PATTERNS AND EFFECTS OF WOMEN’S ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION ON FAMILY COHESIVENESS IN KIRINYAGA COUNTY, KENYA

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DECLARATION

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

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my daughters Stella WanjiruMungai and Catherine WairimuMungai and to all mothers.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Am sincerely grateful to a number of people who offered me invaluable support without whom this thesis would never have been. Specifically I wish to thank my supervisors Dr. Pacificah Okemwa and Dr. Casper Masiga for their tireless supervision and support throughout this journey. In a special way I wish to thank Mr. Paul Mwangi who offered immeasurable support during most of my trying moments. My daughters Stellah and Cate, thank you for your love, support and encouragement. I wish all of you God’s blessings and above all, to God be the Glory and Honour.
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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Alcohol: Refers to an intoxicating drink that is brewed either at home, a den or in an industry.

Alcohol abuse: Refers to excessive alcohol consumption which impairs functioning of an individual. In this study it refers to the consumption of alcohol during the day and sometimes even at night which interferes with one’s performance of daily chores.

Chang’aa: Very potent distilled spirits from maize and sorghum whose fermentation is sped up with jet fuel and embalming fluid from mortuaries, whose name literary means “kill me quick”.

Central role of a mother: In this study it means provision, mothers rearing the children, being available for them, cleaning clothes, cooking, teaching children to bond by resolving their conflicts, making them develop trust that she will always be there for them and providing leadership in the home.

Centrality of women: Occupation of central position in coordinating family matters such as those regarding the children and husband and ensuring their welfare by performing household roles such as cooking, washing, being there for them and creating harmony among others.

Drink/Drinking: In this study, the term refers to consumption of alcohol.

Drinking behavior: Refers to the actions or utterances of an intoxicated person. In this study, this may include consuming alcohol the whole day, not attending to roles and being immodest.

Drinking pattern: Refers to the preferred drinking location, time, companions and activities that usually accompany women’s alcohol consumption in Kirinyaga West.

Family: A primary social group consisting of father, mother and children, or mother and children only as in the case of divorced or never married women who commonly referred to as single parents.

Family harmony: The peace and calm experienced in a home when everything is flowing as it should when all members play their roles and behaved as expected by the family members and society.

Family cohesiveness: The fact of family members living without any interruptions in role performance, having a peaceful flow of life and enjoying stability and unity.
Marital duties: General household roles performed in relation to the husband such as washing, cooking and serving his meals.

Regular alcohol consumption: In this study it refers to adhering or maintaining a steady pattern of consuming alcohol and getting intoxicated to an extent of losing control of oneself, insulting others, getting violent, neglecting crucial duties and generally becoming immodest.

Second generation alcohol: A term used to describe alcoholic drinks that are made simply from mixing ethanol, water and flavours.

Stay at home mothers: women who are not in formal employment but stay at home playing the crucial role of ensuring the welfare of its members, mostly by performing all the chores.

Taste: A strong liking or preference.
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDA: American Indian Development Associates
AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
FAS: Fetal Alcohol Syndrome
HD: Heavy Frequent Drinking
HHS: Health and Human Services
HI: Heavy Infrequent Drinking
HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LD: Light Infrequent Drinking
LF: Light Frequent Drinking
MF: Moderate Frequent Drinking
MI: Moderate Infrequent Drinking
MDGS: Millennium Development Goals
PD: Problem Drinking
NACADA: National Agency for Campaign Against Drug Abuse
NIAAA: National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism
NACOSTI: National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NDLEA: National Drug Law Enforcement Agency
PDS: Patterns of Drinking Score
SAPs: Structural Adjustment Programmes
SIRC: Social Issues Research Centre
STI: Sexually Transmitted Infections
UN: United Nations
UNESCO: United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA: United States of America
WHO: World Health Organization
ABSTRACT

The study investigated the patterns and effects of women’s alcohol consumption on the family in Kirinyaga West Constituency in Kirinyaga County, Kenya. It was guided by the following objectives; to identify patterns of alcohol consumption among women, establish factors that motivate women to excessive alcohol consumption, investigate the effects of excessive alcohol use by women on the family and identification of possible ways of addressing the problem in Kirinyaga West Constituency. The study adopted Caroline Moser’s gender roles concept and the family systems theory advanced by Kerr and Bowen. Descriptive research design was used on 114 women aged 19-45 years, residents in 25 villages in the area under study. The multi stage cluster sampling technique was used to draw a sample of 5 villages and thereafter from each, snow balling was used to select a sample of 25 women who indulged in alcohol consumption. Convenience sampling was used to select 20 men from the sampled villages and seven key informants who included a D.O and 6 sub chiefs in the region under study used in Focus Group Discussions. Data was collected using two sets of instruments; an interview guide and focus group discussion guide. The instruments were validated and their reliability proven, while a pilot study was conducted in a village that was not included in the study. Data was analyzed through descriptive statistics using the computer package SPSS. Quantitative data was presented in form of pie charts, bar graphs, frequency tables and percentages whereas qualitative data was analyzed into themes and patterns. The study established that majority of the women consume alcohol at home, major consumption time was at night and triggers of alcohol consumption in women were financial, work, physiological and gender related. Major effects of alcohol consumption on the family were such as divorce, violence, neglect of parenting roles, engagement in risky sexual behavior and contracting of HIV/AIDS. The study recommended employment of community based methods to enable the community to work out their own gender inclusive ways of reducing alcohol consumption, equitable distribution of labour among all members of the family, addressing alcohol availability and accessibility, sensitization on the dangers of alcohol addiction and the application of poverty reduction methods within families.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Alcohol is as old as human history; its existence in different socio-cultural milieus extends beyond the last ten thousand years (Smart, 2007). Globally, its production and consumption is organized around social, recreational, political, medicinal and religious activities. Alcohol is a common feature in social gatherings such as parties, births, weddings and family get-togethers. It is also consumed during and after recreational activities such as skiing and golf and while watching sports events (Engs, 1997). In Central Africa, political occasions such as the making of war or peace, settling disputes, evoking courage in battle and enthronements were marked using alcohol (Bowdich, 1966). Engs (1997) further notes that, as medicine, alcohol was, and still is, prescribed to stimulate sluggish appetites, as a sedative to induce sleep, and as a vasodilator in arteriosclerosis. It relieves vague aches and pains that beset the elderly and is also used as an aphrodisiac. In religion, wine is used in modern day Christian ceremonies where it is taken as a sacrament during worship.

The consumption of alcohol has been considered normal, especially when drank without outright intoxication (Smart, 2007). Anciently across the globe, its consumption was considered a manly behavior, playing a central role in regulation
of masculinity (Gustafsson, Malmberg, Sperkova, Keresztesova, 2010). Studies indicate that women too have generally consumed alcohol since antiquity. For instance, those in medieval Europe consumed regulated amounts of alcoholic beverages, mainly ale, beer and wine as part of their daily diets, and ale brewing was a career for women (Plant, 1955). Mexicans confined it to the upper classes, the old and the wise, while younger women consumed it after child delivery to ‘strengthen their blood and after exhausting work to ‘restore their strength’ (Natera, 1995). Hornik (1977) observes that original Americans such as the Red Indians allowed women to consume it to ease menstrual cramps, and after child birth to fortify them for breast feeding. The implications are that while men drank routinely, women’s alcohol consumption was regulated and perhaps their intake was lower.

The gap that existed in drinking behavior between the genders is however, growing smaller as some women’s drinking patterns are heavier and more frequent, converging with men’s (The Social Issues Research Centre (SIRC), 1998). World Health Organization, (WHO) (2007), observes that drinking thus severely impairs their performance as parents and spouses, affecting the stability of the household. This makes such families fragile and its members vulnerable to harm. WHO therefore, identifies parental substance misuse as a public health concern; whose effects on the children remain a pertinent public health issue.
Children are more susceptible to child abuse including incest and battery when raised by parents who consume alcohol regularly. A study conducted in USA by Dube, Anda, Felliti, Chapman, Williamson, Wayne, and Giles (2001), on parents who abuse alcohol, established that children are exposed to physical, verbal and sexual abuse. Such parents become inconsistent, unpredictable and are emotionally unresponsive, which leads to neglectful, passive or even cruel parenting, where children are not supervised or supported and parents are not there for them (Sher, Gershuny, Peterson, & Raskin, 1997; US Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), 1997). The authors suggest that children of problem drinkers often experience long-term psychological effects well into adulthood (Alcohol Concern & the Princess Royal Trust for Cares, 2008).

Alcohol is a major cause of intra family violence. WHO (2004) opines that excessive alcohol use is a strong and consistent correlate of marital violence. Leonard and Roberts (1998), in an experiment on couples in USA observed that alcohol consumption by both the wife and the husband increased negative interactions during a problem-solving task leading to violence. A large-scale study conducted in India on the impact of use of alcohol and drugs on the family members perceived that domestic violence was common and was perpetrated by non-drug or
non alcohol abusing husbands of the women who habitually consume it as a measure to make them quit (Dhital, Subedi, Gurung and Hamal, 2001).

In India, Dhital et al. (2001) were of the view that alcohol misuse perpetuates poverty and indebtedness, loss of social prestige and bad relationship with neighbours. Women in Aizawl and Delhi took to casual sex work to support their alcohol and drug habit since poverty had impoverished them and they received little support from their relatives, husbands or friends (ibid). In USA, problem drinking was indicated to alter the division of labour as the problem drinker ceased to perform her previous functions in relation to the support and supervision of children, household chores or recreational activities. These were either not performed or were performed by the spouse or the eldest child, which affected the child’s education and peer relationships as the child was not able to go out with friends (Alcohol Concern, 2010). On the other hand, the non-drinking spouse grew into a compulsive care-taker and developed feelings of resentment, self-pity and exhaustion (Parsons, 2013).

Sher, Gershuny, Peterson & Raskin (1997) also noted that regular alcohol consumption disrupts the family in ways such as a lack of routine and mealtimes,
school and bedtimes fail to be observed as the problem drinker becomes unpredictable and impairs the family’s capacity to plan activities. It becomes impossible to be sure whether the problem drinker will be in a position to perform her duties as expected. Parsons (2013) therefore, opines that divorce rates among couples where one or both partners drink are quite high as the marriage suffers increased anger and distress, reduced intimacy and sexual desire and poor spousal communication (Dhitalet al., 2001; WHO, 1995).

In Africa, alcohol consumption by women was legitimate (Akanidomo, Adebola, Zubairu, Haruna and Ochiya, 2005; Speke, 1967). According to Mphi (1994), the Sotho proscribed its abuse. Similarly in Nigeria, women were only administered a measured quantity as their intoxication was considered absurd (Ikuesan, 1994). The Ubulu people of Delta State highly recommended palm wine for pregnant women and nursing mothers as a means of enhancing breast milk (Oshodin, 1995). Men consumed it more heavily and frequently than women (Woolf-King & Maisto, 2011). In Nigeria, women’s drinking revolved around festivals, rituals and important ceremonies (Odejide, 2006). There was exercise of control over who is served or not and the quantity. In this way people were somewhat protected from drinking excessively (Ibid).
Alcohol abuse however has effects and those noted in women include the fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS). FAS has been identified as the leading cause of mental retardation in South Africa in which case it is far more common than Down syndrome and neural-tube defects combined (WHO, 2008). The women that consume alcohol regularly among the Basarwa of Botswana use a significant proportion of their household income on liquor. Some sell food to buy alcohol while others give it to their children as a food substitute to stave off hunger. This makes them get malnourished, fail to attend school and begin stealing food among other delinquent activities (Molamu& MacDonald, 1996).

In Kenya, alcohol was brewed for ceremonies like weddings, initiation and even during naming of children where beer had a symbolic function, that of blessing (Birech, Kabiru, Misaro and Kariuki, 2013). It was consumed at home after work, except for special occasions (Ibid). However, it is now the most commonly abused substance with its consumption totaling up to 4 million people (Ibid).

A NACADA (2010) survey noted that in former Central Province which consisted of Kirinyaga, Kiambu, Murang’a, Nyandarua, Nyeri, Thika and Maragua districts, women’s alcohol use in all age brackets was very high in Kirinyaga(Ibid). Women in the district also had the highest usage of any type of
alcohol which includes *chang’aa*, (100% use), second generation alcohol and nearly 60% of traditional liquor (NACADA, 2010). This alcohol is readily available, affordable, and accessible and is consumed throughout the day, even in the morning which is the most productive time of the day (Ibid). Very high alcohol use was reported for ages 25 to 34, while it declined for those aged 55 and above. More women confessed to consuming it due to relational issues, notably marital problems (Ibid). This scenario presents a major shift from women’s traditional alcohol consumption trends.

Routledge & Katherine (1910) outlined the sitting arrangement during beer drinking parties among the Agikuyu people during the pre-colonial times in which all the guests arranged themselves according to age, rank and sex. Women sat at the extreme left away from the elders and young men. A mother of at least three circumcised children was entitled to drink (*kunyua*) beer and by then had acquired a new title of *nyakinyua* (Gikuyu Architecture, 2011).

This ensured that they were well above 45 years, had adult children who required minimum attention and who probably had taken up the chores at home. The young and middle aged women did not consume alcohol to the point of intoxication (Birech et al. 2013). In all likelihood, this restriction was because younger mothers were still very central in running their homes whereas the
elderly ones had by then retired from such duties. The study focused on the County in order to establish patterns and effects of alcohol consumption on the family.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In Kenya, reports of people’s lives destroyed by alcohol are rampant. The problem of alcohol consumption has taken root in Kirinyaga County with men abandoning family responsibilities due to alcohol consumption. Evidence shows that the problem has grown deeper with women of all ages consuming alcohol in the County. This sometimes goes on a whole day and alcohol is readily available, accessible and affordable. Precisely, one cannot talk about family and exclude the high centrality mothers evince in homes than fathers. When regular alcohol consumption sets in on one whom the society grants such multiple roles like a mother, then it raises the question of how this impacts on the whole family. Research has been done related to alcohol abuse among youth, students and men, particularly how their alcohol consumption affect families. In all manner of likelihood, a drunkard woman’s alcohol use has had a direct negative impact on the family just like, or more than a man’s. This was the key concern of this study.

1.3 Objectives of the Study
The overall goal of the study was to investigate the trends and effects of women’s alcohol consumption on family cohesiveness in Kirinyaga west constituency, Kirinyaga County.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

The objectives forming the basis of this study were:

(i) To investigate patterns of alcohol consumption among the Agikuyu of Kirinyaga West.

(ii) To establish factors that motivate women to excessive alcohol consumption in Kirinyaga West.

(iii) To investigate the effects of excessive alcohol use by women on family cohesion in Kirinyaga West.

(iv) To identify possible ways of addressing excessive alcohol use by women in Kirinyaga West.

1.4 Research Questions

From the objectives of the study the following research questions were used

(i) What are the patterns of alcohol consumption among the Agikuyu women of Kirinyaga West?
(ii) What factors motivate women in excess alcohol consumption in Kirinyaga West?

(iii) Are there effects of excessive alcohol use by women on family cohesion in Kirinyaga West?

(iv) What are the possible ways of addressing the effects of excessive alcohol use by women on the family in Kirinyaga West?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Kirinyaga County emerged as the County with the highest female alcohol consumption rates and high availability, accessibility and affordability of alcohol that is brewed locally as presented by NACADA (2010). On the other hand, one cannot talk about family and exclude the central role and value of a woman as a mother. Women were therefore picked due to their centrality in the family. The study focused on those within 19-45 years whether single, married or divorced as household chores performed by women are common to all irrespective of marital status. The study specifically focused on only those who were mothers since this makes their centrality more vital. The Agikuyu women were focused on due to the reported sharp drop in birth rates (The Star, 2015) which the study remotely connected to alcohol consumption but which requires further investigation. Men participated in the study so as to make it inclusive of
the key members who are crucial for the development of the family and also because their neutral voices were required.

The research hopes to contribute to knowledge on the effects of alcohol consumption by women on the family in regard to the key roles that they perform in homes. It will also contribute to the ongoing efforts and researches on alcohol abuse. Gauging female alcohol consumption is important as it will lead to the inclusion and consideration of women's alcohol associated problems while making policies such as those related to health and alcohol nationally. The findings were hoped to contribute to knowledge by adding to the dynamic nature of cultural practices among the Agikuyu, who may have lost recognition of traditional rules sanctioning alcohol consumption. In addition, it was hoped to create alertness to the architects of the Millennium Development Goals, in which the Government is key stakeholder that: excessive alcohol consumption can be an impediment to the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, achievement of universal primary education, promotion of gender equality and women’s empowerment, besides combating HIV/AIDS. It is also an obstacle towards the successful and timely accomplishment of the Kenya’s vision 2030 long-term development goals.
1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study focused on Kirinyaga West constituency, Kirinyaga County in Kenya and took place from 2011 to 2014. The study population consisted of women of child bearing age who were married, single or divorced and had children. The types of families dealt with therefore were the nuclear and single parent families. These women were in informal employment, stay at home mothers, casual labourers and bar tenders among others. Elderly women who consumed or did not consume alcohol and men who were married or divorced and whose wives were or were not regular alcohol consumers participated in the study. Key informants included the District Officer of the region under study, a chief and five sub chiefs in Mukure, Mwirua and Kiiniwards in Kirinyaga West. Patterns of alcohol consumption were established through alcohol consumption time, how often, preferred locations, preferred companions and the types of alcohol often consumed. Risk factors were established through examination of situational factors like nature of work, financial issues, physiological, marital, parental and interpersonal. The impact of alcohol abuse on the family was established through analysis of issues such as violence, neglect of children in terms of provision and discipline, failure to perform responsibilities at home and to teach children gender roles among others.
In limitations, those not sober during interviews would fail to co-operate, however, this was addressed by building and maintaining rapport with them. Some respondents also found the issue too sensitive as it interrogated personal matters. In order to ensure credible data, they were assured of confidentiality and treated with respect. The implementation of the study was also hampered by a number of logistical challenges which included problems for local transport and administrative difficulties, which led to delays in carrying out of the project.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction
This chapter provides the reviewed literature on related studies on patterns of alcohol consumption among women, reasons why women abuse alcohol, effects of regular alcohol consumption on the family and strategies in which excessive women’s alcohol consumption can be reduced.

