

ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION AMONG YOUTH IN CHITRAL



**“Thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology, Quaid-i-Azam University,
Islamabad, for the partial fulfillment of the degree of M. Phil in Sociology”**

By

Asif Hayat

Department of Sociology

Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

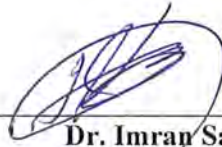
2018

QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

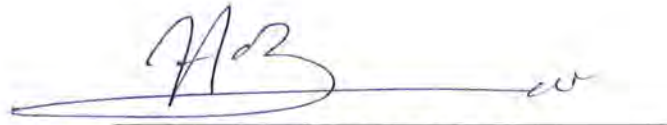
Dated: 14-09-2018

FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Asif Hayat on "*Alcohol Consumption among Youth in Chitral*" and it is our Judgments that this is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Sociology

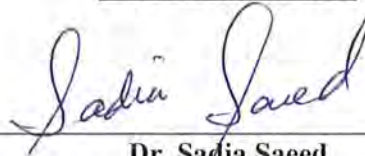


Dr. Imran Sabir
Supervisor



Dr. Hazir Ullah
External Examiner

COUNTERSIGNED



Dr. Sadia Saeed
In-charge

Acknowledgement

My ultimate gratitude is to Almighty Allah for His countless blessing on me in accomplishing every tasks of life. The accomplishment of current research was one of the instances of those tasks. Then the generosity and valuable knowledge of my research supervisor, Dr. Muhammad Zaman made me able to achieve the task in the form of current research.

I am really thankful to my parents and grandparents for their countless prayers and affection. Their encouragement and all possible support have nourished me to achieve the current level of education. I am also grateful to my whole family and I wish that I could be able to achieve, which they have been expecting.

Asif Hayat

Abstract

Alcohol consumption is prohibited in Pakistan but its consumption has been highly observed among the youth in Chitral. Its consumption increases during various social events and festivals. The existing literature indicated that there were several reasons of alcohol consumption among the youth in Pakistan. They include social isolation, stressful environment, peer pressure and social acceptance among the peers (friends). There were also several detrimental effects of alcohol consumption. The social, economic and health related harms of alcohol consumption have made it a global issue. It has been responsible for problems like family disruption, problems at work place and criminal conviction and it also increases the risk of Alcohol Used Disorders. The Interactional Theory and the Social Learning Theory provides the theoretical framework to the current study and they have their application in universe of current study. A qualitative research was conducted to investigate the phenomenon where Participant observation (type of qualitative research) was conducted while considering the nature of the topic. The data was collected in the form of detailed interviews through purposive sampling. The collected data were coded through MaxQDA, in order to generate the themes of the study. The current study highlighted that alcohol consumption becomes the desire among the youth in various social events. They use to take it while imitating each other. It is considered a drug, having a sign of pride with it and the youth use to take it with pride. Those youth even accepts the words of stigmatization like nebehyl (disobeyer) and namurad (looser) for the sake of alcohol. They are going to become the accepted norm among the alcohol using youth. The alcohol using youth labels the non-alcohol users with words like beghairat (debase). Along with these factors, the religious diverse views of the youth about the consumption of alcohol have also been contributing factor of alcohol consumption among them. Similarly, the ineffective role of police and their involvement in the illegal dealing of drugs like alcohol has also encouraged the youth to consume it. Alcohol consumption among the youth is accounted for its several harms on the society. The current research has also highlighted adverse effects of alcohol consumption on society. The intoxicated youth have been involved in committing different deviancies in the society. Conflicts, fights and the use of abusive language have been the common

deviancies committed particularly during events, ceremonies and festivals. The alcohol using youth have also been responsible for criminal activities like theft and robbery.

Contents

Chapter No. 1	i
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Statement of the Problem	3
1.2 Research Question	4
1.3 Objectives of the Research	4
1.4 Significance of the Study	5
Chapter No. 2	6
LITERATURE REVIEW	6
2.1 Assumptions	12
Chapter No. 3	14
THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK.....	14
3.1 Interactional Theory	15
3.1.1 Application of Theory	16
3.2 Social Learning Theory	17
3.2.1 Application of Theory	18
3.3 Operant Conditioning.....	20
3.3.4 Application of Theory	20
3.4 Propositions.....	22
Chapter No. 4.....	23
CONCEPTUALIZATION AND OPERATIONALIZATION	23
4.1 Conceptualization.....	24
4.1.1 Alcohol Consumption.....	24
4.1.2 Youth	26
4.2 Operationalization	27
4.2.1 Alcohol Consumption.....	27
4.2.2 Youth	28
Chapter No. 5	29
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	29
5.1 Research Design	30
5.2 Universe	30

5.3 Unit of Analysis	31
5.4 Sampling Technique.....	31
5.5 Sample Size	31
5.6 Tool for Data Collection	32
5.7 Techniques for Data Collection.....	32
5.8 Tool for Data Analysis	32
5.9 Technique for Data Analysis.....	33
5.10 Ethical Concerns	33
5.11 Limitation of the Study	33
5.12 Validity and Reliability	34
5.13 Field Experience.....	34
Chapter No. 6	36
RESULTS	36
6.1 Causes of Alcohol Consumption.....	37
6.1.1 Alcohol Consumption as Trend in Social Events	37
6.1.2 Labeling the Peers	38
6.1.3 Idealizing Deviants and Imitating their Behaviors	38
6.1.4 Alcohol for Respect among Friends	39
6.1.5 <i>Surooro Barabar Korik</i> (Intoxication): Source of Pleasure	40
6.1.6 Diverse (religious) views of Youth about Alcohol.....	41
6.1.7 Easy Access to Alcohol	42
6.1.8 Role of Family	42
6.1.9. Role of Environment	46
6.1.10. Lack of Implementation of Law	47
6.1.11 Fondness for Alcohol.....	48
6.1.12 Relation of Alcohol with Sexual Pleasure and Strength.....	49
6.1.13. Alcohol Reduces Tension	50
6.1.14 <i>Tansoro Pasheyko Bachen</i> : Alcohol intake Represents Class and Status	50
6.1.15 Relation between Alcohol and Income.....	51
6.2 Harms of Alcohol Consumption	52
6.2.1 <i>Raqa</i> (Uncontrolled Behaviors).....	53



6.2.2 Aggression	54
6.2.3 Disrespecting Other	54
6.2.4 Deviant Behaviors of Alcohol Users	55
6.2.5 <i>Dishul</i> : Abusive Language	57
6.2.6 <i>Beyzat Mosh</i> (Disrespected Person): Reason of Disrespect of Family	58
6.2.7 People Avoids Cultural Events/Gatherings	58
6.2.8 <i>Nabehyl and Namurad</i> : Labeling the Alcohol User	59
6.2.9 Alcohol and Crime	60
6.2.10 Economic Costs of Alcohol Consumption	61
6.2.11 Alcohol and Health Costs	61
6.2.12 Use of Illegal Resources (for alcohol)	63
6.2.13 Cure of Alcohol Intoxication	63
6.3 <i>Ishtoka Tara</i> : Alcohol Consumption in Musical Programs	64
6.4 <i>Toor</i> : Physical Appearance of Alcohol user	65
6.5 Alcohol Consumption instead of Prohibition	66
6.5 Religious Prohibition	67
6.5.1 Religious Advice	68
6.5.2 Neglecting Religious Awareness	69
6.5.3 Use Alcohol without Harming (other)	70
6.6 Open use of Alcohol	70
6.6.1 Alcohol as the Sign of Pride	70
6.7 Smuggling of Alcohol	71
6.7.1 Ambiguity of Law about the of Alcohol (a case in Chitral)	72
6.8 Support of Criminal by Influential People	73
6.9 Production of Alcohol	74
6.10 High Demand for <i>Tara</i>	76
6.11 Types of Alcohol	76
6.11.1 <i>Tara Lacheyk</i> : Alcohol Formation	77
6.11.2 Popular Alcohol Chitral: <i>Tara</i>	78
6.11.3 Ingredients of <i>Tara</i> (Local Alcohol)	79
6.11.4 Alcohol Production at Home	79

6.11.5 Imported Alcohol.....	80
6.12 Hidden Use of Alcohol.....	81
6.13 Availability of Alcohol (earning money)	82
6.14 Market of Alcohol (Black Market).....	83
6.15 Controlling Youth from Alcohol.....	84
6.16 Friendly Environment with Children (Controlling them from Alcohol).....	85
Chapter No. 7	87
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	87
7.1 Discussion	88
7.2 Conclusion.....	91
Annexure 1.....	94
Annexure 2.....	97

Chapter No. 1

INTRODUCTION

Alcohol consumption has become a commonly observed phenomenon among the youth in Chitral. It has been observed that the consumption of alcohol increases during social events and festivals. It particularly increases in musical program (*Chitrari Dhool Dhammama*) where the participation of youth is high (Khan 2018). The intoxicated youth become evident during such events because of their overt behavior due to intoxication. Those behaviors are discouraged in the society. Hence, the phenomenon of alcohol consumption is also discouraged.

Alcohol consumption is not only discouraged rather it is forbidden in Islam. Therefore, the Islamic states prohibit it. For example in Iran the use of alcohol is strictly forbidden and those who violate undergone severe physical punishment and fines (Singer 2006). Being an Islamic state, Pakistan has also prohibited alcohol consumption. The consumption is prohibited for 96 percent of the Muslim and there is also punishment for it. Instead of such boundaries, the consumption of alcohol has been seen growing in many social gatherings (Haviland 2013). The society like Chitral (Pakistan) is not much different in this regard where the use of alcohol become common during various events and festivals.

Alcohol consumption is although prohibited in Pakistan but the problem has been the denying culture after consuming it. One of the instances is the banning of alcohol shops and bars in Pakistan in 1977 by the then prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was of the view and had said publically that, “yes, I do drink alcohol but at least I do not drink the blood of poor.” It has been the part of our society where the consumption of alcohol occurs instead of its prohibition (Hanif 2016). Chitral has undergone a similar situation where the youth justifies alcohol consumption with several reasons.

There are various reasons of alcohol consumption. In United States of America, data was collected in 2006 regarding consumption of alcohol among the youth (college and university students). It was found that the students use to intake alcohol to have fun and celebrate the events like birthdays and sports events. Alcohol has also been the source to relax the students during the time of stress. Another factor was that, it helps an individual to build confidence during conversation with others. Sometimes it is also taken for competition among the friends. They compete that who takes more alcohol in the friend circle (Dodd et al. 2010) and it becomes the sign of pride for those who takes more

alcohol. It has also been found as one of the factors of alcohol consumption among the youth in Chitral, according to the current study. This alcohol consumption leaves several harmful impacts on the users as well on the society.

A person use to take alcohol does not remain in sober state because it is a chemical substance with its properties that affects the normal functioning of the body. Such an individual is unable to differentiate between the accepted and unaccepted behaviors. These violations of norms and values are among the harmful social consequences of alcoholic consumption. The social consequences are the changes which are subjectively or objectively attributed to alcohol, occurring in individual social behavior, in social interaction or in the social environment (Klingemann 2001). The use of abusive language, abnormal physical acts in front of elders and women and conflicts along with fight are among those social consequences. They are basically the violation of norms and values in a society. These harms of alcohol consumption are undeniable because they have been observed in Chitral.

Chitral is one of the districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, which is famous for its cultural values and peaceful environment. On one hand, if Chitral is famous for its natural beauty, on the other hand, the people are famous for their uncomplicated routines, peaceful behaviors and love for nature. These characteristics makes Chitral distinguished from other areas in Pakistan (Khan 2011). The polite behaviors of youth towards the elder are the part of socialization in the society and it is an important societal norm. However, in a current era, the youth are deviating from the norms of society. One such example is the consumption of alcohol among the youth in events like marriage ceremonies and the other festivities. Thus the current research investigates the practice of alcohol consumption among the youth with its various causes, which has harmful effects on the norms and values of the society.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Alcohol is although a “Drink of Choice” but there have been factors like socio-economic factors that make the people use drugs like alcohol. In Karachi, it has been found that 45% of the people use to consume alcohol and other drugs because of the problem associated with parental and marital relationship. Similarly among the final year medical students in Pakistan, the consumption of alcohol is common for the sake of reduction of

tension because of work load (Ghazal 2015). Some of these causes of alcohol consumption have similarity with those which were existing in Chitral. Tension reduction, problems in socialization, role of environment and peer pressure are the causes which have similarity with the causes existing in the literature. But there were also certain novel causes which the current study found. They include the adoption of alcoholic behaviors because of the fear of label and stigmatization from the peers and alcohol consumption as a sign of pride. The use of alcohol for pleasure for a specific period of times and different religious views about alcohol among the youth were also the causes that were different from those of the causes in the literature. The increasing level of alcohol consumption during various events like musical programs and festivals creates conflicts and fights. The deviant behaviors of such youth towards other become threat to the societal norms and values. This situation discourages the participation of other people in cultural events. Thus, the current study identified certain novel causes and consequences of alcohol consumption along with the causes and consequences prevailing in existing literature. The use of drug like alcohol has been an issue in Pakistan and it has been the issue of debate for several years.

In 2012, a survey was conducted in Pakistan regarding the use of drugs and it was found that 6.7 million people were using different types of drugs. Large ratios of those drug users were drugs dependent (United Nation Office of Drugs and Crime 2013:13-23).The current study investigated this problem in Chitral. It was found the youth consume alcohol instead of its prohibition and its harmful impacts on the society. It has been an anomic situation in the society which encourages the researcher to draw a research questions for the current study.

1.2 Research Question

What have been the situations and reasons that make the youth consume alcohol in Chitral?

Does the tradition of alcohol consumption among the youth damage the societal norms and values?

1.3 Objectives of the Research

1. To investigate the reasons of alcohol consumption among the youth in Chitral.

2. To highlight the harmful impacts of alcohol consumption among the youth on social norms and values.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The consumption of alcohol among youth has been a social problem in Chitral but the lack of sufficient scientific studies has kept it unidentified. The current study is based on information which has been collected from the ground where the phenomenon is an emerging problem. It investigated the factors of the alcohol consumption among the youth and its social harms on the society. It may contribute to generate further knowledge about the other aspects of the phenomenon. The current study has its significance because it can provide literary knowledge regarding the consumption of alcohol among the youth in the area where the phenomenon has not been highlighted through such studies.

Chapter No. 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter of the study the researcher divided the literature work into three sections. The first section deals with the situations and causes that were responsible for the consumption of alcohol. The second section deals with the harms of alcohol on individuals and the society. The final section has discussed the phenomenon in particular reference of youth because it has been in high consumption level among youth.

There are different activities which are counted as deviant activities. They include the violations of the norms and values of the society in the context of the current study. Alcohol consumption among the youth in Chitral has been among those healthy activities because it leaves harmful effects on the society. Alcohol not only affects the life of individuals rather it has devastating effect on whole society. There are prevailing various causes behind this harmful phenomenon of alcohol consumption.

Alcohol consumption shows different (inconsistent) relations with the socioeconomic status of the people. Sometimes it shows positive relations with socioeconomic status that there exists a relationship between alcoholic drinking and the education, income and employment (socioeconomic status) of the individuals. Sometimes it also shows negative relationship with socioeconomic status. In certain situation the people from higher socioeconomic status are able to differentiate between the healthy and unhealthy behaviors. Hence, they adopt healthy choice. On the other hand the people belonging to lower socioeconomic status are more prone towards alcohol drinking. However, in certain situation, this phenomenon is also contrasting (Oers et al. 1999). The level of education, income and employment have been among the major indicators of the socioeconomic status as far as the current study is concerned. Along with the socioeconomic indicators, there have also been other causes responsible for the consumption of alcohol among the youth.

The consumption of alcohol among the adolescence has a relationship with their social environment, particularly at an early age. The environmental factors in this regard include the family problem, problems in human relation and the alcoholic parents (Tur et al. 2003). A study conducted in Zambia indicates that the youth are affected by the social environment where they are in interaction with others. The survey revealed that the senior students were more likely using alcohol as compared to juniors who had not gone under the interaction with alcohol using peers. Thus, it is evident from the study that

socialization as a factor has influential role while shaping the alcohol consuming behaviors of the individuals. Along with such type of socialization, there are certain factors that drag the youth towards alcoholism. They include the sense of freedom, maturity and independence over time because individual feel free to behave and adopt choices along with maturity and growing age. (Menon, Kusanthan and Mwaba 2016).

Another important factor (according to a study conducted in Palma de Mallorca) which contributed to the alcoholic consumption among adolescent was the low level of education in family members at home. The major reason behind this phenomenon has been that they do not consider alcohol as drug. This prevailing concept about alcohol encourages the people to consume alcohol (Tur et al. 2003). These are the situations which takes the youth towards alcoholism and Pakistan is no exception as for as these causes are concerned.

The different cause of alcohol consumption around the globe has similarity with those of the causes prevailing in Pakistan. The use of drugs like alcohol has association with social isolation, stressful environment, peer pressure and social acceptance among peer in Pakistan. According to 54% of the drug users (Unaiza et al. 2005:274), the reason of their drug usage was to get socialized with their friends. When they youth sit with each other, they feel comfortable when they have similar behaviors. The difference in behaviors creates discomfort. In order to reduce this discomfort, they have to confirm the behaviors of the peers. The concept of peer pressure also arises during such situation. 32% of the drug users were reported to be abusers because of friend's pressure. Beside these, the study also indicated the motivational factors of drug usage among the young people which include "for fun" and "for relaxation" while sitting in circle of friends and peer (Unaiza et al. 2005:274). The above mentioned causes of alcohol consumption create several problems. They affect the individuals and societies.

According to a study conducted in US by Newcomb and Locke (2005:46-59) a large number of people are dying in traffic crash due to the use of alcohol. More than 400,000 people are dying per year because of road crash due to alcoholic consumption. Beside the road crash the different types of death associated with alcohol consumption include suicide, homicide, violence and several others. So it is evident that the use of alcohol has

its damaging consequences. There are certain issues which are related to the health of the people. Those detrimental effects of alcohol consumption exist around the globe.

The harmful effects are not only related to the health of the alcohol consumer but it also lead to social harm to the drinkers and health related harms to the lives of other. There are several diseases which have been attributed to the use of alcohol as far as the health related issues are concerned. The diseases have been given the name of Alcohol Use Disorder (AUDs). The AUDs are considered the fourth most disabling disorder as for as the low and middle income countries are concerned (Rehm 2011). Alcohol consumption has not only affected the countries in economic and health sectors rather it has detrimental social consequences.

The social harms of alcohol consumption have been identified as family disruption, problem at work place and criminal conviction. The intoxication due to alcohol consumption allows the people to behave abnormally. Quarrel and conflict in families and at work places are the examples of abnormal behaviors. Sometimes this situation also creates criminality and leaves more dangerous consequences. The social consequences (harms) of alcohol consumption looks slightly light in front of the health related issues but they have been undeniable factors contributing to several evils in the societies globally (Rehm 2011).

