited to fight for more places in the rehab centers for alcohol and drug addicted persons in the country. The alcohol and drug unit at the mental hospital Butabika is steadily overcrowded and the. One of the best working ways to reach a successful level would be to start at the bottom. The government is needed to put strict laws on the alcohol industry, which has a lot of power and motivates the youngest ones to drink. "The brewery itself had also violated its own code of conducts, failed the distribution chains and marketing regulations as well adverts; since many times is driven by the profit margin and target children in order to expand its clientele" (UYDEL 2011: 3).

Today the collaboration between the NGOs and the policy makers increased and is more given. It is a hard work where a lot of patience is needed for every small step. The problem is that many Ugandan people understand the traditional way of brewing and consuming as embedded in culture and as an important artifact. That it might be dangerous to health is not a problem people are aware of, because it is a long time product, which is consumed by everyone. Furthermore the government is earning a lot of money by supporting the alcohol industries and with it every single drinker.

9. CONCLUSION

The main subject in this paper was to find out the reasons and the consequences about the high alcohol consumption of youths in the urban areas of Uganda. Interviews and the theory confirm that the reason for the acceptance of high alcohol consumption has different reasons, causing various consequences related to health and the society.

First of all it is the traditional background of Ugandan communities, who are brewing the local liquid over periods of time. The farmers and the consumers do not want to believe that their known liquid can bring danger to someone's health. Especially the young generation is convinced that the local brew is long time embedded in the culture and that all their ancestors were producing and drinking it. Over the last decades a lot of changes took place in Uganda especially with the brewing of alcohol. The content of ethanol and methanol is much higher than it was before and today kids are already drinking homemade liquids. That comes from the fact that many children lost their parents through war or diseases. There is no control and the slums are growing. Furthermore the youth get supported to drink, through the tricky promotion shown by the alcohol and music industry. In poverty related areas it is important for the kids to belong to a peer group, where the consumption of alcohol is a must to be a member.

The consequences are shocking. Experts on that topic as well as organizations working with the people who are affected warn of a nation of drunkards, with more faster growing slums and an increasing poverty rate, with rising numbers of people suffering from STD's and other health problems.

There are already great counter measures implemented against the drinking problem in the country. Various NGOs are doing their best to prevent people in the urban as well as in the rural areas from high alcohol consumption and its outcomes on every single person, the family and the whole community.

Nevertheless these programs can only be successful if the government gets engaged in this process. There are restrictions from the side of the politics

urgently needed to constrain the youths to buy and consume alcohol everywhere, at any time, at any age.

The research done in Kampala and its surroundings shows the gap between tradition and modernity, and between the old and the young generation.

There should be made a distinction made between the respect to tradition and knowledge given by the elders without banning long cultural utensils and the youths drinking to death. It is all about responsible drinking and to be aware about the dangers.

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10.1. Interviews

Experts:

Alcohol brewer. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Mpigi, Sigi Town, 2011-01-20.

Basangwa, David. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, Butabika Mental Referral Hospital, 2011-02-08.

Amanya, John. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, NACARE, 2011-02-21.

Mulyowa, Amon. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, Y.E.A.H., 2011-02-25.

Mutawee, Rogers. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, UYDEL, 2011-02.09.

Tumwesigye, Nazarius Mbona. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, Mulago Hospital, 2011-02-26.

Ocamo, Josephine. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, PADA, 2011-02-15.

Youths and people under treatment:

Youth1. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, UYDEL, 2011-01-26.

Youth2. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, UYDEL, 2011-01-26.

Youth3. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, UYDEL, 2011-01-27.

Youth4. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, UYDEL, 2011-01-31.

Youth5. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, UYDEL, 2011-01-31.

Youth6. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, UYDEL, 2011-02-01.

Youth7. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, UYDEL, 2011-02-07.

Youth8. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, UYDEL, 2011-02-19.

Youth9. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, UYDEL, 2010-02-19.

Youth10. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, Kitetika Pub, 2011-01-27.

Client1. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, Kitetika Pub, 2011-01-27.

Client2. Personal Interview; conducted form author. Uganda, Kampala, NCC, 2011-02-28.

Client3. Personal Interview; conducted from author. Uganda, Kampala, Butabika Alcohol and Drug Unit, 2011-02-08.

11. ATTACHMENT

11.1. Abstract

Alcohol in Uganda is an important segment of culture. It's a part of ceremonies, initiation rituals, agriculture and socialization. Over long time embedded in the tradition, today Uganda has a high rate of alcoholics in the country, which brings various health and social consequences.

In the context of the thesis the author wants to demonstrate the usage of alcohol in Uganda by describing the social and cultural background from the past till today and how the high consumption is influencing the young generation today.

The thesis is divided into two parts, the theoretical and the empirical part.

Part one is based on already existing scientific literature and studies made by anthropologists in the alcohol and drug research in general and in Africa in detail. It is giving an overview about various existing drinking cultures and morals in Uganda. Some chapters focus on the heavy drinking of alcohol of youths in the central area Kampala.

The empirical part is based on interviews with experts, alcoholics under treatment and youths. It describes the practice and the outcomes made by the author while working in the field in the central area of Uganda. Ethnographic participant observation and in-depth interviews gave information about reasons, consequences and developed counter measures concerning the alcohol production and consumption of the young generation in the country.

Comparing the two parts, the author could observe, that the facts and risks shown in the literature have also been confirmed in practice.

Alkohol in Uganda ist ein bedeutendes Segment der Kultur. Er ist Bestandteil von Zeremonien, Initiationsritualen, Landwirtschaft, und der Gesellschaft als Ganzes. Der Alkohol steht in Uganda seit geraumer Zeit in Verbindung mit Tradition. Heute hat das Land eine hohe Alkoholiker rate, die gesundheitliche und soziale Konsequenzen mit sich bringt.

In diesem Zusammenhang hat der Autor versucht den Gebrauch von Alkohol in Uganda, unter der Berücksichtigung vom sozialen und kulturellen Umfeld, zu beschreiben, von der Vergangenheit bis zur Gegenwart mit einem besonderen Augenmerk auf die junge Generation und die Auswirkungen auf ihre Zukunft.

Die Diplomarbeit ist in ein theoretisches und in ein empirisches Kapitel unterteilt.

Der erste Teil basiert auf bereits existierender wissenschaftlicher Literatur und Studien von Anthropologen, welche zu Alkohol und Drogen in Afrika und im Allgemeinen durchgeführt wurden. Es wird ein gewisser Überblick über existierende Trinkkulturen und Moralvorstellungen in Uganda gegeben. Weitere Abschnitte beschäftigen sich mit dem hohen Alkoholkonsum unter Jugendlichen im Zentrum von Kampala.

Der empirische Teil basiert auf Interviews mit Experten, mit Alkoholiker in therapeutischen Einrichtungen und mit Jugendlichen. Hier werden die Praxis, die Vorgehensweisen und die Ergebnisse der Forschung präsentiert. Verschiedene Methoden und Techniken der Interviewführung sowie der teilnehmende Beobachtung haben es möglich gemacht genug Information über die Gründe und die Konsequenzen zu erfahren, woraus sich, in Betracht auf die Alkoholproduktion und den Konsum von Jugendlichen in dem Land, Gegenmaßnahmen herauskristallisierten.

Der Autor konnte feststellen, dass sich Fakten und Risiken, welche in der Literatur beschrieben wurden, in der Praxis wiedergefunden und somit bestätigt haben.

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