‘Idle and disorderly’ khat users in Western Uganda

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Abstract

Aims: To describe and analyse patterns of khat consumption and the response of the authorities to such drug use in Western Uganda.

Methods: Participant-observation and key informant interviews were carried out in Western Uganda during 2007, 2008 and 2009.

Findings: Khat is legal in Uganda but its use, especially when combined with alcohol and cannabis, is linked with violent crime by many Ugandans. In Western Uganda local government authorities have attempted to crack down on khat: in Bushenyi District they have introduced a by-law; in other districts khat traders and consumers face arrest and charges of being ‘idle and disorderly’.

Conclusion: The authorities, by clamping down on khat, because they perceive it to be a cause of violent crime, are targeting a substance that is widely reported in the academic literature to cause apathy, not violence.

Introduction

Catha edulis, commonly known as khat, qat, chat or miraa, is a tree or shrub that grows wild across highland areas of much of Africa and Western Asia at altitudes of between 5000 and 6500 feet above sea level. Cultivation and use of khat go back for centuries, and is deeply embedded in the cultures of Yemen, Ethiopia and parts of Kenya. Either the leaves or tender stems from the khat shrub are masticated over the course of the khat session, lasting anything between 2 and 8 hours. To neutralize the bitter taste of khat, sweet drinks are served, traditionally tea, but increasingly carbonated drinks. However, in Uganda khat is sometimes chewed while smoking cannabis and/or drinking alcohol (Anderson, Beckerleg, Hailu, & Klein, 2007; Beckerleg, 2009a).

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The legal status of khat varies around the world, and is subject to review by governments often acting on the advice of the World Health Organization and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime. Khat is a legal substance in Yemen, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya and Uganda, but is illegal in Tanzania and Rwanda. It is legal in UK and the Netherlands, but an illicit substance in the USA and Canada (Beckerleg, 2008).

The spread of khat in Uganda has not been widely documented. However, in 2004–2005 a survey of khat use in Uganda was carried out (Anderson et al., 2007). This survey was followed up with a major study of khat and social identity that entailed fieldwork over a period of 2 years. The study found that khat is now available in all towns and cities across Uganda, from Kitgum in the far north to Kisoro in southwest (Anderson et al., 2007).

Khat consumption, once the preserve of Somali and Yemeni migrants, has now spread to all parts of the country and all ethnic groups. Although Somalis have recently started claiming khat as a vital part of their culture, in most parts of Somalia khat-chewing dates back decades rather than centuries (Klein & Beckerleg, 2007). However, the majority of Somalis settling in Uganda came from Somaliland which lies close to the khat production area of Harerge in Ethiopia (Gebissa, 2004), and therefore brought with them the khat-chewing tradition. Many of the early settlers had served in the King’s African Rifles, and upon discharge were free to settle anywhere in British East Africa. They sent for wives from home and set up businesses in the transport and catering sectors across Uganda. In Kampala, the Somali community settled in Mengo and Kisenyi (Beckerleg, forthcoming).

Men arriving in Uganda from north Yemen came from a region that has a long tradition of chewing khat. They arrived in a country where khat trees and bushes grow wild, but where there was no local knowledge of the stimulant properties of the leaves. Many Yemenis worked in the skins and hides business and travelled extensively, spotting khat growing wild in forests as they went. During the early twentieth century, Yemenis in Uganda set about getting hold of khat by asking local people to seek it out in the wild and bring it to them. Other Yemenis went further and initiated the cultivation of khat in the Eastern area of Mbale and in the Western centres of production in Kabarole District (Beckerleg, 2009b).

Although alcohol remains the main drug of use in Uganda, khat use is becoming more widespread. From use by Somali and Yemeni migrants, khat chewing has spread to all ethnic groups in Uganda, and is chewed by Muslim and Christian alike (Beckerleg, 2006). The locus of consumption has moved from the living room to video halls, alleyways and the ‘ghettos’, of both urban and rural areas. Two types of consumers have emerged: (1) the traditional chewers, ‘maqatna’, who chew khat accompanied by soft drinks; (2) the ‘mixers’ who combine khat sessions with alcohol and/or cannabis use (Beckerleg, 2006; Beckerleg, 2009a). As khat chewing is taken up by increasing numbers of young men and women, the response of the government and the general public has varied but is always negative.
Methods