2.2 Patterns of Alcohol Consumption among Women

WHO (2005) notes that it is not only what and how much people drink, but also how they drink that matters. Such patterns are reflected in patterns of drinking score (PDS) which is based on an array of drinking attributes which are weighted differentially in order to provide a scale from 1 to 5” drinks. Light infrequent drinking (LD) is therefore, consumption of at least one, but less than three drinks per occasion, once or less than once a month in the last 12 months. Light frequent drinking (LF) is reporting at least one, but less than 3, drinks per occasion weekly or more in the last year. Moderate infrequent drinking (MI) may be defined as drinking at least three, but less than four drinks per occasion, once or less than once a month in the last 12 months. Moderate frequent drinking (MF) may be defined as drinking at least three, but less than four drinks per occasion weekly or more in the last year. Heavy infrequent drinking (HI) is drinking at least 5 drinks per occasion once or less than once a month in the last 12 months (Munne, 2001). Heavy frequent drinking (HD) is drinking at least 5 drinks per occasion, weekly or more in the last

14
year, but not qualifying for the problem drinking category. Problem drinking (PD) is drinking at least 5 drinks per occasion weekly or more in the last year (Ibid).

In Argentina, a study conducted by Munne (2001) using the WHO PDS score observed that 13% of the women had drunk 5+ drinks per occasion in the previous year. Heavier drinking was predominantly associated with younger women, while abstention was least common among those aged less than 30. Abstainers were predominantly better educated, married women were underrepresented among heavier drinkers but included high proportions of the divorced or separated women whereas the unemployed were underrepresented among abstainers. Using the PDS rating by WHO (2005), the study sought to find out the drinking attributes of women of whatever marital status in Kirinyaga West.

In India, Benegal (2006) observed that, women who drink at all have patterns of equally heavy alcohol use as men. A study from southern India of a representative sample of 6919 adult women found that the average consumption on typical drinking occasions was five standard drinks (12 gm. of ethanol per drink). Infrequent but heavy drinking was reported by 1.3% percent of the female population. Effectively then, 46.5% of women drinkers reported heavy drinking on
typical drinking occasions. The heavy drinking was equally distributed across all age groups. A larger proportion of rural than urban women drinkers reported drinking weekly or more often. The most common beverage used was spirits in 64.3%, while nearly fifty per cent of the women users drank beer. Wine was drunk by 27.9% of the drinking women whereas 7% of the drinking women used illicit alcoholic beverages. Women who drank wine also tended to be more abstentious and drank less (number of drinks per typical drinking occasion) than women who drank spirits, country or illicit liquor (ibid). The study focused on Kirinyaga West to establish the types of alcohol women consumed.

Across the United Kingdom, white women have lower rates of abstaining, drink more often and have more drinks in one sitting than all women. White Irish women have higher rates of drinking in all frequency categories compared to ethnic minorities, with 30% drinking three or more days a week, and 11% almost every day (Becker and Erens, 2006). Twenty-eight percent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islands women were described as low risk consumers (less than two drinks per day or session), 8% as risky drinkers (between two and four a day), and 6% as high risk drinkers (more than 4 drinks a day). In Canada, 7% of females reported consuming five or more drinks as their typical drinking quantity. This level of consumption is
associated with a significant increase in the risk of alcohol-related harm (Butt, Beirness, Gliksman, Paradis & Stockwell, 2010).

Tumwesigye & Kasirye (2005) in a study conducted in Uganda and Akanidomo (2005) in a Nigerian study observed that the places where women rarely drink were workplaces (85.7%) and in restaurants (77.5%). Most women regularly drink at home and their most common companions when taking alcohol are mainly friends, family members and workmates.

Euro monitor International, a market research firm suggested that Kenya is likely to experience a steady growth in alcohol consumption which could rise as the economy improves with the bright prospects of oil and political stability (Inter press service (IPS), 27 March 2015). The legislative attempts to curb drinking have resulted to adoption of desperate measures such as buying alcohol and drinking from home during curfew hours, exposing children to alcohol from a very young age (Ibid, 2015). However, Berman (1992) while basing his argument on the research conducted in Central Province, Kenya in 2010 argues that bar owners continue to report strong revenues as customers are guaranteed every night. Consistent drinking in bars appears to cut through ethnicity, region, race and social
class (Berman, 1992). The study therefore sought to find out the places women consumed alcohol and the company they kept in Kirinyaga West.

Population-based surveys have documented rates of alcohol use and harmful drinking among African women that raise concern, such as episodic binge drinking and regular high consumption (Martinez, Roislien & Clausen, 2011). Moderate alcohol consumption is the most common pattern and being a risky single-occasion drinker is more common than being a heavy drinker. There is also a predominance of lifetime abstention from alcohol by many women (ibid). The study was guided by the above studies to document the patterns of alcohol consumption among the women in Kirinyaga West, an aspect that has not been addressed in existing studies.

Reuters (2012) observes that mothers evince higher relative family centrality than fathers. They commit much more of their time in child care and household tasks even if they would be career women (Ibid). NACADA (2010) noted that alcohol, consumption in which women are involved in Kirinyaga West is consumed even throughout the day. The study focused on Kirinyaga West to find out the techniques adopted by regular alcohol consuming mothers so that the central roles of motherhood and the alcohol patterns are in harmony.
2.3 Reasons why Women Consume Alcohol

Women play a central role in the family. Norton et al. (2005) summarize these central roles of women into parents, care providers, mothers and wives. Wilsnack, Wilsnack and Klassen (1984) that, since these roles are multiple, they act as guards against alcohol consumption in women, especially to those that are married. They therefore argue that the married may have lower rates of alcohol consumption than those that are single, separated or divorced, due to that extra role that they have of being a wife. Heath, Jardine & Martin (1989) suggest that, the single women with fewer roles do not drink because they have more free time, but rather to cope with the stresses of their status. They also lack the protective effects of marriage, wherein spouses provide social support and actively discourage their partners' heavy drinking. However, marital status may influence a woman into alcohol consumption. Akanidomo, et al. (2005) in a study conducted in Nigeria observed that married women reported having been influenced to drinking by their spouses and there existed strong similarities between them and their partner’s drinking. According to NACADA (2010), men in Kirinyaga district had a very high alcohol consumption rate of 75.4%. Among other issues, the study sought to establish whether marital status influenced women’s alcohol consumption.
A study conducted by Benegal, Gururaj & Murthy (2003) in India implicated changes in social status and economic independence in women’s drinking patterns, which are associated with increase in levels of education and employment/income. Dawson and Archer (1992) concur with this and argue that those with higher incomes are likely to drink high volumes of alcohol because they can afford it. Neve & Mustonen (2001) held that as women gradually acquire equal rights in work and social situations, so is their propensity to drink in equal amounts and in the same manner as men, though this may not explain changes in drinking patterns of non-working women. This study focused on women who are informally employed and set out to establish whether their humble occupations offered the economic liberty that provoke alcohol consumption in employed women.

Gustafsson et al. (2010) have a different view regarding employment and argue that the reason the employed consume alcohol is due to the stress they face due to their dual role as breadwinner and their household roles. To cope with this, alcohol at the end of the day becomes the perfect antidote to their stressful lifestyle of a career, family, children, home commitments and other pressures (ibid). Using a role overload explanation, Fillmore (1997) implies that family roles are even more likely to be a source of increased distress resulting in higher alcohol use than any other women's roles. In addition, mothers take primary responsibility in homes
while fathers may only have partial responsibility (Chinweizu & Onsucheka, 1990).
The study sought to find out if women in informal employment and stay at home mothers who do not have dual roles indulged in alcohol consumption.

The beliefs, attitudes and values in society have changed leading to higher levels of alcohol consumption by women. In a study on alcohol abuse in Nandi, Birech, et al. (2013) found that rules that used to guard against its misuse, like age, sex, time, occasion, amount and frequency are no longer applicable. The study was informed by the above studies to establish if alcohol abuse by women was a way to challenge the traditional cultural norms and show that they have no sound pragmatic basis.

Rural-urban migration has increased with the development of towns. Consequences of this include a decline in the influence of the extended family and community as well as increased salience of the peer group (Ferguson, 1993). It has broken controls over drinking and has left a gap since no substitute to regulate people’s behaviour has been developed. This has been aggravated by the adoption of western culture. Kerr, Sanches, Trinca and Lima (2003), in a study on differences in drinking patterns between men and women in Brazil who are urban dwellers, established that alcohol consumption is marginally higher among urban women.
than rural ones. This study focused on the small urban centres in Kirinyaga West to find out the degree of peer group influence into alcohol consumption habits in women.

Metcalfe (2010) noted that age has a dimension in abstinence or consumption and that alcohol dependence is greater among middle-aged women of 35-49 years. NACADA (2009) explored various manifestations of alcohol abuse in former Central Province and found that its highest use is among those aged between 15-35 years. In USA, it is noted that with increasing age, abstention rates increase to the point that the majority of African American women over age 40 do not consume alcohol (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism) (NIAAA, 2002). The study focused on Kirinyaga West to find out whether specific age brackets of women had different degrees of alcohol use and where consumption is most concentrated.

Other possible causes for excess alcohol consumption are the harsh economic conditions that face communities and high inflation rates (Obondo, 1996; World Bank, 2000). Women when stressed by issues such as poverty, family abuse and divorce seek relief in alcohol (WHO, 2008). The search for employment may add to the distress that enhances the attractions to excess alcohol consumption.
The study set to find out if the search for employment played a role in alcohol consumption amongst mothers who still had so many other duties to perform at home.

Mulimbura (1977) partly associates increased alcohol consumption among women to their involvement in its sale in Uganda. Similarly in the Central African Republic, hydromel, a honey-based drink and a traditional beverage is prepared and sold by women, whereas in Lesotho, the cultural position of women facilitates a vicious cycle in which women are at one time brewers of alcohol, then sellers, and then excessive consumers (Mphi, 1994). The producers of Muratina, busaa and sellers of the same in Kangemi and Kibwezi in Kenya are women (Ndetei & Ambwao, 2009). The study was to establish women’s involvement in sale and production of alcohol in Kirinyaga West and identify if this had a dimension in their consumption.

The push for gender equality has led to increase in levels of alcohol consumption by women. In Nigeria, Adelekan (2005) and Room & Selin (2005) observe that with the rising influence of globalization, women have begun to challenge the status quo that relegated them to the background where they consumed measured amounts of
alcohol (Oshodin, 1995), because of cultural constraints. They use a recent popular maxim that “anything a man can do a woman can do it better” (including harmful alcohol consumption). The study sought to find out if women were using alcohol consumption to rebel against male domination in the family in Kirinyaga West.

2.4 Effects of Excessive Alcohol Use by Women on the Family

Mothers with a drinking problem during pregnancy bear children with fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) who are short and underweight and whose central nervous systems may be damaged (Parsons, 2013). Statistics from the National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (2010) showed that severe damage from FAS affects around 5,000 babies every year while 35,000 babies are born with milder damage in the United States of America. However, pregnancy and birth has more to do with the sex differences between men and women and not performance of roles in the family. Men’s drinking may not directly harm an unborn baby like a woman’s since men do not conceive. Nonetheless, either men’s or women’s drinking is harmful to the welfare of children.

Onsuchek (1990) defines motherhood as a set of feelings and behaviour that is switched on by pregnancy and birth of a baby. She is the foundational pillar upon which all the family and community structures rely (Dimandja, 2004). The African mother is more than a "domestic cook" in charge of managing the household (Ibid).
Cartledge (2007) observes that mothers are builders of life, give themselves selflessly without counting the cost and nurture a child’s personality. A mother who abuses alcohol excessively however makes the children have low self-esteem, feelings of guilt and despair, loneliness, chronic depression, anxiety, stress, aggression and impulsive behavior (Parsons, 2013). This study therefore focused on mothers whose foundation upon the family is often expected by society to find out how attentive they were towards the stability of households character molding of children.

Norton et al. (2005) summarizes the role of a mother in nurturance into provision of both physical and emotional care. She further elaborates that this is shown in ways such as loving, cherishing, teaching and identifying their children’s talents. Mulaudzi (2003) however observes that child rearing is grossly affected by a mother’s regular alcohol consumption. They may be unable to nurture as they are too focused on their drinking and are unable to love and care. They become emotionally unavailable, swinging from caring, loving and entertaining to violent, argumentative and withdrawn which frightens children. The children then become impassive and the attachment to their parents is lost (ibid). This study therefore focused on mothers whose love and care for the children is often expected by society to find out if they were attentive to nurturance.
Coupled with this is physical neglect where parents fail to meet basic material needs such as clothing, hygienic living, food, children suffer rejection, lack of supervision, and exposure to various hazards and risks as they are sometimes left home alone (Kroll & Taylor, 2003). Browne (2009) observes that when fathers neglect their roles due to alcohol consumption, wives bitterly shoulder them. The economic impact of this is far-reaching since, though married these wives become de facto single parents raising children on their own. Most studies on effects of alcohol consumption on the family are gender blind as they are on both parents, yet we have women who are single or divorced whose families rely on for provision. The study therefore set to find out if such mothers honoured their obligations of provision and supervision of children or fast sacrificed them on prioritizing alcohol consumption.

Leslie et al. (2013) observes that as parents, mothers have a role to monitor the discipline of their children and controlling them. They also protect, preserve and promote their moral values (Ibid). Alcohol consumption however affects the discipline of children due to inconsistent and ineffective parenting skills (Keller, Cummings & Davies, 2005). Parents either adopt excessively authoritarian or permissive parenting styles (laissez-faire), inconsistent disciplining with unrealistic
expectations of children’s abilities and very unsupportive parenting behaviours (Mayes & Truman, 2002). This provides a foundation for the development of an aggressive, antisocial behavior pattern which manifests itself in the form of noncompliance and characterized by early peer rejection, alcohol, drug abuse, poor academic performance, delinquency and association with deviant peers. The study set to find out if regular alcohol consuming mothers were keen in monitoring the discipline of their children in Kirinyaga West Constituency.

A unique non financial contribution made by women in the household is that of weaving cohesion into their families. Regular alcohol consumption is a threat to family life and harmonious interpersonal relations. NACADA (2010) showed that alcohol abuse in former Central Province had adverse effects such as fighting with family members, battering spouses and children and divorce (ibid). Kabithe (1988) further explains that it severs communication within Kenyan families. The research findings of a study conducted by Wamue and Mwangi (in NACADA, 2011) on the relationship between alcoholism and family cohesion in Kigio and Gatanga in Murang’a district in Kenya point out that alcohol abuse seeps into husband-wife relationship. This often leads to separation and divorce (ibid). Most studies on effects of alcohol consumption on family cohesion are gender blind as they are on both parents, this study focused on mothers whom society bestows the
responsibility of maintaining family stability and cohesion and was informed by the above studies on the extent to which their regular alcohol consumption may affect family cohesion.

An attribute of the African woman is her role as an educator (Dimandja, 2004). Education entails not only the teaching of human and cultural values, but as mothers and educators, women lead their sons and daughters on the road to a good life. Genuine education involves the shaping of character through the example of the educator. This challenging aspect of the role of the African woman requires that she live a life worthy of imitation (Ibid). Kathungu, Wasanga, Sirera and Karega (2010) observe that gender roles are still important in our society, and that mothers teach girls’ women’s gender roles while boys are taught by their fathers. Alcohol consumption by fathers makes them lack time to offer parental guidance and counseling. They also negatively model the boys who imitate their idling at the market places hence increasing their vulnerability of getting into alcohol use later. Suda (1996) observes that women are moral and religious instructors. A report by NACADA (2009) showed that the habit is instrumental in initiating alcohol abuse in children later in life. Women’s regular alcohol consumption has not been paid attention to as alcohol consumption is mostly associated with men. Whereas
Kathungu et al. (2010) focus on alcohol consumption by men and modeling of the boy child, the study targeted women who are regular alcohol consumers.

Heavy alcohol use has a close association with sexual risk behaviour (Morojele, Kachien’ga & Makoko, 2006). In a study consisting of 134 men and 92 women receiving sexually transmitted infection (STI) clinic services in Cape Town, South Africa, Kalichman, Simbayi, Cain & Jooste (2007) confirmed that they had not adopted safe sex procedures while under the influence of alcohol. WHO (2005) observe that heterosexual encounters are a major contributor to HIV whose effect is felt by families. A mother’s health cannot be underrated since she needs to be in good health to be able to perform her multiple roles in the family. The study therefore focused on alcohol consuming mothers who may not be keen enough to adopt safe sex procedures to find out if they engaged in commercial sexual practices that could compromise their health.

### 2.5 Strategies in Which women’s Alcohol Consumption can be Reduced

WHO is committed to reducing the morbidity and mortality caused by misuse of alcohol, and strengthening global action in response to alcohol-related harm (WHO, 1999). Alcohol reduction strategies include written alcohol policies or legislations that facilitate the reduction of its consumption. Some of these include the European
Alcohol Action Plan 2000-2005, the National Drug Control Strategy that focuses on America’s youth while globally, the Geneva Partnership on Alcohol was adopted in 1999 and aims at reducing the harm associated with misuse of alcohol (Alcohol Use In Australia, Issues and Strategies, 2001).

Community-based action and appropriate engagement of stakeholders leads to recognition of alcohol-related harm within a community and reduction of acceptability of public drunkenness. A good example of this is the Safe Communities Program created by American Indians living in North Dakota to address the individual and community risk factors associated with alcohol by creating healthy beliefs, attitudes and lifestyles (American Indian Development Associates, 2000). The study sought to establish if such community based interventions existed and take note of their effectiveness in Kirinyaga West constituency.

The Health-sector preventive measure against hazardous and harmful alcohol consumption, such as screening and brief interventions is an effective way of reducing alcohol consumption and its related harm. Due to the high rate of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome in Alasksa, they formed the Deilee Hit Safe Harbor House in
1999 which is an eight week intensive residential program for women with alcohol and/or drug abuse problems (AIDA, 2000). In this regard, the study sought to establish the effectiveness of the health sector in preventing hazardous alcohol consumption by women in Kirinyaga West constituency.