Among the social harms of drugs one of the harm has been the isolation of youth from social and recreational activities. The youth consuming alcohol are not usually seen while participating in healthy activities like sports. The recreational activities like sports do not provide them the opportunity to get indulge in abusive drugs. The youth gives up such activities only because they have to take drugs. Drugs users spent majority of time in consuming drugs and they do not prefer to visit family members and friends (Sussman and Ames 2001). This has been an alarming phenomenon in societies because such isolated youth have been among the deviant youth.

Along with its social detrimental consequences, the use of drugs has several other impacts on societies. It has been responsible for the economic loss of the societies. Several accidents are attributed to the drunkenness of the vehicle drivers who have been found intoxicated with alcohol. For instance, in United States of America, the economic loss due to drug usage is 200 US Dollars per year (Sussman and Ames 2001:4). This loss

to the society is due to accidents (death), disabilities of individuals, spending money for buying drugs and the loss of productivity of individuals. These are the effects which have been hindrance in the path of development of societies (Sussman and Ames 2001). In particular, the developing societies are usual victim because the losses are not recovered soon due to the lack of resources. It becomes more alarming when the younger generation of societies indulge in this phenomenon.

Youth is considered an essential part of the society because the future of society is molded in the hand of youth. The ratio of drugs usage is more common in youth and this is the productive age for a society. It has been found that majority of the user of drugs were between the age of 15 and 45 (Singer 2008:467-478). In this ratio, again majority of the drug users have been in their mid-twenties. This indicates that drugs usage is significantly affecting the societies by harming their productive ingredients. The youth were using it because of their social environment where they were in connection with their peers, friends and other such people (who were involved in drugs usage). They were also using it because it can provide a temporary pleasure for an individual in order to escape oneself from an unforgotten reality (Singer 2008:467-478). According to a study conducted in US in 2006, the consumption of alcohol was common among the students of colleges and universities. It was evident from the data that about 47 percent male college students and 32 percent female college students were engaged in drinking alcohol (Dodd et al. 2010:93).

The use of alcohol has more devastating effects on children and young people. They are considered the high risk group by World Health Organization. The major risks which have been identified include the motor vehicle accidents and other harmful social risks like suicide and murder. Along with these factors there were several other factors which were attributed to alcohol consumption among the youth. In United Kingdom, there has been seen an increase in alcohol intake among the early aged proportion of the population. About 51 percent of children attending school were involved in alcohol consumption. This percentage of alcohol consumption has increased from 39 percent in 2003 to 51 percent in 2008 (Johnson 2011:1).

Similarly, a study conducted in Pakistan indicates that majority of the drug users were the youth. It has been found that 71.5% of the drugs abusers were below the age of 35 years

with the highest proportion between 20 and 30 years. This ratio indicates that the youth of Pakistan have been the front target of the harms of drugs. The most common form of drug among the youth according to the survey has been the alcohol. The consumption of drugs is increasing in Pakistan particularly among the younger population and it has severe social consequences on the society (Unaiza et al. 2005:272). If we look at the consumption of alcohol among the youth, it becomes observable all around the world.

The use of alcohol and other drugs is not confined to a particular society or country of the world. According to (Singer 2006:467-478), drugs usage has been a global issue and it is considered a hurdle in the path of sustainable development in societies. In a current era of globalization there have been policies adopted which are encouraging the movement of commodities between national boundaries as free trade. Thus the developing nations of the worlds in particular have been an easy target for the illegal movement of drugs across the borders. It has also been highlighted that the products like alcohol and tobacco produced in the international market are creating health related problems among the developing nation of the world as a result of this free movement of commodities (Singer 2006:467-478).

The youth have been vulnerable target of drugs like hashish, *charas*, *bhang*, opium, alcohol and tobacco. The usage of these drugs has been common among the youth, particularly the youth of countries with low and middle socioeconomic status. According to a study conducted in Kyrgyzstan, the country has 30% youth where the poverty and the accessibility of drugs like alcohol have made them vulnerable (Somani and Meghani 2016:1). In the line of developing countries Pakistan is also standing and facing this problem.

The use of drugs has also been a problem in Pakistan. There have been conducted several surveys to highlight the use of drugs in Pakistan since 1982. One of the surveys during those times conducted by Pakistan Narcotics Control Board, revealed, about 1.3 million users of different drugs in Pakistan. Later when the survey was again conducted in 1986, the data showed 1.9 million drug users in Pakistan (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2013:7). In 2012 again there were conducted surveys regarding the use of drugs. The result of the survey was collected on the basis of past year use of drugs (plant-based drugs and medical prescription drugs). The data showed that there were 6.7 million users

of drugs (illicit substance). Out of this, 4.5 million users were dependent users of drugs. These users of drugs consume different drugs and their prevalence varies in different areas of Pakistan. Majority (among the drug users, who use opium) belongs to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Similarly Punjab has the highest number of overall drugs users (UNODC 2013:13-23). Different societies in Pakistan face the different issues regarding the use of drugs.

One of the examples of such society in Pakistan is Chitral where the consumption of alcohol has been a social issue among the youth. The current study investigated the phenomenon of alcohol consumption Chitral. There was no previous scientific study regarding the use of alcohol in Chitral. Instead of its prohibition, the high level of its consumption is prevailing in Chitral and the issue has not been investigated. This was the gap of the study. The current study creates a theoretical knowledge through this scientific research. The major aspects which the current study focused were the causes (reasons) of alcohol consumption and its harms on the society.

2.1. Assumptions

1. Alcohol consumption and other drugs usage have several harmful consequences. They were affecting the lives of people in different ways.
2. Alcohol consumption has been responsible for problems like family disruption, problems at work place and criminal conviction and it also increases the risk of AUDs.
3. The lack of desire towards recreational activities among the drug users has deviant impact on societies.
4. The uses of drugs have been accounted for the economic loss of the societies along with their social effects.
5. The interaction of youth with alcohol (drug) consuming people has been an influential factor of learning alcohol consuming behaviors.
6. The environmental factors like family problem, problems in human relation and alcoholic parents have also been responsible for alcohol consumption among the adolescent.

7. The common causes of alcohol consumption in Pakistan include social isolation, stressful environment, peer pressure and social acceptance among the peers (friends).
8. The majority of the users of drugs have been the youth who are considered the productive ingredients (part) of the society. Thus drugs usage is hampering the productivity of the society. They have been vulnerable target of different types of drugs like alcohol, opium, *bhang*, *charas* and hashish.
9. In Pakistan 71.5% of the drugs abusers were below the age of 35 years.
10. According to a survey, conducted in 2012, there were 6.7 million users of drugs in Pakistan. This figure (6.7) million also include the drugs dependent and they accounts for about 4.5 million of people.
11. The consumption of drugs varies in different areas of Pakistan. For example Punjab has the highest number of drugs users in Pakistan.
12. There has been free movement of different types of drugs like alcohol, heroin and cocaine across national and international boundaries as a result of free trade in global era.
13. The developing countries of the world become the easy victim of illegal movement of drugs and Pakistan has also been among the country where the cross border movement of drugs has been a social problem.

It can be concluded on the basis of the existing literature that there are prevailing different situations that have taken the youth toward alcoholism. It leaves several harmful consequences on the society. It has negatively affected the societies in social and economic grounds. It also affects the health of the people. It has affected the productive segment of the society in the form of youth. Thus, it has more devastating which is not confined to particular societies of the world rather it has been a global issue.

Chapter No. 3

THEORATICAL FRAMEWORK

There are three theories which have been discussed in theoretical framework. The Interactional Theory, The Social Learning Theory and The Operant Conditioning have been applied by the researcher in the current study. These theories have basically focused the learning behaviors of individuals in societies. There are various reasons which make the people behave in different situation accordingly. Therefore, these theories have their applicability while discussing the alcohol consuming behaviors of youth in the universe of the research.

3.1 Interactional Theory

It is a theory of Terence Thornberry. According to interactional theory, the delinquent behaviors of an individual are caused by a weak social bondage of that individual to the society. When the bond between the individual and the society (conventional society) becomes weaker, the individual acquires behavioral freedom in the society. The sense of freedom provides several alternatives to behave in different ways in society. Therefore, it provides the opportunity to get engaged in delinquent behaviors. This delinquency also requires an environment where the interaction of an individual happens with other delinquent. The association with delinquent peers and the learning environment provides the mechanism to get involved in delinquent beliefs and behaviors (Thornberry et al. 1991: 9-12).

One of the important aspects of the Interactional Theory assumes that the relationship between behaviors and weak bond with the society is not unidirectional. It does not only state that the weak bond of an individual to society leads to delinquency, rather it focus on bidirectional relationship. In simple words interactional theory assumes that delinquency may contribute to the weakening of social bonds well as being consequence of weakened social bond.

Another important aspect of Interactional Theory is the social bond, which has two important elements. The first one is an attachment to parents and the second is the commitment to school in adolescence. The delinquency increases with weak social bond and similarly the delinquency also reduces the attachment to the parents and commitment to school (Thornberry et al. 1991: 9-12).

According to Interactional Theory, the environment and the opportunity of drugs usage for a person is created by those drugs users with whom he/she is in interaction. The

individual finds varying degree of supports and reinforces from those users with whom he/she is in interaction. The individual, finding support from that particular group becomes the member of that group (Possi 1996:111-128).

3.1.1 Application of Theory

The mechanic nature of the society makes the people in frequent interaction with each other. The same case is prevailing in upper Chitral which is a rural society. There was a continuous interaction among the youth on daily basis who were involved in different activities. The interaction provides an opportunity to learn behaviors from each other.

The first aspect of the theory focuses the behaviors learning in an environment. This type of environment in Chitral was the places where the youth were interacting. The environment or society in Chitral accommodates youth with deviant and delinquent behaviors also. During the process of learning, such deviant behaviors were also learned by the youth. Alcohol consumption among youth in upper Chitral has also been a learned behavior as a result of interaction with other alcohol using youth (alcohol users).

The second aspect of the theory focuses on weak affiliation of youth with their parent. It was also found that youth were consuming alcohol because of weak affiliation with parents. It has provided a kind of freedom to the youth to behave with freedom. This sense of freedom has allowed the youth to take alcohol. It was evident from the response of respondents during the study. When they were living at their homes with their parents, they were not using any kind of drugs. Later when they moved towards other areas (away from homes), they get involved in drug usage and other deviant activities. They use to consume alcohol because they accompanied the friends and peers who were involved in such activities.

There is another aspect of the theory which is different from that of the situation existing in Chitral. A social bond like the commitment of individual to school was not the influential force to reduce the alcoholic behaviors of the youth. A large number of youth who involved in alcohol consumption were students. They were also educated. This aspect of the theory was not supported by the data of the study. Hence, it can be concluded that social environment and the weak affiliation of youth with parents were responsible causes of alcohol consumption. They have similarity with the causes

mentioned in the theoretical framework. However, the cause like commitment to school was not influential factor of alcohol consumption in Chitral.

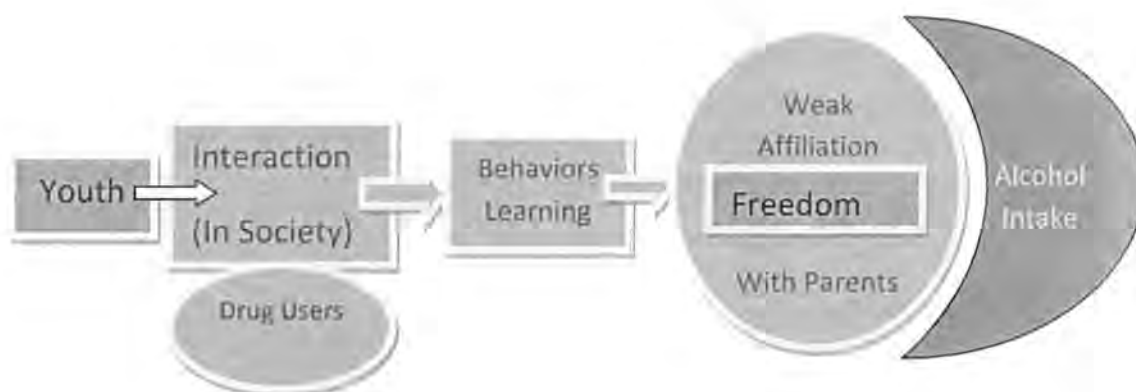


Figure No. 3.1 Alcohol Consumption and Interactional Theory

The figure 3.1 indicates the factors of alcohol consumption among the youth in a society. The interaction of youth with other people in the society, particularly with the delinquent youth and drug user make them learn behaviors like alcohol intake. When they use to interact with delinquent youth, they take it an opportunity to learn behaviors from them. On the other hand the less interaction and weak affiliation with parents crates a sense of freedom in their mind. This freedom provides an opportunity to behave delinquent along with other delinquent segment of the society. They use to take alcohol without any hesitation because it becomes a learned behavior for them (youth).

3.2 Social Learning Theory

According to Social Learning Theory, social behaviors in a society develops as a result of social consequences (poverty, unemployment), by modeling the behaviors of those around them and by observing those who are engaged in deviant behaviors in the society. If an individual in the society is exposed to societal influences like peer pressure and family system, such an individual come under the influence of those activities. There are other factors which affect the behaviors (decision making) of the individuals which includes the modeling of teachers, parents (unsupportive parents) and peers. These

factors are called Social Stressors which are negatively affects the adults who are exposed to those behaviors in the society (Treleaven 2015).

The social learning Theory also focus the societal reinforcement to control the harmful consequences. The treatment in Social Learning Theory includes, concentrating on environment behaviors and adopting new way to cope with the stress (Treleaven2015). If these new ways are adopted in society, the deviant behaviors of youth in that society can be controlled. If the children are kept under the watch of parents, it prevents them from moving towards the environment where they commit deviant activities.

3.2.1 Application of Theory

There are two major components in Social Learning Theory which have presented their applicability in the research's universe. The imitation of behaviors and the observation of behaviors have been the common practices among the youth in upper Chitral. The youth learn to intake alcohol while imitating and observing those people who have been involved in consuming alcohol for different purposes. The youth are adopting the deviant behaviors without any hesitation. During the analysis of the data it was found that modeling has been of the factor which attract the youth to intake youth. There are youth and elders who use to take alcohol by seeing and observing other youth and elders in the society. They have been consuming alcohol because it becomes an adoptable fashion for them.

Alcohol intake has been the sign of pride in certain cases and thus the imitation and modeling has been justified. The youth are less concerned about the harms of alcohol and they are more concerned about the social status of those people who uses alcohol in gathering and events and attaching a meaning of pride with it. The youth, thus use to learning those behaviors when they interact with other people performing those behaviors.

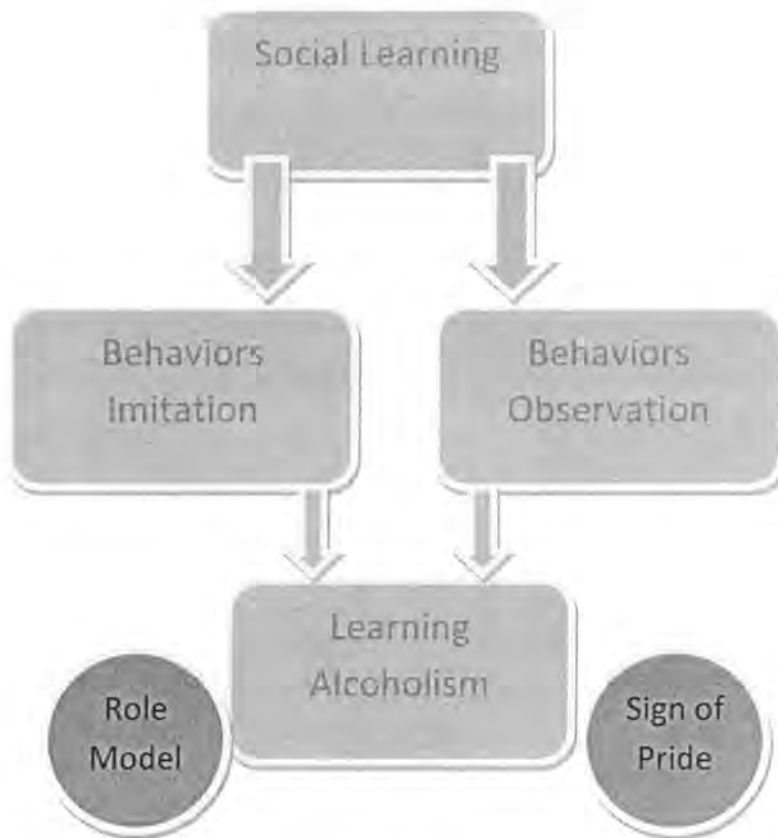


Figure No. 3.2 Interactional Theory and Alcohol Intake (among Youth in Chitral)

The figure above represents the behaviors of alcohol consumption among the youth. It presents that alcoholism (the consumption of alcohol) is a social phenomenon, learned through the imitation and the observation of behaviors. An individual, while living in a society, observes the behaviors of other people in the society. During the observation an individual (youth) starts to imitate the delinquent behaviors from the peers because of frequent interaction with them. Such an individual also learn delinquent behaviors from other while keeping them role model for them. The delinquent behavior like the consumption of alcohol is also learned as a result of imitation and observation while living in an environment of frequent interaction. The intake of alcohol also becomes the sign of pride for those youth when they learn it from their model through observation and imitation.

3.3 Operant Conditioning

Operant Conditioning is basically a concept of Burrhus Fredric Skinner. According to B. F. Skinner, in order to understand the behaviors, it is important to consider the cause and consequences of that action. The important aspect in Operant Conditioning has been the reinforcement behind the behaviors which are performed. This reinforcement is the response from the environment which can increase or decrease the repetition of an act or behaviors (McLeod 2007). The behaviors in an environment are performed according to the reinforcement which acts as driving force for behaviors.

In Operant Conditioning, the behaviors changes with the use of reinforcement. When the reinforcement occurred in an environment, then the behaviors of an organism get shaped towards that reinforcement and B.F Skinner has identified three types of responses which are also called operant.

3.3.1 Neutral Operant

It includes those responses from the surrounding environment which do not have effects on behaviors. They neither increase nor decrease the repetition of behaviors.

3.3.2 Reinforcers

It includes those responses from the environment which increases the repetition of an act or phenomenon. If the reinforcement is given by the environment, the individual repeat the action.

3.3.3 Punisher

It includes those responses from the environment which decreases the repetition of an act or behaviors. It is basically the punishment which weakens the behaviors to be performed. If the punishment is given then the behaviors get reduced.

According to B. F Skinner, the behaviors and actions increases or decreases with the reinforcement which is generated by the environment in different from. It is the reinforcement from an environment which is helpful in shaping the behaviors or action of organism (McLeod 2007).

