A Sociological Analysis of Alcohol and Marijuana Use and Abuse among Young People in Grenada



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This sociological analysis, conducted January – December, 2006, investigates the factors for the use and abuse of alcohol and marijuana among young people (ages 15-35). Case studies were carried out in three communities that are believed to have a high incidence of alcohol and marijuana use and abuse; they include Woburn in St. George, Trench Town (Grenville) in St. Andrew and Gun Battle (Gouyave) in St. John. Additionally, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were held with young people who are enrolled in school and school leavers. The unprecedented study focused on attitudes, beliefs, values and norms that influence the use and abuse of the aforementioned drugs.

Results suggest that the social factors contributing to use and abuse can be put into basic categories: 1) social stereotyping of alcohol and marijuana; 2) traditional customs and beliefs; 3) home influence; 4) peer influence; 5) the postmodern youth culture; 6) economic factors; 8) religion and other social factors such as sex and gender, class, education and region. The results obtained from young people were almost consistent with those obtained from the professionals.

A number of sociological theories were applied in an attempt to analyze the use and abuse of marijuana and alcohol among young people. A sociological theory is a set of ideas that provides an explanation for human society. Without a profound understanding of those theories, it would be difficult to fully understand the use and abuse of alcohol and marijuana among young people. In carrying out this sociological analysis, the sociological theories assisted greatly in clarifying confusions and developing a deeper understanding about the subject under review.

For sociologists and other social scientists, a special study of the use and abuse of marijuana and alcohol among young people is not only necessary for its own sake but is extremely important in studying other related phenomena. Studying phenomena like alcohol and marijuana use and abuse must be subjected to stringent care. The

researcher had to ensure that his personal bias did not enter into the analysis of the results and that his own attitudes do not enter into the conclusions. The Sociologists are particularly interested in finding the cause of a particular social phenomenon such as the use and abuse of marijuana and alcohol or the relationship between two social factors. Obtaining accurate estimates of the views held by the groups studied as representative sample of the total population is an important consideration.

Programmatic implications of the results and recommendations for reducing the incidence of alcohol and marijuana use are discussed. The Drug Avoidance Secretariat must work in concert with other stakeholders in finding creative ways to effect an attitudinal change in the youth toward alcohol and marijuana. All other institutions such as the family and the church are expected to play a leading role in this concerted effort. Drug awareness education should be an integral part of the school's curriculum so that children are bombarded with the effects of drugs in a formal setting. Efforts, through the use of more deterring formal sanctions, should also be made to discourage the use of drugs in the society. Other recommendations are also discussed.

INTRODUCTION

There is an abundance of quantitative data on substance abuse among young people in Grenada. However there has not been much qualitative research done on the subject. It is primarily for this reason that the Drug Avoidance Secretariat in the Ministry of Education proposed that a sociological analysis of marijuana and alcohol use and abuse among young people be conducted so that new insights can be unearthed and applied in its fight to reduce its incidence. Claude Douglas, then lecturer of sociology and political science from the T. A. Marryshow Community College was chosen to conduct the study. The study was carried out between January and December 2006. It is intended that the findings of the study be used by the Drug Avoidance Secretariat and other agencies who are engaged in the fight against alcohol and marijuana use and abuse among young people in Grenada.

COUNTRY PROFILE

The tri-island state of Grenada is the smallest and southernmost of the Windward Islands. Grenada has six parishes: St. George, the capital; St. Andrew, the largest with the second largest town; St. David, St. Patrick, St. Mark and St. John. It also comprises two island dependencies: Carriacou and Petite Martinique which are located twelve miles north of Grenada. Grenada is twenty-one miles long and twelve miles wide and is a 120 square miles in size. "The Ciboneys, who originated from South America, first inhabited Grenada in around 8 B.C. In about 700 AD, the Arawaks arrived in Grenada and christened the island Camerhogne. In 1498, Christopher Columbus, on his third voyage, sighted the island and named it Conception. The discovery of the island by Columbus led to its colonization first by France, then finally by Britain in 1763 until 1974 when Grenada became a politically independent state (Douglas 2003).

Grenada's troubled politically history spans the 1951 Social Revolution led by Eric Gairy, the turbulent 1970s decade and the 1979 Peoples' Revolution which culminated in the assassination of its leader Maurice Bishop et al in 1983 and the U.S. invasion of Grenada which followed shortly after. Like the other Caribbean islands, Grenada experienced four centuries of colonialism and slavery. After the emancipation of the slaves, there existed a labour shortage which forced the plantation owners to import immigrant workers or indentured servants from India to fill the void. After the indentureship period was over, the workers chose to remain in Grenada and today they make up about 5% of the population.

Otherwise known as the "Spice Isle" of the Caribbean, Grenada's chief export crops are nutmeg, cocoa and banana. Agriculture and Tourism are its major productive sectors, the latter being the main contributor to its gross domestic product. In 2004 and 2005, hurricanes Ivan and Emily devastated Grenada. The island is now painfully recovering from the devastation which left the economy in ruins. On the social level, Hurricane Ivan, the far more destructive of the two, damaged ninety percent of dwellings, with half sustaining serious damages and approximately 5 percent of dwellings being completely

destroyed. Worst than that, thirty-nine people died and many more suffered physical and mental injuries. So far, Hurricane Ivan is the worst disaster to have struck Grenada.

One third or 33.5% of Grenada's 104,718 inhabitants live in the urban area. Sixty-five percent of population is under the age of thirty-five. Therefore Grenada boasts a very youthful population. "The 1991 census showed ethnic composition of the population as Black (85%), Mixed (11%), and East Indian (3%)" According to the 1991 census, Christianity is the predominant religion, with the five major denominations being: Roman Catholic (53.1%), Anglican (13.9%), Seventh Day Adventist (8.6%), and Pentecostal (7.2%). During the 1970s and 1980s, there was growing Rastafarian sect that attracted a large number of the youth but due to pressure brought upon them by the society, particularly the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), their numbers have dwindled considerably.

In 2002, the adult literacy rate was estimated at 94.4% of the population." There was a student–to-teacher ratio of 25:1 in the 58 public primary schools and 22:1 in the 19 secondary schools in 2002-2003. Between 2003 and 2003, there were 52 dropouts from the primary school system (38% males and 14% females) and during that same period, there were 213 dropouts from the secondary school system (92 males and 121 females) (Poverty Assessment Survey 1999). The national rate of unemployment is 12.5%, which is considerable higher among women, youths and children. A Poverty Assessment Survey conducted in Grenada in 1999 revealed that 32% of the population is poor and 12% is extremely poor. The poverty line is estimated at US\$1231 per adult per annum or a daily rate of US\$3.37. Fifty-six (56%) percent of individuals living below the poverty line are under the age of twenty-five years, 51% less than 20 years" (Poverty Assessment Survey 1999)

Poor socioeconomic conditions contribute to a number of social problems like teenage pregnancy and drugs use and abuse. The youth is the age group that is mostly affected by poverty in Grenada. Nearly one third of every youth are unemployed. With unemployment being highest among the 15-29 year olds of both sexes, many young

people suffer from status frustration caused by blocked opportunities for socioeconomic advancement. In response, many of them turn to modes of adaptation such as drug use to cope with the challenges pose by their poverty status.

STUDY OBJECTIVES

- I. To survey the problem of marijuana and alcohol use and abuse among Grenada's youth; mainly from a sociological perspective. Also, to provide a new body of knowledge with the hope of developing new perspectives and approaches in dealing with this social problem.
- II. To examine the view that marijuana and alcohol use and abuse is a behavioural manifestation of adverse social pressures on the youth.
- III. To examine the attributes of the youth who use and abuse marijuana and alcohol, why they do so, what distinguish drug users from non-drug users and what could be done about it in a practical sense.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The basic research design for the present study is that of field survey.

Operational Definition

General definitions of the key concepts are important as they are used in the present study.

<u>Youth</u> Youth, according to the general definition of human development, are people between the ages of fifteen (15) and thirty-five (35) years old.

Alcohol A mind altering, colourless, flammable liquid.

Marijuana Dried flowers, leaves and stalks of the hemp plant used as a drug.

Use The consumption of drug substances.

<u>Abuse</u> Excessive or inappropriate use of drug substances.

Use/abuse is arranged on a continuum from non-use through moderate use, to heavy use as measured by the respondent statements regarding their personal use of drug substances. Non-use was tapped in the questionnaire by response indicating "never used" moderate use was tapped by occasional use and heavy use (abuse) was tapped by weekly and biweekly use of drug substances considered to be addictive.

The Sample

The subjects of the study were youth from the parishes of St. Andrew, St. David, and St. George aged fifteen (15) through thirty-five (35). The reason for focusing on young people was deliberate because judging from the national picture they are the ones more likely to be engaged in the use and misuse of alcohol and marijuana. The age frame planned further to draw from in-school and out-of-school categories.