Olabisi (2006) suggests use of education to raise awareness and modify attitudes about alcohol consumption. School-based prevention programmes exist in Nigeria created by the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) in 1992 in form of clubs averse to alcohol use. Members engage in creative leisure activities with a goal of changing adolescents drinking attitudes and behavior. Controlled sale of alcohol such as the prohibitions that exist in the sharia states such as Zamfara and Sokoto, and placing of pricing policies lowers the purchasing power of consumers since they respond to the alteration by reducing consumption (ibid).

Addressing alcohol availability such as regulating production and distribution of alcoholic beverages leads to reduction of harmful use of alcohol and protects young people and other vulnerable groups such as women. Many countries have some restrictions on this which covers the age of consumers, the type of retail establishments that can sell alcoholic beverages and licensing with limits on hours
and days of sale (Freeman & Parry, 2006). This also embraces controls such as partial bans on volume of consumption and placement of restricted alcohol advertising. Examples of African countries with age restrictions are such are Egypt (21) and Kenya (18) (Benegal et al., 2003). Raising the minimum legal age for purchasing alcohol can substantially reduce youth drinking (ibid). The study sought to establish how effectively national rules pertaining to alcohol consumption were applied in Kirinyaga West.

Reducing illegally and informally produced alcohol via licensing of vendors is also important and ensures a responsible retailing which promotes a culture of safe, sensible drinking and elimination of counterfeit alcohol. Kenya enacted the Alcoholic Drinks Control Act (2010) covering licensing of production, manufacture, sale, promotion and consumption of alcoholic drinks. This study sought to establish if the sale of informally produced alcohol had halted with the implementation of the above legislation and particularly given focus to licensing of production and observation of sale hours in Kirinyaga West.

In Kenya, women’s alcohol problems have sometimes been responded to using inappropriate methods such as punishment rather than treatment. NACADA (2010)
has documented that 13.6% of women, against 14.1% of men were put under police custody as an intervention against alcohol use and that none of the women benefited from rehabilitation. This study was informed by the above studies to find out if there are other appropriate ways of reducing alcohol consumption among women in Kirinyaga West Constituency.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

This study adopted a gender roles framework developed by Moser (1986). Moser recognizes the value of gender roles but argues that the tasks of both men and women, and boys and girls should be accorded equal value, be it the reproductive, productive, community managing and community political roles. This provides the basis for the existence of healthy gender relations. As applied in this study, men, women, boys and girls who make up the family have socially constructed set of roles assigned to each one of them through the process of socialization and education. Home making, child rearing, cooking and cleaning among others are women’s duties, and are in the category of reproductive roles. If not attended to due to excessive alcohol consumption, family harmony is compromised and conflict arises causing more harm.
The above framework was complimented by the family systems theory advanced by Kerr & Bowen (1988), which explains that families are systems of interconnected and interdependent individuals who cannot be isolated. It emphasizes that each member has a role to play for the wellbeing of others. A family member’s behavior is caused by and affects other family member’s behaviors in predictable ways. Maintaining the same pattern of behavior within the system leads to a balance, whereas a deviation leads to dysfunction. Dysfunction in spouses may take the form of an over-adequate or under-adequate reciprocity in which one partner takes on most or even all family roles, while the counterpart takes the role of being under responsible. When the responsibilities exceed, the one giving more support for the sake of family harmony becomes vulnerable to physical or emotional dysfunction. In some cases, marital conflict results, making children to suffer anxiety and dysfunctional behavior.

The family also goes through the projection process whereby the parents transmit their emotional problems to a child who in turn might turn to alcohol and drugs as an escape. Communication in the family becomes brief, superficial and some of the members suffer emotional cut off, unhappiness, low self esteem, guilt, helplessness, poor performance in school and depression due to this state of affairs. All elements or individuals must play their roles for the family to flourish but if there is neglect
due to alcohol abuse, multiple effects are felt and the family is threatened with an eventual break up.

2.7 The Conceptual Framework

Women’s Alcohol Consumption: Independent Variable

Family Cohesion and harmony: Dependent Variable
As applied to this study, the theory postulates that all family members must play their roles since the family unit thrives through interdependence which is vital for its cohesion. In line with this theory therefore, women’s alcohol consumption which determines performance of women’s roles is the independent variable, whereas the
effect on family cohesion is the dependent variable. Higher consumption negatively leads to deterioration in performance of roles which multiply affect the family. This is manifested in ways such as neglect of children, their maladjustment and marital conflict. However, if proper strategies limiting alcohol abuse by women are applied, they are able to play their roles well and balance the family, since women are crucial due to the central roles they play as parents, care providers, mothers and wives. Strategies to limit alcohol consumption such as policies, community based action and raising awareness among others, are the intervening or moderator variables.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction
This chapter outlines the research methodology that was used in the study of women, alcohol consumption and its effect on the family in Kirinyaga West Constituency, Kirinyaga County in Kenya and includes the research design, the variables, the site/location of the study, the target population, sampling techniques and sample size, research instruments, data validity and reliability, data collection procedures, data analysis and presentation and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Design

The study adopted a descriptive survey research design. According to Kombo&Tromp (2004), this research design is most appropriate when the purpose of the study is to create a detailed description of the phenomenon. It therefore enabled the study to collect and collate research participants’ views, attitudes and opinions regarding women, alcohol consumption and effects in the family in Kirinyaga.

3.3 Variables

The dependent variables were the factors and patterns of women’s alcohol consumption whereas the independent variable was the effect this regular alcohol consumption has on family cohesion.
3.4 Location of the Study

The study was carried out in Kirinyaga West Constituency in Kirinyaga County, which was a district in former Central Province of Kenya. It lies between Nyeri, Embu and Murang’a counties, on the slopes of Mount Kenya. The constituency has some small urban centres (see map) that were started as concentration villages by the Colonial Government which aimed at mitigating the MauMau resistance in 1952 and enhancing the implementation of the state of emergency. The urban centres include; Kiburu, Kagio, Baricho and Riakiania. Some landless families such as those who were not allocated land and those who sold what they had acquired continued living in these villages after the state of emergency. As poverty wore on, they turned to brewing and selling alcoholic beverages. The people who own land in the area conduct agriculture very successfully whereas those without it provide them with casual labour.
Figure 3.1: A map of Kirinyaga County and some of the towns under study

Source: Comprehensive Social Studies, Kirinyaga County Standard 4 Book (2011)
3.5 Target Population

The target population for the study was women between 19 to 45 years in Kirinyaga West Constituency. According to the Kenya National Census (2009) there are 80,551 women aged 19-45 years in the constituency, distributed in 3 locations as follows, Mwerua (32221), Mukure (25776) and Kiine (22554), although the samples were drawn from the urban centres. Those picked constituted 20% of the population. Table 3.1 represents this summary.

Table 3.1 Target Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>No. of Villages</th>
<th>Women aged 19-45 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mwerua</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukure</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiine</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>80,551</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kenya National Census (2009)

3.6 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

The study adopted the multi stage cluster sampling method where the villages in the 3 locations were identified, 2 villages were purposively sampled from the locations with more villages, and 1 was picked from that with fewer villages. The villages picked were those known for their notoriety in alcohol preparation and sale according to NACADA (2010). A sample of 5 villages was selected purposively
(notoriety in alcohol consumption) which were equally distributed among the three locations in the constituency.

Snowballing method was used to identify twenty five regular alcohol consuming women, who were within 19 to 45 years from each of the sampled villages. A total of 125 women were used as respondents in this study. Twenty men were involved in the study as participants and were picked purposively, 16 of them from the two large locations and 4 from the smaller one. Five elderly women, two from each of the larger locations and one from the smaller location were on convenience sampling basis included as participants in the sample. For the Focus Group Discussion, seven members of the provincial administration from the sampled villages were purposively selected as key informants. Therefore, a total of 157 respondents were targeted to participate in the research which included 125 women as respondents, 20 men, 5 elderly women as participants and 7 informants as provided in Table 3.2 below:
Table 3.2 Sample of the Study Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Total No. of villages</th>
<th>Villages Sampled</th>
<th>No. of regular alcohol consuming women</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
<th>Elderly women</th>
<th>No. of Informants</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mukure</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>The D.O, 1 Chief, 5 Sub chiefs</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwirua</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiine</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>125 Respondents</strong></td>
<td><strong>20 Participants</strong></td>
<td><strong>5 Participants</strong></td>
<td><strong>7 Informants</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7 Research Instrumentation

Two sets of research instruments were used in this study for data collection; interview schedules for the women and men participants and a Focus Group Discussion for the key informants. The interview schedule for the women consisted of three sections. Section one consists of 5 items and sought data on the respondents’ bio data, section 2 consisted of 12 items in a three point likert scale and gathered information on the respondents’ alcohol consumption, section 3 gathered information on the respondents’ drinking motivation and consisted of
29 items on a 3 point likert scale. The interview schedule for the men consisted of 4 items that gathered information on the effects of excessive alcohol consumption on the family. The focus group discussion guide consisted of 5 items that gathered information on intervention measures.

The selection of these tools was guided by the nature of data to be collected and the objectives of the study. These instruments were most appropriate as they are flexible and allow the respondents to open up and respond freely to questions. Since the subject under study was sensitive, the creation of a free and friendly atmosphere between the interviewer and the respondents was needed and was best created through these two instruments. The instruments were administered personally.

### 3.8 Validity and Reliability

Face validity and content validity were checked. Face validity refers to the possibility that a question could be misunderstood or misinterpreted. Pre-testing was done in one of the villages not included in the sample in Kirinyaga West. This was Kagio urban centre part of which is in Mwea and the other part in Mwerua. Five women were picked purposively on whom the interview schedule was administered and two men were used in the focus group discussion. This tested the
reliability of both research instruments and helped detect any misunderstandings of the interview questions. Corrections were done on the wordings so that dependable data could be obtained. This also confirmed the possibility of finding the expected respondents and their reaction to the questions.

3.9 Data Collection Procedures

Before proceeding to collect data the researcher first obtained introduction letters from the department of gender and development studies and graduate school at Kenyatta University. The researcher then proceeded to the County administration, Kirinyaga West District and informed them of the research. The researcher then personally administered the interview schedules to the sampled respondents.

3.10 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data was organized in related themes as per objectives. Both qualitative and quantitative types of data were generated. Quantitative data was analyzed through descriptive statistics and the findings were presented in form of pie charts, frequency tables, percentages and bar graphs. Qualitative data was presented in form of verbatim and narratives.
3.11 Data Management and Ethical Consideration

Informed consent from the participants was sought since the research rotated around an issue that is sensitive and therefore required caution. Prospective participants were provided with information about the study and their consentsought before participating in the research. They were also informed of their right to abstain or withdraw without any reprisal and were assured of confidentiality of the information gathered in that it would only be used for the study’s purpose, permit had been granted by the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI).
CHAPTER FOUR

PATTERNS AND EFFECTS OF WOMEN’S ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION
ON THE FAMILY IN KIRINYAGA WEST CONSTITUENCY IN
KIRINYAGA COUNTY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the study findings. These findings are organised according to themes derived from the objectives of the study as follows: the bio data of the respondents, patterns of alcohol consumption, factors that motivate women to excessive alcohol consumption, effects of excessive alcohol consumption on the family and possible ways of addressing excessive alcohol consumption by women.

The study had targeted a study population of 157, out of which a total of 114 women respondents, 20 (men) participants and 7 key informants who included a District Officer, a chief and five sub chiefs from the 3 wards in Kirinyaga West where the study was centralised participated in the study. This was 88.54 % of the group which is a good representation.

4.2 Demographic Composition of the Respondents

The study looked at various demographic characteristics of the respondents. The variables investigated included; age, level of education, marital status, number
of children and occupation. The results are tabulated in Figures 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5.

4.2.1 Age

Age was considered important because according to scholars, it has a dimension in abstinence, consumption or alcohol dependence (Meltcafe, 2010 & NIAAA, 2002). The respondents aged 20-29 years were 31.5%, 30-39 years 33.3% while those aged 40-50 made up 25.4%. The study established that the highest and regular users of alcohol were those aged between 30 to 39 years and therefore, age of the female respondents seemed to influence alcohol consumption. This finding is in line with NACADA (2010) who observed that, the highest use of alcohol in Central Province is among those aged between 15-35 years in both men and women. However, contrary to NACADA (2011) who pegged down the age to 15-35 years, this study observed that regular alcohol consumption goes slightly beyond 35 years and starts declining at age 40. Figure 4.1 below presents the data on age of respondents.
Figure 4.1 Age Distribution of Respondents

4.2.2 Level of Education

The level of education of the sampled population is as presented in Figure 4.2 below:

Figure 4.2 on Education of the Respondents
The study established that the majority of the women who participated in this study had attained primary education (43.9%), 29.8% secondary, 17.5% had none and 8.8% had post secondary level of education. We can therefore deduce that, women’s level of education in this area is low, suggesting a big relationship between low education levels and alcohol consumption. While giving an explanation regarding this, Kimani and Chiuri (2004) observe that, girls in Kenya who went through school in the 80’s and 90’s were affected by gender disparities that existed in the nation at that time. This was in regard to access to and control of assets in the categories that aim at human resource development such as education and health. With girls being fewer in enrolment and retention in the education system, most of them only acquired minimal education (Ibid).

This was followed by the World Bank led Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS) implemented in African countries, which affected the vulnerable groups in the developing countries due to the high prices of consumer goods and retrenchment (Muia, 2004). Parents therefore, withdrew their children from school as their priority shifted to food provision. Women who are in their late 20’s and 30’s may have been victims of this economic crunch; hence their low levels of education in a region that has historically enjoyed higher levels of education for both women and men.
4.2.3 Marital Status of the Respondents

The Figure 4.3 below shows that majority of the women who consumed alcohol regularly were either single (never married), at (35.4%) or divorced (separated from their husbands) at (26.3%). Figure 4.3 below presents the findings:

Figure 4.3 on the Marital Status of Respondents

Therefore, not having a partner almost translated into increased alcohol use. It is worth noting that such mothers had fewer roles, with those of wives having been dispensed with. The findings agree with Wilsnack et al. (1984) who argue that, women who have multiple roles, such as the married may have lower rates of alcohol consumption than those that are single, separated or divorced. Heath,
Jardine & Martin (1989) add that, spouses actively discourage their partners' heavy drinking. Heath et al. (1989), further observe that some are also afflicted by adverse circumstances such as poverty and family abuse and therefore seek relief in alcohol. The married, marked the lowest percentage of regular alcohol consumers at 22.8%. This could be attributed to domination by their spouses which some of them confessed. Rose, a research respondent noted:

*My husband either comes home with alcohol or allows me to accompany him to the bar when he is celebrating an achievement but only allows restricted and supervised consumption which may be only a few bottles or glasses.* (O.I: Rose*, 27/8/2014).

### 4.2.4 Number of Children of the Respondents

The study further sought to find out how many children the respondents had since in performing the roles of parent, care provider, wife and employee (the mothers in this study were in informal employment), naturally increases the work load which was deemed as a factor that could predispose them to consume alcohol due to stress. The findings are presented in figure 4.4 below:
The findings revealed that majority of the women (31.6%) had only 2 while 28.7% had three children. Only 3.6% of the women had seven children. While examining regional variations in contraceptive use in Kenya, Kimani, Njeru and Ndirangu, (2013) confirmed higher use of contraception in Central Kenya as compared to the former Nyanza Province, which could be the reason for reduced births per household. Even though women had fewer children; the fact that they are unemployed/ under employed and owned little or no land implies that providing the family needs was a challenge which distresses such mothers predisposing them to alcohol consumption. Moreover, most of these women handle the parenting responsibilities single handedly which adds to the pressure. We therefore conclude that motherhood and the escalation of parenting roles partlycontribute to women’s alcohol use.

Figure 4.4 Number of children of the respondents

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4.2.5 Occupations of the Respondents

The study investigated the various occupations of the respondents. This was important in understanding the various sources of income that maintained their alcohol consumption habits. The various sources of livelihoods are presented in Figure 4.5 below.

Figure 4.5 Occupations of the Women

The study established that majority (58.78%) of the respondents were casual workers, 21.05% of them engaged in subsistence farming, 11.4% were brewing and selling liquor illicitly and 4.4% were bar tenders and commercial sex workers. There was a relationship between the low education levels of the respondents and their occupations whereby, most of them only had a minimum education and lacked skills which could make them employable. We can therefore conclude that this
forces them to eke out a living which frustrates and leads to indulgence in alcohol consumption. As noted by UNESCO (1995), education is crucial in changing the status of women and improving their empowerment whereas, the lack of higher education in specialized professional fields’ confines them to low status and low income jobs. UN (1989) further observes that in Africa, the high illiteracy rates for women have meant that they are in the lowest paying jobs, mostly manual occupations. Many of them are in the informal sector, especially in agriculture, while those with little education are in low paying jobs in the service industries or in the informal sector.

Chiuri (2004) further observes that in Kenya, 78.9% of people in the lowest paying jobs are women. As for those in the informal sector, they engage in the most risky business ventures such as prostitution, street vending and illegal brewing of alcohol. In many of these occupations, their lives are at risk and they are harassed by the law enforcement personnel as well as their customers (Ibid).
4.3 Patterns of Alcohol Consumption among the Agikuyu Women of Kirinyaga West Constituency

The first research objective was to analyze the patterns of alcohol consumption among the Agikuyu women of Kirinyaga West Constituency. To this end, this study sought to identify various aspects of women’s alcohol consumption which were; amounts, preferred locations, time and the preferred company. Interview schedules were organized which interrogated these variables and some of the percentages’ in this section had their first decimal digit rounded off to the nearest whole number.