3.3.4 Application of Theory

In a society individual behaves in different manners. Those behaviors are performed in different situations which are created by the surrounding environment. If we consider an



example of alcohol consumption in an environment, it is basically that situation which is created by the people in an environment. The environment where the consumption of alcohol is common among the youth, in that environment it (alcohol consumption) is the reinforcement which has effects on the other youth living in that environment. The other youth are also motivated towards that driving force. This case has been seen in Chitral during the current research because there were several reinforcements in the environment which have attracted the large number of youth towards alcoholism. Now, if we look at three different situation of the theory, they have their applicability in the universe of the research.

Firstly, there were two types of youth: alcohol user and non-user. The non-users have not got influenced by the environment and there may be several factors responsible for it. For example it may be their strong affiliation with their parents, religious belief and several other factors as identified by this research. Hence, those youth were neither affected by the increase nor the decrease of alcohol consumption in their surrounding environment.

Secondly, there were large numbers of youth involved in alcohol consumption. Those were the youth influenced by various factors in the form of reinforcement from the environment. The various factors include the alcohol using parents, doubtful parents (about the behaviors of their youth), peer pressure, respect among friends and several other factors identified by the current study. These factors have been the driving forces from the environment which have attracted the youth and the repetition of behaviors from the youth increases towards them.

Thirdly, there is another aspect which acts as punishment to reduce the behaviors of individuals towards any act. The youth have been involved in alcohol consumption and the role of punishing forces (police in this case) has not been effective. They themselves have been involved in alcohol and other drugs dealings. They were illegally involved and thus they were unable to control other youth from alcohol consumption in the society.

The various aspect of Operant Conditioning Theory has made it applicable in the universe of the research. Sometimes the behaviors are supported by environmental factors and sometimes they are not supported by environments. Thus, the level of consumption varies with various situations in Chitral.

3.4 Propositions

A delinquent behavior like the consumption of alcohol among the youth is learned as a result of interaction with peers in a favorable environment. The youth are in interaction with each other in societies. Whenever they found a suitable environment to behave, they behave accordingly. It was investigated during the current research that the interaction of an individual with deviant peers makes them learn their behaviors.

There are different factors called social stressors which negatively affect the behaviors of youth in a society. The major factor includes family system and this factor has been responsible for the increased level of alcohol consumption among youth in Chitral. If the parents involve less in the matter of youth, they take it an opportunity of freedom. On the other hand the influence from peer increases and they deviate from the standard behaviors (accepted in society).

Whenever the environment has been suitable for the youth, they moved towards the use of alcohol because of various identified factors. Those factors have acted as reinforcement and they significantly affect the behaviors of youth toward alcohol intake.

Chapter No. 4

CONCEPTUALIZATION AND OPERATIONALIZATION

This chapter consists of the concepts on which the current research has been designed. Those concepts have been conceptualized in the light of literature regarding their applicability in current research. Conceptualization is basically a process to define the concepts through the use of existing literature. The concept which seeks their conceptualization in current study includes the consumption of alcohol and the youth who have been involved in consuming alcohol. The concept of alcohol consumption has been conceptualized while considering its causes and social harms on the society.

4.1 Conceptualization

Conceptualization is a process where a researcher defines the concept while using an existing literature. The current study has used the concepts of alcohol consumption and the youth which have been conceptualized in this chapter.

4.1.1 Alcohol Consumption

Alcohol is considered the most used drug in the world and it has been in use since long time. The consumption of alcohol is considered the social activity and thus it has been conceptualized in socio-cultural context. There have been several factors of alcohol consumption. The major factors include the ability of alcohol to produce positive mood and stress reducing effects (Carvajal and Lerma-Cabrera 2015). Along with these factors, there are several other factors of alcohol usage among the people and they vary according to the societies and environment. Alcohol consumption has been, particularly, an issue among the youth and it is evident from literary work as:

Majority of the youth starts alcohol consumption between the age of 12 and 16 years. It has been the age where an individual go out to interact with people like friends, peers and other people in the society. When the influence of parents decreases at that particular age, the youth get indulged activities like alcohol consumption (Steketee et al. 2013:18).

After the literary explanation of the causes of alcohol consumption, when we look at the harmful effects of alcohol consumption, they are also evident in existing literatures which the researcher explained as:

The social harm of alcohol consumption has been classified in term of their effects on the role and responsibilities of an individual in their everyday life. The role and responsibility includes work, family, friendship and family characters. Alcohol consumption reduces and decreases the productivity of individuals and it has severe social impact on the

drinkers. It also has impact on those people who are around the drinkers. This type of intoxication from alcohol consumption negatively affects the children of a family because the intoxication weakens the ability of parents. The weakened ability further weakens the caring behaviors of parents toward their children. When it happens, the children and youth mostly get isolated and abused. Drinking and intoxication can also affect intimate and family relations and friendship. Along with the above-mentioned social harms, alcohol consumption has also had effects on strangers as the intoxicated person becomes the cause of several problems like fights, street fights and accidents (WHO 2001).

We talked about the factors of risk related to alcohol consumption while considering the explanation of the World Health Organization (WHO). When we further looked at similar types of risk, they were evident from another literature which the researcher has discussed in detail.

It has been found that the harmful impact of alcohol consumption, which includes the global burden of diseases and injury, has surpassed the harms caused by other severe disorders and diseases. There are several other harms which the alcohol user experiences because of their drinking. They include family disruption, problems at work place, criminal conviction and financial problems. Unfortunately, these risk factors have been assessed less standardized in comparison to health-related issues (Rehm 2011).

There was another literary work regarding the challenges created by alcohol consumption. Alcohol consumption has been a serious issue around the world. A large number of diseases and deaths have been attributed to alcohol and thus it has been the world's third largest risk factor for disabilities and death around the world (Eze 2017).

From the above literary work regarding the concept of alcohol consumption, it can be concluded that the various possible causes of alcohol consumption include stress reduction, gaining pleasure and peer pressure. These factors have devastating consequences on the lives of the users as well as on other people in the society. The decreases in productivity at work place, family disruption, criminal conviction and street fights have been the problems (social harms) related to alcohol consumption. There have also been issues related to the health of alcohol users like diseases and disorders but they have not been in the prime focus of the current study.

4.1.2 Youth

According to United Nation General Assembly, youth are those persons who lie in the age cohort of 15-24 (years). It was decided in the resolution of General Assembly of United Nation (Resolution 50/81 of 14 December 1995). Another important thing to be mentioned in this regard is the changing definition of youth except from statistical definition. The youth have been taken in different perspective in different societies while considering the political, economic and socio-cultural circumstances (United Nation General Assembly 2001).

The above definition clearly states the statistical age cohort for youth. If we look at the social state of being youth, while considering the prime focus of the current study, then the literature work below explains the youth in detail.

Youth refers to the state of life of a person between childhood and adulthood. There are both biological and social states of being young. The social state of young is connected with society in which a person holds a specific position. When an individual has a phase of life between childhood and adulthood, such an individual perform roles according to his/her position in the society. In society the role of youth involves the relationship with institutions which includes family, education work and leisure. It is among the norm of the society where the youth has to be responsible and move toward maturity while following the values of the society (Spence 2005). When the normal values are violated in the society, then there comes deviancy in to play.

Alcohol consumption is among those deviant activities where the users commit deviancy because of the unconscious state of mind created by alcohol. Keeping this aspect of the study, the alcohol using youth has been defined by the researcher while using the literature as:

Alcohol consumption is high among the youth. A study highlight that between the age of 12 and 18 years, the consumption of alcohol is quite high in European countries except Iceland (Steketee et al. 2013:18). It has been a growing concern because this particular age is considered the productive age and it get hampered by alcohol intoxication.

Similarly, if we look at another literature regarding the consumption of alcohol during the specific age of life (youth), it discusses the young people and their alcoholic behavior. Being young and adolescent means the specific period of life where a person grows up.

When alcohol is consumed during that age, it poses several risks and affects the development of an individual (Marshall 2014).

The concept of youth has been explained in the current study while considering the nature of the topic. Along with the statistical definition of youth, the concept of youth according to society (social state) has also been explained. On one hand if the youth has been the person between the age cohorts of 15-24 years, on the other hand the youth is the person with different social role and responsibility in the society.

4.2 Operationalization

The researcher has operationalized the concept of Alcohol Consumption and Youth, in which the applicability of the existing literature have been kept in operation in the universe of the research. In this process the researcher develops an idea about the data through observation and that specific observation or data becomes the construct (Neuman 2006) of qualitative research.

4.2.1 Alcohol Consumption

The most commonly used alcohol in Chitral is *Tara* (which is processed from berries, particularly white berries and other fruits). Such type of alcohol has the property of intoxication after its consumption. It affects the user and the individual become unable to perform normal tasks. The individual under such condition not only harms oneself, rather the individual become the cause of several socio-cultural harms to societies.

There have been several causes of alcohol consumption in Chitral. They include the intake of alcohol for pleasure and enjoyment, weak affiliation (relation) with families, for gaining respect among peers, and taking it as fashion. It has been a sign of pride for alcohol users to use it and thus they use to imitate the others also. Along with these factors the religious diverse views about the use of alcohol consumption and the involvement of police in illegal drugs dealing have also contributed to this phenomenon. All these have been the motivational factors which have attracted the youth in Chitral to take alcohol.

The risks which are attributed to alcohol consumption in Chitral have been enormous. They include the conflicts and fights in social events and gatherings, use of abusive language towards other, disrespect of elders in gatherings (violation of important social norms) and most importantly the open violation of religious values and law.

4.2.2 Youth

In the current research, the researcher chose youth because the consumption of alcohol has been seen an observable phenomenon among them, Young age is statistically a specific age from 15 years to 24 years. It has been an age where a person seems to actively participate in different events according to one's own will. In Chitral (universe of the research), the youth participates in events, different ceremonies and festivals. They have been seen violating the norms and values of the society during such events and festivals and those violation have been mostly the result of alcohol consumption. The consumption of alcohol makes the youth intoxicated because of its chemical properties. Thus it creates a sense of unconsciousness in the mind of individuals, where a person uses to perform acts without considering the possible outcome of that act.

Therefore the researcher decided to choose the concept of youth because of their alcohol consuming behaviors during open events.

Chapter No. 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Research Design

Participant Observation, which is a qualitative research, was chosen by the researcher for current research because of the nature of topic. The current study is sensitive in nature because the consumption of alcohol has been a prohibited act in the society with its several negative social consequences. The sensitivity of the topic makes it suitable for participation observation. It helps in observing the participants in their setting. It has been suitable research method to deal with phenomenon which is considered the deviant and criminal acts (Neuman 2006:378-380).

5.2 Universe

Chitral, one of the districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is divided into Lower Chitral and Upper Chitral. Upper Chitral was the universe of current study. The consumption of alcohol and its production has become an observable problem of the society. Hence, the researcher chooses Upper Chitral to collect data about the consumption of alcohol among youth. The harm related to the intake of alcohol has made it a debatable issue in the area and thus it has been an issue, asking concentration from research community.

Chitral Valley on the Map of Pakistan



Source: <https://www.google.com>

The map above shows the District of Chitral on the map of Pakistan. It is one of the districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The map shows the sub division Mastuj, which was basically the universe of this research.

5.3 Unit of Analysis

The youth (male of 15-24 years of age) and elders (male of above 25 years) were target population of the study. It has been found during the study that the majority of users of drugs were youth and they have been selected to highlight the situations and factors which attract them to intake alcohol. The elders (male) were made the part of study because of their observation about the possible social harm of alcohol intake in society. The harms of alcohol consumption have been observed in the form of deviant behaviors and for that purpose the elders were made the part of the study.

5.4 Sampling Technique

In participant observation, a researcher chooses participants (respondents) from different location to get a broad perspective of the phenomenon (Neuman 2006:406-407). In order to have broad information about the phenomenon, the researcher selected respondents from different villages through purposive sampling. It was suitable method of sample selection in participant observation (field research). The researcher identified that it was difficult initially to locate the sample because of the sensitivity of the topic (Neuman 2006:222). However, the researcher identified certain respondents from different events and social gathering. Later, the interaction with those youth allowed the researcher to make interactions with their groups. This situation provided an opportunity to select respondents for the study. The youth, involved in alcohol intake along with the elders (who were frequent visitors of events like ceremonies and festivals) were included in the sample.

5.5 Sample Size

The size of the sample usually depends upon the characteristics of the population from which the sample is taken. Therefore the researcher used the commonly accepted amount of sample while considering the "saturation point" (Neuman 2006:240-241). A sample of 20 detailed interviews was conducted for the current study where an equal ratio of youth and elders were selected. The data were collected from the respondents while considering

the saturation point of information. The data has been collected till the repetition of the information regarding the intake of alcohol among the youth in Chitral.

5.6 Tool for Data Collection

The respondents of research were studied through participant observation. During such observation when interactions were made with the respondents, Interview Guide was the tool to collect data from them. It provides an opportunity to collect unscheduled information from the respondents considering different aspect of the phenomenon. The field interview is usually unstructured and nondirective and the questions are tailored according to the situation and the nature of the participants. In order to have the required information from the participants, it was also important to share experiences with each other during the interview and it was also possible that the respondent may take different direction (Neuman 2006:406-406). Considering this situation, interview guide was the tool used by the researcher.

5.7 Techniques for Data Collection

The technique of interaction with the respondents was face to face interview. The detailed interviews were recorded for the respondents. This technique provides an opportunity to collect the detailed information while considering the different expression and responses of the respondents. Certain information for the current research have also been collected via email because educated youth, residing in different areas were also included in the study for their valuable information.

5.8 Tool for Data Analysis

The data of the research has been analyzed through MAXQDA version 2018. It is specific software which has been designed to analyze the qualitative data. The transcriptions of respondents were initially transported to MAXQDA which were coded through the code system. It organizes the coded data from transcription and brings them together under their specific headings (code) where they were summarized to generate themes.

5.9 Technique for Data Analysis

Coding of data is basic step in the analysis of qualitative data. The coding of raw data was made to generate theme from the data and to attain the relevant information from the data (Neuman 2006:460). The data of the current research was coded before analysis. The coding was made in MAXQDA. The coded data was analyzed by making the summary of the coded data in Summary Grid. After organizing the important and required information they were placed under specific heading along with examples (original wordings of the respondents).

5.10 Ethical Concerns

Alcohol consumption, because of its prohibition in law and Islamic society, become a sensitive research topic in research's area. The consumption of alcohol among the youth was even though high but still it was not a phenomenon to be talked about freely. The participants of the study were hesitant to give information about alcohol consumption. Therefore, it was essential part of the research to make them sure about the confidentiality of names and other personal information of participants. The confidentiality of the information of the respondents was the initial ethical concern of the current study.

The recording of the interviews were stored cell phone. In order to have all the required information, it was important to record the information in the form of recording. The researcher used mobile phone as the device to record the information from the respondents. It was possible that unintentional leakage of information regarding alcohol production (particularly) may pose threats to the respondents and those people who participated in the research.

5.11 Limitation of the Study

Alcohol consumption was a sensitive term and majority of the respondents were hesitant to talk about it. In certain cases the respondents were asked to generalize the sensitive aspect of alcoholism rather than directly talking about themselves. It was providing an opportunity to gain the required information about the topic. Another limitation of the study was the operation against the drug user in Chitral during the time when the researcher was conducting research. The police had arrested several drugs dealers and

they were presented in front of other people through media (social and print media). The people were hesitant to talk about the usage and production of any kind of drugs.

5.12 Validity and Reliability

Alcohol consumption has been a global phenomenon. There have been identified several causes of alcohol consumption among the people which have not only harmful impacts on the lives of users but it also has devastating effects on whole societies. The causes of alcohol consumption and its consequences have been discussed keeping in view the theoretical definition of the phenomenon. It increases the validity of the current study because the problem of validity arise when the theoretical definition do not match the data of the study (Neuman 2006). The data has been collected through qualitative research method. The complete procedure and steps in research methodology adds to the reliability of the current research because the information may not change over time (Neuman 2006) while highlighting the issues related to alcohol in Chitral.

5.13 Field Experience

The researcher was the dweller of the area where the current research was conducted. The local dialect was the advantage for the researcher to communicate with the people easily according to their understanding. It was also easy for the researcher to locate the areas (different villages) because they were previously known to the researcher. However, there were hurdles which the researcher comes across during the field work. Alcohol consumption because of its prohibition was sensitive in its nature. It was therefore, difficult to discuss the phenomenon directly with the respondent. The respondents were feeling hesitant to talk about the consumption of alcohol and it requires more time to explain the detail about the whole process of research. Sometimes it was more timing consuming to explain the purpose of research along with the outcomes and possible benefits of research to those respondents. It was also found that the people were more concerned about the benefits of the information that they were agreed to give the researcher. Therefore, it was difficult to gain the information by explaining all the details of the research. The researcher also faced a hurdle in the process of data collection because there was an operation in process against the drug users. A large number of drug users and producers were arrested by police and there were news in local print media and social media about those arrested people. The people were scared to disclose information

about any kind of drugs including alcohol. These were the major hurdles which the researcher comes across during the field work. Otherwise the communities were supportive during the data collection process.

Chapter No. 6

RESULTS

The findings of the current research have been discussed in this section of the study. There were detailed interviews from the respondents which have been coded through MAXQDA in order to highlight the finding of the study. After coding the data through software, themes were generated and later the discussion and conclusion were drawn.

6.1 Causes of Alcohol Consumption

Alcohol has devastating effects on the individuals and society. Instead of several harms of alcohol and its prohibition, the youth have been indulged in its consumption. There have been identified several causes of alcohol consumption which are presented below.

6.1.1 Alcohol Consumption as Trend in Social Events

Alcohol consumption and social events, particularly the musical program (*Chitrali Dhool Dhammama*) have been in close connection with one another. Those events are considered the parts of culture which are celebrated in Chitral. When it comes to an event like musical programs, alcohols not only become the special (necessary) treat for musical choir but it also becomes a drink of high consumption among the youth. The youth have adopted this trend of alcohol consumption before such events. One of the reasons of alcohol intake in musical program has been that the youth consider the cultural events as the place of full enjoyment. Thus they use to take alcohol in order to further increase the enjoyment without considering the important societal values in mind. Even the application of law has been questioned whenever the consumption of alcohol comes to such an events and ceremonies because they have been labeled as the place of (every possible) enjoyment (*ayashio xagha*).

One of the respondents was of the view:

“A musical program is one which we take in the sense of enjoyment (*masti*). Similarly alcohol consumption is also taken as an enjoyment. Youth considers it in this way. It is a kind of platform for enjoyment and they consider it in this way. So in such musical program (*Ishtoka*) the alcohol is taken for enjoyment. In such situation we mentally get prepared for it and we think that it will not be considered wrong by people in that situation.”

The youth get prepared to consume alcohol so that they enjoy. They use to consume it in peer groups and friends circle. Currently, those social and cultural events, particularly musical programs (Khan 2018) have been the hub of youth participation and the label attached to those events has allowed the youth consume more alcohol without considering the societal norms and values. It has been one of the responsible factors of alcohol consumption among the youth in Chitral as the current study investigated.