Sampling Frame

The basic sampling technique was that of a *non-probability judgemental* sample which provided demographic data on sex, age, family structure, religion, occupation and education. The fifteen through thirty-five age group in the three parishes yield a population of 21,690, which can be broken as follows: St. George 11,061, St. Andrew, 7,927 and St. John 2707. One percent or 216 respondents of the population were randomly selected. With regard to sex, the youth were almost evenly divided with 60% male and 40% female.

Data Collection Instrument

The data collection instrument was a questionnaire which was administered to youth in all three parishes. The component parts of the questionnaire that were extracted for the purpose of the study were: (1) demographic data for the respondents, (2) questions relating to alcohol use and abuse, and (3) questions relating to marijuana use and

abuse. In sections two and three specific questions were asked, each designed to determine the association between use and misuse of alcohol and marijuana and the social causes and the various aspects of the drug problem. Other instruments used were case studies, in-depth personal interviews and non-participant observation. Case studies were carried in three communities known to have a history of marijuana and alcohol use and abuse. Personal interviews were carried out with professionals of the judiciary; therefore, magistrates, police, probation officers and prison officers.

JUSTIFICATION

A sociological analysis of drug use among young people requires much more than the collection of raw or quantitative data using structured questionnaires as is customary done by stakeholders. Large sample sizes are required in qualitative studies. Some social facts are better understood when put in a qualitative form. Qualitative data are considered by social scientists to be richer, having greater depth and more likely to present a truer picture of people's experience, attitudes and beliefs. For instance, a case study, which involves, the single examination of something, provides a comprehensive understanding of the group under study. Qualitative studies involving focus groups and in-depth interviews allow for the spontaneous dissemination of information of interest to the researcher. Nevertheless the researcher used a small sample to obtain quantitative data that provides much needed statistical information to support or refute theoretical assumptions about the subject under study.

ANALYSIS:

The researcher used both taped and handwritten records of the interviews and focus groups for transcription and analysis which consisted of identifying the major themes that emerged. Data from the topical areas were then compared with sociological theories on drug abuse. Also, quantitative data obtained from a survey was also used to quantify certain statements. Quotations were used to corroborate hypothetical statements on the subject.

LIMITATIONS:

Conducting research on alcohol and marijuana use and abuse presents serious challenges. One of the major challenges is the skepticism with which subjects viewed the study. Given the sensitive nature of the subject, many of the participants in the focus group discussions were wary about the intent of the study. As a result, some of them were a bit reluctant to divulge information they believe could result in dire consequences for them. Some went so far to verbalize their suspicion, stating that the research was being carried out to obtain information for the police. The less lengthily schooled subjects posed the greatest problems, in that they were less diplomatic and more hostile to the study.

Due to the subjects failure to commit to interviews and focus group discussions' schedule, there had to be rescheduling of meetings to times most convenient to them. The difficulty with appointments was consequential for the timely period in which the research had to be conducted. Another challenge faced was that of consent for those considered minors. Parental consent had to be sought in order to conduct interviews with such individuals.

The non-availability of official statistics on alcohol and marijuana use and abuse from institutions such as the prison and the police limited the research in one way or the other. For instance, the police only concern is with the crime committed and not necessarily with the causative factors such drug use. The same was true of the prison because it can obtain that kind of data from the police. However, prison officials claim to have informal data on known alcoholics and marijuana addicts who are repeat offenders. Such data would have been a great help in the formulation of more theses and possible sociological theories on drug use and crime.

<u>Case study- Grenville (Trench Town), Woburn and Gouyave (Gun</u> Battle

Focus group discussions and indepth open-ended and structured interviews were carried in three communities, namely: Woburn, St. George's; Grenville, St. Andrew; and Gouyave, St. John. These three communities are considered to have a high incidence of alcohol and marijuana use and abuse among young people. The communities share certain commonalities that members believe may tend to predispose individuals to drug use. In each community there is approximately 60% youth unemployment, a conspicuous presence of status frustration, self-fulfilling prophecy which seemingly contribute to a subculture of alcohol and marijuana use and abuse.

With the exception of Woburn, the communities are located in the epicenter of the respective towns and are within easy reach of non-community consumers to access marijuana from the pushers. The location of the communities also facilitates hustling to support their drug habits. For instance, in Grenville and Gouyave, young addicts and users would be seen on the street corners hustling legally and/or illegally. A major characteristic of those communities' are their rigid social boundaries which invariably leads to a type of xenophobia. Strangers are treated with apprehension, particularly because of the illegal drug peddling in those areas. If we know you, we can trust you and if we do not, then we cannot, seem to be the philosophy of the communities.

In all three communities, marijuana is the preferred choice of drug. Marijuana usage is about 70% and alcohol 30%. Alcohol use among the youth is less casual and is confined to more socially entertaining events such parties. Some claim to smoke marijuana everyday and those who consume alcohol would do so occasionally. Of the 30% who use and abuse alcohol, they also use marijuana on occasion.

Case study- Grenville (Trench Town)

The Sendall Street area of Grenville is known as Trench Town; bearing the name of the football team that emerged there in the late 1970s. Like its namesake in West Kingston, Jamaica, Trench Town is populated mostly by the lumpen proletariat - people who occupy the lowest stratum of society and who are desperately in need. Given the high unemployment being experienced, they are constantly anxious about their economic welfare. The difficulty they experience in attaining their goals through legitimate means has caused many to become disillusioned and anomic and as a consequence adopt alternative modes of non-conforming behaviour that leads to drug use and abuse. Because they believe that opportunity, as Buju Bantan claimed, "is a scarce, scarce commodity", some of them have given up on attaining their goals through legitimate means altogether.

They see the social system as their enemy to progress and tend to blame the "system" for their perceived poverty and relative economic failure. As a consequence, this resource-scarce community has established a dependence on drug peddling for their survival. The availability of marijuana in the community facilitates its use. Users claimed that they can easily obtain marijuana in Trench Town. In one particular area, known as the "Dump", is a place for marijuana, of marijuana and by marijuana. But within recent times, cocaine use has become a growing phenomenon – the folk devil of Trench Town. Some marijuana users admitted that they put a little cocaine in hand-rolled cigarettes to obtain a greater effect. "I personally smoke a little black joint (cocaine mixed with marijuana) to get a greater high", remarked twenty-something year old male.

Traditional religion does not appear to be an important factor for the youth who believes that their reputation of being a "dapper" "rude boy" or radical would suffer. Rastafarianism appeals to a substantial portion of the youth, which is evident by their dreadlock hairstyles and their religious beliefs which are compatible with the Rastafarian's doctrine. A large number of the youth smoke marijuana because of their association with and membership in the Rastafarian sect. With its cultural terrain deeply

imbued with the prevailing belief that marijuana is a harmless drug, furthermore "the healing of the nation", more and more Trench Town's young people are indulging in its use and abuse - more for recreational rather than religious purposes.

Trench Town youth denounced alcohol as a destructive drug that the authority is contending with. They believe that alcohol is the drug that should be banned since it creates more problems for society. They were quick to point out the socioeconomic effects of alcohol in the discussions on the discrimination of different classes of drugs. Alcoholics and other heavy regular drinkers are subjected to ridicule and informal counsel from both old and young. They tend to associate drunkenness with personal problems that individuals try to drown in alcohol. The consumption of alcoholic beverage is more accepted than the stronger proof liquor. A stout in one hand and a marijuana cigarette in the other is a familiar sight among the youth in Trench Town.

Also, the conspicuous presence of unstable single parent families contributes significantly to drug use and abuse. A lack of parental care is visible as parents must leave children unattended for long periods of time to earn means to provide for the home. The time spent away from home has given the young people more time to associate with the peers whose influence is more likely to be negative than positive. There is a considerable amount of negative peer pressure among the youth with regards to marijuana use. To be socially accepted in the inner circle of the informal youth groups, one must engage in associational activities such as the smoking of marijuana.

A young adolescent male has to be strong willed and must receive frequent dose of antibiotics to resist succumbing to the pressure being brought to bear on him to be a part of the marijuana smoking "possee" or "Crew" - substitute names given for delinquent gangs. Speaking about gangs, there is a Trench Town based gang that is named Original Grenville Men or OGM whose members ritually smoke marijuana - an associational activity that invariably leads them to engage in delinquent activities such as vandalism, shoplifting et al.

In Trench Town, there is a vicious cycle of marijuana use and abuse. It is as if the users and abusers were incubated and embedded in an environment that has a strong undercurrent of marijuana use. They see nothing wrong with the use and abuse of marijuana since it is believed to have a positive effect on them. A thirty five old community member corroborates: "I started smoking marijuana since I was seventeen years as a result of my friends influencing me to try it. Sometimes I smoke up to ten joints per day. If I doh smoke before I work, I doh feel good." Others claim that smoking marijuana helps them to become more conscious of themselves and the society. It is not uncommon to see young men smoking in full view of the public and in contradiction to the law. This openly defiant behaviour is a common pattern seen in Trench Town. It is really a manifestation of the antagonistic feelings they harbour for the law enforcement officer.