4.3.1 Amount of Alcohol Consumed by Regular Alcohol Consumers

To capture the amount of alcohol regularly consumed by the women, the study adopted a design by WHO (WHO, 2005) known as Patterns of Drinking Score (PDS) which is based on an array of drinking attributes weighted differently in order to provide a scale of 1 to 5” drinks. The results are presented in table 4.1 below:
Table 4.1 on Patterns of Drinking Score (PDS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Consumer</th>
<th>No. of Drinks</th>
<th>Rate/ Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LD: Light Drinker</td>
<td>1 to 3 drinks</td>
<td>Once a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LF: Light Frequent Drinker</td>
<td>1 to 3 drinks</td>
<td>Per occasion weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MI: Moderate Infrequent Drinker</td>
<td>3 to 4 drinks</td>
<td>Per occasion monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MF: Moderate Frequent Drinker</td>
<td>3 to 4 drinks</td>
<td>Per occasion weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI: Heavy Infrequent Drinker</td>
<td>5 drinks</td>
<td>Per occasion monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HF: Heavy Frequent Drinker</td>
<td>5 drinks</td>
<td>Per occasion weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PD: Problem Drinking</td>
<td>5 drinks</td>
<td>Daily or almost daily</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WHO (2005)

As earlier noted (in 2.2), light infrequent drinking (LD) is consumption of at least one, but less than three drinks per occasion, once or less than once a month. Light frequent drinking (LF) is reporting at least one, but less than 3, drinks per occasion weekly. Moderate infrequent drinking (MI) is drinking at least three, but less than four drinks per occasion, once or less than once a month. Moderate frequent drinking (MF) is drinking at least three, but less than four drinks per occasion weekly. Heavy infrequent drinking (HI) is drinking at least 5 drinks per occasion once or less than once a month in the last 12 months (Munne, 2001). Heavy frequent drinking (HD) is drinking at least 5 drinks per occasion, weekly. Problem drinking (PD) is drinking at least 5 drinks per occasion weekly or more in the last year (Ibid).
For this study, glasses were used instead of drinks because some of the local brews have a very high alcohol content and potency, making them earn names such as *(kimuri)* flame, *(ngwamuri)* dislodgement and *(kibung’a)* muscle pull, and are measured using cups which cost ten shillings each. This also makes them be referred to as “*kumikumi*” (tenten) or *makombe* (cups). The findings regarding alcohol are represented in Table 4.2 below:

**Table 4.2 on Amount of alcohol Consumed by Regular Alcohol Consumers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Having 5 or more glasses on one occasion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than monthly</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily or almost daily</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>114</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nearly eighteen percent (17.5%) of the women consumed alcohol daily whereas 36.8% did so frequently. Sunday afternoon was identified as the heaviest alcohol consumption time for the heavy frequent drinkers, which as they said helped them to let go all the stress of the past week. Some however indulged in...
alcohol consumption the whole day. Regarding this, Wathoko*, a widow who is a casual labourer noted:

_Muthenyaucioniwituithuimamemberwakunyuakuakumakirokongiyahwaini (Sunday is our day, we who are “members” to drink till evening). I save up some money for this day although there are usually many people to offer drinks. (Wathoko* O.I, 18|12|2014)._

In the verbatim by Wathoko, “members” meant drinking companions who share a hangout; usually a specific alcohol outlet and whose practices of drinking are the same. This agrees with an observation by Ferguson (1993) on the peer group influence since those who may drank less now adopted the alcohol consumption habits of their peers. Using WHO’s (2005) rating, the study placed most of the women in Kirinyaga West Constituency within heavy frequent and heavy infrequent drinkers. The finding agrees with that of Martinez et al. (2011) who observed that among African women, being a risky single-occasion drinker is more common than being a problem drinker since the Sunday afternoon episodic drinkers drank heavily the whole afternoon. Suda (1996) observes that women were central in religious and moral teachings in the African society. In this regard, they offered key lessons to their children on the same. However, the study observed that this may have changed, with some women using the day of worship for some other purposes such as drinking.
The study compared the age and amount consumed per occasion and the findings are presented in the table below:

**TABLE 4.3 on the Cross Tabulation of Amount of Consumption and Age**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Less than monthly</th>
<th>Monthly</th>
<th>Weekly</th>
<th>Daily</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table 4.3 indicates that the majority of those who consumed high amounts of alcohol regularly were those within the 30-39 age brackets and were at 8.8% daily and 18.4% weekly consumption. The study attributed this to the strain that comes withincreased financial demands since, at such a time; their children are in secondary school. The effort made to see them through school becomes a crisis which they try to cope with by indulging in alcohol consumption. Government subsidy towards secondary education is just a paltry against their intensified financial demands. Moreover, the fact that the women lacked dependable sources of income makes the situation more desperate. The results however illustrate just as noted by Martinez et al. (2011), that drinking among African women increases with age and...
clearly stabilize or decline after midlife. This study attributed this decline to the fact that, by this time the children maybe independent and the women are therefore relieved, diminishing the tendency to rely on alcohol.

4.3.2 Preferred Drinking Locations

The study sought to find out the preferred drinking locations the respondents preferred and table 4.4 below illustrates the findings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drinking Locations</th>
<th>Did not drink in this location</th>
<th>Sometimes drank</th>
<th>Major drinking</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>59.6%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others home</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>51.8%</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal den</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>60.5%</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work place</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>59.6%</td>
<td>59.6%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The finding shows that most of the women consume alcohol either at home (23.7%) or in illegal dens (38.6%). Very few drink in clubs and bars. This may be attributed to the fact that the alcoholic beverages that they consume are home brewed and the fact that such places have been the domain of men. This is in agreement with an
observation made by Tumwesigye & Kasirye (2005) and Akanidomo (2005) who established that most women regularly drink at home. Twenty six (26.3%) of the women whose major drinking location was the work place serve as bar tenders or in the illegal dens where they deal with preparation and sale of alcohol and face some challenges as earlier noted (in 4.2.5).

The study also established that in some areas within the region under study, the “headman” conducted regular checkups and arrests which kept the women away from the bars. In connection to the above, Waithera*, who frequents illegal dens noted:

*I drink from the brewing dens in Kirimaini where munyeki/karubu/kigwa (a local brew prepared from sugarcane juice which has now been replaced by molasses) is available, since the headman here is very strict on brewing. I also consume kimuri, kibung’a, ngwamuri or mutuuku (second generation alcohols which are made from mixing ethanol, water and flavours) from the local pubs which are open at 3.00 pm but sell beer to anyone secretly outside the sale hours.* (Waithera* O.I, 26/08/14).

The verbatim by Waithera* indicates the high availability and accessibility of alcohol which is brewed locally as observed by NACADA (2010). Other types of alcohol that women were able to access included *man’ga, karikarimakaabo and marigu*. All these referred to types of second generation alcohol that have been given local names by the consumers.
The findings also reveal negligence in the enforcement of the Alcoholic Drinks Control Act (2010) on non sale hours and licensing of production and retail establishments that sell alcoholic beverages. Such negligence implied that even age restriction of consumers was disregarded too since, as attested by Waithera*, alcohol is sold to any willing person. This led to the conclusion that, the unrestricted sale and the local brews make alcohol too available, largely contributing to the escalated alcohol consumption levels by women in the region. The discussion in this section also indicates that, women’s access to wage labour has introduced a new pattern in women’s alcohol consumption in that they plan their schedules in regard to amount, what, when and where to drink in relation to whether money is available, therefore deepening their consumption. The findings concur with Benegal (2003), who observes that changes due to employment and independence influence women’s drinking patterns.

### 4.3.3 Preferred Alcohol Consumption Times

The study sought to find out the preferred alcohol consumption times and the responses are provided in Table 4.5 below:
Table 4.5 Preferred Times for Consumption of Alcohol

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drinking times</th>
<th>Did not drink at this time</th>
<th>Sometimes drank at this time</th>
<th>Major drinking time</th>
<th>Total no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the morning</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nights</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunch time</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afternoons</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>44.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings revealed that the major drinking times for the respondents are night (63.2%) and evening (51.8%). Twenty six percent (26.3%) of the women consumed it in the afternoon, 26.3%, lunch time and 19.3% in the morning. Although the heaviest consumption was at night, the findings imply that, consumption of alcohol occurred throughout the day. This is in agreement with a study by NACADA (2010) on alcohol consumption in Kirinyaga which found that alcohol was consumed throughout the day, even in the morning. This implies that such mothers are habitually absent from the home, where culturally they are expected to play a central role in its smooth running.
The findings deviate from Kenyatta’s (1971) observation that middle aged women of the indigenous Agikuyu community, only consumed alcohol during great celebrations and festive seasons, and were busy the rest of the time engaging in productive activities (Ibid). The study therefore notes that Kenyatta’s sentiments are no longer applicable in Kirinyaga West Constituency as the emerging pattern of consumption shows no limitation with regard to time; season or ceremonies, and women’s drinking is more frequent. This is in agreement with Birech et al. (2013), who observe that rules that guided on time, occasion and frequency of alcohol consumption are no longer applicable.

4.3.4 Preferred Drinking Companions

The study investigated the respondents preferred drinking companions and the responses are provided in the table 4.6 below:
Table 4.6 on the Preferred Drinking Companions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drinking Companions</th>
<th>Did not drink with this person</th>
<th>Sometimes drank with this person</th>
<th>Major drinking Companion</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse/Partner</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>51.8%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>45.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male friend (s)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Friend(s)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>45.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male and female friends</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>63.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strangers</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.6 clearly shows that majority of the respondents (42.1%) preferred to drink with a male friend, 43.9% with male and female friends, 2.6% with a child, 20.2% with a partner, 13.2% with a relative, while those who drank alone or with strangers were 17.5% each. Majority of the respondents therefore, consumed alcohol in the company of friends and rarely with a relative or spouse. The implication of this is that there is mingling of the genders during alcohol consumption which did not exist in the pre-colonial times. This negates the observed sitting arrangement as earlier noted (in 1.1) during beer drinking parties among the Agikuyu which
was particularly determined by age and gender (Routledge & Katherine, 1910). Adherence to this ensured the maintenance of proper social relations and checked against misconduct. Again, drinking was not a lone affair but one had to be with companions of one’s gender. However, as established by this study, 17.5% of the women preferred to drink alone. The societal bonding created by this kind of sharing is therefore compromised.

**4.3.4 Women’s Performance of gender roles**

The study sought to establish the extent to which the women respondents were effective in performance of their gender roles, on the basis of traditional division of labour. Table 4.7 below illustrates the findings:

**Table 4.7 on Performance as per Expectations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Failed to do what was normally expected because of drinking</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes on one occasion</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes on many occasions</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>114</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The findings imply that for 43% of the women, the performance of both domestic and financial obligations was not exemplary. In relation to this, Wakio* who is a bar tender noted:

*Sometimes I purchase food for my child from the local hotels and send it home. I have even trained him to get up early, prepare and go to school without my assistance (O.I Wakio, 16/12/2014).*

The verbatim by Wakio* underlines the laxity in performance of roles which the Agikuyu consider central for mothers in the home as a parent and care provider. Norton et al. (2005) elaborates on parenting and care provision in that as parents, women play a role of guidance, leadership and protection and as mothers; they offer love, care and provision. The above discussion also indicates habitual absenteeism since the child had even been trained to be independent at an early age (standard 4). Protection of a child cannot be offered by a mother who is habitually absent, whereas love cannot be offered by simply sending food home without being there to offer affection. Such mothers negated Reuter’s (2012) observation of investing many hours in child care and house work. Whereas some roles of a mother may be performed from a distance, others are delicate and demand physical presence.
In summary, the pattern of alcohol consumption by women in informal employment in Kirinyaga West County comprises of aspects such as consumption of second generation alcohol such as *kimuri*, *kibung’a*, *ngwamuri*, *mang’a*, *mutuuku* and *karikari* and traditional liquors such as *karubu*, *munyeki*, *kigwa*, *makaabo*, *marigu* and *makombe*, brewed within the locality. Alcohol consumption times have changed; for some, consumption takes place throughout the day unlike traditionally where regulations existed. They drink heavily on Sunday afternoon and those aged 30-39 take lead in alcohol consumption. They mostly consume alcohol from home although some access it from bars, clubs and illegal dens which previously were men’s domain. The study notes that there exists no fixed limit in the amount of alcohol women consume and generally consumption has scaled up. Women also choose their drinking companions whose free mingling even allows them to keep the company of their children during alcohol consumption sessions.

### 4.4 Factors that Motivate Women to Excessive Alcohol Consumption

The study sought to find out various motivators of regular alcohol consumption by women in Kirinyaga West Constituency. Motivators that are work related, physiological, financial, interpersonal, marital/relationship and parental were
assessed. To this end, interview schedules were organized which considered 13 variables in a 3 point likert scale. The findings are presented in subsequent sections.

4.4.1 Work Related Motivators of Alcohol Consumption

The study sought to find out if the women had some work related motivators to regular alcohol consumption, even though they were in informal occupations. Table 4.8 below presents the respondents opinions:

**Table 4.8 on Work related Motivators of Drinking**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work related Motivators of Drinking</th>
<th>Did not drink in</th>
<th>Sometimes Drank</th>
<th>Major drinking situation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when I feel my job is hopeless</td>
<td>63 (55.3%)</td>
<td>37 (32.5%)</td>
<td>14 (12.3%)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink before I start working</td>
<td>61 (53.5%)</td>
<td>31 (27.2%)</td>
<td>22 (19.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink after work to relieve pressure from work</td>
<td>34 (29.8%)</td>
<td>26 (22.8%)</td>
<td>42 (36.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink with friends while at work</td>
<td>34 (29.8%)</td>
<td>26 (22.8%)</td>
<td>42 (36.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study found out that majority of respondents (36.8%) sometimes drank while at work or after. This was particularly so for those dealing with production and sale of
alcohol, due to the offers from customers and alcohol proximity. This finding agrees with Mulimbura’s (1977) observation that increased alcohol consumption in women is due to their involvement in its sale and preparation.

Twelve percent (12.3%) of the women drank because they felt their lowly occupations were hopeless. This negates Dawson and Archer’s (1992) observation that women in employment drink because they can afford it. On the contrary, the unemployed consume the little money they access since they feel that their jobs are too hopeless to afford them anything else other than cheap alcohol that helps escape this reality temporarily. These women have been put in this situation by unemployment. In relation to this, Nancy*, a form four leaver, divorced, and whose children are reared by her ex-husband after she became addicted to alcohol noted:

_I have been trying to get a job for the last twelve years without much success. When I returned home after my divorce, my mother refused to entrust me with her business. However, she asks me to perform domestic chores such as cooking for the labourers which I cannot do because as far as I am concerned, these are not the kind of jobs that I should be doing. I do not even prepare my own meals but buy food after selling items such as bananas which my mother gives me to consume. My husband even withdrew our children from me claiming I am a bad mother, because I drink_ (Nancy* O.I, 27/8/2014).

Thesesentiments portray the frustrations that come about with unemployment, which this study considered a major contributor to women’s alcohol consumption. Even though Nancy* could not comprehend the genesis of this addiction, she probably began to consume alcohol after she became a ‘stay at home mother’, which she
resented and still does. Kenya being a British colony laid great emphasis on education after independence, making its people embrace it as the only guarantee to getting into formal employment and having a better life. This was a strategy adopted to grow the economy by capitalist nations such as Britain, who supported the Human capital theory advanced by Schultz (1961), and which emphasized on investment in human skills through education.

However, when this was no longer profitable and served to increase the dependency of developing countries, SAPS were implemented, employment frozen, and retrenchment introduced (Muia, 2004). Unemployment therefore shattered the dreams of many. Some were unable to accept this reality, seeking solace in alcohol in which the above respondent was a victim. This finding agrees with those of Ndom and Adelekan (1996), who noted that the distress associated with unemployment enhance attraction to alcohol use. NACADA (2010) too identified unemployment as accounting for up to 18% of the consumption.

The finding indicated that some women abhorred domestic chores. Becker (1981) observes that it is only an assumption that women have "taste" for doing housework. On the contrary, the participants in this study had domestic chores to
perform but declined and still consider themselves jobless. The above sentiment revealed that domestic work is looked down upon and some women drink to avoid it. Anderson’s (2000) observes that, domestic work is demeaned when fronted as women’s most fundamental duty as it does not attract any remuneration.

It is worth noting that patriarchal societies allocate many domestic chores to women. In this regard, Muia (2004) notes that as a result of patriarchy, men’s duties in the household are negligible compared to those of women. In furtherance, after colonization, men’s duties became even more painless since they were compelled to seek wage labour away from the household. This overburdened the women as they had to also perform roles that previously were their husbands’. Moreover, Adelekan (2005) observes that, women have begun challenging their cultural relegation and confinement to the home. We could therefore, conclude that women have lost attraction to unpaid domestic chores. They view them as burdensome and even seek shortcuts such as purchasing ready food. They now have their focus on formal employment away from the household. However, even if they were to achieve this, their central roles in the family cannot be delegated the way men did to in the post colonial times, neither can they be underrated. They therefore need to continue being hands-on for the wellbeing of the family. In addition, such roles ought to be
shared by all members of the family in order to lighten the domestic burden placed on women’s shoulders by the society.

4. 4.2 Financial Related Motivators of Alcohol Consumption by Women

The study looked at financial related motivators of alcohol consumption and the findings are tabulated in Table 4.9 below:

Table 4.9 on Financial Related Motivators of Alcohol Consumption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial related motivators of drinking</th>
<th>Did not drink</th>
<th>Sometimes drank</th>
<th>Major drinking</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when I can’t afford things that I need</td>
<td>No. 31 (27.2%)</td>
<td>No. 36 (31.5%)</td>
<td>No. 47 (41.2%)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when angry over who controls the money</td>
<td>78 (68.4%)</td>
<td>22 (19.3%)</td>
<td>14 (12.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when I have some money</td>
<td>31 (27.2%)</td>
<td>36 (31.5%)</td>
<td>47 (41.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when am not able to be a good provider</td>
<td>18 (15.8%)</td>
<td>30 (26.3%)</td>
<td>66 (57.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This study established that 41.2% of the women consumed alcohol when they could not afford something they were in dire need of. The finding clearly shows that financial frustrations impel women to consume alcohol. This is in agreement with World Bank’s (2000) view that possible causes for excessive alcohol consumption
are the harsh economic conditions and the high inflation rates that face communities.