6.1.2 Labeling the Peers

There has been a role of peer groups while attracting the youth toward alcohol consumption. The influence of peers and friends become a different case in Chitral because it affects the youth through labeling. The commonly used labeling words in peer groups and friends circle were *Beghairat* (shameless) and *hessahi mosh tan no* (he is not a man). Those labeling words have different level of influence at different situations. It depends upon the maturity of an individual but it has been found that they have negatively affected the behaviors of youth most of the time. A respondent of the current study described his view:

“One of the major roles is of peer groups. We are doing it in peer group. We use to take alcohol in gatherings. When we were at school, we labeled (*hessahi mosh tan no*) those people and friends who do not use to take drugs. We use to say that he is an idle man and he is shameless (*Beghairat mosh*). It is considered the bravery of the peer groups. It is said with pride among the peers that we have used two bottles of alcohol or we have taken a drug in such a huge quantity.”

At present time of quick communication, the people are in continuous communication with each other. Particularly, the youth use to interact in groups where they share different experiences. In Chitral, alcohol consumption has been one of the phenomenon which the youth use to take in peer groups. Therefore, the transfer of experiences and the words of label have affected the non-alcohol using youth and it has become one of the reasons of alcohol consumption among the youth of Chitral.

6.1.3 Idealizing Deviants and Imitating their Behaviors

One of the situations of alcohol consumption among the youth in the universe of the research has been their imitating behaviors of deviant characters. The youth are idealizing

the people with deviant behaviors in their surroundings. Youth, consuming alcohol are considered among those deviant people and they are imitated by other youth. Thus it has become a trend to appreciate and imitate such deviant behaviors in the society to attract the responses of others. The respondents from the study had their views:

“The youth are idealizing the people like drivers and drugs dealers. The children are mostly imitating the dialogue of those people. They do not keep people like bureaucrat and other educated people as their favorite personality. They are trying to pretend themselves like drivers and other people with awkward behaviors.”

On one hand the youth are imitating the deviant youth in the society and on the other hand they also use labeling words for those who do not confirm (imitate) their behaviors. They think that the other youth with whom they have interaction, should confirm their norms when they come in interaction with them. In this regard the view of one of the respondent is presented as:

“When we were at school, we use label those people and friends who do not use to take drugs. The common words used for labeling were; he is not a right man or youth (*hessahi mosh no*). We use to say that he is an idle man and he is shameless (*beghairat mosh*) and coward.”

The current study also highlighted an interesting aspect of alcohol consumption in Chitral. The youth have been prone towards the deviant behaviors (alcohol consumption) because of an appreciative response in their surrounding in the form of friends and peers. This situation is similar to the concept of reinforcers in operant conditioning. It includes those responses from the environment which increases the repetition of an act or phenomenon. If the reinforcement is given by the environment, the individual repeat the action (McLeod 2007). Hence, the youth were attracted towards alcohol consumption.

6.1.4 Alcohol for Respect among Friends

Alcohol has been consumed the youth to gain respect among the friends and peers. Alcohol is usually taken in a circle of friends and peers. If the friends are taking alcohol while sitting with each other, it becomes the norm of that group that the other members also participate and confirm the norms of the group. It becomes the matter of respect for those friends that a non-alcohol user takes alcohol only because he considers it the

respect of his friends. The intake of alcohol becomes undeniable activity even for a person who is sitting with the friends in an events and gatherings. It was evident from one of the respondents who stated as:

“If I can give you an example of myself, whenever I have used to sit among the friends in order to have an alcohol, I have taken that for the sake of friends and peers. It looks awkward if you are sitting with them without having a single sip of alcohol. They can also feel hesitant if you are sitting with them without following the norms of the event.”

According to the youth, it looks awkward if one of the friends is sitting in a group and he is not involved in alcohol consumption. If the other friends are consuming it in a group, then it becomes the part of their respect to consume alcohol with them. This situation has prevailed around the globe and Pakistan in not much different in Pakistan. The use of drugs like alcohol has been associated with social acceptance among peer. According to 54% of the drug users (Unaiza et al. 2005:274), the reason of their drug usage was to get socialized with their friends. This has also been an influential factor of alcohol consumption among the youth in Chitral.

6.1.5 *Surooro Barabar Korik (Intoxication): Source of Pleasure*

Alcohol has been taken as a source of pleasure. It is used to bring lightness to the mood and has been appreciated in this regard. It is usually taken by youth in groups so that it further increases the pleasure in a gathering. Alcohol is usually consumed if the environment becomes favorable for it. Under such situation the people are unable to keep themselves away from alcohol when it becomes the source of pleasure and enjoyment. As mentioned earlier that alcohol intake has been a part of various events and festivals. The consumers do not consider it a deviant activity in those events and festivals. Here a view of a respondent is presented as:

“Alcohol is somewhat considered as other type of drug. For example there are friend and they can sit with each other at home and use it for leisure and pleasure. I have even seen it in my own house and there is no harm for other. It is usually said that it is better to make ones mood light (*suroor barabarki hoi*) before taking food. It is usually appreciated and there is no

negative impact of it. The children were not allowed to even come close to such type of gathering.”

The social events are considered the place of enjoyment and alcohol consumer take advantage of those events with a high level of consumption. The social and cultural threats related to the consumption of alcohol have been made blur in those areas. Neither the religious values nor the law has been effective in those areas. Thus it provides an opportunity to the youth to consume it.

6.1.6 Diverse (religious) views of Youth about Alcohol

Alcohol consumption is prohibited in the society but still it has been in use. Some people were of the view that alcohol consumption is not prohibited unless the drinker harms other. According to them it is basically the deviancy which is prohibited and it has been associated with the use of alcohol. There were even youth who were of the view that alcohol should be made public, so that who want to use it, may use it openly. The non-users are not going to use it. Hence there are different opinions existing among the youth about the consumption of alcohol in Chitral. Some people consider alcohol as prohibited and other people consider the intoxication as prohibited. One of the respondents was of the view:

“It is prohibited in our area. But one thing here I will tell you are that, people have divergent view about it. Certain people are of the view that the act after taking alcohol makes it prohibited religiously because it became the source of harms for other. Most of the people think it totally prohibited. I think these divergent views have created ambiguity among the youth.”

Alcohol is although prohibited in Pakistan and Chitral has no exception in this case. Alcohol is considered as prohibited element in the society from religious perspective. The Holy verses (90-91) in chapter (Sura) Maida of Holy Quran stress about the prohibition of intoxicating drink (wine). It states: “O you believe! Wine, gambling, (sacrificing to) idols and lottery are unclean and the Satan’s work; shun it to be saved. The Satan only desire to cause enmity and hatred to spring in your midst by the means of wine and gambling and to keep you off from the remembrance of Allah and from prayers. Will you then desist?” (Sattari, Mashayekhi and Mashayekhi 2012:153). Instead of its prohibition,

alcohol has been in use because of different religious perspective among the youth. These factors and difference of opinion have provided an opportunity to consider the prohibition of alcohol in different way.

6.1.7 Easy Access to Alcohol

Alcohol is easily available to the youth as the current study highlighted it. As for as its prohibition in law concerns, the law enforcing bodies are unable to control it because of various weaknesses in the law. They themselves were involved in making it available to the youth. The current research also highlighted that the police in Chitral have been involved in using and supplying different types of drugs, particularly alcohol. It was also highlighted by the respondents that police were bringing alcohol from those areas where it is not prohibited. This weak system of police also allows the other people to smuggle alcohol from one area to other. They are able to smuggle it with ease because the police themselves been a supportive mechanism in this whole process. The current study highlighted another aspect where the police have been involved in selling alcohol to the youth and making it easily available. One of the participants stated:

“The law has always been weak in such cases. I have heard about the involvement of police in drugs dealing, particularly alcohol. In our village even majority of the people know and they talks about it that police personnel are bringing alcohol and making it available to the youth. They are bringing it either for their friends or for selling it to others.”

The involvement of police in drugs usage and drugs dealing has been a serious issue. They use to bring it and sell it and hence promoting this evil in the society instead of hampering its production and usage. Hence, it has been a prime factor of alcohol consumption among the youth, particularly in social events and gatherings.

6.1.8 Role of Family

Family is important for youth. If youth makes interaction with other people at early age, the interaction allows the youth to learn different behaviors including the use drugs. If youth remain at distance from family members, it can provide a sense of freedom to the youth (Thornberry et al. 1991). The freedom diverts the mind of youth towards criminal activities too. Majority of the participant of the study considered the interaction between

family and youth, as important factor to keep them safe from alcoholism. Here is presented the view of one of the participant:

After 12 years of age, a child is able to move towards different activities. There, the concentration of child also mold towards girls. Other desires also become the part of the mind and it is natural. For this purpose the parents should talk about the religious values to the child. The concepts of God and the concept of Prophet (PBUH) should be introduced to that child. The concept of life here afterword should also be introduced. That child should be told that if you go out there to follow girls, make theft and commit other deviant activities only for the sake of desire, it is not in favor of you. The Islamic values should be introduced to that child. A child from age 12 to 20 should be kept under the close watch of parents (*he sego tan wražno multu halelik*).

During a specific age of life, it is essential for the family members to take decision about their children. Alcohol consumption is a phenomenon which is strictly prohibited and hence it is important for the parents and families to inculcate the important values about immoral and deviant activities in the society.

6.1.8.1 Shaki Nantat (Doubtful Parents)

If the parents are too much doubtful about the activities of children, it harmfully affects the behaviors of the youth. The doubtful parents can pressurize their youth instead of influencing them positively. The doubt can create a sense of avoidance of children and youth from their parents. This doubt compels the children and youth to stay away from family members. When such youth receives response from other people in the society and environment, then they will move toward them even though they may be the deviant activities. A participant of the study gave an example as:

“If a child is made restricted then such child become a puppet and cannot perform task. So I do not think it is a major cause because a child becomes pressurized in such way. For example I have seen parents who use to smell a child if a child is entering home. In this way such a child is given an impression that the parents are doubtful about that. This type of involvement has harms rather than positive impacts on children.”

The parenting style has been the question in the above example. The doubt of parents, about the children affects their ability and shifts their concentration towards other activities. Instead of being doubtful about the children and youth it is important to ask the reason of the activity which they performs.

6.1.8.2 Alcohol Using Parents

Alcohol consumption among the youth has also been influenced by the parents and family members who were involved in alcohol consumption. If the parent (father) consumes alcohol then it becomes a kind of license for the young children to take it without considering the harms and other societal effects. In Chitral, it has also been a factor responsible for the intake of alcohol among the youth. Sometimes it happens that the youth are taking drugs while sitting directly with their parents which the current study highlighted. One of the respondents of the study described his view as:

“Simple is that the children are using drugs even with their parents (father). So it depends upon the relationship of father to child that what type of relationship is between them. I have seen and there is a story that once a child was sitting with his father and the father was using drug (*Bhong*). The child was asking the father that when he becomes young, he will also use the drug. The father replying that he is using leaves as drug but you (his son) will not be able to do it.”

Therefore, the alcohol using parents attracts the concentration of their children and youth through their alcohol using behaviors. Those children have been found more prone towards the usage of drugs where the family members have been involved as the current research investigated.

6.1.8.3 Communication Gap between Youth and Families

If the interaction between youth and the family decrease due to various reasons, it diverts the concentration of youth towards other activities. The young age is generally an age of learning where the youth adopts different behaviors and roles. If they found reinforcement (McLeod 2007) in the society, they get involved in those activities. The youth think that there is no body whom they are scared off about their behaviors. Their behaviors may be bad or good behaviors but the sense of freedom makes the youth to

we (the youth) are more prone toward activities which are different from normal activities in the society.”

If there is weak relation of parents with their youth in everyday life, it may not help the parents to understand their young. On the other hand the environment attracts those youth with different reinforcement and ultimately making them involved in activities like alcohol consumption. Chitral has been the place that has observed it as the current study investigated.

6.1.9 Role of Environment

There is a famous saying in Chitral that *Cheeno nasa nishiko sha bink boi* (a person sitting close to a cauldron will get black dust on his clothes). If a person uses to sit in an environment, he uses to learn from the environment. Thus, environment (Tur et al.2003) has an influence on the behaviors of youth to consume alcohol. It has been an influencing factor for alcohol consuming behaviors of the youth in Chitral. A large number of youth use to consume alcohol during various events and it becomes a favorable environment for the other youth to concentrate on those behaviors. There were people who were involved in producing different types of drugs like alcohol and making it available for other people. If alcohol is easily available for an individual in an environment, it has an impact on youth (who are not even using it). The views of respondents about this aspect are presented as example:

“It is absolutely there. It is more severe than peer pressure. I think it account for more than 70 percent of youth’s alcohol consuming behaviors. There is a difference between peer group and environment. For example you have peer group and the members of that group are from different areas and you are not meeting them regularly. The interaction is lower in such case. But on the other hand you are regularly meeting with those people who are living along with you in the environment. There is more interaction. You are meeting with people who are using alcohol, smoking and also taking drugs (*Bhong*).”

Environment has a major role. If alcohol is produced and sold at a particular place without too much hesitation then the consumption also occurs at high level. So, it was evident from the current study that favorable environment has motivated the youth

towards alcoholism. If a person brings a bottle of alcohol in any gathering, then he shares it with several other group members.

6.1.10 Lack of Implementation of Law

The people were about the law which prohibits alcohol and its production in. There have been problems regarding the implementation of law as the law has not been illustrative according to majority of the respondents of the study. The law enforcing bodies were not even dealing with it properly. There has been another issue like the involvement the police in drug's dealing and the weak justice system of the country. All these problems creates an opportunity to the criminal to escape themselves from law. Along with these factors, the weak political system has also been the factor because there have been difference in the law for poor and influential people. In Chitral, this has also been an issue that people supports criminal in certain cases because of their influence and relations and this issue has been identified by the current study. The respondents of the study were of the view:

“In Chitral, if a person commit crime and go out there in prison, there will be no legal procedure used (FIR) against him. In our area majority of the police are using alcohols by themselves. About 60-70 percent of the police are using it. Thus they do not punish the other people and it is a reality. If you give two of the bottles (alcohol) to the constable, then he will hide your crime (*chutio muli koi*).”

There has been a weak punishment of criminals and deviants. It has been responsible for encouraging the youth and they use to commit deviant activities without any fear. The increasing level of alcohol consumption is one of the instances of such deviant activities among the youth in Chitral. One of the respondents gave an example of the society at the time of Umar Bin Abdul Aziz (Muslim Caliph) and compares it with the justice system of present time (where weak justice system has provided base for evil like alcohol consumption).

“Here I will talk about Umar Bin Abdul Aziz who was so just and pious that he was considered the faith Caliph in Islamic world, although there has not come any caliph after Ali (AS). Once a shepherd was rearing cattle in the mountain and suddenly a wolf attacked the cattle and killed a goat.

The shepherd prayed and said, O! Lord, we have come from your side and we have to move towards you. A person nearby asked him that why you prayed for the goat. Shepherd replied that I prayed for Umar as he died. The person asked by surprise that how you came across the information. The shepherd replied again, if the wolf has attacked the goat it surely means the justice has come to an end and it is the sign of death of Umar Bin Abdil Aziz. In our country there is no justice and thus there is a poor system of law regarding all these things.”

A society with powerful justice system is considered important for making the people confirm the societal and social values. A poor system of justice may provide opportunities for the people to deviate as evident from the above example.

The family terms (relationship) and the mechanic nature of society has also been hurdle in the path of law according to certain respondents. For example, the people in a village know each other because they may be of the same tribe or they may engage in relationships. Thus, if an individual commit a criminal act, instead of presenting the individual before law, certain people (influential) starts to support that individual in order to escape him. According to a respondent of the study:

“The initial thing is that, in our area there are police stations where those people working, who knows all the people (all the people knows each other). If a person is taken to the prison, he will be set free within few minute because they know each other. Thus the punishment is very rare.”

In Chitral, weak implementation system (law) provides an opportunity for the youth to get involved in deviant activities. It has been an additional factor along with the involvement of police in alcohol dealing and consumption.

6.1.11 Fondness for Alcohol

There were youth in Chitral who use alcohol only for the sake of their fondness (*shauq*). They were neither aware of the harms of alcohol nor any other aspect of alcoholism. Certain respondents were of the view that they consume alcohol because they are fond of alcohol. They were not able to give any specific reasons of alcohol consumption but still they use it. They either use it at their homes or in friends circle. The youth and children

use it and they even bring different drugs to educational institution. They were doing it as they were fond of it. One of the respondents described this phenomenon as:

“In our area we have observed that the children are bringing drugs like *Bhong* to school. Thus it becomes available to the children who either use it as a source of entertainment or for other purpose. Thus they may get involved in it.”

From the above example it can be generalized that sometimes an alcohol and other drugs have been used because of fondness of an individual towards them. They were not able to understand the purpose behind the usage of drugs like alcohol and *Bhong*.

6.1.12 Relation of Alcohol with Sexual Pleasure and Strength

Alcohol has been in use in Chitral and there have been identified several factors responsible for it. One of the interesting things which the current study highlighted is the relationship between alcohol and sexual pleasure and strength. Alcohol has the ability to increase the time span of sexual intercourse. Thus it provides pleasure for an individual to intercourse after consuming alcohol. One of the participants of current research stated:

“There are numerous factors which have been responsible for the intake of alcohol among the youth. Once I was told by a person (one of my relative) that alcohol consumption increases the time span of sexual intercourse. He told me the story that once he was having a sexual intercourse with lady and it took almost 20 to 30 minute to have a single intercourse. It makes me so tired but it brought the pleasure of all time. I have also been told by two other people that it has an effect and people also take it for that purpose.”

There was another respondent who seconded the same view about the consumption of alcohol for increasing the sexual pleasure. According to him, alcohol gives physical strength to a person and thus it has impact on increasing the time span of intercourse, which further leads to an increase in pleasure. Here is presented what he told to the researcher:

“There are different factors responsible for the intake of alcohol among the people at present time. Here I will give you an interesting thing about the intake of alcohol. I have heard from my friends that alcohol intake can have pleasure effects on the sexual intercourse. So, there are different

factors which have been responsible according the perception of the users.”

Among the different factors of alcohol consumption among the youth there was another factor has been the relation of alcohol with sexual pleasure. Alcohol increases the sexual pleasure by increasing the time span of intercourse and it has been discussed in the example given above. This has been the case of alcohol consumption by people other than that consumes in open gatherings, events and festivals.

6.1.13. Alcohol Reduces Tension

There was another factor of alcohol consumption among the youth in Chitral. Alcohol has been used by youth to reduce the mental pressure during the period of stress. According to certain youth alcohol consumption provides pleasure and satisfaction at the time of tension. However, this factor has not been the highly influential factor of alcohol consumption. The tension reducing factor has been influential in case of addictive drinkers but the major focus of the current study was the consumption of alcohol in various events rather than its consumption as addiction. One of the respondents said:

“In our areas, the most common reason of alcohol consumption given by the youth is that we are using it in order to reduce tension. What have been the tensions, it is known to them and Allah (SWT) only. I have been in their gatherings and I also have interaction with such youth. They have been of the view that they are using it in order to reduce the mental pressure. At the time of stress if alcohol is taken, then the person came to a mood of delight while forgetting all stress.”