Alcohol use and abuse is more so a past time of the older community members. A neglible amount of youth really abuse alcohol. Those youth who abuse alcohol are also addicted to cocaine, another popular drug in Trench Town. Their public alcohol use takes place as a cover up for their private cocaine use. Therefore their "high" from cocaine use is usually mistaken for alcohol induced intoxication. The study found a stronger correlation between cocaine and alcohol is much stronger than the one that exists between marijuana and cocaine. There are those who proudly stated that they regularly use all three drugs almost in equal proportion.

The study also found a correlation between marijuana use and the sporting activities that take place at the nearby Victoria Park. During the football season, groups of young men from Trench Town can be seen smoking marijuana as they spectate the games played. A community member proudly stated: "When I go watch football, I like to smoke my weed. I doh smoke during the day, but when I am in the park watching football, I want my weed. I feel mellow with that ... there is a lot a ganja man in Trench Town." He also lamented and condemned the violent behaviour of some of the young smokers during the games. He strongly believes that they should conduct themselves when they

are smoking. This anti-social behaviour is not tolerated by adult, seasoned smokers because it debunks the myth that marijuana smoking produces an endlessly calm, unassuming behaviour.

Trench Town is ideally located for the illegal trade and use of marijuana. Marijuana users would invariably go there to easily obtain their required portion. Recently, drug peddlers in Trench Town have been experiencing rapid upward social mobility. The frequency with which they change suburban vehicles (SUVs) and the excessive adornment of jewels bare testimony of their economic prosperity. Consequently, their ostentatious lifestyle has a profound influence on other youth who are beginning to think that they can do same and attain their cultural goals. Within the Trench Town drug subculture, peddlers are revered by those who are influenced by their lifestyle. Some of the low income and unemployed youth would even perform chores to obtain a "smoke" from the pusher.

Trench Town's neighbouring communities' youth maintain a wary relationship with its inhabitants. As a matter of fact, some would maintain a distant relationship for fear that they might be perceived as being involved in illegal drug use. It is certainly not a place where outsiders like to linger. As a result, Trench Town social boundary is more marked than the other neighbouring communities. Being labeled as a drugged community, Trench Town has enacted the label and its youth continues with their wanton use and abuse marijuana and alcohol.

Case study – Gun Battle, Gouyave, St. John

Of the three communities, Gun Battle seems to be the most economically depressed. The wooden, mostly one-bedroom shacks depict a pitiable image of the inner-town area. But, surprisingly there is sufficient economic activity that provides residents with an opportunity to meet their physiological needs. Located in the heart of the fishing capital of Grenada, there is a constant flow of money in the area to support the use and

abuse of alcohol and marijuana. A resident boasted about the fact that there is always some kind of hustle that aids in the day-to-day living of the residents. Those who are not direct beneficiaries of the economic activities generated by the fishing industry must find employ in the near nutmeg processing station or work as domestic help.

Gun Battle's residents' definition of themselves and self-concept are affected by the public's perception of their little community. They appear to be cut off from the main town area. There is a close-knit, face to face, informal type of community setting. It would not be an exaggeration to say that they are like a big extended family united against those who have a standoffish relationship with them. In Gun Battle, the police are the number one public enemy. The police devote considerable scrutiny to the area which is evidence by the regular raids carried out there. They regard the frequency with which the police 'invade' their community as 'harassment' and this has fostered increasing resentment for the law enforcement officers. The presence of the police meant trouble. A strong "we" and "them" attitude has established a sought of social boundary between its members and the rest of the town's residents. Outsiders do not want their children to frequent Gun Battle nor associate with its residents which are seen as a group of roughnecks who smoke marijuana and engage in delinquent behaviour.

The culture of Gun Battle is woven with alcohol and marijuana consumption. During one of the focus group sessions, discussants engaged each other in a heated argument over which drug is the most commonly used in Gun Battle: alcohol or marijuana? It was interesting to hear how much information on individuals' use was disseminated to prove their point. Those who felt that marijuana is the most used drugs were won the debate, which resulted in the conclusion that seventy per cent of the community members smoke marijuana. Unlike Trench Town, there are a greater number of individuals in Gun Battle who use and abuse both marijuana and alcohol. They just drink or smoke mainly for recreational purposes.

During the day, there is almost always a large gathering of individuals in Gun Battle partaking in other illegal associational activities such as gambling. It seems to be a never-ending round of activities. Because most of the congregants live right there, there is hardly a moment without some kind of activity taking place. Like Trench Town, many of them have experienced a double failure, in that; they have failed both legitimately and illegitimately in the attainment of their goals. As a result there are an infinitesimal number of marijuana addicts and alcoholics who can be referred to as retreatists.

Their habitual use and abuse of alcohol and marijuana has taken a toll and their physical and social life. Emaciated bodies strongly suggest that some of them, particularly the alcoholics, suffer from malnutrition caused by a loss of appetite for nutritious food. One middle-aged dreadlocks male spoke empathetically about those who seemed to have become victims of their own drug abuse. He attributed their state of helplessness to their psychological inadequacy. "They do have strong mind to control their drinking and smoking. I have been smoking marijuana for the past thirty-years and I am still looking better than them who are half my age."

Case study - Woburn, St. George

Woburn is the third community in which a case study was carried out. Traditionally, the name Woburn is synonymous with fishing, today, it is drugs. The latter generalization profoundly influenced how the youth are perceived and the manner in which they behave. "Marijuana is highly consumed among the youth in Woburn. I have seen adults sending young children to the pusher to purchase it...the dealers boats use their speed boats to import marijuana into Woburn...", lamented a female adolescent resident.

The focus group discussion held was very informative. A number of factors were held responsible for marijuana and alcohol use and abuse. Unemployment topped the list. Many of the youth said that their drinking and smoking help them cope with the economic difficulties associated with them not having a stable income. To past time during the day, they would engage in such drug use practices. The marijuana users

interviewed wallowed in self-pity and became very hostile to the political system for the plight of the youth in Woburn. "Wha yu want us to do? The government ent studying us. ...no one care about us" lamented a seemingly frustrated youth. The status frustration experienced was given as the main factor for alcohol and marijuana use and abuse.

But, an adolescent female believes that the youth unemployment is largely due to the unwillingness of the youth to find employment. "These young fellas just want to sit down whole day and smoke marijuana...they do not want to work. They prefer to hustle a dollar here and there and steal from their parents to buy drugs and sit on the block", she remarked. She seems to be very intolerant of marijuana users but does not have a problem with alcohol use. She spoke delightfully about the regular fun trips to the neighbouring islets that involve a lot of eating of food and drinking of alcohol.

They lamented the neglect they feel from the politicians in general and the ruling administration in particular and see it is as contributing to the frustration that the young people experience, which they relieve through the use and abuse of marijuana and alcohol. Like Gun Battle and Trench Town, Woburn social boundaries are well demarcated. Outsiders are very circumspect about their interaction with Woburn residents because of the public's perception of the community.

The researcher also found a major class difference which is distinguished largely by the focal concerns of each social category; thus giving rise to a lower class subculture that is characterized by fearlessness, toughness, con-ability, excitement and autonomy. Law violating behaviours such as smoking marijuana publicly is overtly recognized as prestige-conferring. A mid-twenties male corroborates: "Dem fellas like smoking their weed and playing don, but me... is me Clarkscourt rum ah drinking." His attitude is an expressed desire to avoid drug use that violates the law and risk of "getting into trouble".

Another bothering issue raised by the group is the lack of respect shown by the youth when smoking marijuana. "Dem boys smoke anywhere. Dey doh care who around. Dey smoke marijuana as though it is legal. Ah mean, I smoke my weed but when I see the

elder ones approaching, I would put it out because I know dey doh feel comfortable with it". The disrespect shown by this disreputable group of marijuana users can be seen as a form of resistance to those who try to impose their morality on them. They do not want to be told about their marijuana use because they consider it to be their private business.

Moreover, the marijuana users feel that they are functional scapegoats being blamed for the social ills in the community. As a result of this, they tend to harbour feelings of hostility toward those whom they regard as threatening to their subculture of marijuana usage. Seemingly this hostility makes non-drug users tight-lip about the drug users activities. Woburn residents are either afraid to talk for fear of reprisals or they are simply minding their own business. When asked by the researcher to comment on the alcohol and marijuana use and abuse in Woburn, many of the residents became very apprehensive and cautiously spoke on condition of anonymity. This community fear was not so evident in the other two communities.