About fifty eight percent (57.9%) were driven into alcohol consumption by guilt about not being good providers. Women now provide for their families and as observed by Gustafsson, et al. (2010), this leads to stress due to performance of dual roles as breadwinners and managers of households. Alcohol is therefore used to relieve the stressfull lifestyle of such women. In relation to this, Wangari*, one of the respondents in this study observed:

_I am now divorced and one of my children is so sickly such that I am on and off hospital, I have too many responsibilities such as paying rent and school fees. When casual work is available, I earn 200 shillings daily but on some other days I am not lucky to get a job, this makes me get very frustrated until I look for alcohol to forget the challenges. On such days, my friends buy the drink for me since we cannot all lack money at the same time (Wangari* O.I, 27/8/2014)._ 

The sentiments expressed by Wangari* underlines women’s centrality in the family such that even after dissolution of a marriage, they are expected to cope with taking care of the children single handedly. Neglect of parenting responsibilities by men after such dissolution became so abused (as it was at times done on purpose) and burdensome, until it was put in check by enacting Article 53(1), (E) of the
constitution which emphasizes on the sharing of parental responsibilities. Unfortunately, some women are not well informed which makes it impossible for them to enjoy the reprieve the law provides. In our view, these findings point out the meager earnings of the lowly in the informal sector, as well as the day to day struggles. Since they earn too little to make any savings for a future use, the lack of the daily earnings frustrates them and they seek temporary escape through alcohol consumption.

The 12.3% of the women who sometimes drink when they get angry over control of money by their husbands is an indication that women are now challenging male dominance and control over resources. This makes them engage in alcohol consumption and get intoxicated, a behavior which was a preserve for men. This finding is in line with Gustahssfsson et al. (2010) who observe that women imitate men’s way of drinking to feel equal to them. Consequently, their level of alcohol consumption escalates.

4.4.3 Interpersonal Motivators of Alcohol Consumption

The study looked at interpersonal motivators of alcohol consumption. The findings are presented in Table 4.10 below:
Majority of the respondents (50.9%) found it hard to resist if someone bought them a drink or offered to do so. Waithera*, a regular alcohol consumer interrogated by this study expressed this in the following words:

*We go into the bar in 2 categories as women, the first buys its own drink and sits to chat with friends, and the second is sponsored. However, these...*
positions are not permanent as from time to time, we go broke and cannot retain these positions and are bought for drinks. This always comes with consequences which we least care about since we are all friends and understand each other (Waithera* O. I, 26/8/2014).

Waithera* alluded to the fact that women comfortably traded their bodies for alcohol, which showed how casually sex was viewed. The study further observed that when some of the women failed to get casual employment, they engaged in commercial sex work or sometimes simply used it to supplement their earnings. This is in agreement with Dhital’s et al. (2001) observation that with perpetuation of poverty, women can take to casual sex work to support their alcohol consumption habits. As earlier noted (in 4.2.5), women engage in risky business ventures some which might necessitate alcohol consumption to overcome inhibitions and relieve the pressure their occupations present. The study established that alcohol enables them to achieve this. However, it is noteworthy that, sometimes these women exercised independence by buying their own drinks when they had the money. Inadequate resources hence mainly lure them into alcohol consumption and commercial sex work.

Nearly fifty percent (47.4%) drink as a way to meet people or be more comfortable with others, and 44.7% to have fun. The findings show that majority of respondents
take alcohol for social purposes. This is in line with NACADA (2010) who observe the existence of popular beliefs that tempt both men and women to indulge in alcohol consumption such as making one feel good, important, and think and work smart. In addition, more women use alcohol to feel more confident and relate easily with others (ibid). According to WHO (1995), alcohol dissolves inhibitions, making even the most shy person to function and open up.

4.4.4 Physiological Motivators of Excessive Alcohol Consumption

The study investigated the physiological motivators of excessive alcohol consumption and the findings are presented in Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1: Physiological Motivators to Alcohol Consumption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physiological motivators of drinking</th>
<th>Did not drink</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Major drinking situation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when fatigued</td>
<td>28(24.6%)</td>
<td>59(51.8%)</td>
<td>27(23.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink if restless</td>
<td>38(33.3%)</td>
<td>47(41.2%)</td>
<td>29(25.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when in pain</td>
<td>36(31.6%)</td>
<td>56(49.1%)</td>
<td>22(19.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink if sleepless</td>
<td>44(38.6%)</td>
<td>49(43%)</td>
<td>21(18.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when thirsty</td>
<td>36(31.6%)</td>
<td>66(57.9%)</td>
<td>12(10.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table 4.11 above shows that 25.4% of the respondents drink when restless, 19.3% when experiencing physical pain, 23.7% when tired or fatigued, 8.8% if they have trouble falling asleep while 10.5% sometimes consume alcohol when they are thirsty. These findings indicate that women tend to consume alcohol when under physiological stress; fatigue, restlessness, sleeplessness and while experiencing physical pain. This study therefore concluded that, the accrued stress and exhaustion from serving as casual labourers, parents and wiveswearwomen out, thereby causingbodily aches and pains. Thisthen lure them into consuming alcohol which they pursue astherapy. This therefore emerged as a major contributing factor to habitual alcohol consumption by women in this study area. This is in agreement with Engs (1997) who observed that as medicine, alcohol was, and often still is used as a sedative to induce sleep and to relieve vague aches and pains.

In view of the above, Wangu*, a regular alcohol consumer, explained she consumed alcohol daily as she cannot fall asleep without the influence of the drink. She reckoned that:

$I\ consume\ 6\ glasses\ of\ alcohol\ on\ a\ daily\ basis,\ a\ little\ from\ the\ bar\ during\ the\ early\ evening\ hours\ and\ carry\ the\ rest\ home\ to\ take\ later\ before\ I\ go\ to\ bed.\ I\ get\ the\ money\ from\ my\ dairy\ cow\ which\ produces\ 4\ litres\ of\ milk,\ I\ therefore\ do\ my\ best\ to\ ensure\ that\ it\ is\ fed\ early,\ supply\ the\ milk\ at\ 4.00p.m\ and\ pick\ the\ money\ that\ I\ need\ for\ my\ alcohol,\ the\ children\ then\ come\ and$
pick money for other necessities from the place where I supply milk which they then help me account( Wangu* O. I, 16/12/2014).

On the same note, Nuru* said:

*I consume it daily; my husband has insisted that I stop consuming alcohol until he has run away from home. He wants to stop me yet he too consumes it and does not finance me.(O.I.Nuru*, 27/8/2014.

The discussion above indicates the freedom women’s economic independence offers. The study observed that, even when the earnings are meager, they are able to plan their roles well and as noted earlier(in 4.3.2) determine amounts, when and where to drink. This however can be a calamity since it can lead to the development of alcohol dependency, with alcohol taking centre stage in planning family budgets. The mothers may therefore fail to teach their children how to budget according to priority of family needs, a skill that is crucial in life. The results portray as WHO (2007) noted, that parental increase in alcohol consumption severely impairs their performance as parents and spouses and affects the stability of the household making such families fragile.

As noted earlier, Nuru* stated that she would not quit daily drinking unless the husband did so. This scenario points out to the effort women are making to assert themselves as they strive to embrace gender equality, a term that is misconceived. There is confusion as to what to touch on in the attempt to dismantle the
traditionally existing male dominance. These findings negate Dimandja’s (2004), observation that African spouses do not protest, in a democratic way, to claim equality with their husbands in times of conflicts. The study however, found the possibility of divorce as a result of daily excessive consumption by women to be rather high. While focusing on the departure of Nuru’s husband, this study observed that, assertiveness and economic independence by women intimidate and unsettle men, hence requires careful handling so as to preserve the family.

4.4.5 Marital/relationship Motivators of Alcohol Consumption

The study looked at marital/relationship motivators to alcohol consumption and the results are tabulated in the table below:
Table 4.12 on Marital Motivators to Alcohol Consumption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital/Relationship Motivators of Alcohol Consumption</th>
<th>Did not drink in</th>
<th>Sometime s drank in</th>
<th>Major drinking situation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.  %</td>
<td>No.%</td>
<td>No.  %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when my partner is drinking offers me one</td>
<td>36(31.6%)</td>
<td>40(35.1%)</td>
<td>36(31.6%)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when my partner and I are celebrating</td>
<td>34(29.8%)</td>
<td>51(44.7%)</td>
<td>29(25.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when am not treated like an adult by my spouse</td>
<td>41(36%)</td>
<td>50(43.9%)</td>
<td>23(20.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink after physical violence occurs in the family</td>
<td>54(47.4%)</td>
<td>34(29.8%)</td>
<td>26(22.8%)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when I think my no one cares about me</td>
<td>37(32.5%)</td>
<td>64(56.1%)</td>
<td>13(11.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when dealing with conflict/fight between my partner and i.</td>
<td>47(41.2%)</td>
<td>50(43.9%)</td>
<td>17(14.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table 4.12 above indicates that majority of the respondents, 31.6% sometimes drink when their partner is drinking or offers them a drink, while 25.4% drink when celebrating something. The findings also reveal that thirty percent (29.8%) of the respondents drink when not happy with their role in the family and 11.4% of them when their partner does not meet his responsibilities. Marital/relationship motivators were therefore identified as key factors that predispose women to alcohol consumption in Kirinyaga West Constituency. While agreeing with this, Wilsnack et al., (1984) argue that although married women may have lower rates of alcohol consumption due to the husband’s control; their marital status may influence them into alcohol consumption.

Akanidomo et al. (2005) and Wilsnack et al.(1981) further note that a woman’s drinking resembles that of her husband/partner. As observed by NACADA (2010), 75.4% of males and 31.6% females consume alcohol in Kirinyaga. The implication therefore is that a large percentage of the women who consume alcohol may be
having partners who also indulge in alcohol consumption and who are instrumental
to their habitual drinking. In confirmation, Rose*, a research respondent noted:

“My husband sees nothing wrong with me drinking; in fact he brings alcohol
on his way from work to consume at home when we are happy about a
certain achievement and insists that we share” (Rose* O. I, 27/8/2014).

Nancy* who was introduced to alcohol consumption by her husband too noted:

“My husband introduced me to alcohol and later on turned against me,
divorced and took my children away from me. He even does not allow them
to get in touch with me and when they have to communicate to their
grandmother through telephone, they do so through my sister. It really
hurts. What exactly is wrong with me?” (Nancy* O. I, 8/12/2014).

The observation by Rose* that her husband sometimes brought home alcohol on his
way from work points out to an inequality issue between the genders in labour
accession and decision making. Most of the stay at home mothers had husbands
working outside the home who even go to social places after work to unwind.
However, the women may not be granted any such chance for relaxation outside the
home.

It is worth noting that Nancy’s* husband initially encouraged her to consume
alcohol but later divorced her for the same. This in our view is an indication of a
clash between societal expectations and individual choices. Hence during courtship,
a man may spend time with his girlfriend consuming alcohol but she is expected to
stop as soon as she becomes a wife. The husband even decides on when this must happen, failure to which she is divorced due to unbecoming behaviour for a wife, namely consuming alcohol. It therefore occurred that for some of these mothers, it is the confinement in the home that eventually bores provoke alcohol indulgence.

The inequality between the genders is also visible from Nancy’s divorce after she developed an addiction. If things happened in the reverse with the husband developing the addiction, the wife would have stayed, shouldered all the responsibilities, and would bear the harassment and embarrassment the condition presents. This points out to the societal expectations of the woman, as one with high endurance. Again, she had to be flawless. Therefore, instead of the husband seeking a solution to the addiction whose recovery would have taken long, Nancy had to be gotten rid of and be replaced, based on the fact that the central roles of a mother cannot be prorogued.

About fifteen percent (14.9%) of the respondents drink when frustrated by failure to resolve a conflict with the partner and 22.8%, when physical violence occurs in the family. Palmera (2009) observes that violence and abuse in the family pushes women into excessive alcohol consumption. Nearly twenty percent (20.2%) drink
when they feel that their partners are not treating them like adults. Regarding this, Wanjiku* noted:

> My husband drove me out of my marital home and sold all our land, I left with my seven children but when I got to my father’s home, my brothers refused to receive me and I rented a cheap house here in this village. My children stopped schooling and got hired, some as casual labourers and others as housemaids. I watched as he enjoyed all the proceeds and it was very painful, considering the economic hardships I was going through. He is now so poor and as useless as a woman’s handbag (atwikirewatuhu ta mbetiyanumundumuka). Tell me, other than drinking, what can else anybody do? (Wanjiku*O. I, 18/12/2014)

Wanjiku’s* sentiments demonstrate an issue of gender discrimination regarding property rights by women in the Agikuyu society whereby, they ceded all forms of ownership and belonging to their birth place after marriage. They were also not consulted in property matters meaning that their views were considered to be of no importance even when family land was sold yet this was important to their survival. The inability to access resources and the lack of property rights by women, both in their maternal and marital homes only increases their vulnerability. In turn, it affects their children who quit school and turn to child labour at an early age. Child neglect became so severe in Kenya until it was given redress in the constitution in Article 60(1), (F), which eliminates gender discrimination with regard to land and property ownership. Article 68(3) (iii) would also have been
beneficial to Wanjiku* by protecting the matrimonial home and property. However, for some these women it was too late.

In line with this, Kimani and Chiuri (2004), point out that in sub-Saharan Africa, men, women, boys and girls have differential access to social capital resources and participation in decision making, with women and girls having very limited access. Again as pointed out earlier (in 4.4.2), parenting in the community under study is almost not shared and is considered wholly women’s responsibility. That is the reason Wanjikuleft with ‘her’ children, even though she never had them as a girl before the marriage. Moreover, to women parenthood is almost considered permanent but for the men it can be forsaken.

The details given to this study in the proverbsuch as‘being as useless as a woman’s handbag’is historical. After the introduction of the monetary system, women never possessed money but would be seen carrying large handbags devoid of money, and had to beg for it from their husbands/partners when need arose. As earlier noted, colonization ushered in a monetary system and wage labour became dominated by men as they were expected to pay taxes to the colonial administration (Gichema, Mukabane, Saka, Wafula&Omato, 2013). Colonization
therefore, favoured the male gender in terms paid labour, making them acquire more resources to add to the land and animals they already owned. This aggravated the dependence by the women and added to the gender disparity that already existed. The Kikuyu proverb therefore portrayed extreme stereotyping of women as a gender since their handbags are not asepty.

Nearly eleven percent (11.4%) of the women consume alcohol as a result of their partner’s failure to meet responsibilities such as providing for the family, irresponsiblesale of family land and failure to pay school fees which leave them frustrated, hence seek solace in alcohol. Bowen (1978) posits that dysfunction in one partner causes the other to take on most or all family roles and when the responsibilities exceed, the one giving more support for the sake of family harmony becomes vulnerable to physical or emotional dysfunction. We could therefore, attribute women’s alcohol consumption to men’s negligence of gender roles which over-burdens the women, their escape being alcohol consumption.

NACADA (2010) noted that 79.3% of the men in former Central Province who consumed alcohol sold their property and shelved financial responsibilities. Shisanya (2009) further observes that, men in the region are especially overtaken by
alcoholism to an extent that they no longer care for the welfare of their families. The adverse effects of alcoholism lead to myriad complaints by the residents especially women who are overwhelmed by the family burdens (Babor, 2010). Browne (2009) further notes that, the most affected are those between ages 15 to 60, who take to defacto parenting. This study therefore, observes that, women’s increased alcohol consumption is an indicator of family dysfunction which may be as a result of men’s inability to meet their obligations. Men’s neglect of their gender roles has exacerbated women’s alcohol consumption.

4.4.6 Parental Motivators of Alcohol Consumption

The study endeavoured to establish the parental motivators to alcohol consumption. The findings on this variable are indicated in Table 4.13 below:

**Table 4.13 on Parental Motivators of Alcohol Consumption**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parental Motivators of Alcohol Consumption</th>
<th>Did not drink</th>
<th>Sometimes drank</th>
<th>Major drinking situation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.  %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No.  %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when I feel that my parents or in-laws don’t respect me as an adult</td>
<td>59 (51.8%)</td>
<td>44 (38.6%)</td>
<td>11 (9.6%)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes drink when I feel that my parents or in-laws are too demanding or interfering</td>
<td>61 (53.5%)</td>
<td>39 (34.2%)</td>
<td>14 (12.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results on table 4.13 indicate that some women drank when they felt guilty about something related to their parents or in-laws (11.4%), 12.3% when they felt that their parents or in-laws were too demanding or interfering and 11.4% after disagreeing about something with their parents or in-laws. Only 7% indicated that they drank after spending time with the parents or in-laws. The findings indicate that parental factors are not a major contributor to alcohol consumption among women in Kirinyaga. However, 8.8% of the women consumed alcohol since they were upset by their parents or in-laws. Waithera* who was upset by both her parents and former in-laws observed:

*I married at a tender age as far as Meru, got my first child but that marriage failed since my in-laws disliked me and never found me deserving of their son, I was therefore chased. When I got back home, my mother received me and after 3 years, I remarried in Karatina. When I discovered that I was that man’s third wife and rivalry started amongst us, I decided to return home and I already had a second child. By then, my mother was dead and my father and brothers did terrible things to my children and me so that we could leave. I left and rented a house in this village. I now have three children whom I struggle to raise and engage in commercial sex to manage. I have never forgiven my family and never visit them even if they live in the neighbourhood. They did not want me to inherit land at home and said that if I needed it, I would have stayed in my husband’s home. My father wanted to sell the portion he would get instead of have me owning it. This made me*
feel so hopeless and unwanted which led me into drinking (Waithera* O.I, 26/8/2014).

The above scenario as previously noted (in 4.4.5) portrays the conceptualization of a woman with regard property rights and ownership. The patrilineal system of inheritance which disadvantaged women also comes to the fore. They would only own property after marriage and even so, it did not have to be immovable property such as land and houses. These were owned by men. If one left the marital home, you gave up the right to continue enjoying these and there was no alimony granted. Women therefore, did their best to stay in their marital homes irrespective of the challenges they faced. According to Gichaga et al. (2011), kinship in the African Traditional society used to be very strong and shielded people from the stress that come with tackling problems individually, help was readily offered hence preventing it.