It was also found during the study that alcohol has also been used as a source for reducing tensions and mental pleasure. The intoxication from alcohol affects the normal functioning of an individual. It provides an opportunity for the individuals to concentrate only on those activities which they want.

6.1.14 Tansoro Pasheyko Bachen: Alcohol intake Represents Class and Status

The use of alcohol means class and status representation for people (those who use it) in the society. They use to show that they are rich people and they can afford it (as luxury). If certain people of the society use it for this purpose, the others also use to show off their power in the society. The cost of alcohol makes it a kind of drug which becomes the

source of pride for certain people. They attach the meaning of their richness with it as it was evident from the data of this study. There were similar views from different participants of the research which are presented as:

“In our area there are different events or ceremonies like marriage ceremonies. A person uses to represent his class on that day. They are not concerned about the eating items (food) but it is usually considered that how much alcohol the person has used (for himself and for guests). You might have observed that in musical program, it (alcohol) is considered the necessary thing for musical choir. The choir will not participate (*basheyr*) without alcohol. It has become so and the people use to show off such wrong things.”

Alcohol has been a drug which is consumed in open places in order to show ones class and status. During the current research it was found in Chitral that the people use it in events like marriage ceremonies and other festival to show off. It is counted in the category of luxury and its high cost makes it an expensive drugs. Thus people use to consume it in front of other people because they want to make realize the other that they have an access to it. Here is presented the view of another respondent:

“It (alcohol) is taken under the category of luxury. At present time, alcohol is a costly thing and it is not available to everyone. Thus they youth use to take it on order to show off that they are using costly and expensive drugs.”

The expensiveness of alcohol makes it a drug which has been taken with pride. People use to take it in open places. Chitral has been a society where the current study has investigated the class and status representation as influential factor of alcohol consumption.

6.1.15 Relation between Alcohol and Income

Income of an individual is an important factor in determining the comfort and luxuries in the life an individual. During the current study, the income and the alcohol consuming behaviors of the youth were investigated. There were two different opinions of the people. Some of the people do not considers income as important factor while making the youth attracted towards the use of alcohol. They made it their homes because the ingredients were available in the form of fruits and other materials. They made it at their

homes according to their fondness. However, majority of the respondent considers income an important factor which directs the desires of people towards different activities like alcohol. According to their opinion, the purchasing power of people has increased. Even the school going children are given enough money by parents which they spend on different activities after meeting their needs. This amount allows the children and youth to spend it on desires (alcohol intake and other activities) after meeting their basic need because if an individual has money, then he thinks to spend it in different way. On the basis of the opinion of majority of respondents, it was clear that the increasing level of income has attracted the people towards activities like alcohol consumption. One of the respondents described it as:

“If you look at the economic factor, initially in our times we were given a very small amount as pocket money, like 10 rupees. Today, even a child at primary level is given more pocket money like 50 rupees. Thus a child can buy different things. There is no accountability from the part of the parents and thus the children are not worried about it. If such amount is not made available to the children because of any reason, then such children may commit criminal activities. I think at least 10 percent of the youth can commit criminal activities because of this. It also brings disrespect to the family.”

From the above example it can be concluded that economic independency of the people has allowed them to get involved in different activities. Sometimes those activities may have significant impact on the societies but sometimes they proved to be harmful like that of alcohol consumption among the youth in Chitral.

6.2 Harms of Alcohol Consumption

The harms of alcohol consumptions are basically the consequences which have adversely affected the society in term of the social and cultural context. The violation of norms and values of the society lies under the negative effects of alcohol consumption. All the harms which have been the result of alcohol consumption are presented under the below headings.

6.2.1 *Raqa* (Uncontrolled Behaviors)

The alcohol users were known for their irregular behaviors. Those individuals have been labeled with words like senseless and emotionless because society does not become important for them. Majority of them have been aggressive and they use to behave in deviant way. The alcohol users violates the social and the cultural values because they are unable to control oneself and they have been responsible for spreading vulgarity (*raqa*) in the society particularly during various events and festivals. One of the participants of current research described his experience as:

“Once I was sitting in a musical program and I was sitting close to the choir. There were dancing youth and children. I observed that almost all of the youth who were between the age of 15 and 20. They were dancing so irregular that it was evident from their behaviors that they had taken alcohol. At that moment when one of the groups was sitting after dance, a boy came and he directly stepped on my leg. I griped his foot and he fell as he was not in his sense. When I told him that you have stepped on my leg, he become aggressive and said; drag your leg from my path as you have no sense. He was almost 5 to 6 years younger than me. I also become aggressive and we made a conflict. These sorts of violation of norms like misbehaviors towards other for no reason and use of abusive language have been so common.”

The consumption of alcohol makes the youth aggressive. They do any act which they want to do and it leads to conflict and fight most of the time. These aggression and uncontrolled behaviors of youth made the other people hate them. They are labeled and stigmatized because of their deviant behaviors. Another respondent described it as:

“It is commonly said in our area that he is an alcoholic person and he does not know about anything. Such a person is stigmatized that he is senseless and emotionless. It is true because if a person gets addicted then it has severe negative impacts. Society is not much important for such a person.”

If a person is unable to control oneself about a prohibited thing, such an individual is not able to contribute to the society. The senselessness of alcohol users makes violent in the society. The society only expects deviancy from those people and similarly the society

become less important for that individual. This case has been observed in Chitral, where the youth were involved in harmful societal activities because of alcohol consumption.

6.2.2 Aggression

Drug users have been aggressive in their behaviors and they do not differentiate between right and wrong (behaviors) in a situation when they get intoxicated by the dose of alcohol. They even commit criminal acts because of their aggression. The deviant and criminal activities because of aggressive and inconsistent mind include the conflicts, fights (particularly during events like musical programs) and theft which they commit for meeting the need of drugs. One of the participants of the study stated:

“At any society such an individual become senseless. He can utter all those words which he wants to say. If it is taken from the perspective of youth then it has several harms to the society. A family cannot afford to meet all the desire of the youth. When it happens then the youth can commit theft and robbery in order to meet their desire. The level of criminality increases. An alcohol using youth cannot differentiate between right and wrong. Those youth, who have been regularly using alcohol, can make conflict and fight, if they do not get the required dose.”

The aggressiveness may allow an individual to act without considering the possible consequence of that act. The alcohol using youth in Chitral have been found in activities like conflicts and fight while using weapons in social gatherings. These have been the result of aggression created by the consumption of alcohol. They have also been involved in activities like theft and robbery.

6.2.3 Disrespecting Other

The alcohol users behave all the possible way and they have no care about the respect of others. The level of intoxication made them intervene in others matter for no reasons. The behaviors of such deviant youth are not liked by the elder people. It has also been seen that the alcohol using youth misbehaves with women when they come across. The musical programs are mostly arranged at night time and it further increases the chance of misbehaviors from alcohol using youth. Those youth spread vulgarity in gatherings where the ordinary people participate to enjoy the events. According to one of the respondent of the study:

“Our culture has been unique from early days. There were songs, music, dances and all sort of freedom where the elders and respectable people use to participate. At present time when you talk about those things the respectable people discourages it. They use to avoid such places. They youth are coming to such places with all sort of vulgarity (*pheru xeboniyan*) and it is fact at present time.”

Similarly another respondent described an event where the intoxicated youth fought with each other and it becomes the reason of disrespect for people. When the conflict started in musical program, it was so severe that one of the boys used a pistol and shot bullet. All the people were afraid in the darkness of the night. Thus it has been one of the major issues where the use of weapons becomes common. He described his experience as:

“All the women in the nearby houses were witnessing it in the darkness of the night. The boy who controlled him uttered such abusive words toward the women (who were basically the relatives of the intoxicated boy) that I cannot express those abusive words here. It has been so frequent in events and gatherings and it all happens because of the alcohol using youth.”

It has been the characteristics of the society where the elders and women are greatly respected. The youth are expected to behave in polite manner in front of them and it becomes their respect. Chitral is famous for its cultural values and the people are famous for their uncomplicated routines and peaceful behaviors. These characteristics makes Chitral distinguished from other areas in Pakistan (Khan 2011). However, this respects no more remains when it comes to the participation of alcohol using youth in various events and social gatherings.

6.2.4 Deviant Behaviors of Alcohol Users

The use of alcohol is considered a deviant act in the society because of its prohibition in the society. The consumption of alcohol is forbidden for 96 percent (population) of the Muslims in whole Pakistan. Instead of such boundaries, the intake of alcohol has been seen growing in many social gatherings (Haviland 2013). Society becomes less important for alcohol using individuals and they violate the norms of the society. Along with the use of abusive language, conflict on minor disagreement and fight, the strange physical behaviors of alcohol user makes them labeled in the society (*Sharabi*). The behaviors of

Alcohol consuming people were not only threat to the people in the society but such people have also been threat to their own families. Those people do not respect their women at their homes and it has devastating impact the family relations. Those people become the reason of disturbance in family as well as in outside environment. According to a respondent of the study:

“Once I was sitting in a musical program (*Dhoola Ishtok*). Suddenly there started a stampede and the whole entertainments of the program get spoiled. Later I came across about that event and it was said that a boy had tried to enter the area where the women and girls were sitting. He was an outsider.”

The respect of women comes under threat during various events when alcohol users participate in those events. Women use to participate in events like musical programs and they use to sit in their assigned areas. Sometimes the alcohols consumed youth to enter those assigned areas and it becomes a kind of harassment which is the result of alcohol consumption among youth. Chitral is famous for its culture and such behaviors of youth have conveyed a negative image about its culture during the recent years.

6.2.5 *Dishul*: Abusive Language

The use of abusive language becomes the characteristics of the youth who use to consume alcohol. They intentionally use to utter vulgar and conflictive language towards other people. Those youth use aggressive and abusive language even on minor disagreement between them. It increases the chance of conflict and fight. Thus the abusive language becomes the reasons for the use weapons in gatherings. The abusive language has harmful impact and it has created disturbance even in the family because a person do not differentiate between the relations after consuming alcohol. Here is a view of the respondent:

“It has completely destroyed the societal values. I know a person who divorced wife and spread all sort of conflicts inside his home. He uses abusive language towards the children and mother and it is the violation of all our important values.”

Language is basically the important component of culture. It depicts the values in a society. If it becomes abusive, then it may leads to several evils like the bitterness in family relation (disruption of family), relation between parents and children (Rehm 2011)

and also between the relations of an individual to society. Similarly it has been found that abuse language (*dishul*) has been responsible for several kinds of evils in Chitral.

6.2.6 *Beyzat Mosh* (Disrespected Person): Reason of Disrespect of Family

An individual represents a family. Family is considered an important and essential agent of socialization. It helps in shaping the behavior of the children and the youth. In rural areas the people are known by their families and thus the act of an individual is considered as the act of the family. The people know each other and they also respect each other on the basis of their families. Hence, if an individual commit any deviant act, it allows the other to raise finger towards that family. The people stigmatize the family of the youth who use to takes alcohol. The deviant act of an individual becomes the reason of disgrace for the whole family. It is evident as one of the respondent said:

“It is absolutely right. The society where we live is a traditional and religious society. If a person is using alcohol and go outside, then the people will surely target him. Then the family is targeted and the socialization of that individual by his family came under question. It is not targeted all the times but most of the time it happens. The role of family is targeted.”

Hence, it is evident from the above example that alcohol consuming youth in events and social gatherings were the reasons of disrespect for them. The parents and the family members have been found labeled, when their youth have been involved in deviant activities. It has been seen so common because of the nature of the society in Chitral.

6.2.7 People Avoids Cultural Events/Gatherings

In Chitral, the people use to celebrate various events with great pomp and show. The events include the marriage ceremonies, festivals (both religious and cultural festivals) and other ceremonies. The people also use to participate in those events with great fondness and order to celebrate. One of the most frequently occurring ceremonies is the marriage ceremony where the arrangement of musical program attracts the concentration of people. Large number of people usually participates in those ceremonies. At present time it has been found that those musical programs have been the place where the youth participate while consuming alcohol. The alcohol using youth have been responsible for spreading vulgarity in various events. The other people, particularly, elders do not come

to such place because of the vulgarity (*raqayee*) of the youth. Those events and gatherings have been avoided by people where the alcohol using youth were expected. The use of alcohol is considered immoral and the people do not like to bring their families to such places. One of the participants of the study described it as:

“It is natural that one peer groups do not like the other group. In musical programs it is usually said that the youth are spreading all sorts of vulgarity (*Pheru xeboniyani*). So it is better to sit at one’s home rather going to such events and gatherings. Once it happened in our village that a person threw a stone towards the musician and injured his eyes. The program gets suddenly stopped. Thus it becomes the cause of disrespect for the whole society.”

The deviant behaviors of youth compel the other people to think about their participation in various events. If the respect of an individual is not safe in a place then such an individual may be reluctant to participate in that area (event). This has happened in Chitral because of the alcoholic youth.

6.2.8 Nabehyl and Namurad: Labeling the Alcohol User

Alcohol users were labeled with words like the disobeyer and the looser in society. Whenever, those youth participate in events, they have been labeled with such words because they behave in disobeying manners. They do not accept event if they are told by their family members because the intoxication from alcohol makes them so. The deviant activities of alcohol users sometimes make them isolated socially. The participation of such youth, even for good cause would not be considered. The labeling makes them violent and they do not receive the respect because of their deviant behaviors. One of the respondents of the study is of the view:

“In society the people with peaceful mind are respected. Those who use alcohol are considered amongst the looser (*namurad*) and illegitimate (*nabehyl*). That person is considered illegitimate. The participation of that person in society (even for good cause) will not be considered good because such an individual is already labeled in the society. He is considered a vulgar person.”

When the youth participates in open gatherings and events after consuming alcohol, their behaviors seems awkward. They usually get labeled. The common words (words of label) which have been in use for alcohol users were *nabehyl* and *namurad* (disobeyer and looser). These words have further negative impact on their behaviors making them more deviant and violent.

6.2.9 Alcohol and Crime

Alcohol consumption among youth is responsible for several criminal activities in the society. In unconscious state of mind, an individual can commit several criminal activities. The different type of criminal activities includes robbery and theft at night time, fighting in musical program and several others. Alcohol consumption makes the mind of an individual more aggressive and the chance of conflict and fight increases. It was found during the study that the youth have even used different types of weapons in various events. The more frequently used weapons have been the pistol and the dagger. These were the criminal activities which have harmful and devastating effects on the society where they are performed. According to a respondent:

“In unconscious state of mind, a person can commit such activities which are considered criminal activities. The people are fighting with each other in musical program and they even use knives (*Chaqoo*). It is an attempt of murder.”

An experience of another participant of the study is presented as example where he talked about a conflict and the use of pistol by an intoxicated youth. It was a highly criminal activity which created a chaos in the society.

“Once we were in the musical program in our village. A conflict started between two groups and the members of both groups were intoxicated. The conflict become severe and a fight get started between the groups. The people left the place and when all the people were leaving, suddenly we heard the shot of bullets. One of the boys, fully intoxicated, was firing with pistol and nobody was willing to stop him because of the fear of bullet. Finally, a boy from other group luckily managed to controlled him and drag that boy in front of the people. All the women in the nearby houses were witnessing it in the darkness of the night. The boy who controlled him uttered such abusive words toward the women (who were

basically the relatives of the intoxicated boy) that I cannot express those abusive words here. It has been so frequent in events and gatherings and it all happens because of the alcohol using youth.”

Alcohol consumption has not only been a phenomenon with its cultural harms rather it has also been responsible for several criminal activities. The use of weapons like pistol and daggers have been seen common and they have been used by the youth. Several times those weapons have been in use in the hands of youth who use alcohol.

6.2.10 Economic Costs of Alcohol Consumption

Alcohol is considered the costly drug in Chitral. It requires a sufficient amount to buy a bottle of alcohol and thus it has negative impact on the economic power of the people who use to consume it. It affects the people economically. According to certain people, it was the wastage of money to buy alcohol from your own money and of the respondent clearly states:

“Yes, it has negative economic impact on people of that society; sometime people get loans and consume this when they become use too alcohol intake. It is the wastage of money and on the other hands it spreads vulgarity in the society.”

On one hand, alcohol has several social harms on the society and on the other hand it also economically affects the people. The users of drugs spent sufficient amount of money on drug usage and it has been the wastage of money to spend the amount on the consumption of alcohol. In Chitral alcohol and its consumption has economic cost which is similar phenomenon in the world as evident from the literature work. For example in United States of America, the economic loss due to drug usage is 200 US Dollars per year (Sussman and Ames 2001).

6.2.11 Alcohol and Health Costs

The harms of alcohol consumption are enormous. If it is taken frequently then the harms (health related harms) become even severe. The parents do not allow the children to make friendship with those youth who are involved in alcohol usage. The alcohol users themselves were of the view that it has several harms which were related to health.

6.2.11.1 Diseases

Alcohol consumption can cause several diseases. It has been discussed during the literature review that alcohol has been responsible for spreading Alcohol Use Disorders (AUDs) and they have severe impacts on the lives of the people (Rehm 2011). It has been a global issue regarding its impacts on the health of the people. If it is taken to a small amount, still it is harmful for health. According to one of the respondents of the study:

“Yes, it has certainly impacts on health. I myself have experienced it and it has damaged (*kharab*) my stomach. So it has several negative impacts on the health of an individual.”

In Chitral, it has been found that the alcohol producers are mixing other harmful substances with alcohol. These substances are mixed with alcohol in order to produce more intoxicating effects. Among those products spirit (a chemical substance) has been more frequently used. A respondent of this study described the impact of such alcohol on health as:

In our area, one of the problems is that people are mixing medicine with it. It can be used to increase the level of intoxication. Spirit is also mixed with it which in itself is a kind of alcoholic product. Alcohol and spirit are the name of chemical series. First member is called ethanol and second is called methanol. Ethanol is used to drink because of its specific percentage of alcohol in it. Now I have heard that at (one village of upper Chitral), when people were digging canal, they found thousands of bottles of spirit. They have been used to mix with alcohol. This spirit is mixture of ethyl alcohol and methyl alcohol. If it gets mixed with alcohol (which we have been using) then the alcohol become poison. Thus people use it which has severe impact on the health of the people.”

Alcohol consumption has been an issue with its several harmful aspects. One of the aspects has been its effects on the health of the users. In Chitral, it has been found that alcohol is made more intoxicated with the use of different types of chemical with it. It has severe and devastating effects on the health of the people. Alcohol in itself is a harmful liquid but the mixing of different chemical substances with it badly affects the health of the people.