RESUSLTS FROM IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS

Socio-historical factors identified as contributing to the use and abuse of alcohol and marijuana:

Traditional beliefs, customs and values

In Grenada, the consumption of alcohol is a past-time activity that characterizes the social landscape. It is customary for adults to consume alcohol casually on a daily basis in the village shops and urban bars that line the narrow, winding streets. The long held cultural myth that alcohol maketh a man is still extant today. The passage of from childhood is marked by one's ability to "hold his liquor", that is, to drink excessively without becoming immobilized by drunkenness. Posing with a beer or a rum glass is a

public announcement of one's entry in adulthood. The all too familiar phrase: "he drinking now qui papa" is acknowledgment of one's manhood or womanhood.

Alcohol consumption is invariably an important part in the social interaction of Grenadians. A conspicuous absence of alcohol in social functions like weddings and cooperative work efforts like the maroon would be frown upon by those who believe that they cannot enjoy themselves without their feelings being altered by alcohol consumption. As a matter of fact, some individuals would decline an invitation to an alcohol free social function. They just cannot fathom enjoying themselves without the consumption of alcohol.

Many traditional customs in Grenada are marked by the consumption of alcohol. For instance, during the Christmas season, most households feel compelled to stock their pantry with alcohol because it is customary for them to be able to supply their guests with alcohol and alcoholic beverages. Failure to do so may cause some embarrassment. Carnival and other celebrations are replete with alcohol consumption. The tendency to be "drunk and disorderly" during carnival season invariably leads to an abuse of alcohol. The correlation between alcohol and other festivals is also significant. And, today, much more than ever, there is an increasingly amount of village and parish festivals. Those festivals are characterized by a lot alcohol and marijuana use and abuse. It is worthy to note that distillers and brewers provide full or part sponsorship for those festivals and celebrations.

The death and burial of an individual is characterized by a continual feat of alcohol consumption. From the moment the individual dies to the time of his or her burial, scores of individuals would visit the home of the bereaved family to sympathize and consume as much alcohol as the family can afford to make available. The traditional "Wake" and "Third night" bring individuals together to participate in religious ceremonies associated with the departure of the soul. This tradition is undergoing rapid transformation in terms of its format and intent. In some bereaved homes today, there is

a nightly fete-like function, which involves a massive consumption of alcohol until the dead is buried.

Within recent times, there has been a new custom added to burial of the dead, which is commonly referred to as the "Happy Hour". The Happy Hour is a fete that takes place immediately after the burial of the dead. The venue is usually the home of the bereaved or at some other appropriate place. There is an excessive amount of alcohol and food prepared for the sympathizers. The socioeconomic status of the family largely determines the extent of the after burial fete. Alcohol's major role is to drown the grief experienced.

Alcohol consumption and dietary practices are also part of the traditional belief. Consuming a drink of rum before meals is tantamount to "grace before meals" for some Grenadians. The belief that they "must take one for the stomach sake" or "one to kill the worms" so that they can stimulate the appetite is a custom of the old folk culture. This custom does have an influence on alcohol consumption among young people in Grenada because this takes place primarily in the home. The cooperative work efforts commonly known as maroon in Grenada, are characterized by lots of food and alcohol. The volunteers claim that they work harder when they drink a controllable amount of alcohol.

Religious Influences

Religion pervades every aspect of daily life and culture in Grenada, including alcohol and marijuana use. The consumption or non-consumption of alcohol has a lot to with one's religious beliefs. The fact that Roman Catholics use alcohol in their mass signal to its community that its consumption is alright; once used in moderation. On the other hand, there are those fundamental denominations, like the Seventh Day Adventist and Pentecostal, who preached total abstinence from alcohol consumption. Given the fact that Grenada's population comprised 53% Roman Catholics, there is a greater likelihood for consumption among our young people. The majority of the youth are

Catholics who see alcohol consumption as normal. This belief predisposes them to consume alcohol freely without much forethought about its negative implications.

There is a correlation between church attendance and alcohol consumption. Those who attend religious services only on special occasion tend to consume greater amounts and with greater frequency compared to those who attend all the time or regularly. "Research has shown that alcohol brawls are significantly less common among those who attend church weekly and among those who consider themselves to be born again. (see Gospel of John, chapter 3). Similarly, those who read the Bible and/or practice private prayer are the less predisposed to having alcohol-consumption-related problems" (Escandon and Galvez 2005)

Percentage of alcohol and marijuana use and abuse among young people according to their attendance at religious services

Drugs/Youth	All the time	Only on special occassion
Alcohol consumption	22%	73%
Marijuana consumption	6%	45%

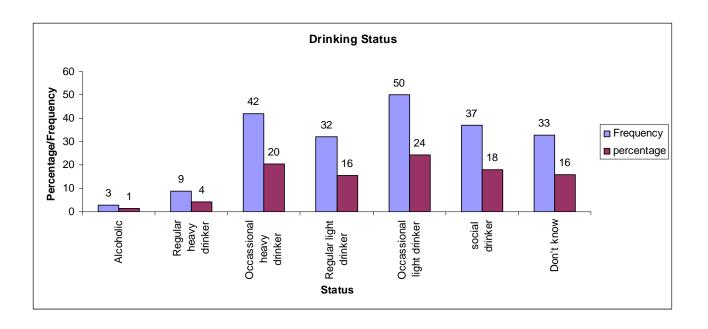
The data obtained from the questionnaire and indepth unstructured interviews reveal that one's religiosity plays a big role in curbing alcohol and marijuana use and abuse. Born-again Christians who are less likely to participate in "worldly functions" have stopped using alcohol and marijuana altogether.

Only 2% of the respondents said that they use marijuana as part of their religious ritual. The majority of them who smoke do not have any affiliation with any religious institution. As a matter of fact, they tend to be adamant to organized religion. Their smoking is influenced more by the reggae music sung by Rastafarians but not necessarily their religious beliefs. The reggae songs: "I Want to Smoke Free", "Ganja Farmer" "Legalize Marijuana" to name a few, influence a close relationship between reggae and Ganja.

The social stereotyping of alcohol and marijuana

The stereotypical views held about alcohol and marijuana has a more profound influence on their use and abuse. Because of its legal status and social character of its consumption, alcohol is not considered a drug by most of its consumers and even by stakeholders who invariably use the phrase "alcohol and drugs". Some would go so far to validate its use by referring to Jesus' first miracle of turning water into wine. When asked if they had ever used alcohol or beverages containing alcohol, 95% of the respondents answered in the affirmative, compared with only 5% who said they had never drunk alcohol or beverages containing it.

Given the widespread consumption of alcohol among the youth, as revealed by the data, it has, according to some, become the social lubricant. Teetotalers (people who do not drink alcohol at all) are considered weird and boring. Young adult male teetotalers are teased and even maligned by their alcohol consuming friends and workmates with the hope that they would become drinkers like them. In their recently published book, "From Drugs and Addictions" Rafael Escandon and Cesar Galvarez (2005) corroborates: "Quite certainly, our society considers the teetotaler a more eccentric person than the drinker. Advertising takes advantage of it, presenting those who do not drink or practise other unhealthy habits as boring. The message, in a nutshell, says that if you want to blend in socially, you have to drink." (p.106)



Alcohol consumption in Grenada begins as early as twelve years and home consumption among young people is socially acceptable.

Conversely, marijuana carries a more negative connotation even though the social effects of alcohol are more damaging to the individual and society. Marijuana is considered a "hard drug" and it is quite normal for a regular consumer of alcohol to denigrate a smoker of marijuana and lament its effects on the individual. Of the 216 respondents, 53% admitted that they had used marijuana and while 95% stated that they drunk alcohol at least once in their life.

Home influence: early socialization

The process of socialization, that is, the principal means by which culture is transmitted from generation to generation, begins within the family. Of all the agencies of socialization, the family is considered, by far, the most important. The profound influence of the family on individuals' values, beliefs and attitudes is far reaching. Home is the child's world and what takes place within its confines is seen as normal. If the drinking of alcohol and the smoking of marijuana are regular past time activities,

children would invariably think that those are healthy and normal activities. As a result, the children develop value systems that influence their choices. For instance, the choice to drink or not drink alcohol depends quite a lot on the children's beliefs about alcohol.

Parents socialize their children into the world they know, the one into which they, the parents, have been socialized and with which they are comfortable. The popular saying that a child learns what he lives holds true for children in homes where alcohol and marijuana are being used. Since the mind of children is very impressionable, the tendency to imitate adult action is great. It is primarily for this reason that teenage children of alcoholics are more likely to start drinking and having problems with alcohol. Some parents are guilty of whetting the appetite of their children for alcohol by giving small amounts to them regularly.

The initiation into drinking begins at home. "A lot of teenagers imitate their drinking parents, or at least they find a role model in them to justify their conduct. Curiously, there are drinking parents who get angry when they find out their children take in liquor...not noticing that they are the ones responsible" (Escandon and Galvez 2005) The survey revealed that young people in Grenada start consuming alcohol at the age of twelve (12). Easy access to alcohol drinks facilitates the early initiation. In homes where the pantry is always well stocked with alcohol, it means that it is at their disposal whenever there is a desire for it.