The study therefore observed that, women abuse alcohol to escape the challenges that surround them which are sometimes triggered by close family members who should lead in offering them help. The help that Waithera’s* mother initially offered portray mothers as understanding, seeking the welfare of their children and as selfless, as observed by Cartledge (2007). The father dismissed her so as to sell
his portion of the land, this was selfish and shows lack of concern for his daughter’s predicament. This shows the permanence of the central role of a mother and their love and care for their children is seen as timeless.

The discussion in this section (4.4) shows that women’s alcohol consumption is triggered by many factors including; frustrations as a result of unemployment, failed marriages and the inability to adequately provide for their families. Some consume it to challenge male dominance but are in pursuit of a misunderstood concept of equality, whereas others want to have fun. Marital violence and failure by partnersto play their roles in the family also drives them into alcohol consumption. Additionally, as noted earlier in (section 4.4.1), some women drink to relieve pressure from work, and fatigue. Others feel hopeless as a result of the work they do while others consume it for social purposes such as be with friends and to feel confident while in other peoples company.

From these findings, the study therefore concluded that, women’s alcohol consumption is largely influenced by what women face as they perform their central roles in the family. As casual labourers eking a living for their families and as mothers and wives, challenges such as fatigue are encountered due to the high work load, negligent husbands who evade their responsibilities, conflict, hopeless occupations and inadequate resources such as land for adequate family
provision among others. As they seek relief for the stress they have accumulated from alcohol, levels of consumption escalate.

4.5 Effects of Excessive Alcohol Use by Women on the Family

The third objective of the study was to investigate the effects of excessive alcohol consumption by women in Kirinyaga West constituency on the family. Interview guides consisting of a set of items were presented to the men as the study deemed it necessary to capture their views since they constitute key family members. It was also feared that the regular alcohol consuming women were used; they would lie or conceal information to justify their alcohol consumption habits. Thus, men were interrogated on the effects of women’s alcohol consumption on marital obligations, financial, parenting and gender role socialization in the family. The data collected on this variable is discussed in the subsections; effects of excessive alcohol consumption by women on marital, parenting responsibilities and gender role socialization.

4.5.1 Effects of Excessive Alcohol Consumption by Women on Marital Responsibilities

The study looked at effects of women’s excessive alcohol consumption on marital matters. The respondents were asked whether women who
regularly consumed alcohol were efficient in the performance of their marital duties, how much peace was observed in their homes, their observation of courtesy especially in the manner of speech, how their families were reputed and their moral conduct. The findings are tabulated in Figure 4.6 below:

**Figure 4.6 On Effects of Excessive Alcohol Consumption by Women on Marital Responsibilities, Family Violence, Social Prestige, Use of Improper Language and Risky Sexual Behaviour**

The participants felt that excessive alcohol consumption was compromising the marriage unit which is the origin of the family. The study observed that most of the marriages where women were regular alcohol consumers culminated in divorce. Eighty percent (80%) of the respondents observed that part of what led to this was
the failure to perform some roles in the homestead and be the reserved woman who stays there. In relation to this, a male research participant said the following:

A woman's place should be the kitchen and therefore, one who consumes alcohol often is not wife material, she now belongs to the bar. She is never at home to take care of the children, cook and wash and even though she comes home and performs these duties, she does not set a good example to be emulated by children (O.I.Kinyua*, 29/8/2014).

The sentiments expressed by Kinyua* indicate the demeaning position of a woman with the view that her worth is rated against the roles she performs in the household. However, her role as a nurturer, care provider and moral instructor was underscored in the verbatim. Kinyua* vowed not to allow his wife to consume alcohol without his supervision and regulation since she would become uncontrollable, and this would mark the end of his marriage.

Mugweru*, a lay leader in a local church in the region under study, and a research participant elaborated the above observation by stating that women who consume alcohol regularly lack two major qualities that make them ‘wife material’ which is submissiveness and hard work. Fetching a Kikuyu Bible, he noted:

Mutumiangathari, angonekanuu? Niamuthogora wake niukiriteruruiridundu. Ngoro yamuthuriweniweihokete, namuthuriuciondariagagakroughuri, mutumiauyumatuku ma muoyo
A good wife who can find? She is worth far more precious than jewels. The heart of her husband trusts in her, and he will have no lack of gain. She does him good, and not harm, all the days of her life. She seeks wool and flax and works with willing hands. She is like the ships of the merchant, she brings her food from afar. She rises while it is yet night and provides food for her household and tasks for her maidens. She considers a field and buys it; with the fruit of her hands she plants a vineyard. She girds her loins with strength and makes her arms strong. She perceives that her merchandise is profitable. Her lamp does not go out at night. She puts her hands to the distaff, and her hands hold the spindle. She opens her hands to the poor, and reaches out her hands to the needy. She is not afraid of snow for her household; for all her household are clothed in scarlet. She makes herself coverings; her clothing is fine linen and purple. Her husband is known in the gates, when he sits among the elders of the land. She makes linen garments and sells them; she delivers girdles to the merchant. Strength and dignity are her clothing and she laughs at the time to come. She opens her mouth with wisdom, and the teaching of kindness is on her tongue. She looks well to the ways of her household and does not eat the bread of idleness. Her children rise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praises her: "Many women have done excellently, but you surpass them all." Charm is deceptive, and beauty is vain; but a woman who fears the Lord is to be praised. Give her of the fruit of her hands, and let her works praise her in the gates. (RSV Bible, 1967 Proverbs 31:10-31)
The conduct I have seen with regular alcohol consuming women negates the biblical teaching on goodwives who are described as possessing noble character, work with eager and vigorous hands, feed their husbands, make them earn respect and lack nothing, speak with wisdom, are faithful, do not eat bread of idleness and make their husbands get distinguished. Those who consume alcohol regularly rarely work, their husbands slack and are pitied, they idle, instead of speaking with wisdom, they hurl insults and do not obey” (Mugweru* O.I, 29\&2014).

The verbatims indicate cultural and biblical expectations of the character of a woman such as hard working, speaking with wisdom and faithfulness among others. Agikuyu community taught their girls to be hard working which had its focus in marriage. Prior to the marriage so as to ensure freshness of the lesson, they were taught how to respect, obey and address their husbands calmly (Kenyatta, 1971). If the lesson materialized and they became wives with enormous esteem, it greatly boosted their husbands’ ego. In addition, they were taught how to perform household duties whereas the boys were offered lessons on defense and leadership among others (Ibid). Garnsey (1991) describes this division of labour as the differentiation of work tasks organized in structured patterns of activity, according to ones gender.

The study observed that non performance of gender roles such as not feeding the husband, laziness and discourtesy were common. This led to the conclusion that the neglect causes frustration and discontentment, culminating into divorce as earlier
noted (in 4.4.4). According to Miller (2009), regular alcohol consumption threatens family life and harmonious interpersonal relations. The finding of this study concurs with Wamue and Mwangi (in NACADA, 2011) who point out that alcohol seeps into husband-wife relationship, often leading to separation and divorce.

Speaking on household duties, Mwangi* who had abandoned his home and now lived in another woman’s home after his wife became a regular alcohol consumer said:

>This is the reason I paid bride-wealth, so that she comes to my home to work and make me happy, how can it now be that she spends her time out there chasing after alcohol and I perform her duties at home? (Mwangi*, O.I, 28882014)

Mwangi’s* sentiment alludes to the fact that men consider the services that women offer them in the family as rights or entitlements. In our view, this is a wrong notion and could kill the free will with which women perform household duties. The purpose of performing them is to ensure the welfare of the family but not because housework is exclusively theirs. Male members of the family should therefore, neither view themselves as deserving the services, nor make any demands. In addition, it is the character of the husband that determines the perfection level in which a woman’s central roles in the household are performed. If he relates well with her and performs his roles well, this becomes an inspiration. However, as
observed earlier (in 4.4.5), men fail to meet responsibilities such as providing for the family which worsens the relations.

Mwangi’s* association of bride-wealth to women’s performance of domestic chores is based on the traditional Agikuyu understanding of marriage which to an extent people have conveniently retained. Gichaga et al.(2011) cite dowry payment as a form of compensation to the girl’s family, since her services would now be transferred to another family. Thus, instead of the marital union being based on love which is fundamental to a family, it was based on the labours she provides. Unquestionable servitude seems to have been the expectation since the value of women in this case was measured according to duty performance, but not their dignity as human beings which is quite exploitative.

This was interpreted to mean that when the mothers drink and fail to attend to their duties, whoever paid the bride-wealth in exchange for labour makes a loss, suggesting that they must work full time to avoid this. Thus, even though alcohol consumption by women was found to be affecting women’s performance of marital duties, this could also partly be attributed to the fact that men have somehow declared them mandatory and are unappreciative. This could even be read from
Mugweru’s* discussion who overlooked the fact that it is biblical for husbandsto praise women’s excellencemin duty performance which would vitalize them, but only concentrated on the non accomplishments.

It was important to establish which duties men expected their wives to perform in the family since Mwangi* referred to them as ‘her duties’. Those cited were cleaning, cooking, washing, preparing meals, taking care of the children, feeding the domestic animals and farm work among others. These in his view were mandatory. These sentiments concur with Kenyatta’s position on the Agikuyu as placing the entire household work in women’s hands (Kenyatta, 1971).

In relation to performance of duties, Mwangi* explained that he briefly performed the chores for his children’s sake, while at the same time administering severe beatings to discipline his wife to no avail. His relatives criticized him for performing the duties, saying he had been ‘sat on’, which means, under his wife’s control, and he quit. After he left home, his children stopped schooling, scattered and the home is no more. This underlines the central role of a mother and how critical performance of her roles is. The drunken mother could not perform her roles and the home lost its warmth. We could therefore conclude that a mother’s sobriety
and proper management of the home exhibits magnetic properties that attract family members, keeping them firmly woven together and that her centrality in the family goes beyond the physical duties she performs. The findings concur with Suda (1996), who asserts that women promote the quality of relationships in marriages, families and the community at large.

This study found that violence characterized the homes where women had alcohol addiction or consumed too much of it daily. As regards this, seventy percent (see figure 4.6) of the respondents noted that such women fought with family members, partners, children or even neighbours. Alcohol concern (2010) explains this is as an almost expected outcome by noting that when the problem drinker ceases to perform their roles, division of labour in the household is affected and the spouse or eldest child usually takes over. Spouses then get anxious that they have to perform these duties and as Dhital et al. (2001) note, use domestic violence to make the partners quit the habit.

The study also observed that women who regularly consumed alcohol were stereotyped as rough, rude and insulting and could not easily elude quarrels and fights, which were said to be common in their homes. In view of this, Mugo*
informed this study of the expectations of a good woman according to Agikuyu traditions by noting:

> Women should be calm, submissive, reserved, meek, obedient, and respectful but the regular alcohol consumers are violent, quarrelsome, dirty, disorganized, nagging, careless, use vulgar language, always raise their voices, go home late, are hostile, associate with many men and are disrespectful which is far from the expected (Mugo*, O.I, 298 2014).

The sentiment above demonstrates the recklessness that regular alcohol consumption plunges women into. This study established that other than the labour issues that trigger violence in such families, women who consumed alcohol excessively used vulgar language and abused their spouses and children. In an effort to silence them, spouses batter them while others chose not to speak to them. This severs effective communication within the family just as Kabithe (1988) observes, and compromises family cohesion as noted by Wamue and Mwangi (in NACADA 2011). The observation that spouses batter alcohol consuming wives is in line with Dhital et al. (2001), who note that domestic violence is commonly perpetrated by the non alcohol abusing husbands as a measure to make them quit.

Fifty five percent (see figure 4.6) of respondents noted that the families where mothers consumed alcohol regularly lost social prestige. Murage*, one of the research participants narrated why they quit production, sale and consumption of alcohol with his wife. When their child joined upper primary, and were learning about occupations, the teacher enquired what work parents of the children in his
class did. His child responded that hers were farmers but the whole class shouted that they brewed and sold alcohol and the pupils laughed disrespectfully. The child was very embarrassed and quit school. They blamed it on themselves and had to look for more dignified economic activities to engage in and quit consuming liquor. He therefore, observed that any respectable parents must stay away from consuming alcohol and take care of their families.

The finding concur with Dhital et al. (2001), who observed that excessive consumption of alcohol leads to loss of social prestige and bad relationship with neighbours. While examining stigma, O’Neal (2010) adds that it takes the form of family isolation since social invitations dry up, children are targeted by bullies who label and use disrespectful language on them drawn from the character of the drunken parent, and friends and family withdraw their trust around money. This is exacerbated by the feelings of guilt, shame, anger, betrayal, fear, low self-esteem, hopelessness and loss of control among the members. As observed earlier (in 2.5) in Kerr and Bowen’s (1988) theory, this is usually the outcome of a dysfunction in one of the family members which permeate all aspects of family life. In the long run, each family member gets affected by the problem within the family as a result of triangulation.
Eighty five percent (see figure 4.6) of the respondents echoed that alcohol consumption makes women vulnerable to risky sexual behavior or immorality. In connection to this, Wanjohi* observed that:

*In fact there is no difference between a woman who consumes alcohol and gets drunk daily and a prostitute (Mutumiaunyuaganojiakaryonamumarayanikindukimwe) (Wanjohi*, O.I, 28/8/2014).*

Observably, Wanjohi* could not distinguish between the two. On the same, Ndegwa* also noted:

*One of the rules that we observe as men is to never fight over a woman who is always in the bar for she is too available. Therefore, the policy that applies is that all women who are in the bar belong to us and anyone that is interested can buy them beer and relate with them. We assume that those who are privately owned are with those who own them (O.Is of Ndegwa*, 30/8/2014).*

Women who frequent bars and drinking dens are regarded as prostitutes by men who also view them as highly available sexually. This points out to gender bias since it is not all the women who consume alcohol that engage in prostitution. As earlier observed (in 4.4.3), some women go to the bar with an innocent motive of only buying and consuming a few drinks, however, some engage in prostitution.

Shisanya (2009) observes that men in the region under study are especially overtaken by alcoholism whereas Browne (2009) notes that when they are left to carry the family burden alone, they take to defacto parenting. The study therefore sought to
establish why the men would not do the same while faced with a similar situation instead of taking extreme measures such as divorce, remarriage or desertion just to preserve the family. The gender perceptions that emerged were that women are supposed to be ‘natural’ home makers and the men, the family heads. The research participant noted:

*A woman’s example is counted on to mould children and furthermore, women are socialized to bear with the challenges that set in in marriage such as child rearing and a reckless husband. The work of the men is not to nurture but to provide leadership.* (Muthike*, O.I, 28/8/2014)

Gichobi*, another research participant too further summarized this into a kikuyu saying noting:

*“Mutumiamugia kaganyakumbayake, no uriamukigu, amitharagianamoko make we mwene”* (a wise woman builds her home but a foolish one tears it down with her own hands) (Gichobi*, O.I, 28/8/2014).

This gender biased view is in agreement with Kenyatta (1971), who observes that women kept the family image and went through great pains to make their homes a success. This is unfair as women are expected to disproportionally carry the burden of ensuring that families thrive. In view of this Dimandja (2004), observes that as a spouse, the African woman is not just a "female"; she is a partner equally involved in the process of building the family. In effect therefore, her role as a spouse features as one of partnering with her husband. In our view therefore, being a woman...
not bestow extra ability to make a home and the couple has equal responsibility to work towards the success of the marriage.

According to Thorne and Yalom (1992), this kind of gendered power system through which men dominate and control female labour is socially constructed. Patriarchy therefore only operated to achieve and maintain the gender inequalities essential for the subordination and oppression of women. Agikuyu men as family heads hence, enjoyed reprieve, were exempted from household duties, were not obligated to guide children in their formative years and even rarely came into contact with them. They were also exonerated from any blame if the home fell apart as this was a woman’s work which left them with a lot of idle time. In view of this, Gustafsson et al. (2010), opine that the enforcement of patriarchy and granting such rights to men lacks a profound basis.

Men conveniently count on women’s sobriety to build a family, and the status quo has remained, with their recklessness as a result of alcohol consumption being justified and tolerated. The inequalities that dictated the amount and frequency of alcohol consumption for men and women are still tolerated, and women’s intoxication is either penalized or criticized by a society that takes this unjust stand.
Thus, the existence of a generation of some men who drink, are totally irresponsible and have neglected their families in Kirinyaga County (Browne, 2009; Gachiri, 2008 & Ongwao, 2010), could be attributed to this kind of socialization. For us to preserve the family, which is currently grievously threatened by increased conflict and divorce, it is important to check on the socialization to ensure that parents impart the young with the right values that would ensure the institution blossoms.

4.5.2 Effects of Excessive Alcohol Consumption on Women’s on Parental Responsibilities

The study considered effects of women’s excessive alcohol consumption on parenting responsibilities. The respondents were interrogated on how effective regular alcohol consuming women were in aspects such as nurturing, disciplining the children and provision. The findings are in Figure 4.7 below:

![Figure 4.7: Effects of Excessive Alcohol Consumption on Women’s on Parental Responsibilities](image-url)
Eighty percent of the research participants noted that some of the children were totally neglected as their mothers were often away. In some situations their relatives and neighbours assumed this responsibility. Sometimes these mothers purchased food and sent it home and other times forgot or did not care to do so. Hungry and alone, the children suffer loneliness and are exposed to all sorts of hazards as there is no adult to ensure their safety. In concurrence, Kroll & Taylor (2003) further characterize neglect as manifested in ways such as lack of supervision, rejection, failure to meet basic material needs such as food, clothing and clean, hygienic living conditions. The duties the regular alcohol consuming mothers’ neglect is what makes them central in the family. We may therefore conclude that, the much time spent on alcohol denies women quality time with their families and contributes to emotional neglect of children and all other motherly roles. This finding is in line with Browne (2000) and Kroll & Taylor (2003) who observed physical and emotional neglect of families whose parents consume alcohol excessively.

As observed by this study, one of the most extreme consequences of neglect is death. In connection to this, Warui*, one of the participants informed this study that:
In my neighbourhood, a single mother often entrusted the younger child in nursery school under the care of an elder brother in class two and went out to drink. In the morning, he would prepare the younger brother for school as the mother slept having come from the bar late. One morning as schools were about to close this term (second term, 2014), as they crossed the road; the younger one got run over by a lorry. If an adult had been present to supervise, that child would now be alive (Warui*, O.I, 30/8/2014).