6.2.12 Use of Illegal Resources (for alcohol)

The youth have been involved in illegal activities in order to fulfill the desire of alcohol. They use to consume alcohol because of different reasons which have attracted them to get involved in alcoholism. In order to meet the need of alcohol during various events, they even get involved in activities which were not acceptable and they were against the values of other people in the society. The youth have been involved in activities like theft and robbery so that they may meet the requirement for alcohol, as one of the respondent said;

“The alcohol users particularly, the addicted that are unemployed, have been involved in theft and other societal deviancies. They make theft of the walnuts because it is an easy source to make theft of it and selling it in shops.”

Another respondent described his view regarding the use of illegal resources to intake alcohol. He thought that parents have been responsible for such kind of deviant behaviors among their youth. He disagreed with the parenting style where the parents were unable to meet the needs of their youth and he described his view as:

“The parents are providing and if they cannot provide them then they will surely move towards illegal sources. There are certain youth in our area and they are committing theft and their parents are responsible for it. Thus I have complete disagreement with the modern parenting style. If a person has no money or he is not given by family or relatives or he is unable to earn money, then such person can make theft even. Such an individual can fulfill his desire even though if he may hurt others.”

The illegal means to fulfill the need of drugs include theft. They youth have been found indulged in such activities in Chitral and the role of parents have again been the target of criticism in this case as indicated by the above example.

6.2.13 Cure of Alcohol Intoxication

Alcohol consumption affects the normal functioning of the body. It affects the health at the time when it is taken. It affects the balance of the body and it creates dizziness if taken more than the specific volume. It has been found it brings vomiting to a person and it also has severe impact on the internal organs of the body. However, in order to reduce those effects, various things are used. When it affects the health of an individual at the

time after its consumption, milk, onion and cold water are used. These are given to a person who undergone through the physical symptoms of alcohol consumption. They are used to bring an individual to his normal state when its intoxicating impact becomes severe.

6.3 *Ishtoka Tara*: Alcohol Consumption in Musical Programs

Alcohol consumption and the musical program (*Dhool Dhammama*) have been in close connection with one another. A musical program has been an event in Chitral, where the friends, the peers and people of different relations meet with each other. Hence a large number of people usually participate in musical programs (particularly a program called *Dhoola Ishtok*). Alcohol is considered the important treat for musical choir before the program. Those programs are considered the part of culture which are celebrated in Chitral. The present study found that the youth consume alcohol in musical programs have been responsible for spreading all sorts of vulgarity. It not only becomes the cause of disrespect for the families of those alcohol-using youth but it also becomes the cause of disrespect for the whole society because the youth deviates in front of all people who usually come from other areas. One of the reasons of alcohol consumption in musical programs has been that the youth consider (musical programs), a place of full enjoyment. Thus they use to take alcohol in order to further increase the enjoyment without considering the important societal values in mind. One of the respondents was of the view:

“A musical program is one which we take in the sense of enjoyment (*masti*). Similarly alcohol intake is also taken as enjoyment. Youth considers it in this way. It is a kind of platform for enjoyment and they consider it in this way. So in such musical programs (*Ishtoka*) the alcohol is taken for enjoyment. In such a situation we mentally get prepared for it and we think that it will not be considered wrong by people in that situation.”

There was another respondent who was critical about the application of law in places like musical programs. The application of law has been questioned whenever the consumption of alcohol comes to an event like musical programs and other such ceremonies and festivals. His view is presented as:

“Law is not applicable in places like musical programs (where alcohol is mostly consumed). There are weaknesses in the law and it is not

applicable in such places. Once we talked about such things in a gathering where the respectable people were sitting. We talked about Shandoor Festival that people are spreading vulgarity over there. There were even responsible people and they were of the view that it has been the place of entertainment and enjoyment (*ayashio xagha*) and it (use of alcohol) should be the part of it. So law also allows you to do that in that particular area and it is considered the place of enjoyment.”

Musical programs are usually arranged in marriage ceremonies in Chitral. Large number of people also participates in those musical programs from different areas. Currently those musical programs have been the hub where majority of the youth participates while consuming alcohol.

6.4 *Toor*: Physical Appearance of Alcohol user

Individual went through several physical changes at the time of intoxication. An individual become easily recognizable because of all those appearances. There occurs redness in the eye of an individual who has taken alcohol. Lack of sequence in speaking and misbalancing of the body are few of the physical effects of alcohol consumption and it depends upon the level of intoxication. Such an individual is called *Toor* (who has no control and utters irregularly).The participant of the study stated as:

“Such people have redness in their eyes. There will be no continuity in his talking behaviors and he forgets what he said. There is no body balance of that individual. Such an individual is called *Toor* in Chitral.”

If a person is addicted of alcohol, such a person undergone different physical symptoms. There were different diseases related to alcohol intake like the diseases of liver and digestive system. However, those people who consume it in certain events undergone through physical appearances as described by a respondent given below:

“They become weak and mostly it has been found that they suffer from the diseases of liver. But those people who are using it just in events do not undergone through such physical appearances. There is a smell of alcohol through which a person can be identified. The walking style and the eyes make an individual evident that he has used alcohol.”

The temporary physical symptoms of alcohol consumption were the misbalance of the body, the stammering tongue and the redness in the eyes. These have been the symptoms appears in an individual who use to consume alcohol at greater extent.

6.5 Alcohol Consumption instead of Prohibition

Alcohol consumption is prohibited in the society but still it has been used because of various reasons. Some people have been of the view that if one does not harm other after taking alcohol then there is no harm to use it. There were youth who were of the view that alcohol should be made public, so that who want to use it, may use it openly. The other people may not use it. In this way it becomes the source of legal income generation. One of the respondents was of the view that:

“I am of the view it should be made public and there should be tax on it. A person, who says that I am religious, will not use it and those who are not of the view will use it while buying it.”

Another respondent also talked about the difference of opinion existing among the people about the intake of alcohol. Some people consider alcohol as prohibited and other people consider the intoxication as prohibited. He was of the view:

“It is prohibited in our area. But one thing here I will tell you are that, people have divergent view about it. Certain people are of the view that the act after taking alcohol makes it prohibited religiously because it become the source of harms for other. Most of the people think it totally prohibited. I think these divergent views have created ambiguity among the youth. I personally feel, it is been prohibited by religion and there should be no second view on it. When it comes to religious prohibition, people are unable to avoid it in front of their strong desire and pleasure. We think that we are using it for pleasure and God will not punish us for it.”

Alcohol is although prohibited in Pakistan but it has been seen in use during various times. Similarly, Chitral has also been the place where alcohol is consumed instead of its prohibition. There were different religious perspectives of different people about it. The respondents of the study have their divergent views about the consumption of alcohol in

the society which has been discussed in the above example. It may provide an opportunity to consider the prohibition of alcohol in different way.

6.5 Religious Prohibition

Alcohol is considered as prohibited element in the society from religious perspective. The Holy verses (90-91) in chapter (Sura) Maida of Holy Quran stress about the prohibition of intoxicating drink (wine). It states: "O you believe! Wine, gambling, (sacrificing to) idols and lottery are unclean and the Satan's work; shun it to be saved. The Satan only desire to cause enmity and hatred to spring in your midst by the means of wine and gambling and to keep you off from the remembrance of Allah and from prayers. Will you then desist?" (Sattari, Mashayekhi and Mashayekhi 2012). So, in Islam it is completely prohibited but people were using it because it has been a kind of desire in human nature. During the study, it was found that alcohol consumption has been strictly prohibited for both sects (Sunni and Shia) in Chitral. There is a concept of *Haram* in Islam and alcohol is among those *Haram* (prohibited) things. It has not only harms on the using individual rather it has harms on the society overall. Hence, both sects who are residing Chitral have their strong rejection for alcohol consumption of youth in the society. Two of the respondents of the research have their views as:

"In our religion there may are several reason that is why it is prohibited. In our religion it is wrong and it is sin. It takes the society to wrong condition and it has impacts on the health."

It is prohibited in religion and there has been no second view regarding the use of alcohol. Instead of it prohibition, the youth were indulged in alcohol usage because of sensation and desire it produces. Thus, another respondent had his view as:

"I personally feel, it is been prohibited by religion and there should be no second view on it. When it comes to religious prohibition, people are unable to avoid it in front of their strong desire and pleasure. We think that we are using it for pleasure and God will not punish us for it."

When the researcher inquired about the consumption of alcohol among the respondents of different sects, it was found completely prohibited in both sect (Sunni and Shia Imami Ismaili). There was no second opinion in their sect about its prohibition except their personal views.

6.5.1 Religious Advice

There were advices of religious leaders about the consumption of alcohol. There have been no lacks of religious awareness about the consumption of alcohol in Chitral. The people were using it instead of religious awareness about it. The desire in human nature compels the people to deny the religious aspect while taking alcohol. There were religious figures who advice the people about the harms of alcohol during various situation. There were also advices about the consumption of alcohol in both sects of Islam residing in Chitral, namely Sunni and Shia Imami Ismaili. One of the respondents from Shia Imami Ismaili sect as of the view:

“Our spiritual leader says that you (we) should not use it. It is strictly prohibited. Even in his last visit, he strictly conveyed the message that you (we) should not take any kind of drug.”

There was another respondent of the study who described a historical event regarding the religious concept of advice. According to him we all are created by God and we should socialize our young generation according to the teaching of religion. Religion has all the power to advice in all matters of life if they are properly inculcated to the youth. He said:

Once the companion of a Holy Prophet (PBUH) came to him and said that I have completed the Hajj while making sit my mother on my shoulder because she is very old. Then the companion said did I fulfill my obligation? The Holy Prophet replied, yes, you fulfilled but you have fulfilled the obligation of only one night (the whole duty that you performed with your mother is equal to that of only one night duty of your mother with you). All these have been given by the God and we all are afraid of God. The children should be given the information about all these and they should be given the information between right and wrong. If this type of environment in side home then it is possible that the children will not move towards such areas of vulgarity. Such a child will not go in events like musical program (*damama kya sorum di ki alani hatera no bir*). Again there is a role of religion as we are Muslim.

The above example states the religious advice about the criminal and deviant activities in the society. It has been found an obligation to convey the actual message of the religion

to the people by the people who are expert in religion. The concept of God and the concept of punishment and reward help the people to live according the moral and social standard which may be helpful in keeping the youth from alcoholism.

6.5.2 Neglecting Religious Awareness

Alcohol consumption is seen an issue among the youth of Chitral. There have been several factors which have attracted the youth to consume it instead of its prohibition in both law and religion (Islam). When it was asked regarding the lack of awareness, majority of respondent disagreed that there was a lack of religious awareness among the youth. The people were aware that alcohol is prohibited in religion (Islam). The children have been advised at their early age while inculcating in their mind that alcohol is prohibited in Islam. Some of the participants of the study were of the view that in order to understand religion, it is important to have education. The arrogance may be the reason which made the youth attracted towards deviant activity like alcoholism. According to a respondent:

“I do not think it is so. All have awareness about it. A child is made aware about the use of drugs even at school. The religious leaders have their advices about it. Still it is used so I do not think about the awareness. Education is given about it but the lack of implementation has made it so.”

There was another respondent who described his view and he was slightly different in his view. He said:

“No, no it is not so. All the information is available to an individual from religious point of view. It is the mind of an individual. I have friends and they are of the view that it was prohibited at that time when an individual start deviancy after consuming it. At that time people are unable to differentiate between sister, wife and daughter. If alcohol is taken to a limited volume, then there is no harm. Unless you do not harm others, there is no harm of using alcohol”

It was found during the study that there were no lacks of religious awareness among the people regarding the use of alcohol. It has been the will of the individuals which dominate their behaviors instead of the lack awareness about the prohibition of alcohol. It



has become a kind of anomie where the youth were unable to follow the norm and values of the society.

6.5.3 Use Alcohol without Harming (other)

During the study it was found that there were different views regarding the prohibition of alcohol among the youth in Chitral. On one hand certain youth were of the view that alcohol is totally prohibited in their religion. On the other hand certain youth were of the view that alcohol consumption is not prohibited as drink. It is prohibited because it makes an individual commit deviancies and criminal activities. Those deviant and criminal activities are prohibited in Islam. Otherwise there is no harm if alcohol is taken unless you do not harm others.

6.6 Open use of Alcohol

Most of the time alcohol is used openly in gatherings and events. There may be certain people who use to take it in such places. Besides using it, certain people have started producing it openly at their homes. They have been seen producing it at their homes and also selling it. They are supported by influential people in the societies and those people support them for their own causes (they may be the users). This case was described by of the participant of the study as:

“In upper Chitral, people are producing at their homes. They are producing and selling it, so we can say that it is available in the market. They are supported by other people thus they are openly doing it. They are not worried about the punishment and they are not given severe punishment.”

Alcohol has been produced and used openly during various times in Chitral. It has been found during the current study that there were several factors responsible for the open uses of alcohol which have been previously discussed in this section. They include the high cost of alcohol which makes the people think that they were able to consume it. They consume it with pride in fronts of others.

6.6.1 Alcohol as the Sign of Pride

Alcohol consumption has been the sign of pride among the youth in Chitral. Certain youth feels proud while taking alcohol openly. They think it as the sign of richness, superiority and power in the society because they have an access to luxurious things. In

peer group alcohol consumption become the sign of bravery also, when they use to take large quantity of alcohol. It has been taken with so much pride that even those youth, who have not consumed it, pretends that they have taken alcohol. This behavior of youth is usually observable in musical program where a large number of people gather. Sometimes the youth thinks that they may impress others in the gatherings. If they have attached the meaning of pride with the consumption of alcohol, then they also try to impress others in the gatherings that they have consumed alcohol. Here are mentioned two views of respondents about alcohol:

“They pretend that they have money. I can use it because of its availability for me. They use it with proud. It is considered the bravery of the peer groups. It is said with pride among the peers that we have used two bottles of alcohol or we have taken a drug in such a huge quantity.”

Another respondent attached the sign of pride with the use of alcohol. In order to attract the concentration of other people the youth also consumes alcohol. He was of the view:

“Another factor is that the youth are considering it (alcohol) a sign of pride for themselves. They think that people are watching them and in gatherings and ceremonies there may be several audiences who can watch them. They can attract girls and they can attract other people in this way as they think. It is another factor responsible for it.”

Alcohol is taken with pride and it has been the norm of alcohol using youth in Chitral. It has been the sign of courage to consume more alcohol before participating in an event. They youth have attached the sign of courage along with the sign of pride with alcohol. The high level of intoxication is considered the sign of courage among the alcohol using youth as indicated by the current study.

6.7 Smuggling of Alcohol

Smuggling of alcohol has also been observed in Chitral along with its high level of production at locality. It is smuggled from one area to another area which increases the usage of alcohol among the youth. Besides the movement of alcohol from one village to another village, alcohol was also smuggled from *Kalash* valleys to other part of Chitral which is then sold to earn money. *Kalash* valleys have non-Muslims dwelling in it and there was no prohibition of alcohol. Alcohol is produced and consumed in those valleys

of Chitral. Instead of several check posts on the routes, alcohol is smuggled from those *Kalash* valleys to other part of Chitral with ease because the police personnel have been involved in smuggling of alcohol (which the researcher has previously described in detail). One of the respondents of research described this issue as:

“It is absolutely right. There are several check posts while coming from those valleys but people use different techniques to cross those check post. Also there are no proper checking in those check posts. A person brings 9-10 bottles of alcohol through smuggling. Those bottles are converted into 20 bottles of alcohol while mixing water with it. Then it is sold. One of the bottles costs rupees two thousands and you can make it two bottles which in then sold in our areas.”

Alcohol is also smuggled particularly from *Kalash* Valleys where it is not prohibited. It has been moved to other areas of Chitral because of least intervention of its controlling agencies. They smuggling of alcohol and its selling was mostly attributed to police in Chitral. One of the respondents was of the view:

“I have heard a disturbing report in our area. I have heard that police is involved in the smuggling of alcohol in our area. They are there to protect you but they are destroying the youth by making them addicted. It is a dangerous situation.”

The role of police has been found in questions regarding alcohol dealings at different areas of Chitral. They have been involved in this illegal activity and it may further have hazardous effects on the society because the people do not have other protective mechanism to control deviant activities.

6.7.1 Ambiguity of Law about the of Alcohol (a case in Chitral)

The consumption of alcohol in itself is an illegal process. Instead of being illegal, alcohol has been used and moved from one place to other without much hurdles. The law regarding the use of alcohol has an ambiguity in Chitral. It was found during the study that police may not take legal action against the people who use alcohol at their homes. These things have further provided an opportunity to the people (youth) to consume alcohol. One of the respondent of the study clearly states about the illegal process of alcohol as:

“In early days they police were bringing such drugs for specific people in order to take labor work from them. Now the quantity has increased and they police have their agents who are distributing it among the youth through illegal ways.”

One of the respondents was in favor of its open consumption and selling. Through this an illegal process can be controlled because the users are still using it in different ways. He presented his view as:

“Even though it is used in all areas and it is used in illegal way. It is also sold in illegal ways. There is no tax on it. If is made free then it will be profitable because in Pakistan most of the people are using alcohol. If it is made open then people will buy it in legal ways and it will be profitable.”

There were respondents respondent who were in favor of imposing tax on alcohol while legalizing it. According to them, although it has been in use in illegal way and there has been no effective mechanism to control it. For them it was the ultimate way to make it legalize because those who knows it religious prohibition may not use it because the prohibition has initially been made in the religion. If the religious values are deviated then there may not be other effective mechanism to control it.

6.8 Support of Criminal by Influential People

The people who have been involved in alcohol consumption and alcohol production were backed by other people. The supporters have been the influential people in the society. Whenever the legal action has been taken against the use of alcohol and the criminals were arrested, those criminal get free from prison even after few days. The criminal have been supported by those people for their own sake and they were safeguarding them for their own purposes. The different participants of the study have their perspective about the issue of supporting criminal as:

“It happens. The main reason behind this thing is that, majority of alcohol users are police and those people who are influential (lawyers, managers and other such people). If an alcohol producer is arrested, it can affect those influential people. Thus the influential people are supporting such people only for their own sake.”

It was found during the study that the criminal are supported by influential people because they also have their purposes which are fulfilled by those criminal and deviant

peoples. The alcohol producers meet the needs of drugs of those influential people when they required. In this regard they may have been bound to support them while escaping them from the law. Among the respondents some people had even witnessed such situation and among those one of respondent said:

“Yes I know a person at my own village and he is amongst my relatives. He has been arrested by police 3 to 4 times and he remained in prison for about month. He was arrested because of the presence of alcohol (*tara*) with him. Every times he get freed and even a year before when he was arrested, he promised not to produce alcohol but again I have heard that is producing it. I do not think he will leave it (his habit).”

Another respondent was also an eye witness of an event happened in his area. According to him a government official supported a criminal when the drug dealer was arrested. This has been the debatable issue particularly in areas like Chitral where the deviants and criminals were supported by influential people. The respondent described the event as:

“All the users are safeguarding it. For example, recently in our area police arrested a drug dealer. But there was a man and I know him, who safeguarded that person through his relative. His relative is Assistant Commissioner. It is known to everyone that those dealers are spoiling the youth of the area because they were dealing in drugs (*Chars*). There are influential people and they are influencing in this matter.”