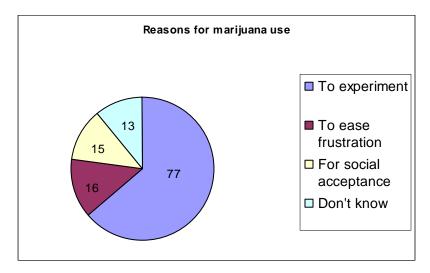
The laxity in the law dealing with the sale of alcohol to minors also contributes to the early age at which alcohol is consumed. Shopkeepers and bartenders preoccupation with sales and profits cause to them ignore the immoral implications. In neighbourhood shops, particularly in the rural community, young children purchase alcohol freely as if they would purchase sugar and flour. The children would then grow up thinking that alcohol consumption is normal, adult practice.

Drinking parents provide good role models for their children who occasionally take in liquor. Ironically, some of these parents become very angry when they find out that their

children are regular heavy drinkers. They are not only angry but also feel inadequate to reprove them because they lack the moral authority with which to do so. Whatever takes place in the home is considered normal for most children. So when they see their parents drink regularly, as if were their daily meals, then they would naturally think that it is alright and would imitate their parents drinking with or without parental consent. In Grenada, taking in a drink of rum before lunch, "to break the gas", is a customary practice in homes where alcohol is consumed. This custom is invariably the single most initiating factor in the home. The influence of the home in the use and misuse of alcohol cannot be ignored or underestimated.

Peer influence

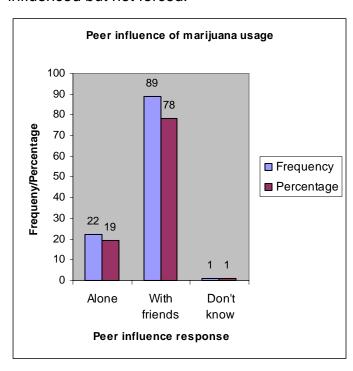
Write Rafael Escandon and Cesar Galvez (2005): "The peculiarities of adolescence, with its hormonal changes, value crises and the insertion into a world perceived as more complex, involve undeniable risk. Adolescence is also a stage of experiencing new attitudes, of intense sociability and conformity with group rules. Pressure from friends and colleagues is stronger than ever." This explains the reason why 77% of the respondents who use marijuana, did so to experiment with the drug during the socialization with friends.



It is argued that selective peer group interaction and socialization has the most powerful impact on drug use. Young people tend to associate based on their similarities of

lifestyles. If peers are using drugs, this tends to (although not necessary) open up the potential for drug use. Imitation of peers and vulnerability to social influence initiate and maintain patterns of drug use in peer groups. In a cohesive peer group, shared values and behaviors are reinforced and as a result there is a greater bond. The greater the impact of the shared values and norms, the greater is the bond. Involvement in the group provides a role model and rationales for continued and escalating use.

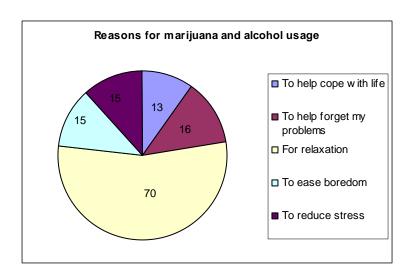
In peer groups, popularity is an important goal. And, the internalization and expression of the values of the group contribute significantly to one's social acceptance. Induction into the social world outside the home is an important function of the peer group. This is done by creating a small subculture. The use of marijuana and alcohol might be one of the accepted ways of behaving within the peer group. But, contrary to the popularly held belief that young people are pressured by the peers to smoke marijuana, the survey shockingly revealed that 69% of those who smoke marijuana were not forced by any one but decided to try it on their own for the purpose of experimenting. They were influenced but not forced.



Alcohol and Marijuana use and abuse, like criminal behaviour, is learned through a normative process. Social learning is a characteristic feature among drug users in Trench Town. In Trench Town, Edwin Sutherland's Differential Association theory of deviance aptly describes the behavioural pattern. Sutherland argues that behaviour is learnt in face-to-face interaction with others and learning depends on: priority, intensity and duration and involves techniques, motives, attitudes and definitions. The adage: "show me your friends and I will tell who you are" reinforces this theory. Individuals tend to associate with groups or individuals who reward their behaviour.

Both alcohol and marijuana consumption are learnt. The process involve is perfected by repeated use and the experience gain from knowledge obtain from experienced peers. The survey revealed a strong correlation between peer group influence and the use of marijuana and alcohol. Seventy eight percent (78%) of the respondents' initial use of marijuana and 75% of those who consume alcohol do so while with friends. Next to the family, the peer group is the most influential agent of socialization. The peer group is organized on the basis of age and is quite strong among children and adolescents, who are more likely to consort with their age mate. It provides young people with the first experience of egalitarian relationships, giving adolescents the opportunity to test what they are taught by adults. In doing so, they experiment with the use of marijuana and alcohol to prove if what they are taught is true and gain social acceptance in the group.

The experimentation is not really a fact finding activity about drugs' consequences as it an already known fact. "Most of today's prevention programmes presuppose that such experimentation is the result of teen's insufficient knowledge of drugs' adverse consequences. Quite the contrary, however, this experimentation generally is the result of complex social relationships, especially with peers, and the social benefits derived from drug experimentation or usage may overshadow the social, health, and criminal justice consequences of drug usage behaviour." (Policing the Drug Problem 493)



As a coping strategy to pressures in life

The use of alcohol as a coping strategy is as old as man. Some individuals find it difficult to cope with the pressures of life and would unsuccessfully try to drown their troubles in liquor or make them disappear in puffs of smoke. A thirty nine year old businessman said that he used to drink alcohol as a coping strategy. He would drink when his problems with the business are overwhelming but the temporary relief brought by the alcohol only lasted until the intoxication. For example, he stated: "I always wondered why a business associate of mind drinks so much alcohol until I found that he was drinking excessively to deal with his financial problems. I decided to try it too and found that drinking heavily before bedtime helps me sleep through the night without thinking about my problems. But, when I wake next morning, they are right there steering me in my face."

The study, through in-depth interviews, found out that there is a strong correlation between broken romantic relationship and the abuse of alcohol. "Tabanca" (the emotional hurt one experiences as a result of broken romantic relationship) is one of the contributing factors to alcohol abuse. When faced with this problem, many of the victims try to drown their problem in the bottle. The researcher interviewed a man in his early thirties who has been drinking excessively for the past three years due to a love

relationship that went sour. His inability to realistically deal with the problem has resulted in alcohol abuse.

Economic factors

Both unemployment and employment are considered contributing factors to the use and abuse of alcohol and marijuana. This startling revelation was discovered during in-depth interviews with subjects in the three communities. Unemployment tends to contributes more marijuana use and abuse while employment contributes more to alcohol use and abuse. Marijuana is use more often by those who are experiencing frustration due to unemployment while alcohol is used to ease the overwhelming stress caused by laborious and high-risk jobs. Alcohol consumption among young construction workers is worthy of note. Many of them would gather at a preferred bar or rum shop close the construction site to celebrate the end of a hard week's work. They drink excessively on "pay day" or what some of them call the "devil's birthday". Alcohol beverages such as beers and stouts are the preferred drinks as they are more socially acceptable among the youthful workers.

On the other hand, marijuana is more often used by those who are unemployed. In Trench Town and Gun Battle where a number of youth can be seen sitting idly on any given day, marijuana use is a valued past time activity. Characterized by a sense of fatalism, apathy and hopelessness in respect to aspirations for economic or upward social mobility, they smoke and talk frustratingly about their problems and societal issues that they think are responsible for their seemingly marginalized status. Alcoholism is also common among them but as they stated marijuana is more often used. This problem of use and abuse is most acute among those with familial responsibilities but are jobless. They curse the socioeconomic system or "the system" for not facilitating their economic advancement as it should.

Education

The research found that one's level of education influences his or her use of alcohol and marijuana. The more knowledgeable he or she is about the effects about alcohol and marijuana use and abuse, the less likely their use and abuse. On the other hand, the less knowledgeable they are, the more likely their use and abuse. In a discussion with class of thirty-five Year 1 sociology students of the School of Arts, Science and Professional Studies at the T.A. Marryshow Community College (TAMCC), Grenada's premiere and only indigenous tertiary institution, students expressed the view that young people who abuse alcohol and use marijuana, most often do not well in school.

According to the students, low performers use drugs as a form of rebellion. Their drug use sometimes takes place in the school setting. Their educational failures affect their self-esteem and value system and as a consequence, feel that they must something, negative or positive to maintain some kind of image. Their drug use invariably leads to absenteeism. "Once you see they start missing school, most often than not, they are using drugs," stated Ministry of Education truancy officer. The absenteeism usually leads to their dropping out of school. Research studies reveal that high school students that consume alcohol and take drugs are five times as likely to drop out of school. Alcohol and marijuana give them an identity that they think would make them feel more adult-like and they convince themselves that adults do not belong in school.