The above is an indication that some of the duties delegated are extreme and may not be performed satisfactorily. Swadi (1994) observes that when left alone, children take up different parenting roles which further expose them to direct physical harm. Megan (2007) further observes that those who take up the parenting roles become overly responsible, others get so emotionally withdrawn and are quietly hurt.

The figure 4.7 shows that seventy percent (70%) of the research participants stated that indiscipline was common among children whose mothers were excessive alcohol consumers. This could be attributed to the fact that parents are not there to correct their behavior and if present, they are not good role models. Keller et al. (2005) clarifies that such parents adopt inconsistent disciplining and ineffective parenting skills that are either permissive (laissez-faire) or totally authoritarian which contribute to this. McDonald (1994) observes that regular alcohol consumption by mothers makes them lose their traditional role as moral agents whereas Kathunguet al. (2010) observe that children grow up replicating these behavior patterns. Murimi* observed in connection:
Very few children raised by mothers who consume and brew alcohol make it in life, most go to waste as they drop out of school while some abuse alcohol at an early age (O.I, Murimi*, 30/8/2014).

Gachoki* admitted that:

Most children from the families that brew alcohol in this area are generally indisciplined. They steal, use vulgar language, daughters drop out of school due to pregnancy and even their sons become truants. I have only seen one rare case of a mother who was always drunk raise her children from the sales of alcohol and two out of the five that she had turned out well. (O.I, Gachoki*, 30/8/2014).

Seventy five percent (see figure 4.7) of those who responded to this study said that families where mothers are regular alcohol consumers are afflicted by poverty. Majority of the respondents involved in this study were landless, unemployed and living in rented houses. They attested to sometimes lacking basic necessities such as food and clothes. This study noted that a number of women earned and first spent some money purchasing alcohol which they referred to as ‘pruning’. Such money can be used in taking care of family expenses. While there are many causes of poverty, excessive alcohol consumption drains the resources available. We therefore conclude that poverty is only made more severe when the scarce resources acquired through struggle are regularly spent on alcohol consumption. This observation is consistent with Dhital et al. (2001), who found that that alcohol misuse perpetuates poverty and indebtedness.
4.5.3 Effects of Excessive Alcohol Consumption by Mothers on Gender Role Socialization

The study sought to find out if excessive alcohol consumption by women affects gender role socialization of the children and the results are presented in Figure 4.8 below.

![Figure 4.8 on Presence of Mothers at Home, and on Gender Role Socialization.](image)

Gender role socialization is still considered a valuable way of imparting skills in children by the Agikuyu of Kirinyaga West Constituency. It is noted that the cradle school of such socialization is the home, with the main instructor for both boys and
girls in the initial stages of development being the mother. The demarcation comes in later in life when fathers join in to instruct the boys. The fact that fathers only join in to instruct the children later in life overemphasize the mother’s central role in the family. Values inculcated in girls were cited as obedience, neatness and tidiness, being less argumentative, less violent and hardworking. The Agikuyu taught their girls to be hard working so that they could be eligible for marriage. The emphasis laid on hard work with focus on marriage was indicated as nonexistent in contemporary Agikuyu society in Kirinyaga West. However, mothers in the community still engage their daughters in the following gender roles: cooking, cleaning, doing the laundry, taking care of young children, fetching water, repairing clothes, gardening and fetching fire wood. They also observe their daughters’ dress code. This is an indication that the Agikuyu continue to emphasize on gender role socialization, with girls being taught the roles they will take up as mothers.

Prior to a wedding, Agikuyu girls were taught by their mothers how to respect their husbands and obey them. Further, they were informed of the overriding rights their husbands had over them (Kenyatta, 1971). Suda (1996) sums up all this by noting that women promoted the quality of relationships in various social spheres as earlier noted (in 4.5.1). As shown in figure 4.9, sixty percent (60%) of the respondents were of the opinion that, no such socialization is made in regard to such rights of husbands by the regular alcohol consuming mothers who, as earlier noted (in 4.5.1),
often abuse their husbands. The study therefore, concluded that this negative modeling often made their daughters embrace such discourtesy, compromising harmony in their own marriages.

As noted by Sixty five percent (65%) of the respondents (see figure 4.8), absence from home by regular alcohol consuming mothers was common. This made them lack time to teach their children gender roles and perform domestic chores in which, the children stepped in to perform. This negates an observation by Alcohol concern (2006) that spouses too performed these duties. In the community under study, they hardly did. As earlier noted (in 4.5.1), if they do so, they were ridiculed. In addition, if the first child happens to be a boy and takes to performing the chores, it takes the girls longer to adjust and perform them well.

In furtherance, the Agikuyu girls were taught the moral code which entailed observation of chastity and how to relate with the boys. Women kept the feminine image (part of which was moral uprightness) for girls to emulate (Kenyatta,1971). Wachege (1994) observes that mothers were even blamed if their daughters conceived out of wedlock, as this was evidence of poor and careless instruction. On the contrary, these mothers who regularly consume alcohol set no such example, as earlier noted (in 4.5.1 and in figure 4.6), they have multiple sexual partners and some were said to be bringing their sexual clients home in the presence and full
knowledge of their children. Habitual absenteeism by these mothers, failure to monitor their children, coupled with the negative modeling could be blamed for the high school dropout rate of their children due to teenage pregnancies and delinquency as noted by Gachoki*.

In summary, this study established that women’s alcohol consumption affect the family in numerous ways; such as divorce, loss of prestige and violence in the family. Mothers use vulgar language which the children could emulate and engage in risky sexual behaviour hence affecting the family. In their parenting roles, they neglect their children by failing to provide, ensure their discipline and mannerisms and do not teach them gender roles. It is also noted that men hardly step in to perform the domestic chores due to ridicule. We therefore conclude that women’s excessive consumption has negatively impacted on the family.

4.6 Strategies in Which Women’s Alcohol Consumption can be Reduced

The fourth research objective sought the participants’ suggestions on strategies that could be used to reduce women’s alcohol consumption in Kirinyaga West Constituency. An FGD in which the participants were required to suggest the possible interventions that could address the problem of excessive alcohol consumption among women was conducted. The following were areas around
which the discussion was based; Educational, Work, legal and Medical interventions. The findings are presented in table 4.14 below:

**Table 4.14 on Various Interventions Suggested by the Informants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervention</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work related interventions</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical interventions/ awareness on alcoholharm/ and counseling</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal interventions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others : use of positive media</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Educational and Work Related Interventions**

Eighty five percent (85%) of the participants felt that the status of women education in the area makes them unemployable and therefore engage in production and sale of alcohol. They therefore, felt that the government should offer short courses to enable women acquire skills for them to be incorporated into the formal employment sector. In an FGD in Baricho, it was noted that:

*There are few women here who have received formal education and who are employed; they therefore lack a source of livelihood. Most of them depend on casual work whereas others brew and sell alcohol. Brewing never makes these women overcome the economic challenges they face and makes the home very hostile for their children. Some of their children therefore drop*
out of school at an early age as they lack the resources and moral support to pursue an education. This then becomes the cycle in the family since, they then have a similar fate as that of their parents (FGD*, 19/12/2014 at Baricho, D.O’s office).

This is an indication of the cause of vicious cycle of poverty in some rural families in Kirinyaga West Constituency and the struggle women go through as they strive to be self sufficient. Lack of skills and natural resources such as land which is mainly owned by men; make them turn to alcohol production, sale and consumption. However, as earlier observed, Article 60(1) (F) and Article 68(3)(iii) of our constitution has addressed this. As observed by Kerr & Bowen (1988), some people in the society are made unstable and are stressed by scarcity of natural resources, economic forces and lack of skills for a living in a diverse world. This then causes regression in the society. The participants noted that the education offered should be totally free and appraisal given to those provided with it.

Observably, the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) on universal primary education has been well implemented in the initial stages in Kenya, since money has been provided for the Free Primary Education Programme. There are however factors that have hindered its achievement. These include the home environment that the child goes to after school, which needs to be stable and with
parents who are not stressed by scarcity of resources and economic forces, so as to be in a position to offer their children moral and financial support. The position of this study is that the success of the MDG on education is key in achieving the rest of the MDGs. This is because education focuses on an individual’s development, self fulfillment, makes one more responsible and influences attitude change. This then enables one to deal with issues of child mortality, maternal health, and environmental sustainability among others, and be instrumental in achieving the economic, social and economic pillars of the Kenya Vision 2030. Challenges that afflict families therefore, need to be addressed in order to create safe and healthy homes for proper academic pursuits to avoid regression.

Individual development and attitude transformation consequently leads to improved gender relations in our society, whose poor relations have been manifested in ways such as the lack of say by women in homes and outside, violence since men believe it is okay for them to discipline women, viewing women’s roles as less important than men’s and poor economic relationships (UN Women, 2011). This kind of a gender sensitized society will therefore hear women, recognize their needs and priorities, perspectives, respect them, care about them and give them equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities (ibid), thereby creating harmonious families that are ideal for children to be raised in.
Eighty five percent (85%) (see table 4.14) of the participants were of the view that such families needed to be taught how to earn money by being offered usable skills, training and the setting up of self help organizations/women groups/mothers unions as poverty reduction strategies. Asked what skills they meant, the FGD underlined the following:

*Some of the skills we suggest would include farming, tapestry and weaving. As regards farming, the setting up of a rice growing estate or dairy farming would help them elude the poverty that attracts them to alcohol consumption. With resources, they could also be organized into knitting groups which would then prepare pullovers which would be sold to schools or in the market and the profit shared amongst them. Such programmes would reduce their idle time and avail them money to sustain their families (FGD*, 19/12/2014 at Baricho, D.O’s office).*

This sentiment alluded to extreme poverty and lack of alternatives some of the landless, uneducated and unemployed women are in. The sentiments expressed are in line with NACADA (2010) and Kathungu, et al. (2010) who observed that offering skills and employment would reduce the frustrations that attract people to alcohol consumption. They would quit idling which, as observed by NACADA (2010), contributes to alcohol consumption.

The FGD participants also felt that these women should be educated on the consequences of alcohol consumption. They noted:
Since these women have little or no education, they consume alcohol without the knowledge of its long term effects. They need to be educated on the effects it has on them and on their families in terms of failing to provide healthy food and other basic necessities, not supervising their children who then become a challenge to us as we perform our duties, poor role modeling of their children, and the social stigma it brings causes (FGD*, 19/12/2014 at Baricho, D.O’s office).

The above is an indication of the harm families of excessive alcohol consuming mothers go through. There is need to create awareness on the dangers of regular and excessive alcohol consumption in all dimensions such as to the individual, family and society at large. This observation agrees with that of Olabisi (2006), who noted that education raises awareness and modifies attitudes about alcohol consumption.

Professional counseling services to the affected persons and their families was cited as crucial by 71% of the participants. Incorporation of the family members into the counseling sessions was cited as vital in helping them to identify the factors that lure these women into alcohol consumption and therefore, prevent their occurrence or existence.

The community needed incorporation too because it often fails to offer the required support to the victims of regular alcohol consumption. In the formerly applied strategies as documented by NACADA (2010), the involvement of the family and community as part of the interventions had not been focused on as seen in table 4.14 below, but this study viewed it as crucial. Table 4.15 below presents the interventions used in dealing with alcoholism and excessive alcohol use:
Table 4.15 on Alcohol Use Interventions Used in Kirinyaga County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alcohol use Interventions</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informal Counseling by a friend, family or a pastor</td>
<td>64.0%</td>
<td>41.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taken to the police by family</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayed for in church</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chased away from home</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional counseling</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation centre</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: NACADA, 2010, p. 42)

Provision of free medical care was cited as necessary since some of the women had developed addiction and needed treatment and rehabilitation which were not available and affordable to these families. In Kirinyaga County, no women had received rehabilitation services (see table 4.14) (NACADA, 2010). The informants suggested that this should go hand in hand with the expansion of the medical facilities in the region. This is in line with Kathungu, et al. (2010) who observe that affordable health and community based rehabilitation programmes need to be availed to help people with alcohol use problems, and the Alaskan Deilee Hit Safe Harbour programme that specifically offers treatment to women with alcohol use problems (AIDA, 2000).
The study found it necessary to establish who would be responsible for the effective implementation of the education and counseling programmes and the following were suggested:

*Seminars could be organized by faith based organizations/churches which have been too silent on this matter. Women representatives in parliament who have directly been entrusted with women representation should organize rallies and other methods they deem fit to educate the women. The involvement of NACADA at the local level would also enable it monitor effectively on the use of alcohol, and educate people on the effects of counterfeit alcohol (FGD*, 19/12/2014 at Baricho, D.O’s office).*

Observably, strategies adopted to fight alcohol consumption in Kenya may have failed because not all the machinery got involved. It is a battle that needs to be collectivized and not left to the local administration and police officers only.

**Legal Interventions**

Forty three percent (43%) of the participants supported the application of the Alcoholic Drinks Control Act (2010) as an intervention to address excessive alcohol consumption in Kirinyaga West Constituency. They observed that:

*The application of these rules is quite a challenge to us since we are dealing with a community where the practice of alcohol sale and consumption is deep-rooted and those involved collude to dodge the authorities. Men pocket the alcohol sachets and sell to other men who sit in groups in the market places having a chat, while the women carry it in baskets and go selling to alcohol consumers in their homes during the non sale hours. Some women meet in the home of one of the alcohol consumers and sell and consume it from there, if pursued; they disguise this as a group meeting. You only get to*
realize that this is untrue when members of the group meeting or the men having a chat at the market place start displaying signs of drunkenness. Another challenge is that sometimes the police betray the efforts we make by releasing those we arrest for contravening the alcohol law (the consumers and unlicensed producers). As chiefs and sub chiefs, we try to apply these laws to the letter because we know that this is where we were born and belong and that at the end of the day, if we do not work well, we destroy our own people and retard our own development. However, this is not the case with the police service; they get transferred regularly and rarely work in their home towns. They easily get compromised when offered bribes. (FGD*, 19/12/2014 at Baricho, D.O’s office).

The above sentiment demonstrates that though the Alcoholic Drinks Control Act (2010) is quite comprehensive, the challenge lies with the implementation and embracing these restrictions by local communities. The sub chiefs in the discussion however accorded themselves undeserved praise that it is only the police who accept bribes whereas they are clean since, they too are compromised. This was seen as blame game since the behavior of the two is precisely the same. Morris & Chapman (2006) support enactment of restrictions on age of consumers, type of retail establishments that sell alcoholic beverages, licensing and placing a limit on hours of sale as a very effective way of fighting alcohol consumption. However, this study concluded that the success of such legislation demands steadfast and consistent implementation, and the incorporation of relevant gender inclusive strategies. In addition, successful implementation of such legislation ought to be the responsibility of a broad range of actors and be accompanied by steadfast awareness raising and education.
Religious intervention was suggested by 71% of the participants who observed:

*Churches do not address alcohol consumption and its harm on families. Time has come for it not to just continue wedding people and counsel them on how to have happy married life and on chastity to the youth, but to speak to those that already have families where regular alcohol consumption has featured and could therefore save them before they fall apart. Since alcohol consumers stay away from churches due to fear of condemnation, they could visit their homes and befriend them. Instead of the faithful worshipping in churches, they could hold service in the homes of regular alcohol consumers from time to time, and also visit them since they need community support. However, society condemns, considers them a defiant lot and even isolates them.* (FGD*, 19/12/2014 at Baricho, D.O’s office).

This demonstrates the level of stigmatization women who regularly consume alcohol go through. Society was said to view them as difficult and impossible to correct, instead of realizing that they have an addiction and need help. According to NACADA (2010), only 10% of the women had gone to church to be prayed for as an intervention (see table 4.14), an indication that society is the one to make effort to reach out to them.

Nearly twenty nine percent (28.6%) suggested the use of the media as an intervention. Some Sub Chiefs open communication channels such as the face-book where they reach out to a list of followers and send them messages sensitizing them on alcohol abstinence. The method was noted to have been adopted by very few administrators since the use of such technological devices poses a financial challenge to the users and its effectiveness difficult to measure.
In conclusion, the study notes that women’s alcohol consumption could be addressed by multi pronged strategies including offering education to individual, family and community which raises awareness on the harmful effects of alcohol, addressing its availability, accessibility and distribution, proper application of the Alcoholic Drinks Control Act (2010), offering affordable community based rehabilitation programmes, the creation of jobs and through counseling. These strategies can be financed and implemented by a broad range of stakeholders including NGO’S, churches, County and the National governments.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction
This chapter presents a summary of the major findings of this study as well as the conclusion drawn from the findings, based on the study objectives. It also presents recommendations on the way forward in light of the findings and conclusion. Areas for further research are also identified.

5.2 Summary of Major Findings
The first objective of the study was to document patterns of alcohol consumption among the Agikuyu women in Kirinyaga West Constituency. In this regard, it was revealed that some women consume alcohol often and have become problem drinkers or are addicted. Sunday afternoon is the main alcohol consumption day. Those that consume higher amounts of alcohol are within the 20 to 39 years age bracket but this high consumption dwindles after midlife. Consumption of alcohol mainly takes place at home and in illegal dens. There exists no time limit regarding when to consume alcohol, with some indulging in this a whole day, with a preference for evening and night.
This study focused on women within the child bearing and rearing age which is the time when their roles escalate. As they age, their children grow and their roles reduce. Those found to be more regular alcohol consumers were within 20 to 39 years, which is also when their roles multiply. The findings from this study therefore, indicate that women’s alcohol consumption increased as the gender roles did. Such roles were deemed as boring, overburdening, and whose performance as observed by this study is mandatory. In view of this, Moser (1986) contends that domestic work is repetitive, reproductive and is trivialized. Consequently, women sought ways to evade it including alcohol consumption. Additionally, according to the family systems theory, each member of the family has a role to play for the wellbeing of others. Therefore, when husbands withdraw their participation in family roles, it causes women to become overburdened and overly responsible since they have too many roles to perform. According to Kerr and Bowen (1988), overburdened partners (who are often women), gradually suffer an emotional dysfunction, which they project through excessive alcohol consumption as was the case with women in Kirinyaga West Constituency.