In Chitral the role of influential people has been more effective in safeguarding the people who involves even in deviant activities. Sometimes the relations come in to play and sometimes the personal purposes have been the hurdles in the path of effectiveness o law. Hence, the evil of alcohol consumption and its production has increased in Chitral as the current research work investigated.

6.9 Production of Alcohol

In Chitral, alcohol is made locally. There is a product called *Tara* and it is usually processed at homes. The people make it for their own use as well as for selling. According to the current study, it is produced at high level in Chitral. It has been found that alcohol is produced at almost all areas in Chitral. Its production at local level has increased its availability and thus increases it consumption. It is produced from different

types of fruits and thus its availability increases during particular seasons. The common ingredients for alcohol production are white berries and apricot, although it is also produced from other materials containing starch.

During the study it was also found by the researcher that the local product like *Tara* has been a harmful product in certain cases. In order to increase its intoxication effects, the producers were mixing spirit (chemical substance) with it. Such type of alcohol becomes poisonous in its nature and it affects the health of the people. One of the respondents of the study was of the view:

“It is produced in this area and we even know about several people in our village who have been involved in the production of alcohol at their homes. There is a person in our village that is continuously producing it. The youth are producing in their homes because it has become a trend to produce it. The process is not difficult and it can be made with ease thus its consumption is also high.”

The production of alcohol is illegal but it has been produced in almost all areas in Chitral. The production increases during the fruit ripening season. The ingredients become available to the youth and alcohol producing people. Those ingredients were cultivated and produced from their own farms and hence, an access to such ingredients was not difficult. A respondent described his view about the production of alcohol (*Tara*) as:

“Alcohol is almost illegal in its essence. It is produced in almost all areas of Chitral during the particular season. For example the production of alcohol like *Tara* becomes available in huge quantity during the late spring when the berries (*mrach*) start to ripen. *Tara* is also brought from other areas like *Bumburet* where it is produced and it is brought to other areas through smuggling and other illegal.”

Alcohol has been produced in almost all areas of Chitral as the current study highlighted. On one hand alcohol (*Tara*) is produced as the local product. On the other hand it is also brought from those areas where the consumption and production is not forbidden. In both cases, alcohol becomes a local product and its availability is high for youth and other people who consume it.

6.10 High Demand for *Tara*

Tara is produced at local level. Its production varies from an area to area. It was found during the research that the production of *Tara* is high in certain places; however, certain areas have lower production. The production depends upon the demand of the people. There were different perceptions of people regarding the consumption and production of alcohol at different villages. Some villages (unnamed) were thought to have more production of alcohol and other drugs. Those areas were thought to be the centre for the production of drugs. It was found that the products (alcohol and other drugs) were moved from one village to another depending upon the demand.

6.11 Types of Alcohol

There have been three mostly used products (alcohol) in Chitral. They include *Tara*, *Drocho Ugh* and *Khishmishogh*. They are produced from different fruits and dry fruits. There are also different processes for the formation of those products. *Tara* was considered as the most intoxicating alcohol as compared to other products. Besides these products, there have also been imported alcohol but they were rarely used. All these products are produced locally. One of the respondents described the process of formation of *Tara* as;

“It is locally produced it can be produced from dry berries (*Kitori*), dry grapes (*Kishmish*) and apricot. I have seen the process of its formation. It is locally called *Tara*. I have not made it by myself but I know the method of its production. The dry berries are initially saturated for ten days. If the taste gets sour then they are kept in a pressure cooker and heated in pressure cooker. Small amount of heat is provided to the pressure cooker and the steam of pressure cooker is captured in another closed jar. Thus *Tara* is made from that steam.”

There was another respondent who described the process of formation of the most commonly used alcohol in Chitral. That particular alcohol (*Tara*) is processed in somewhat different way from that of the processes used for other production. The respondent said:

“*Tara* is mostly appreciated. It is made from dry berries and it requires a long process. It is famous. I also know the process. The dry berries are

soaked in water which is then kept in closed jar. The closed jars are the buried in cows manure so that they get heated. After 15 days when it gets heated, the process of distillation is used.”

Tara, a local alcohol is popular alcohol in Chitral. It is produced from white berries (*mrach*) which is found in Chitral in abundance. The white berries are also dried and this particular alcohol (*Tara*) is also produced from that dried berries. The process of the formation of alcohol has been discussed in the above example. It does not require a lengthy and difficult procedure to produce it. The abundance of alcohol in Chitral may be attributed to this easy process of formation of alcohol.

6.11.1 Tara Lacheyk: Alcohol Formation

Tara is a common and popular alcoholic drink in Chitral (where the current study was conducted). The process of formation of *Tara* is called *Tara Lacheyk*. In order to make *Tara*, the dry berries particularly the white berry were saturated for several days. When the taste of the liquid gets sour, it is filtered in a thin piece of cloth. The liquid is collected in a jar. The filtered liquid is then boiled in a closed jar with a specific amount of heat given to the jar. The steam escaped from that liquid is passed through a pipe which is placed into another closed jar. That particular jar is kept in low temperature. It is usually kept in running water. In that jar the steam get convert into liquid which is used as *Tara* (alcohol). One of the respondents described his view as:

“It is locally produced it can be produced from dry berries (*Kitori*), dry grapes (*Kishmish*) and apricot. I have seen the process of its formation. It is locally called *Tara*. I have not made it by myself but I know the method of its production. The dry berries are initially saturated for ten days. If the taste gets sour then they are kept in a pressure cooker and heated in pressure cooker. Small amount of heat is provided to the pressure cooker and the steam of pressure cooker is captured in another closed jar. Thus *Tara* is made from that steam.”

The above view of the respondent is the example of alcohol (*Tara*) formation which seems an easy process to produce. There were several respondents of the study who were aware about the process of formation of alcohol.

6.11.2 Popular Alcohol Chitral: *Tara*

In Chitral the most popular alcohol among the youth is *Tara*. There were different types of alcohol which have been used in Chitral. *Tara* has been popular because it has more intoxicating effects than others drinks if its kinds. The alcohol (*Tara*) which is severe (more intoxicating) in its nature was given a specific name called *Bumboretogh* (the name given to it because of one of the valleys where it is produced and the inhabitants of the valley are mostly non-Muslim). The specialty of the alcohol of that particular area was the highly intoxicating nature of the alcohol. Therefore, the alcohol with more intoxicating effects was given the name *Bumboretogh*. There was another word used for it which is *Pin* (severe). *Pin* means fast and it also refers to high intoxicating alcohol in Chitral. *Tara* is mostly made from dry berries (white berries) and it has become the highly appreciated drink. When a single bottle of *Tara* (1.5 liter) makes ten people intoxicated, it means that alcohol is appreciable among the youth. A respondent describes about *Tara* as:

“*Tara* is mostly appreciated. It is made from dry berries and it requires a long process. It is famous. If we have to consume alcohol, then we surely use *Tara* as appreciable and popular alcohol. It is not good to take other types of alcohol other than *Tara*. I also know the process. The dry berries are soaked in water which is then kept in closed jar. The closed jars are the buried in cows manure so that they get heated. After 15 days when it gets heated, the process of distillation is used. They liquid are distilled in a thin sheet of cloth which is basically the process of cleaning. The liquid is again kept in close utensils for a specific period of time which is used later.”

Tara was the popular and the most commonly used alcohol among the youth. It makes an individual intoxicated even with a small quantity of its consumption. The more *pin* the alcohols the more it was appreciated and popular among the youth. The other types of alcohol which were less intoxicating in their nature have also been in use. In comparison to *Tara*, they were not the highly consumed drinks in Chitral.

6.11.3 Ingredients of *Tara* (Local Alcohol)

In Chitral, there were different ingredients used for the production of alcohol. A berry (white berries) which is known as *Mrach* in Chitral was mostly used for the production of *Tara*. It is also used in its dried form (*Kitori*). *Tara* has also been produced from apricot (dried apricot called *Chambor*), dates and jiggery. There was another type of drink called *Drocho ugh* (grapes water) which is produced from grapes. This product has less intoxicating effects as compared to *Tara*. The respondents of this study named the ingredients of *Tara* as:

“If we take alcohol, it is called a starch material. In our area alcohol is produced from dry berries (*Kitori*), dry apricot (*Chambor*), Jiggery and pear. It can also be produced from wheat and maize. If we look at its manufacturing process it is produced through the process of distillation. If any starchy material is soaked then it can be produced from that.”

The above mentioned ingredients have been the common ingredients for the production of different types of alcohol in Chitral. *Kitori*, *Chambor*, *Droch*, *Kishmish*, *Khorma* (Dates), and *Gulak* (Jaggery) have been used the common ingredients for the production. However, the availability of those ingredients depends upon the seasons of the year and thus the demand for alcohol varies during various season of the year. Dry berries, grapes, and other fruits are used commonly for the production of alcohol. These fruits and dry fruits were easily available to almost majority of the people in Chitral.

6.11.4 Alcohol Production at Home

The alcohol, mostly used in Chitral, has been produced at homes. They people produces it at their homes according to their use. Those who were addicted, produces it at their homes continuously and some people produce it for selling. The process of formation of alcohol is not complicated and thus it is produced at homes with ease. In Chitral, thus, the houses were the factories of alcohol for those who produce it. During the study it was found that a large number of people were producing it at different villages. It was also found during the study that in the past several houses came under the operation of police regarding the production of alcohol. Similarly, at present time people have been found producing alcohol at their homes. But they have not been identified because of several reasons which the research ahs mentioned earlier. There was high level of production and

it has led to high level of consumption among the youth. It was evident from one of the respondent of the study.

“It is produced in this area and we even know about several people in our village who have been involved in the production of alcohol at their homes. There is a person in our village who is continuously producing it. The youth are producing in their homes because it has become a trend to produce it. The process is not difficult and it can be made with ease thus it consumption is also high.”

There was another respondent who talked about the production of alcohol in his village. According to him the people were producing alcohol at their homes and they use it by themselves. Different types of alcohol were produced and he also named those products. He said:

“In my village there are people who are producing it. I know them very well and they are living in my neighbor. It is not unique rather in Chitral is much produced. It is produce in high quantity in some areas and in other areas it is produced in low quantity. Youth are also producing it at their homes. They can produce grapes water (*Drochogh*) and dry grapes water (*Khishmishogh*) easily.”

In Chitral, it may another reason for high consumption of alcohol among the youth. The alcohol was produced at homes and it was processed without any cost. The people produce it according to their requirement and it may be possible reason of it high consumption. At current times, the houses of alcohol produces were their alcohol production factories in Chitral. They do not require any specific setup to produce alcohol.

6.11.5 Imported Alcohol

There were also imported alcohols in Chitral but they were rare. The imported products like Black Label and Red Label have been costly and they have been used by certain people in Chitral. They were not available to all the youth (alcohol users). They were brought to during special occasion but certain products among the imported products have also been common in Chitral. The other imported products which have been used as alcohol in Chitral includes China Water (a kind of alcohol with medical purpose) and a harmful product like *Tinchu* (which is basically considered as pesticide). The users of

alcohol consider these products as imported alcohol as for as the current study highlighted. According to a respondent of current research:

“There are also imported products like Red Label, Vodka and Black Label. These are available in Pakistan but they are also available in Chitral (to a small extent). They are of high cost and therefore, they are not available to the ordinary users.”

The above mentioned costly products of alcohol were not available to ordinary drinkers. They have been in rare for ordinary users. But there were certain products which have in use in the name of imported alcohol. One of the respondents told the researcher about those products:

“In the recent days I have heard that some people were using *Tinchu* which is packed in plastic. It is basically pesticide. People were not aware about that. Thus they were using it because of its lower price and it has been smuggled from the borders of China.”

As mentioned in the above example, it has been an issue regarding the use harmful products (in the name of imported alcohol). The high demand of alcohol has also made the people consume a harmful and poisonous product (pesticide) in the name of alcohol. Hence, in Chitral, along with the consumption of *Tara*, there have been other products in use. The imported alcohol products have been in use but in rare cases. It was interesting to investigate the people have even used a harmful pesticide in the name of alcohol.

6.12 Hidden Use of Alcohol

There is punishment in the Law of the country (Pakistan) for the consumption of alcohol (Hanif 2016). The youth may be aware about the punishment and its prohibition in the society but it has been used in different ways. Sometimes it has been in open use and sometimes it has been used in hidden ways according to the situations. When the situation does not allow the youth consume it openly, the youth usually sit together (that may be house of any one friend) and consume alcohol in order to have the desire effect. During those situations, even the religious prohibition become blurring when it comes to the desire and pleasure in the nature of youth. Here the views of participants of current study which are presented as example:

“Sometimes the youth are worried about the punishment so they use it in a safe place. The youth are aware about the punishment and it is not difficult to use it in a hidden way. A group of friends can easily use it at the home of one of the friend.”

The consumption of alcohol has made its way in different ways among the youth. They use to consume it both openly and in hidden ways. They were not worried about the social values neither they have taken the religious values into count when it comes to the consumption of alcohol. Here is another way of the respondent:

“It is used in hidden way. It cannot be used openly. It is considered *haram* and if a person uses it openly then he will be considered deviant. People will use to say that he is eating the flesh of dog or donkey. Such an example is used. Our religion (sect) forbids it completely. It is *haram* in our sect. Still people are using it and it is mostly used in hidden way because it is a kind of desire in human nature.”

Alcohol was mostly consumed in hidden place by the youth before coming to the events. They may sit together in the house of one of the friends and in outside areas. When they get intoxicated they use to come to participate in an event like musical program and other programs.

6.13 Availability of Alcohol (earning money)

In Chitral, alcohol has also been produced to earn money as majority of the participants of current study highlighted. If alcohol was produced at one area then it was smuggled to other areas where it becomes available to the youth. It was taken to those areas where the demand is high and thus it was sold to generate money. Sometimes it also happens that people mix different types of chemical with alcohol in order to make its effects more and more. They usually do this to earn more money in cheap way. The different substances like spirit and other chemical were mixed with alcohol to increase its alcoholic behaviors and intoxication. This has been usually done by those people who have adopted alcohol selling as the source of income for themselves. It has been the source of income because it has also high demand in Chitral. It was also found during the study that impure type of alcohol is sold to the people who were not the permanent buyers of alcohol from the seller. The permanent buyers were not given such alcohol. The mixing of substances

makes the alcohol poisonous and it also has harmful effects on the health. One of the participants was of the view:

“I do not think or even do not know about the people who support criminals or smugglers who smuggle alcohol intentionally. They smuggle it because they have to earn money from them and when it is smuggled to the areas where the demand is high, then the amount to earn is also high. It does not matter whether they are selling poison or alcohol. They are not worried about the health of the people. They have to just sell alcohol for the sake of money.”

The second respondent described his view regarding the availability of alcohol. He had the similar view regarding alcohol selling and buying. He said:

“I know only that, in every region of Chitral, in every village there are supplier of alcohol and those supplier are also youth. They use to sell alcohol to other and it is not so difficult to buy alcohol if you have some money in your pocket, particularly during the season.”

It has been discussed in the research that alcohol consumption and production has been so common in Chitral. The people were making easy access to it. There have been suppliers of alcohol and they supply alcohol to the buyers according to the demand and consumption. It has been the source of money for those people and they are less concerned about the societal impact of alcoholism.

6.14 Market of Alcohol (Black Market)

Alcohol is not available in open market. It is kept hidden but the place and its availability is known to every user. The youth make access to such place through the references of other alcohol users. In Chitral, the alcohol producer usually sells alcohol from their house and the user knows about those houses. The alcohol is usually taken in a circle of friends and in peers. If one of the friends knows a person dealing in alcohol, he can inform the other friends about it. In this way the alcohol user makes access to those places where it is sold. Those places act as the market of alcohol because it was also identified during the research that a large number of youth visit those areas more frequently. The houses of the alcohol producers were basically acting as the market of alcohol. According to majority of the respondent those houses have been the black market of alcohol because they were

not known to ordinary people. The ordinary people (other than the users) may consider them the ordinary houses. But for alcohol users they have been the market of alcohol. One of the respondents said:

“It is not available in market because there are police who can have a watch over it. Alcohol has its own market which is called black market. I can give you an example. In Chitral, there a man who is dealing in it. There is police too but police do not intervene in his matter. He is dealing in it with his own way and even police line is near to that market. He is influential person and there is no involvement of police. Here another thing is that police can arrest you if found it from you. You can say that they are doing all this in systematic way.”

There were no open markets of alcohol in Chitral. However it was evident from the respondents of the study that there have been the houses which act as the centre for the production of drugs like alcohol. Sometimes, the people also use their shop to sell other types of drugs but drugs like alcohol were not kept in shops. The alcohol sellers have their own systematic way of dealing with the buyers of drugs which the researcher has mentioned in the above example.

6.15 Controlling Youth from Alcohol

The age below 30 years is an important age in the life of youth. The families should take important decisions regarding the lives of youth. Specific amounts of resources should be given to the youth so that the youth may not get involved in profligacy. If extra resources are provided to the youth than their needs, they may use them in unhealthy activities because of the presence of desire in the nature of youth during that particular age. The promotion of religious values and the concept of reward and punishment in the hereafter world should be inculcated in the mind of youth. All these have been the possible ways which help the parents in keeping their youth away from unhealthy activities like alcoholism. Here is a view of the participant of the study:

“The youth should be given a moderate amount of money for his use. Certain people say they will give money to my children so that they can fully utilize that. The wealth is so bad a thing (*Khabis ishmari*) that it has mostly taken the people towards bad. A youth should neither be given the

extra amount and not he should be given the insufficient amount. A youth will not be able to buy alcohol if he is given the amount which is only sufficient to meet his basic need, neither he will be able to bring girls (for sexual desire). Again all these depend upon the arrogance of the parents and their way of socializing their children.”

During the research, majority of respondents particularly the elders focused to control the issue of alcohol consumption among the youth. There were different suggestions and one of the respondents had different view regarding the phenomenon. He stated:

At this particular age, the marriage of youth is important in order to make him avoid from desires. It is important to make an individual busy. Thus a youth adopts all those habits which you have given to him until the age of 30. Such a youth neither use alcohol nor get involved in vulgarity (watching films, following girls and others).”

It was considered an important aspect to keep the youth busy with different activities. It provides an opportunity for the youth to concentrate on those activities which were given as tasks to them. In rural areas like Chitral, they youth have plenty of time to communicate and interact with each other in their environment. If they found any reinforcement in the form of deviant activity, they may get attracted toward that activity (McLeod 2007). Mostly the idle youth have been found in activities like drug usage. However, if they youth are kept busy in their productive age, they may avoids the activities which are harmful for them and for the society.