Data presented in this paper were collected as part of an ESRC study on ‘Khat and Social Identity in Uganda’. In December 2007, an initial survey of all major khat producing areas was completed. During 2008 and the first half of 2009, fieldwork in the first case study area, covering khat grown in Kaborole District in Western Uganda, was undertaken. Fieldwork extended from the khat farms of Kaborole to the towns of Fort Portal, Kasese and Mbarara where most of this khat is consumed. Data were collected through:

(1) Observation and interviews of the khat production, harvesting and wholesale market centres in the rural production areas.
(2) Discussion with the leaders of the Hakibale Busoro Kicwanba Mairungi [Khat] Association who fear that khat will be banned locally and/or nationally. Participant observation of khat sales and consumption in retail outlets, chewing clubs and people’s homes.
(3) Key informant interviews with government officials, health workers, the police and NGO workers.

Results

Concerns and reactions

A new drug law has been presented to the Ugandan Parliament proposing to ban khat. This bill has been in the making for over 10 years, during which time the production and consumption of khat across Uganda has greatly increased, particularly amongst male youth. The Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances Control Bill 2007, presented on 10 March 2009, will criminalise khat. Opinion amongst key policy makers, including the, police and mental health specialists, differs as to when, or if, the Bill will become law.

Meanwhile, the non-khat-chewing majority of Ugandans make no distinction between ‘maqatna’ and ‘mixers’, and see khat as an alien and dangerous substance, imported by Somalis and ‘Arabs’, and a threat to law and order (Beckerleg, 2009a). A feature in the leading daily newspaper on drugs and crime in Kampala, The New Vision, listed common drugs as ‘khat, bhang [cannabis] and cocaine’ and printed a photograph showing ‘youth preparing mairungi (khat) for sale’ (Kato, 2008, p. 23). The feature lays out the concerns of government officials concerning growing drug abuse and associated violent crimes including, ‘murder, rape and robberies’. However, the officials quoted in the article confuse cannabis and khat. For example:

‘We were stunned when we discovered mairungi being commercially grown by some people around Kyaliwajjala’ says the Kira Town council mayor, Mamerito Mugerwa. The plants were uprooted but production relocated. Makindye LC3 chairman Moses Kalungi says the rate at which the weed is smoked in the division is ‘very alarming’. (Kato, 2008, p. 23)

In the absence of a national law on khat, the plant is often treated as if it is already illegal and many people believe it to be a banned substance. Policemen talk about
the lack of a law and, in the next breath, about regularly and routinely arresting khat traders and consumers. The fall back position of arrest for being ‘idle and disorderly’ is widely used in the western region of the country. The offence of ‘Idle and Disorderly’ is number 167 in the Ugandan penal code, and dates from colonial times. It focuses on aggressive beggars, sex workers, street gambling, women wearing scanty clothes to solicit trade and public nuisance on the streets (Penal Code Act, CAP. 120, p. 2797).

The Bushenyi ordinance and its enforcement

In 2006, the Bushenyi district enacted a by-law *The Bushenyi District (Mairungi Trade and Consumption Control) Ordinance, 2006*. The ordinance prohibits the cultivation, consumption or sale of khat within the Bushenyi district. Those caught in possession of khat can be fined up to Ug.Sh. 40,000/- (about US$20) and/or up to 6 months imprisonment. Khat supplied from the Kaborole plantations pass south through Bushenyi en route to the large town of Mbarara. There is no evidence that the ban is enforceable or has reduced the supply of khat to the district. On the contrary, new rural retailers and consumers have emerged along the main road in the last few months. One policeman in Kabarole district dismissed the ban as unworkable. The following case studies, which include the views expressed by the key policy makers at the district level, illustrate the measures taken by the authorities and the typical reactions of the traders.

*Mama Salim’s travails*

Recently widowed, Mama Salim is a long-standing khat trader living in Kasese and selling in Mbarara. Each morning she rises early and travels north to the Kaborole plantations on public transport. Having purchased her khat it is rapidly packed in sacks. She then travels south passing through her home town of Kasese and onto Mbarara, a large town where khat is in high demand. In mid-2008, Mama Salim set up business just round the corner from the main line of khat kiosks near the bus station in Mbarara in a former butcher’s shop. Mama Salim says that everything is ‘cool’ in Fort Portal after the ‘seminar’ – and they are not troubled anymore. It is only at Mweya on the turnoff for the border with DRC along the road from Kasese, that the police stop them sometimes. But they only demand Ug.Sh. 2000 (approx. US$1).