The second research objective was to establish the factors that motivate women’s excessive alcohol consumption. Triggers to increased alcohol consumption included: frustrations as a result of unemployment, failed marriages and the
inability to adequately provide for their families. Some consume it to challenge male dominance but are in pursuit of a misunderstood concept of equality. Marital violence and failure by partners to play their roles in the family also drive them into alcohol consumption. Additionally, as noted earlier in (section 4.4.1), some women drink to relieve pressure from work, and fatigue. Others feel hopeless as a result of the work they do while others consume it for social purposes, such as to be with friends.

According to the family systems theory, some basic problems often spring up in family units such as marital problems. Since the behavior of an individual in the family influences other members, frustrations result due to the drunkenness of a husband and his failure to provide. As a result, women get desperate to get absorbed into employment to sustain their families. Unemployment and the poorly remunerated casual jobs they engage in cause them emotional dysfunction that lures them into alcohol consumption. Kerr & Bowen (1988) refer to this as the societal emotional process, a concept that describes how people may govern stress/emotions, that is, either in a progressive or regressive manner. Some of the women therefore, get overly responsible to bridge the gap husbands leave whereas others adopt escapism through alcohol consumption, which is regressive.
On the other hand, the dysfunction in one of the spouses may lead to a failed marriage and the rejection by relatives. Since the family is a system of interconnected and interdependent individuals who cannot be isolated (Kerr & Bowen, 1988), when the separation happens, women suffer unhappiness, anxiety, low self esteem, loneliness, guilt, helplessness and depression, which attract them to alcohol consumption. Marital violence may occur as non-providing spouses attempt to assert themselves as a result of patriarchy. This frustrates the women and causes them to indulge in alcohol consumption. Those who consume it for social purposes such as socialization are usually attempting to form triangles outside the family circle in search of some understanding for the challenges experienced in their homes. They then end up relating with alcohol consumers, sinking deeper into alcohol consumption.

The third objective was to establish the effects women’s regular alcohol consumption has on the family. This study established that women who drank too much failed to observe/respect the traditional division of labour and ceased to perform functions in relation to the support and supervision of children and household chores. These children lack basic material needs such as clothing, food, parental guidance, and are neglected. Alcohol causes family violence, erodes its social standing, divorce and also poverty. Leaving all the roles to the women and
being housebound causes further unhappiness, adding to the disharmony. Roles performed by each individual in the household are crucial as observed by Moser (1986). In addition, the family systems theory (Kerr & Bowen, 1988) asserts that the family thrives through interdependence and that these roles are performed for the wellbeing of others. They study therefore strongly agree with Kerr and Bowen (1988) and Moser (1986). Neglect of women’s (or men’s) gender roles due to indulgence in regular alcohol consumption compromises family harmony, causes it to suffer, cuts the closeness developed from the interdependence, threatening it with an eventual breakup.

Children are the most afflicted when this happens. Their education is affected as they have to perform domestic chores, the violence makes them lack peace and suffer shame, isolation, low self esteem, hopelessness, anger and guilt. This suffering may also happen as a result of being drawn into the tension and conflict between the two parents, which is known as ‘the family projection process or ‘triangulation’. Triangles can have either negative or positive outcomes depending on how their members manage anxiety and reactivity. Some children develop symptoms of depression whereas others become overly responsible as they try to help the depressed ones manage the situation.
The fourth research objective was to identify possible ways of addressing the effects of excessive alcohol use by women on the family in Kirinyaga West Constituency. This study established that this could be addressed by educating the individual, family and community on the harmful effects of alcohol, addressing its availability, accessibility and distribution with proper application of the Alcoholic Drinks Control Act (2010), offering affordable community based rehabilitation programmes, counseling and through creation of jobs. Offering such mothers employment would give them an income to sustain their families and a break from the confines of the home whose routine bores. To reduce women’s workload within the household, men should participate in performing household chores. Kerr & Bowen (1988) argue that when responsibilities exceed, one becomes vulnerable to physical or emotional dysfunction. It is therefore noted that men’s assistance would save the women from such an eventuality.

5.3 Conclusion

The following are the conclusions that can be drawn from the findings of this study: alcohol consumption by women in non formal employment in Kirinyaga West Constituency is more regular and they consume second generation alcohol as well as traditional liquor. Alcohol is quite available and affordable since it is brewed within the locality. Drinking activities sometimes go on throughout the day especially
Sundays, though there is preference for evenings and night. Those aged 30-39 are the highest users of alcohol which is a departure from alcohol consumption practices by indigenous Agikuyu. Women mostly consume alcohol from home and freely choose their drinking companions.

The findings reveal that some of the risk factors for alcohol consumption by women are: the challenges they face as they perform their central roles in the family such as fatigue and relational issues notably conflict at home, negligent husbands who evade responsibility or influence them to drink, divorce and peer influence. Other reasons pointed out include unemployment, hopeless occupations and inadequate resources such as land which affect family provision.

The study found out that heavy consumption of alcohol by women had negative effects on the family. Such effects included: non performance of roles often compromising the wellbeing of the members, increased poverty, violence and marital breakdown. Children are neglected and grow without supervision which compromises their discipline, fail to learn gender roles early and the family loses prestige.
Recommendations to address alcohol consumption such as offering education to individual, family and community are necessary to raise awareness on the harmful effects of alcohol. Alcohol availability, accessibility and distribution needs to be addressed with proper application of the Alcoholic Drinks Control Act (2010). Affordable community based rehabilitation programmes and health facilities need to be offered and jobs created. There is also need to strengthen guidance and counseling.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made to reduce women’s regular alcohol consumption in Kirinyaga West Constituency:

1. The study established that patterns of women’s alcohol consumption had changed; with alcohol being consumed throughout the day and with specific peak days and hours. On this basis therefore, this study recommends that the County Government and the Provincial Administration and Internal Security Ministry should limit the accessibility of alcohol rigidly and accurately by enforcing the Alcoholics Drinks Control Act (2010).
2. The study established that, many factors exacerbate women’s alcohol consumption which range from financial, physiological, interpersonal, to gender related factors such as shouldering gender roles in the family. A multi pronged strategy should be adopted whose components include: Creation of awareness of the existence of accessible and affordable credit facilities offered to women through the UWEZO and Women Enterprise funds by the members of parliament and County Assemblies. With increased borrowing of the favourable loans and advice offered on financial management, women can start up businesses/ income generating projects that would enable them to adequately provide for their families. Additionally the Government through the Ministry of Education could target the children of those parents that are addicted for interventions such as offering full scholarships to them and setting up homes where they can be raised, protected from neglect and exclusion from formal education. The Ministry of Health also needs to provide affordable gender based rehabilitation programmes and treatment, which are at the moment nonexistent for the women.

Another poverty reduction strategy would be to resettle these families by allocating them portions of land through the Ministry of Lands, since as earlier noted (in 4.5.2), most of them are landless. This would save both men and women from the economic challenges they face, whose escapism is
through alcohol consumption hence causing dysfunctional families. Farming would then give them an alternative source of livelihood, therefore extricating them from alcohol production and consumption.

3. The study identified that women’s alcohol consumption has myriad negative effects on the family such as divorce, violence, loss of prestige, use of vulgar language and engagement in risky sexual behaviour. The recommendation is that Faith Based Organizations and Non Governmental Organizations offer counseling to the affected families and also sensitize both men and women on the dangers of alcohol addiction to reduce irresponsible consumption. Consciousness is needed on the harmful effects of inequitable labour division in the household. Therefore, the family and school which are major socialization agents need to come together and identify ways in which gender parity, in thought and action needs to be practiced in the two places. Schools should set guidelines and advice parents on various aspects of parenting especially in the context of gender equality to stop the community from being slaves of medieval thought, practices and lifestyles. This would lead to the modification of behavior, positive perception of domestic chores and their performance by all; hence gender equitable division of labour in the family. This would enable women to live in dignity, ensure family harmony and improve the standard of households in Kirinyaga West.
4. Women in Kirinyaga West Constituency are well aware of what needs to be done to reduce alcohol consumption. Stakeholders such as the Faith Based Organizations, County Based organizations and government should employ community based methods, enabling the community to work out their own gender inclusive ways of reducing alcohol consumption. This includes creative ways of enforcing the Alcoholic Drinks Control Act such as the Nyumba Kumi (ten households) Initiative in which, an individual checks on their neighbour for illicit brewing to reduce alcohol availability and accessibility.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research
This study focused on trends and effects of women’s alcohol consumption in Kirinyaga West, further research needs to be conducted to establish if the proactive involvement of leaders (sub chiefs) in spearheading campaigns against alcohol abuse is succeeding in addressing the problem. There is also need to study women’s experiences with alcohol abuse, an analysis of personal as well as friends’ experiences, both positive and negative. This would be useful in helping us identify more relevant interventions. Such studies could also focus on the mothers who have never used an alcoholic drink which can help unearth the nature of protective factors.

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**Kigwa:** Alcohol brewed from sugarcane.

**Karikari:** A general term that is used to refer to second generation alcohol from sugarcane or molasses whose fermentation process is spend up with dirty substances such as shoes, used batteries and dirty clothes. *Karikari* therefore means a collection of many substances.

**Karubu:** Refers to alcohol brewed from sugarcane.

**Makaabo:** Refers to alcohol brewed from molasses whose fermentation process is spend up with dirty substances such as shoes, used batteries and clothes.

**Makombe:** A general term used to refer to local brews from molasses and maize flour but often adulterated with formalin.

**Marigu:** Refers to alcohol brewed from bananas where fermentation is sped up with jet fuel and embalming fluid from mortuaries whose name literary means “bananas”.

**Munyeki:** Refers to alcohol brewed from molasses whose fermentation process is spend up with dirty substances such as shoes, used batteries and clothes.

**Mang’a:** A general term that is used to refer to any second generation alcohol.

**Kimuri:** Illicit liquor made from sorghum or millet flour but adulterated with car battery acid and formalin.

**Kibung’a:** Very potent distilled spirits from maize and sorghum whose fermentation is sped up with jet fuel and embalming fluid from mortuaries whose name literary means “muscle pull”. Once consumed, the victim is unable to walk and sleeps anywhere, even by the road side.

**Kumukumi:** Illicit liquor made from sorghum or millet flour but adulterated with car battery acid and formalin.

**Muntuuku:** Type of second generation alcohol made from maize flour but adulterated with car battery acid and formalin.
Ngwamuri: Very potent distilled spirits from maize, sorghum or molasses whose fermentation is sped up with jet fuel and embalming fluid from mortuaries whose name literary means “dislodgement”.
APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR WOMEN RESPONDENTS

Introduction

Each person has a unique or different pattern of drinking alcohol. People drink more at certain times of the day, in particular moods, with certain people, in specific places, and so forth. It may sometimes seem that there are no circumstances that relate to your drinking, that is, “I just drink.” However, after some thought, every person can identify at least some important factors. This questionnaire will help you to think about different aspects of your life and how each might relate to your drinking. Please give each item careful consideration. You will benefit most from this questionnaire if you are honest and open with your responses.

Section 1: Biographic information

1. Age

   19-29 years (   )

   30-39 years (   )

   40-50 years (   )

2. Level of education

   None (   )

   Primary school (   )

   Secondary school (   )

   Post-secondary (   )

   Other (   )

   Specify ...............................................................

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3. Marital status

Married ( )

Single ( )

Widowed ( )

Divorced ( )

4. Occupation .................................................................

5. Number of Children......................................................

Section 2: Patterns of Alcohol Consumption

6. How often do you have five or more glasses on one occasion?

Never ( )

Less than monthly ( )

Monthly ( )

Weekly ( )

Daily or almost daily ( )

7. How often during the last year have you failed to do what was normally expected of you because of drinking?

Never ( )

Less than monthly ( )

Monthly ( )

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For each item, mark with an “X” whether or not you drank in this situation in the PAST 6 MONTHS.

Use the following options to answer each of the questions:

i. Mark “X” under Did not drink if you did not drink in this situation in the past six months.

ii. Mark “X” under Sometimes drank if you did drink in this situation in the past six months.

iii. Mark “X” under Major drinking, if you drank often in this situation in the past six months.

Various locations, times, people, activities and events are associated with every person’s drinking. The items in this section will help you to think about these factors. Read each item carefully as some are divided into more than one part.

(a) Location

Put an “X” in one box next to each of the following items to indicate the frequency with which you drank in each of the following locations during the PAST 6 MONTHS. If the location does not apply to you, answer “Did not drink in this location.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drinking Locations</th>
<th>Did not drink in this location</th>
<th>Sometimes drank in this location</th>
<th>Major drinking location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8  Home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9  Other’s home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Bar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Illegal den</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After you have answered each of the above questions, go back and put a circle around the number of the location where you drank most often during the past 6 months.

(b) Time

Put an “X” in one box next to each of the following items to indicate the frequency with which you drank at each of the following times during the PAST 6 MONTHS. If the time does not apply to you, answer “Did not drink at this time.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drinking times</th>
<th>Did not drink at this time</th>
<th>Sometimes drank at this time</th>
<th>Major drinking Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>During the morning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>During the night</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Lunchtime</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>In the afternoon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>During the evening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Companions
Put an “X” in one box next to each of the following items to indicate the frequency with which you drank with each of the following people during the PAST 6 MONTHS. If a particular person does not apply to you, answer “Did not drink with this person.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drinking Companions</th>
<th>Did not drink with this person</th>
<th>Sometimes drank with this person</th>
<th>Major drinking companion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Spouse/Partner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Relative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Male friend (s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Female friend (s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Male &amp; Female friend(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Alone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Strangers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Business acquaintances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After you have answered each of the above questions, go back and put a circle around the number of the person with whom you drank most often during the past 6 months.

After you have answered each of the above questions, go back and put a circle around the number of the time during which you drank most often during the past 6 months.

**Section 3: Drinking Motivation**

Put an “X” in one box next to each of the following items that best describes your Drinking or Urges to drink during the PAST 6 MONTHS. If a particular situation does not apply to you, answer “Did not drink in this situation.”

After you have answered each of the above questions, go back to each section, i.e. (a) to (g) and put a circle around the number of the situation during which you drank most often during the past 6 months.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drinking Motivation</th>
<th>Did not drink in this situation</th>
<th>Sometimes drank in this situation</th>
<th>Major drinking situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Work related Motivators</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 I sometimes drink when I feel that the job I do is hopeless</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 I sometimes drink before I start working</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 I sometimes drink with friends when am working</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Financial related motivators</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 I sometimes drink when I can’t afford something that I want very much</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 I sometimes drink when I get angry over who controls the money</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 I sometimes drink when I feel like I have a lot of money in my pocket</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 I sometimes drink when I feel bad or guilty about not being a good provider</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Physiological motivators</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 I sometimes drink when I feel tired or fatigued</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 I sometimes drink when I’m experiencing physical pain (back pain, headache, etc.)…</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 I sometimes take a drink if I have trouble falling asleep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 I sometimes drink alcohol when I am thirsty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### (d) Interpersonal Motivators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>I find it hard to resist if someone buys me a drink or offers to do so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>I drink as a way to meet people, with others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>I sometimes drink to feel more comfortable with others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>I sometimes feel that I’m not as good as other people and drinking helps me feel better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>I sometimes find that I drink after I become angry at someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>I sometimes drink when I want to hurt or confront someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>I sometimes drink to help me express my feelings towards someone such as anger, love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>I sometimes drink because I think it’s the only way to have fun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (e) Marital/Relationship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>I sometimes drink when my partner is drinking or offers me a drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>I sometimes drink when my partner and I are celebrating something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>I sometimes drink after physical violence occurs in the family or when I have concerns about it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>I sometimes drink when I think my partner or family doesn’t care about me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>I sometimes drink when I’m frustrated that my partner and I can’t resolve a conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>I sometimes drink when I feel that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mypartner doesn’t meet his responsibilities

(f) Parents

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>I sometimes drink when I feel guilty about something related to my parents or in-laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>I sometimes drink when I feel that my parents or in-laws are too demanding or interfering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>I sometimes drink after my parents or in-laws and I disagree about something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>I sometimes drink when I think about things that my parents did to me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR MEN PARTICIPANTS

1. What are the effects of alcohol on the family? Areas of discussion
   (a) Marital obligations
   (b) Financial
   (c) Parenting Responsibilities
   (d) Gender Role Socialization and Education
APPENDIX III: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION FOR KEY INFORMANTS

Areas of Discussion

1. Suggest the possible interventions that can be used to address the problem of excessive alcohol consumption among women. Areas of discussion
   a) Work related interventions
   b) Government
   c) Medical related
   d) Family related
   e) Educational
APPENDIX IV: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION MEMBERS HELD AT BARICHO

1. Mr. George Chege District Officer Kirinyaga West
2. Mr. David Kiragu Mwai Chief of Mwirua
3. Mr. John Migwi Ngunu Subchief of Gitaku in Mwirua
4. Mr. Alfred Chomba Subchief of Kagioini in Mukure
5. Mr. David Kinyua Chiuri Subchief of Kiangoma in Kiiine
6. Mr. Peter Mutugi Subchief of Kijaga in Mwirua
7. Mr. Christopher Muriuki Subchief of kiandai in Mwirua
APPENDIX V: RESEARCH PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

MISS. TERESIA WANG'ECI MATHENGE of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 1000-10101
has been permitted to conduct research in Kirinyaga County on the topic: TRENDS IN WOMEN ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE FAMILY IN KIRINYAGA WEST CONSTITUENCY KIRINYAGA COUNTY IN KENYA. Permit No : NACOSTI/P/15/8750/6689
Date Of Issue: 24th July, 2015

For the period ending: 5th December, 2015

Director General
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and
the County Education Officer of the area before
embarking on your research. Failure to do that
may lead to the cancellation of your permit.
2. Government Officers will not be interviewed
without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been
approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological
specimens are subject to further permission from
the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard
copies and one(1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to
modify the conditions of this permit including
its cancellation without notice.

RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

Serial No.: 5948

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

CONDITIONS: see back page.