Conversely, some of the male students claimed that young men like themselves use marijuana to boost their academic performance. They claim that they were told that marijuana use leads to deeper meditation; therefore, if taken would aid in the understanding of complex information. The female students dismissed this correlation as utter nonsense and counter-argued that there isn't any scientific proof that marijuana leads to academic improvement.

More interesting was the association between marijuana and sexual performance. A heated debate ensued as result of a point made of young women preference for young

men who spoke marijuana. Almost fifty (50%) of the female students agreed and spoke of young women who expressed their desire to be with marijuana users, especially if that young man has a level of social influence and is popular in the community. To be with a particular "Ganja man" gives them a sense of identity and bask in his popularity and social influence among his peers. In their own words, "the 'Ganja man' gives them status".

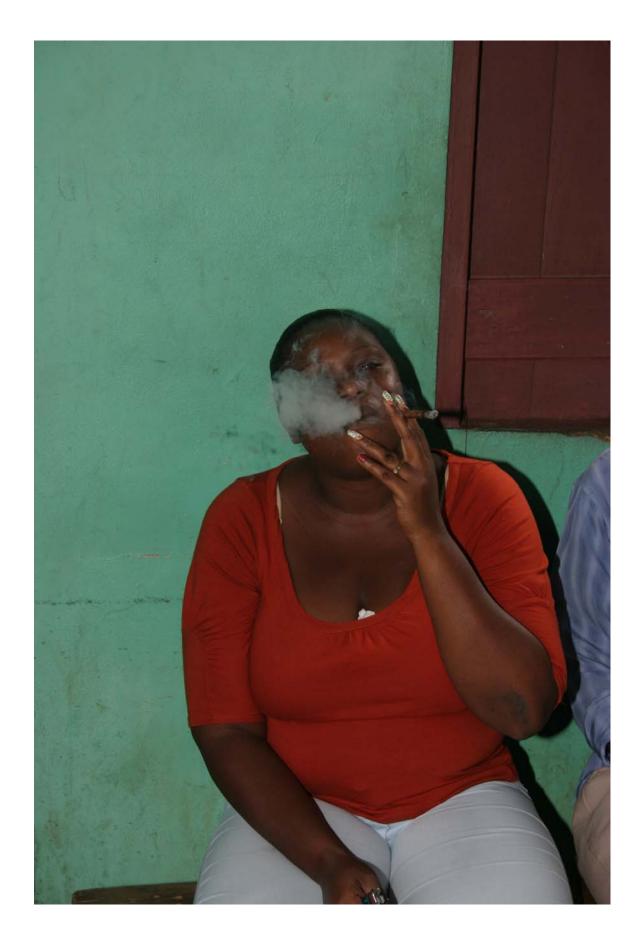
The class seemed more tolerant and empathic with young people who use alcohol and marijuana in order to deal with stress and other social pressures they experience. The students spoke critically of those who these drugs for recognition or put simply, to show off. From the sentiments expressed, the researcher believes that they have very little regard for those who use marijuana publicly. Of the two drugs, alcohol is more socially accepted and did not criticize those who drink alcohol openly as they did to those who do the same with marijuana. Marijuana use gives them a delinquent identity that they do not to be associated with. After all, they consider themselves the cream of the secondary school graduates and the future professionals who must stay clear from being negatively labeled.

Sex and Gender

The use of marijuana and alcohol by females is on the increase in Grenada. This phenomenon exists because of the post-modern youth culture that is characterized by sex, fashion and drug use. Much to the chagrin of older members of the society, young women today are consuming hard liquor as a replacement for the non-alcohol beverages they would have felt contend in times past. Many of them said that they need something that can give a quick high at the lowest possible price. But, conservative young men do not countenance such phenomenal behaviour. They believe that women should not drink hard liquor like rum and should be content with one or two alcohol beverages. They do not like when women are doing things that put them on par with

men. "The most disgusting ting is to see ah woman smoking marijuana or drinking rum...they look less than a woman when they do that", moaned a young man.

The study found that marijuana use among young women, particularly those from the lower class is rapidly increasing. Most of them who smoke have boyfriends and fiancés that smoke excessively or are members of a female peer group where a "girlfriend with the weed is a friend indeed". They do not believe that this traditionally made practice is affecting their femininity as did it in the past. The postmodern society is more accepting such practices. It is a case of yesterday's deviance becoming today's norm. "I doh care what people have to say about me. I just want to smoke mih herb and feel free," remarked a female marijuana user.



Drug Demand Reduction Project 2006

Other social explanations

Labelling and the self-fulfilling prophecy

The social construction of drug users is a reality that admittedly perpetuates drug use. Labelling is one of those sociological theories that were postulated by Howard Becker to explain why one becomes a marijuana smoker. According to Becker, there are three stages: novice, occasional and regular that one passes through in becoming a marijuana smoker. Most of the marijuana users in the three communities are at the regular stage. Some said that they smoke an average two marijuana cigarettes everyday. The regularity with which they smoke marijuana is a custom of their subcultural norms.

Drug use is learned and reinforced within a group setting. In the focus group discussions, there appears to be significant others within the groups that have a tremendous amount of experience with drug use and feel delighted in teaching those whom they may regard as novice the proper way to smoke marijuana and drink alcohol. The novice would be taught how to use the drug, perceive its effect, enjoy the effect, access a supply, maintain secrecy and neutralize the stigma associated with the use of the drug.

The three communities studied are so labeled that parents/guardians do not want their children to have any association with them. To be seen frequenting one of those communities would be sufficient reason to be labeled as a drug user. For a family member to be labeled a marijuana user would bring shame and disgrace to a family, particularly one in the higher stratum.

Delinquency and Drift

American sociologists David Matza's drift hypothesis also explain the high incidence of drug use in those areas. Many of the adolescents and young adults interviewed seem to have been adrift from the conventional lifestyle of society. Matza argues that adolescents drift in and out of deviance. It is during the drift that some youth experiment with alcohol or marijuana. "Matza explains that attraction to deviance in terms of subterranean values. This set of values encourages enjoying yourself, acting on the spur of the moment, self-expression, being aggressive and seeking excitement. These values, according to Matza, exist throughout society, alongside formal values which encourage hard work and planning for the future. The respectable member in society will only act in accordance with subterranean values during leisure activities, such as drinking in a bar..."(Haralambos, 2000 p.362)

Matza's theory of deviance is applicable to the pattern of alcohol and marijuana use observed among those who participated in this study. Those who use marijuana and alcohol do not hold different values from the rest of the society. Although some young people drift back and forth in drug use, they maintain a consistent positive self-image. The sentiments expressed about their drug use aptly fit in with Matza's "techniques of neutralization" theory, that is, the temporarily release from the hold of society's norms and values. Techniques of neutralization include:

- i. Denial of responsibility some of the drug users, particularly those who smoke marijuana exonerate themselves by blaming the area in which they live. For instance, in the community of Woburn, one respondent justify the use and abuse marijuana in the area by laying blame on the socio-economic conditions of the community.
- ii. *Denial of injury* The marijuana users were quick to state that their use of the drug does not harm them and others; therefore people should have no cause to worry.
- iii. Denial that the act of use is basically wrong Marijuana users in particular argue that there isn't any wrong with its use and felt that they should be allowed to smoke freely. Some cite medicinal and religious reasons for their use of it and 45% of the users surveyed want it to be legalized.
- iv. Condemnation of condemners Users are apt to condemn those who criticize and isolate them, claiming that the social system is hypocritical because it does not

condemn alcohol, which according to them is over damaging to the individual and society.

The correlation between alcohol use and violence and marijuana use and violence are considered to be distinctively different. Ninety (90%) of those interviewed believe that there is a stronger correlation between alcohol and misdemeanor. Alcohol related violence is vastly different from marijuana related violence. Violence associated with marijuana use occurs mainly as a result of delinquency in credit transaction. Users who are indebted to the supplier or "pusher" and do not honor their commitment to pay, invariably suffer the consequences of their delinquency. Given the illegality of the transaction and the fact that the judicial process cannot be used to retrieve outstanding monies, frequent serious altercations occur between the creditors and debtors. In some instances, maining and even death occurs.

Marijuana users argued that it is alcohol use that leads to violence and not marijuana. The study found out that alcohol is a more recreational drug than marijuana. Interviewees, who use both marijuana and alcohol, claim that they use more alcohol when they are partying and usually tend to get into conflicts which may or may not lead to fights. They stated that when they are under the influence of alcohol, they have less control of their impulsive actions. Alcohol predisposes to engage in anti-social behaviour that may very disruptive and injurious to themselves and others. Criminal acts such as physical assault, fighting with weapons, auto theft, sexual harassment and vandalism were seen as alcohol related behaviour. Assault accounts for eighty percent (80%) of the crimes committed while on the influence of marijuana. This is closely followed by stealing with 75%. Interestingly, 80% of the offenders have never been caught and

They also argue that they tend to use more alcohol at social functions because of legality and social acceptability. They can drink alcohol anywhere but cannot smoke marijuana anywhere.