A month later I am again in Mbarara and hear that Mama Salim has been arrested a few days before in Bushenyi. Her son, Abu was running the business in Mbarara, while his mother rested in Kasese. When I saw Mama Salim a few days later at her home in Kasese she explained what had happened. Her story was as follows:

They were a group of khat traders passing through Bushenyi in a shared minibus-taxi with their supplies of khat en route for Mbarara. A senior local government official, the LC5, drove past and saw one of the traders selling khat from the vehicle. He called on his mobile phone for the police to come and
arrest them. When the police arrived and stopped the vehicle, several traders ran away, leaving Mama Salim, her son Abu and a youth. Another female passenger was left to go free as she was an ‘ordinary passenger’, and not a khat trader. The three were taken to the police station. Mama Salim and the youth were charged. There was no chance of following the normal practice of bribing the police because the LC5 had ordered their arrest. Mama Salim decided that she would go to court and also show solidarity with the youth. She was bailed (no fee) and went to stay with a relative in Bushenyi where she spent the weekend. The youth, however, was locked up. On the following Monday they both appeared in court. She told the magistrate she was a khat seller, but that she did not know it was crime. She and the youth paid the fine of Ug.Sh.20,000 (US$11 approx.) and were released.

Shortly after Mama Salim’s arrest I met the Bushenyi LC5 in his office. He was talking to an FM radio journalist when we arrived and this man was told to stay and listen to the discussion ‘on marijuana’. Although unclear about the difference between khat and cannabis, he had no doubts about the harm of khat. Hence, the LC5 confirmed that he was the official who pushed for the districtwide ban on khat, and in his capacity as Secretary of Production took action on the by-law. He enumerated the reasons why he considered the ban necessary:

1. Khat is a ‘kind of drug’ that ‘kills the mind’.
2. Khat is now consumed by the youth who are becoming idle.
3. They use money to buy khat without working. Where do they get the money?
4. When intoxicated by khat they do bad acts: sexual harassment, fighting, beating people.
5. They contribute nothing to society’s development. The children do not go to school. There is no meaningful production. Khat is a ‘menace’.

The LC5 went onto to explain that, ‘last week we apprehended a vehicle. I was driving from a workshop and saw people selling khat openly from the vehicle. There were 6 traders including a lady. Three ran away leaving Hadajti (respectful term for a Muslim woman (i.e. Mama Salim)), her son and another woman. 10 sacks of khat were handed over to the police.’ He made no mention of the youth who was also charged, but his interest focused on the arrest of a mature, Muslim woman. Despite this arrest that had those involved in the khat industry talking from Fort Portal to Mbarara, the LC5 knew that the sanctions would do little to dent the trade. ‘The fine should be increased to one million – it is not a deterrent at present. We are let down by security officials. They know where it is sold but do not act; they are ‘not serious’ about mairungi control.’

Shortly after this meeting I met with the Mbarara District Police Commander in his office. He told me that in Mbarara there is widespread use of khat, especially in the slums, where it is consumed by people who are ‘doing nothing’ as they are unemployed. He added that people have started taking khat in combination with cannabis and that the two substances are sold together in the same package, with the cannabis concealed by the khat leaves. Anybody checking such a package sees only khat, which is not classified as a drug in Uganda.
Therefore, there is a problem with enforcement in relation to drug use and the solution is to charge them with being ‘idle and disorderly’. The police do this because of the ‘outcry from the community’ over khat consumption. He added,

When people are high (on khat) they do ‘funny things’—rape, petty crime. It makes people high like a drug. . . . More than half the people we arrest are into khat and drugs. . . . These people are robbers and housebreakers and gang rapists. Half or three-quarters of those taking khat are criminals or potential criminals. . . . We are praying hard that a law on mairungi [khat] comes out. . . . Even to arrest them you have to fight them. We wonder if it’s worth arresting them.