6.16 Friendly Environment with Children (Controlling them from Alcohol)

A friendly environment between the parents and children help the children away from deviant behaviors. If the parents prohibit the children from deviant behaviors while closely observing their behaviors, then they do not commit those deviant activities. It was found a contributing factor that takes the youth toward alcoholic behaviors among the youth in Chitral. It is important during the specific age of children. The religious values along with the socio-cultural values promotion among the youth during that specific age of life have been important. The current research has thus found that majority of respondents have been in favor of friendly relationship between parents and children in

order to keep the safe from deviant and criminal activities. A view of Respondent in this regard was:

“After 12 years of age, a child is able to move towards different activities. There, the concentration of child also mold towards girls. Other desires also become the part of the mind and it is natural. For this purpose the parents should talk about the religious values to the child. The concepts of God and the concept of Prophet (PBUH) should be introduced to that child. The concept of life here afterword should also be introduced. That child should be told that if you go out there to follow girls, make theft and commit other deviant activities only for the sake of desire, it is not in favor of you. The Islamic values should be introduced to that child. A child from age 12 to 20 should be kept under the close watch of parents (*he sego tan wraznano multu halelik*).”

This chapter focused on the situations and factors which have been responsible for alcohol consumption among the youth. It has also focused the social harms of alcohol consumption particularly focusing the social values, norm and believes. Alcohol consumption has been the societal issue among the youth and a large number of youth in Chitral have been involved in it as indicated by the current research work. The behaviors of those youth have several harms on the society. The deviations from norms and the violation of social and cultural values were the discouraging sign in the society. Several causes of alcohol consumption among the youth were identified by the current study instead of it prohibition in the society. It is religiously prohibited and the law also forbids it in the Islamic society of the state (Pakistan). It is still in practice with various reasons behind it as identified by research. This chapter also focused on the views of respondents regarding the control of alcohol in the society because the law and police have not been much influential in the society. Along with the role of police and other law enforcing bodies, the society may play it role while following the social norms and values existing in the society.

Chapter No. 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Discussion

Alcohol consumption among the youth in Chitral has been a societal issue. The increased level of alcohol consumption among the youth in Chitral, instead of its prohibition in the society has made it a debate able issue in the society. Alcohol, which is commonly known as *Tara* in Chitral, has been substance which has the property to affect the normal functioning of the body. It usually affects the normal sense (consciousness) of an individual, exposing the individual to abnormal acts like the deviant and criminal acts in the society. There have been several factors which were contributing to the consumption of alcohol among the youth.

Environmental factors have been responsible for majority of adolescents to consume alcohol. Among the environmental factors, the commonly identified factors have been the family problems, problem in human relation and alcoholic parents (Tur et al. 2003). The same case also exists in Pakistan. The usage of drugs like alcohol has been influenced by stressful environment, peer pressure and the acceptance level among the youth (Unaiza et al. 2005). These factors of alcohol consumption have also been among the common factor in the area where the current study has been conducted.

According to the findings of the current study, the interaction between youth and family is considered an important aspect to keep the youth away from deviant behaviors. If the interaction gap increases between the youth and the family members, then it creates a sense of freedom to the youth and ultimately taking them towards deviant behaviors. When such youth use to interact with peer, the desire of respect among peers (conformity to social norms) along with the peer pressure creates a sense to take alcohol with them in various events, festivals and other gathering.

The youth consumes alcohol because it has become the substance to create pleasure in the mind. Certain people (youth) take alcohol for the sake of satisfaction and enjoyment during boredom time. There arises a desire in the mind when they see other, while taking alcohol and enjoying themselves in various events. Thus it become a trend and fashion among the youth to take alcohol while seeing each other. Certain people also use to take alcohol because it creates a sense of pride (class and status representation). Alcohol is considered a kind of costly drug which is not available to all the people. This has been the

reason that certain youth use to consume it in events (especially musical program) openly. They have been trying to show themselves different from others.

The consumption of alcohol among the youth has been responsible for several societal issues also. The intake of alcohol increases during certain events. They youth have taken different events like musical program, festivals and other cultural gatherings as the place of enjoyment where they use to take alcohol. The behaviors of those youth have also been clearly observable in those places. In such places the alcohol users were labeled as emotionless and senseless. They do not respect the elders and the use of abusive language become common. All their behaviors were considered opposite to the cultural values of the society. They do not differentiate between the right and wrong way of behaving in front of elders, women and children. They also become the reason of disrespect for their families and their families were stigmatized and labeled with non-socialized and disrespectful words. Several criminal activities have also been committed by those youth which includes robbery and theft at night time, fighting in musical program and several others. The chance of conflict and fight increases because of the unconscious mind of those alcohol using individuals. According to Sussman and Ames (2001), the use of drugs hampers the recreational activities among the youth. The youth do not participate in healthy activities like sports and spent the majority of their time in loneliness in order to take drugs. It can have negative impact on the societal activities because of the increases of deviancy in society.

The uses of drugs (alcohol and other drugs) have also been responsible for economic loss of the society. One such instance has been US where the intake of drugs has caused to society to bear an economic loss of 200 US Dollar per year (Sussman and Ames 2001:4). These societal issues were also prevailing at their different stages as for as the current research work has highlighted in Chitral. Instead of several devastating effects of alcohol on users and society, they were still using it and they were unable to avoid it.

The increased level of alcohol intake instead of its prohibition (by religion and by law) indicates that the desire in human nature has been stronger. They have been unable to follow the moral values when it comes to follow the stronger desire in human's mind. One of the respondents of the study clearly states:

“As I have told you, it has become a trend and fashion. We are living in the middle stage where we are neither properly following our religion nor we are following our societal norms. We are in the middle stage and we are more impressed from the western societies. We are not taking our religion on its right track. In religion alcohol intake is prohibited (*haram*) but if we look at the world, it is taken in a huge quantity. People are enjoying it and in this case we use to deny our religion. We keep our religion on the side.”

Along with the religious ambiguity, the law has also been less illustrative regarding the use of alcohol. It has provided an opportunity for the youth to consume alcohol. Sometimes there has been seen the involvement of police in drugs dealing and at the other times there has been seen the support of influential people escaping the drugs using and producing youth from punishment.

The Interactional Theory and the Social learning Theory have also discussed the various causes of deviant activities in the societies. As for as their applicability is concerned, they have been providing the base to generate the basic knowledge about the consumption of alcohol among the youth in the universe of the research. The weak bond of an individual to societal values crates a sense of freedom to behave. Such youth are free to behave in their desired way. Thus they easily get involved in deviant activities like alcoholism because it acts as stimuli which attract the youth. Those youth usually remain in less interaction (attachment) with the parents and more easily behave toward the reinforcement (Thornberry et al. 1991) like alcohol consumption. This phenomenon has been also highlighted by the current research and it has been one of the responsible factors among of alcohol usage among the youth.

In order to highlight the phenomenon of alcoholism among the youth, the study uses a qualitative research method. Participant observation was used which is considered a suitable research method to deals with sensitive issues (Neuman 2006:378-380). The consumption of alcohol in an Islamic State of Pakistan is kind of sensitive research topic. Hence the researcher used it for current study. A sample of 20 respondents was the part of the study. They sample size was selected through purposive sampling. Purposive sampling has been the suitable method of sampling in order to choose a sample for research where the location of respondent is difficult because of the sensitivity of topic. The data was collected while considering the saturation point of information. The

information regarding various aspect of alcohol consumption among the youth was collected in the form of detailed interview and observations from the respondents. The themes generated from the data have been placed in the section of result. Some of the aspects of alcohol consumption among the youth, which were not previously the part of literature, were also discussed. For example, it was found that the words of stigmatization are taken with pride by the alcohol users. They accept words like disobeyers and losers with pleasure and pride. They also pretend to behave in those manners that other people may stigmatize them. It was also found that the children are even bringing various drugs to school. They even use to buy them in school. Another new aspect was the involvement of police in alcohol's dealing. Majority of the police have been seen involved in using and selling drugs like alcohol. They are also making it available to other youth. It has been a debatable issue among in the society and almost all respondents of the current study witnessed the involvement of police in using and selling of drugs (particularly alcohol).

7.2 Conclusion

Alcohol consumption has been the activity which has devastating effects on the society. Those who use to consume alcohol, violates the societal values and they do it most of the times. The common violations of norms have been the aggressive and inconsistent behaviors towards other people, disrespecting others, reason of disrespect and stigmatization of the family and the spread of vulgarity (*raqayee*) in various events. Those events are avoided the elders and respectable people in the society and they do not participate in such gatherings. Along with these violations the alcohol using youth have also been involved in criminal activities and it further increases the severity of the phenomenon. These deviant activities and the criminality among the alcohol using segment (youth) of the society, which have been highlighted, are caused by various reasons. The various reasons includes the alcohol using parents, doubtful parents, peer influence (also peer pressure), respect among the friends, favorable environment to intake alcohol, alcohol as a source of pleasure, satisfaction and enjoyment and the intake of alcohol as fashion (to represent class and status). Along with them, there are various situations which have attracted the youth towards alcoholism. Usually the alcohol users are labeled with words like *nabehyl* (disobeyer) and *namurad* (loser) but these words

have become the words of pride instead of stigmatization in those situations. The youth accepts those words and they pretend that are the disobeyers. On the basis of this study, it can be stated that those norms may be among the accepted norms if the youth follow the current trend. If the youth go out there in musical program without consuming alcohol the other youth use to say that he is not a man (*hes kya mosh tan no*). It may create a sense of awkwardness in the mind of youth who do not drink alcohol but they use to consume it while seeing others. Alcohol consumption among the youth has thus been the sign of pride for them. Another situation which has attracted the youth towards alcoholism is the opportunities created by the cultural events. The cultural events include the festivals and ceremonies. Those events are considered the events of enjoyment and even the law becomes less effective on those events. The youth use to behave in every possible manner which they want during those events. Alcohol consumption has thus become a rare phenomenon in those events which attracts almost all the youth. The current study highlighted that one of the major factors according to majority of the respondents was the involvement of police in making alcohol available to the people. Alcohol consumption and its movement have been found a rare phenomenon among the local police personnel. They use to bring it from those areas where it is not prohibited. The police are bringing it to and sometimes they use to sell it. This situation further weakens the law and provides an opportunity for the youth to get involved in deviant and criminal activities. Along with the above mentioned situation and causes of alcohol consumption, the religious divergent view also add it influence on alcohol consumption among youth. Certain people were in disagreement with the advice of religious clerics and missionaries. People think that those people are not clear about their advices and them themselves been involved in such activities. This type of perception encourages the youth to disobey them and behave in their own ways. These were the factors responsible for the consumption of alcohol among the youth.

7.3 Recommendation

The current study has highlighted the various causes and social consequences of alcohol consumption in Chitral. It may be helpful in providing information to the researchers who conduct researchers related to this phenomenon in future. It also provides knowledge to

the scientific community regarding different aspect of alcohol consumption among the youth who may seek cure for this particular phenomenon. Beside, the domain of the current study was occasional drinking and its related aspects. Occasional drink is not taken regularly; however, the high level of consumption of alcohol in Chitral makes it a phenomenon beyond the occasional drinking. At current study the researcher has not focused this particular aspect. It is therefore, suggested to have further studies on this particular phenomenon in future.

References

- Carvajal, Francisca and Jose Manuel Lerma-Cabrera. 2015. "Alcohol Consumption Among Adolescents- Implication for Public Health." *Topic in Public Health*: 51.
- Dodd, Virginia, Tavis Glassman, Ashley Arthur, Monica Webb and Maureen Milled. 2010. Why Underage College Students Drinks in Excess: Qualitative Research Findings." *American Journal of Health Education* 41(2):93-101.
- Eze, Ngozi M., Helen Amaka Njoku, Chiedu Aseadi, Benedette Nwanneamaka Akubue, Amaka Bibian Ezeanwu, Uchenna CosmasUgwu and Justina Ifeoma Ofuebe. 2017. "Alcohol consumption and awareness of its effects on health among secondary school student in Nigeria." *Medicine (Baltimore)* 96(48).
- Ghazal, Pasha. 2015. "The Growing Problem of Alcoholism in Pakistan: An overview of current situation and treatment options." *International Journal of Endorsing Health Science Research* 3(3):15-21.
- Hanif, Mohammed. 2016. "Pakistan Has a Drinking Problem." *The New York Times*.
- Haviland, C. 2013. "Pakistan battles growing alcohol addiction." *BBC News Asia*.
- Johnson, Gareth Hagger. 2011. "Alcohol Use in Youth." *University of Leeds*, 1-12.
- Khan, Hina. 2011. "The Beautiful and Peaceful Valley of Chitral." *Pakistan Insider*.
- Khan, Zar Alam. 2018. "Drug addiction becoming a major social evil in Chitral." *Chitral Today*, May 7.
- Klingemann, Herald. 2001. "Alcohol and its social consequences-the forgotten dimension." *World Health Organization. Regional Office for Europe*, 2.
- Marshall, E. Jane. 2014. "Adolescent Alcohol Use: Risks and Consequences." *Alcohol and Alcoholism* 49(2):160-164.
- McLeod, Saul. 2007. "Skinner- Operant Conditioning." *Simply Psychology*, 1-3.

- Menon, J. Anitha, Thankian Kusanthan and Sidney O C Mwaba. 2016. "Alcohol and Tobacco Usage among Students in a Higher Education Institution in Lusaka, Zambia." *Translational Biomedicine* 7(2): 1-7.
- Neuman, W. Lawrence. 2006. "*Social Research Method: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*." Pearson Publisher, 6th Edition: 222-460.
- Newcomb, Michael D. and Thomas Locke. 2005. "Health, Social and Psychological Consequences of Drug Use and Abuse." *Epidemiology of Drug Abuse*, 46-59.
- Oers, J. A. M. Van, I. M. B. Bongers, L. A. M. Van De Goor and H. F. L. Garretsen. 1999. "Alcohol Consumption, Alcohol-related Problem, Problem Drinking and Socioeconomic Status." *Alcohol & Alcoholism* 34(1):78-88.
- Possi, M. K. 1996. "Effects of Drug Abuses on Cognitive and Social Behaviors: A Potential Problem Among Youth In Tanzania." *UTAFITI (New Series)* 3(1): 111-128.
- Rehm, Jurgen. 2011. "The Risk Associated With Alcohol Use and Alcoholism." *Alcohol Research & Health* 34(2):135-143.
- Sattari, Mohammadreza, Siminozar Mashayekhi and Solmaz Mashayekhi. 2012. "Islam and Addiction." *Pharmaceutical sciences* 18(3):151-158.
- Singer, Merril. 2008. "Drugs and Development: The global impact of drug use and trafficking on social and economic development." *International Journal of Drug Policy* 19(6):467-478.
- Somani, Salima and Shaista Meghani. 2016. "Substance Abuse among Youth: A Harsh Reality." *Emergency Medicine (Los Angel)* 6(4): 1-4.
- Spence, Jean. 2005. "Concept of Youth." *Durham Research Online- Durham University*, 46-48
- Steketee, Majone, Harrie Jonkman, Hans Berton and Nicole Vettenburg. 2013. "*Alcohol use Among Adolescents in Europe*." Verwy Jonker Instituut, 18.

- Sussman, Steve and Susan L. Ames. 2001. "The social psychology of drug abuse." *Open University Press, Buckingham, 1-18.*
- Thornberry, Terence P., Alan J. Lizotte, Marvin D. Krohn and Margaret Farnworth. 1991. "Testing Interactional Theory; An Examination of Reciprocal Causal Relationships Among Family, School and Delinquency." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 82(1): 9-12.
- Treleaven, Taylor M. 2015. "Theories that Address heavy Alcohol Consumption." *School of Graduate studies Laurentian University Sudbury Ontario, 40 41.*
- Tur, J. A., M. S. Puig, A. Pons and E. Bentio. 2003. "Alcohol Consumption among School Adolescents in Palma De Mallorca." *Alcohol and Alcoholism* 38(3):243-248.
- Unaiza, Niaz, Sofia S. Siddiqui, Sehar Hassan, Haider Hussain, Salman Ahmed and Khawaja Rizwan Ahmed. 2005. "A Survey of Psychosocial Correlates of Drug Abuse in Young Adult Aged 16-21, in Karachi: Identifying 'High Risk' Population to Target Intervention Strategies." *Pak J Med Sci* 12(3): 271-277.
- United Nation General Assembly. 2001. "Implementation of World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond." *Report of General Secretoty, 2.*
- UNODC. 2013. "Drugs use in Pakistan 2013." *Ministry of Interior and Narcotics Control, Narcotics Control Division, Government of Pakistan, 13-23.*
- WHO. 2011. "Global Status report on Alcohol and Health." *WHO Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data,35.*

Annexure 2

Interview Guide

Alcoholic intake among Youth in Chitral, Pakistan

Asif Hayat

I am Asif Hayat, a student of M. Phil Sociology at Quaid-i- Azam University Islamabad. I am conducting the current research on the above mentioned topic and its purpose is only academic. Your participation in this study is voluntary and your participation will be appreciated. It is my obligation to follow all the research ethics during and after your participation.

Demographic Information

Age

Education

Family structure (Nuclear, Joint, Extended)

Social Causes of Alcoholic Consumption

- Uninvolvement of Family members (Parents) in the matters of Youth.
- Youth and elders of the family have weak affiliation bond.
- Youth are spending most of their time amongst their peers and there is peer pressure.
- Environment has also a role (youth are in taking alcohol in friends circle).
- Alcohol intake has become a trend (fashion) among the youth (represent class and status).

Economic factors of Alcoholic consumption

- Self dependency of Youth
- The level of income has increased (employment opportunities).
- Alcohol is used as a part of leisure activity.

Production of alcohol

- Alcohol is made at home/ local.
- Alcohol is available at market.
- Alcohol is made available for youth through illegal ways (smuggling).
- Is there any prohibition on alcoholic consumption?
- Religious perspective on alcoholic intake (concept of Haram).
- Awareness about the use of alcohol (particularly from religious perspective).
- Are youth not worried about the punishment/penalty for using alcohol (law and constitution)?
- Involvement of people who are safeguarding the youth from penalty and punishment.
- Involvement of people who are making alcohol available for youth.

Consequences of Alcoholic Consumption

Social Impact

- Unacceptable of behaviors of youth towards other people in the society.
- The norms are violated (towards elders, women and children).
- Use of abusive language.
- Cause of family disgrace or threat to family values and respect.
- Respect among the people in society (position of such youth in society).
- How an alcohol consumer, a threat to the cultural values (the behaviors of youth who are participating in events and ceremonies)?
- Physical appearance of alcohol consumer in unconscious state.
- Are Alcohol consumers (youth) avoided by the elders in events and ceremonies?

- Criminal activities (what are those behaviors that are committed and those are considered the criminal activities?).

Other consequences

- Health related issues (different diseases and disorders).
- Cost of alcohol (amount of money spent on alcohol)?

Types of Alcohol

- Local alcohol (homemade)/ imported alcohol.
- What is the type (alcohol) which is appreciated among the youth?
- What are the things which are used to bring a person to sober (normal state) after using alcohol?