Lack of social control

Due to the breakdown or lack of social control, many of the users had experienced a drift from the conventional norms of society and in doing so, began using marijuana and alcohol. The lack of or very little social control due to weak social attachment to family, the community, teachers and other significant others is a major contributing factor to drug use, particularly among those in the lower class. Because they no longer feel a sense of attachment to these agencies of social control, the bond is weakened and the predisposition for drug use develops faster. Many of those who can be considered addicted to marijuana use and consume alcohol excessively have a weak social bond with their families. They are more or less leading a life that is in isolation of their kin. To a lesser extent, their alcohol and marijuana peers provide for their psycho-social needs.

In a few cases, the habitual use of marijuana and alcohol has widened the familial gap and has broken kinship ties, especially when the family feels disgraced by a member's alcoholic problem. In one particular family, a sister vowed that she does not want to have anything to do with an alcoholic brother whose drinking is seen as sheer worthlessness and not as a physiological (clinical) problem. Such treatment drives the alcoholic further away from the family and deeper into his or her alcoholic problem.

There is ample evidence that those who addicted to alcohol and marijuana are less likely to be involved in conventional community activities. Their lack of involvement provides them with more time to participate in other activities such as recreational drug use. For instance, in Trench Town, many of the marijuana users are not involved in organized after-work activities; whereas in the neigbouring Paradise community where football is treated as a religion, the incidence of alcohol and marijuana use is much less. The consuming passion for this sporting activity has reduced the desire for the aforementioned drugs. Involvement in team training or just a 'sweat' in the park almost on a daily basis followed by an after practice 'lime' leaves them with very little time for alcohol and marijuana use and abuse. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that a lack

of involvement in conventional activities increase the possibility of drug use among the youth.

Results of In-depth interview with Professionals:

Magistrates -

The researcher conducted an in-depth interview with a magistrate in the Eastern Magisterial District. The magistrate interviewed shared his candid view on the issue from a judicial perspective. The interviewee revealed that young people are seldom charged for drunkenness even though there is a law dealing with this but it is not enacted. In our society, there are laws dealing with drunkenness but these laws are not enforced; therefore it drunkenness though not socially accepted is not generally regarded as a violation of the law. Informal social sanctions are used in place of the law when dealing with drunkards.

They are more likely to be charged with disorderly behaviour associated with drunkenness. The disorderly behaviour invariably takes place at social functions such as public parties, carnival and other celebrations, church harvest and fairs. Disorderly behaviour is rarely exhibited singularly but is tend to be displayed in the company of others. More cases of alcohol related disorderly behaviour are dealt with at the magistrate courts than with marijuana consumption and possession.

The court tends to be lenient with those facing charges for marijuana use. Most of those that are convicted are from the lower class and usually would not have the money to the extremely high fines prescribed by the law. For instance, the Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of the Fifth Schedule Section 37 stipulates a fine of \$250,000.00 Or five years in prison on a summary conviction for being in possession of marijuana for consumption. If the full force of the law is imposed, most of the convicted would not be able to pay and therefore many convicted persons would be sent to prison. This would, according the magistrate, fill the prison. So to avoid this from happening, leniency is shown by reducing the charges. In so doing that could encourage use of marijuana.

Court officials believe that those charge with marijuana use offer different arguments or stories to defend themselves. The more intelligent defendant would use religion as their line of defense whilst their counterparts would medicinal arguments or would claim that they use it to boost their performance on the job.

HMS Prison Commissioner/Social workers

Notwithstanding the fact that there is limited official statistics from the Crime Records Office on the root cause of crime, prison officials say that about eighty per cent of their inmates are drug addicts and peddlers and therefore commit drug related offences. Personal knowledge of the inmates' lifestyle provides them with that kind of information. The inmates claim that their main reasons for the use of alcohol and marijuana are frustration and a lack of proper socialization during childhood. The prison officials believe that those inmates who use and abuse alcohol and marijuana have reached the mood of fatalism. The unsuccessfully try to drown their problems in a rum and alcohol beverages and make them disappear like the smoke emitted from the marijuana cigarette.

Although the majority of them are addicted to harder drugs such as cocaine, their initial drug use begun with either alcohol and/or marijuana. Their misuse of alcohol and marijuana predisposed to the harder drugs they are now addicted to. Prison officials agree that there should alternative sentencing for individuals who, because of their alcohol and marijuana addiction, commit a misdemeanour. Custodial treatment should be for those addicts who commit more serious crimes. They welcome the suggestion made the magistrate of the Eastern District that rehabilitation sentencing for drug addicts should be the alternative to custodial sentencing.

Despite the tight security and scrutiny of inmates, there is still minimal use of marijuana. Being in possession of it gives and sense of heroism and prestige.

Probationer Officers/Counsellors

A probationer officer/counselor attached to the Legal Aid and Counselling Clinic, (a project of the Grenada Community Development Agency) revealed that the economic cost has become an important factor in what he believes to be an increase in the consumption of rum among the youth. Since the objective of many of them is to get intoxicated, they pursue to the cheapest means to the end which is the consumption of hard liquor.

Alcohol beverages are consumed in great amounts during promotional activities such as "Carib Happy Hour" where the prices of the beverages are drastically reduced. It is important to note that many of the "Carib Happy Hour" events are organized by the Royal Grenada Police Force (RGPF). An alarming number of young people would purchase the beverages at such an affordable price. The probationer officer/counselor also claims that the pocket money given to average middle class youth would be average of twenty dollars \$20.00. With \$20.00 they, for example would be able to purchase an average of eight beers at the promotional offer of two for \$5.00. It therefore goes without saying that these social promotional events encourage the consumption of alcohol among the youth.

The frequently held reggae shows have a parallel effect on marijuana consumption. Marijuana users and abusers think that in order to properly digest and react to a heavy dose of reggae music, they must be on "meditation" or get a "high". And, as a result increase their use, misuse and abuse during those shows. It is important to note that the lyrics of the song also encourage increase consumption with the risk being apprehended by the police. The liberality with which they smoke marijuana at those social events gives one the impression that the use of the drug should be temporarily permitted for their duration.

Early socialization of alcohol consumption plays a critical role in the use and abuse of marijuana and alcohol. About 80% of the youth interviewed claim that their alcohol

consumption began at home. The occasional consumption of alcohol at Christmas and other festive times of the year made them develop a growing desire commensurate with their growth and development. Some parents teach their children how to drink by permitting them to imitate their behavioural patterns. Alcohol consumption at an early age predisposes the individual to become regular social drinkers and to a lesser extent alcoholics. Some families not only produce people for society, but they also produce alcoholics and marijuana users and abusers.

Class, alcohol and marijuana use and abuse

In Grenada, one' social class plays a critical role in the use of marijuana and consumption of alcohol. The study shows that marijuana use is more prevalent among lower class youth, who believe that the drug gives them an identity that separates them from the oppressors of society. They also believe that marijuana use would make them more conscious about the oppression they claim to experience from the hands of the upper class.

There is a more widespread use of marijuana among the major classes. But, the working class youth, largely for economic reasons, would tend to consume more alcohol than alcoholic beverages. Also, the beverages are more socially acceptable and give more social prestige whereas the hard liquor, such as rum, tends to lower drinking status of the individual. A young drinker prefers to be seen in public with a beer than with a glass of rum. The higher the alcohol content of the drink, the lower the prestige accorded to the young drinker. Today, the opposite occurs. Rum drinking has become more prevalent among young people.

Some young people from the middle and upper class do not want their use of marijuana to be public knowledge. Their parents would suffer terrible misgivings if they smoke marijuana especially with users from the lower class. They do not see is as an associational activity of the upper class and would not approve of such unconventional behaviour. Also, society sees their children as saints and the lower class children as

rough necks. The "saints" must not identify with the "roughnecks" because the latter would negatively influence the former. For a "saint" to be arrested and charged for smoking marijuana would cause public embarrassment, which they must avoid at all cost.

Lower class users of marijuana do not care about public knowledge. As a matter fact, some resort to marijuana use as a consequence of their position of discontent. For instance, some lower class youth take pride in being seen in public puffing their marijuana cigarettes much to the chagrin of passersby. Some do this as a form deviant behaviour to attract attention to themselves as "roughnecks" who lead an impulsive and adventurous life.

CONCLUSIONS

This study attempted to excavate the reasons why young people use and abuse alcohol and marijuana. Also, it sought to prod individuals to speak about their experience with the use of these drugs and the consequent implications. Hearing it from the mouths of the young people provided the researcher with information that defer from the popularly held beliefs that are often times tend to be in variance with reality. Getting the youth to speak about drugs was no easy task, particularly those who are closet drug users.