The Kasese crackdown

In July 2008, Kassim, an elderly Yemeni khat trader was arrested in the western town of Kasese. He had previously been warned by a senior army officer, the Brigade Intelligence Officer to stop selling khat. Upon arrest he was brought to the Resident District Commissioner who said that he could not be kept in the cells. He was released without paying any fine or bribe. He had heard during the incident that ‘idle and disorderly’ had been abolished, although he was not sure what this meant. His family continued to sell khat from his house, but stopped displaying it openly in the kiosk erected for retailing supplies in the courtyard.

A week later eight khat traders were arrested and charged with being ‘idle and disorderly’. Several, including a mother of small children, were granted bail, while others were remanded. Prominent amongst those on remand was Anisa, a successful wholesaler and retailer. I visited her in custody.

We found Anisa seated outside in a large compound on the outskirts of Kasese, shelling peanuts with two other women. They were guarded by a sergeant wearing a red cap (military police). The two policemen explained that there had been a drugs crackdown and that Anisa had been arrested as a part of this. We talked to Anisa briefly and commiserated, then left and drove to her shop. At Anisa’s shop and residence, that same day, khat was being sold in a back room by a young man. Several customers were chewing there and there was a steady trickle of trade. One young man who was more articulate than the others explained that ‘eight traders have been arrested by the Brigade Intelligence officer. They are being charged with “being idle and disorderly” and would appear in court the tomorrow. They were arrested as part of a drugs round up. Chewers have been given 200 lashes (kiboko) “like in Obote’s time”.’

Next, I went to Kasese police station and talked to the District CID Officer and a junior officer. They implied that there was some sort of by-law in force in Kasese, but when I probed, it turned out that ‘idle and disorderly persons’ was being used as the ‘weapon’ of crackdown. The crackdown was the decision of the entire Security Committee, which includes the Brigade IO, but is headed by the Resident District Commissioner, insisted the CID Officer. The ‘idle and disorderly persons’ charge was made on the advice of a State Attorney who had looked into what charges could be made against local khat traders. They told me there is no truth in the rumour that being ‘idle and disorderly’ is no longer a crime. The need to crackdown on khat was, according to the CID officer,
because, ‘teenaged groups are involved in chewing and most kids are becoming addicted to khat’. He added that there had been ‘an increase in housebreaking and muggings’, that “gangs sit around for many hours plotting these crimes” and that such “castles in the air” lead to crimes committed in order to attain their dreams. He refuted the rumour that some khat consumers had received 200 lashes. In conclusion, he explained that the “‘exhibit’ (15–20 sacks of rotting khat) was there at the police station ready for the hearing of the eight traders who were due to appear in court soon.’ The exhibit was indeed on the veranda of the police station in full view, not locked in a room.

After talking to the police, I sought out Steven, a prominent local khat trader, who had thus far avoided arrest. Steven explained that when a new army officer had been transferred from Bundibuyo (an area to the north where there is insurgency) things got tough. ‘He’s a Divisional Commander. The word is that he is realistic and wants to reduce the khat trade by 60%, as he cannot eliminate it. The remaining 40% of traders will be left to do business as usual. At present the price of khat is unstable, but has certainly gone up – e.g. from Ug.Sh. 2000 to Ug.Sh. 3000 (US$1–1.5).’ Steven further explained that those arrested had paid Ug.Sh.150,000 (US$75) each for bail, while the usual fine for being idle and disorderly is UG.Sh.20,000–30,000 (US$10–15). Steven’s information proved accurate with regard to the bail conditions. Anisa was released on bail. She showed me the paperwork which showed that the Ug.Sh.150,000 she had paid was ‘surety’ and that she and the other seven arrested still had to answer the charge of being idle and disorderly.

I also visited the Kasese Assistant Resident District Commissioner who, like most government officials, had strong views on khat:

The increase in crime is associated with youth gangs who take khat, thereby creating conditions for being idle and disorderly. The idea of the authorities is to disband the idle and disorderly groups and cut crime. Khat is expensive and drives idlers into crime as ‘a small bunch costs Ug.Sh. 3000/-’. The increase in crime is ‘house breakages’ and ‘waylaying others’, for example in alleys and generally hunting for money. Arabs chew at home – there is no problem – and no public order issue. Mixing drugs leads to a ‘loss of sense of direction’. We now have a ‘runaway society’ meaning that things are running out of control. We want to ‘lock the gate’. The challenge about khat is about Ugandan society.

Discussion

Khat and violence

Violence in Uganda is nothing new. Since the nineteenth century there have been frequent wars and civil unrest. In the twentieth century and up to the present day Uganda has been dogged by decades of violence, much of it with a strong ethnic dimension (Heald, 1999; Kasozi, 1994; Leopold, 2005; Van Acker, 2000). At the time of writing the north of Uganda is starting the process of rebuilding after years of guerrilla warfare, during which the Ugandan government fought to contain the rebel Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA).
The attention of the Ugandan government in 2008 turned to controlling the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), a rebel movement with an Islamic orientation operating around Kasese. Many observers in Kasese attributed the recent suppression of khat sales and consumption to concerns on the part of government about khat use amongst insurgents. This linkage makes sense as Ugandan troops have been serving in Somalia as Peace Keepers and in the course of their work may well have come to associate khat with insurgency. Khat is imported into Somalia daily, but has been blamed for fuelling the war and chaos that bedevils that country (Dirie and D’Haem, 2002; Randall, 1993). Officials in Kasese, however, denied there being any concerns about khat and the ADF, and asserted that they had cracked down on khat because it caused crime, particularly violent crime.

Yet, in the academic literature, khat is not usually strongly linked to violent behaviour. Khat chewed in its traditional setting does not induce violence, as numerous observers and participants in communal khat chewing sessions have noted. For example, according to Varisco, writing on traditional patterns of khat use in Yemen stresses that there is no link to violence:

> It is important to note that aggressive behaviour is rarely found in qat chews, nor is qat thought locally in Yemen to induce a fighting spirit. People will sit next to each other, at times closely packed, without evident signs of irritation. Passive reflexivity, a mood of introspection, is the ultimate outcome of normal chewing. (Varisco, 2004, p. 109)

Other social studies link khat use to lethargy and de-motivation, but never to violence. As Gebissa points out:

> In the case of khat’s alleged negative socioeconomic consequence, the rather popular argument is that which depicts chewers as lethargic individuals who spend most of their days masticating on the leaves. The implication of such an assessment is that their jobs often suffer from neglect. The sight of bartcha, the afternoon chew session, inevitably impresses upon observers, including some scholars, that khat is a cause for tardiness to work, absenteeism, and declining productivity. (Gebissa, 2008, p. 891)

According to the detractors of khat, the problem in Ethiopia is not violence, but lethargy. Similarly, Klein found that in Streatham, South London, that khat was a subject of concern for local residents worried that its use caused violent behaviour. But, members of the Waaberri Somali community group had opposite ideas:

> The key concern of the residents’ association, however, was the pharmacological effect of khat and how it increased the tendency to violence. But according to the Waaberri informants, khat made the chewer peaceful and active in clear contrast to alcohol which made the drinker incapable and aggressive. Khat users themselves were surprised by the link, as the first rush brought on by khat was euphoric, followed by a reflective and melancholic phase. Even the detractors explained their opposition to khat because it was demotivating, wasteful and inappropriate in the UK – not because of the violence. (Klein, 2008, p. 824)

The report by the UK Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs (2005), based on a review of interview data gathered by the UK organisations, NARCO and Turning Point, found some linkages between khat and violence. Hence, ‘women were more likely than men to report that khat use was responsible for family
breakdown and violent behaviour’ (ACMD, 2005, p. 18). Yet, overall the report authors concluded:

Very low offending rates were reported in the NARCO report. Of three individuals who reported having committed violence, all were recent khat users. There does not appear to be a link with acquisitive crime. The rates detected are particularly low considering the financial status, social situation and location of many of the khat using communities. (ACMD, 2005, p. 18)

When khat is associated with violence it appears often to be linked to Somalis both in their war-torn, debilitated country (Dirie and D’Haem, 2002) and in the diaspora (Klein & Beckerleg, 2007). Conversely, in the ethnic Somali-dominated North Eastern Province of Kenya where there is no war, but many refugees, khat is blamed on under-development (Anderson et al., 2007). Reports of violence amongst khat consumers can be linked to difficult and violent social environments, rather than to the psycho-active properties of Catha edulis, a substance notorious for making people sit around doing nothing. Violent behaviour is not one of many concerns of psychiatrists and medical practitioners concerning khat, who point out possible links between khat and psychosis and a host of negative health effects (Anderson et al., 2007).

Hence, there is little evidence to support the widespread Ugandan view that khat use causes violent behaviour. The Ugandan authorities, however, are not the first national representatives of law and order to jump to conclusions about the dangers posed by specific drugs. For example, Chavannes reports how in Jamaica, from the early twentieth century, cannabis (ganja) has been viewed and how it came to be associated with violence:

Another negative reaction that ganja was, at one time, thought to provoke was a proneness to violence. This seemed to have been the reason for Jamaica including ganja in its ratification of the 1912 Hague Opium Convention signed by Great Britain, not on the basis of expert or scientific evidence but on the basis of unsubstantiated allegations. Forty years previously the Governor had mentioned in a report to the Colonial Office that it was believed that ganja had induced an Indian to murder his wife. Forty years later, allegation had become fact. (Chavannes, 2004a, p. 179)

The Jamaican police, like their Ugandan counterparts 40 years later, attempted to link specific drug use with rape. Hence, in Jamaica in the early 1960s, ‘The police force also tried its own version of the United States Bureau of Narcotics campaign in trying, but without much success, to link ganja smoking to with the rise of crime, including rape.’ (Chavannes, 2004b, p. 69)

A similar association between cannabis and violence was constructed in California during the 1930s. According to Feiling:

Newspapers repeated unsubstantiated claims that ‘the killer weed’ led users, particularly Mexican users, to commit terrible acts of violence, particularly against Anglo-Saxon women.

Across the USA at different times, according to Feiling (2009), various substances have been associated with violence and rape. Scaremongering by US government officials in the twentieth century focused particularly on, cocaine and cannabis, and had a strongly racist dimension (Feiling, 2009). For example, Feiling reports that in the 1910s, a cocaine panic struck the US
southern states:

Dr Christopher Koch of the State Pharmacy Board of Pennsylvania testified before Congress that ‘most of the attacks upon the white of the South are the direct result of a cocaine-crazed Negro brain’. (Feiling, 2009, p. 21)

These examples of drug scares in the Americas demonstrate that there is nothing unique, or even unusual, in the linking of drugs with violence. In Uganda, I have heard Somalis described as ‘sex fiends’ fuelled by khat. Nevertheless, the Ugandan claim that khat makes people violent runs counter to even the arguments of the many campaigners against khat, a substance usually linked to ‘idling’ and lethargy.

Mixing khat with other drugs

In Uganda, the linking of drug use, and specifically khat consumption, to violence is recent. Although it is clear that the groups of youth who are the cause of concern are in fact multi-drug users, the focus for drug control is on khat, and not alcohol or cannabis. Alcohol is very widely consumed and is part of the culture of most Ugandans, with many Muslims drinking discretely. Although illegal, cannabis is cheap and widely available and is a familiar substance that has been used in Uganda for many decades. Khat, which has only gained popularity within the last 20 years, is the great unknown and there are legitimate causes for concern. The widespread mixing of khat with alcohol and cannabis does not commonly occur in other East African countries (Anderson et al., 2007; Carrier, 2007).

Klein reports that the young people attending the focus groups in South London were quick to distinguish khat from alcohol and ‘drugs’. It was considered acceptable for fathers or older brothers to be chewing khat, while alcohol or cannabis on the other hand, were not acceptable. Some who had been brought up in the UK and did not take khat themselves, support the use of khat by their fathers and male relatives: ‘Let them do it, it is our culture. This khat links up with our fathers and forefathers.’

As khat becomes a global commodity, regulatory bodies increasingly struggle to deal with the substance, and Uganda is not alone in the search for an appropriate control regime for khat. Indeed, internationally there is considerable pressure to impose a ban on khat, and efforts to achieve this goal are championed by the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB), the body established within the UN system with a quasi-judicial function to promote compliance with drug control treaties (Anderson et al., 2007). The direction the INCB wants to take is clear: khat is a drug of ‘abuse’ and therefore should be banned. The Ugandan officials working in the west of the country have reached a similar conclusion and have decided to act alone rather than wait for national legislation. All the evidence from Western Uganda points to local bans being ineffective, and even a national ban is likely to be of little effect on what has recently become a widespread form of recreational drug in Uganda.
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