Some of information revealed by the subjects of study contrasted the body of information that we accept as the gospel truth. The study also clarified some confusion about the reasons for drug use and the problems associated with it. For most the subjects of the marijuana and alcohol are not so harmful when compared with cocaine or what they refer to as "hard drugs". As far they are concern, marijuana and alcohol use and abuse is far less harmful.

Many of the subjects are starved for information about drug use and abuse. Their lack of knowledge predisposes them to greater use of alcohol and marijuana. And,

unfortunately some of the ignoramuses do not care to know about the harmful effects of alcohol and marijuana consumption, particularly the marijuana users. There is a lot of work to be done in educating people about alcohol's and marijuana's harmful effects.

Alcohol and marijuana use and abuse are abrasive and costly. This social problem has always figured in the mind of social scientists who look at it from the social structure and the social process. The social disorganization of the society is a major influencing factor, which, if not dealt with in a proactive manner would only lead to the worsening of the problem. The study clearly reveal that the problem of alcohol and marijuana use and abuse is a social construction of the society that we live in.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

Alcohol and marijuana use and abuse is real and present problem. To curb the incidence of their use, there must be a concerted effort by all stakeholders. All institutions must come on board because none is insulated from the disastrous effects of alcohol and marijuana use and abuse. A number of approaches must be taken in dealing with this acute societal problem.

The anti-drug use crusade must be intensified, particularly against alcohol which because of its legal status is considered normal and harmless by many people. The following can be done to effectively deal with the use and abuse of alcohol and marijuana:

Parent education

Parents are the primary teachers about right and wrong. Teaching people about drug use and abuse must begin in the home. Since parents can only teach their children

what they know, it is imperative that parents be equipped with the skills and knowledge that are required for teaching children about drug use and abuse. "Psychoanalyst Sigmund Fried also argued that an adult's behaviour best could be explained by examining the significant events of the first six years of his or her life. Freud also believes that these childhood experiences are the subconscious motivator of actions taken later in life.

Mentorship programmes

Positive role models have proven to be possibly the most effective remedy against atrisk children. Many young people do not have significant others in their lives. The stable father figure in the home is particularly important to young boys. The Drug Secretariat can implement a mentorship programme that would provide good role models to young people who would listen to and advise them on all aspects of their lives; encouraging and assisting them in social, moral and intellectual development. Mentors who are able to effectively articulate and demonstrate ideals that feed into the mentees' sense of responsibility; thus, influencing the choices they make. With a caring adult looking over their shoulder, young people would engage in more responsible behaviour.

Character education

The values of society must be made a priority item in the schools' curriculum. Today, many of our schools are breeding too many intellectual delinquents. Some young people have subcultural value systems that differ from the larger culture. Their subcultural values could influence pathetically compulsive quality. For instance, they may value drug use more highly than educational achievement if they believe they are unable to cope with the challenges of academia.

Stiffer penalties

It is argued that the light penalties imposed on individuals who commit marijuana offenses do not act as a deterrent. Those convicted for their marijuana use are not sufficiently punished by the courts; therefore, they are not deterred by the law. With regard to alcohol, the sale of alcohol to minors must be prohibited by law. But, the

argument put forward by those against using the full weight of the law is that most of those convicted for marijuana related offences are able to pay the \$250,000.00 fine the law stipulates. They further argued that by imposing such a fine would lead to the building of more prisons to accommodate the majority of convicts that are not able to pay such huge fines.

APPENDIX

Alcohol/Marijuana Use and Abuse Survey

Introduction: My name is	, and I am an employee of Milestone Institute which
is conducting a survey of alcohol an	d drug use in Grenada. Interviews are being conducted in
this neighbourhood and others. From	n the data collected, we hope to identify the key factors
associated with alcohol and drug use	e, to determine its impact on society, and to make appropriate
recommendations.	

Confidentiality and consent: This interview should take no more than 10 minutes, and all your answers would be kept in confidentiality. Some of the questions may sound a bit personal but they are not meant to invade your privacy. Rather without them the information we obtain from the study would not be quite complete. We would understand your unwillingness or reluctance to answer any such questions but we hope that this would not be the case. The result of the study will be made public through the media at the end of the data collection period.

Interviewer:	 	
Location:		

Section 1: Demographics:

No.	Questions	Coding categories	Skip to
Q101	Sex	[] MALE [] FEMALE	
Q102	What age group are you in?	[] 15-19 [] 20-25 [] 26-29 [] 30-35	
Q103	Which family structure do you belong to?	[] NUCLEAR [] EXTENDED [] SINGLE PARENT [] RECONSTITUTED (In-law) [] SIBLING [] OTHER (specify)	

		[] I DON'T KNOW
Q104	Which religious denomination, sect or cult do you belong?	[] CATHOLIC [] ANGLICAN [] ADVENTIST [] PENTECOSTAL [] RASTAFARI [] BAPTIST [] JEHOVAH WITNESS [] EVANGELICAL [] NEW TESTAMENT [] OTHER (specify)
Q105	How often to do you attend worship service?	[] ALL THE TIME [] AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK [] ONLY ON SPECIAL OCCASION [] Other (Specify) [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE

Section 2: Education

Q106	Have you ever attended school?	[] YES [] NO	→ 207
Q107	What is the highest level of education have you Completed up to now?	[] LESS THAN PRIMARY SCH. [] PRIMARY [] SECONDARY [] TECHNICAL (NEWLO) [] COLLEGE (TAMCC) [] UNIVERSITY [] I DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	
Q108	How many total years of education have you completed up to now?	[] [<u> </u>] [] I DON'T KNOW	
Q109	Are you currently attending school?	[] YES	

		[] NO	
Q201	What level are you attending?	[] PRIMARY [] SECONDARY [] TECHNICAL/VOCATIONAL [] COLLEGE [] UNIVERSITY	
Q202	How would rate your performance in school?	[] EXCELLENT [] VERY GOOD [] GOOD [] POOR [] VERY POOR [] I DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	
Q203	How would you rate your behaviour in school?	[] EXCELLENT [] VERY GOOD [] GOOD [] POOR [] VERY POOR [] I DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	
Q204	Have you ever been suspended or expelled From school because of your behaviour?	[] YES [] NO [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	
Q205	Who pay your school fees?	[] MYSELF [] PARENTS [] RELATIVE [] GOVERNMENT [] OTHER (specify) [] I DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	
Q206	How often have you stayed away from school because you did not have money for the bus or lunch?	[] VERY OFTEN [] OFTEN [] SOMETIMES [] NEVER [] I DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	

Section 3: Employment:

Q207	Are you employed?	[] YES [] NO	→ 301
Q208	What is your employment status?	[] FULL TIME [] PART TIME [] SELF-EMPLOYED [] UNEMPLOYED [] DON'T KNOW	
Q209	Which sector are you employed?	[] TOURISM/HOSPITALITY [] AGRICULTURE [] MANUFACTURING [] PUBLIC UTILITIES [] BUILDING CONSTRUCTION [] BANKING FINANCE [] GOVERNMENT SECTOR [] SECURITY [] SMALL MICROBUSINESS [] OTHER (specify)	
Q210	Are you the sole income provider	[] YES [] NO	
Q 211	If no, who else provides?	[] PARENTS [] SPOUSE [] SIBLINGS	
Q212	What is your annual income?	[] 5,000 - 9,000 [] 10,000 - 15,000 [] 16,000 - 19,000 [] 20,000 - 29,000 [] 30,000 - 39,000 [] 40,000 - 49,000 [] Over 50,0000	

Section 4: Alcohol/marijuana use

Q301	Have you ever drunk alcohol or beverages containing alcohol?	[] YES [] NO [] I DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	→310
Q302	Which of the following best describes your use of alcohol?	[] ALCOHOLIC [] REGULAR HEAVY DRINKER [] OCCASIONAL HEAVY DRINKER [] REGULAR LIGHT DRINKER [] OCCASIONAL LIGHT DRINKER [] SOCIAL DRINKER [] OTHER (Specify) [] I DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	
Q303	How old were you when you first drank alcohol?	[] DON'T KNOW	
Q304	Have you consumed any alcoholic drinks in the last 4 Weeks?	[] YES [] NO	
Q305	Besides you how many other person your household drink alcohol?	[] I DON'T KNOW	
Q306	How often do you drink at home	[] ALWAYS [] MOST OF THE TIME [] Not often [] Never	
Q307	Besides at home, where else do you drink?	[] At the bar [] When with friends [] At parties	

Q308	How often do you or anyone in this household drink alcohol or use other drugs?	[] AT LEAST TWICE PER WEEK [] AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK [] ONCE A MONTH [] OTHER (specify) [] DON'T KNOW	
Q309	What other drugs do you use (have you ever used) besides alcohol?	Have used Still Use [] Marijuana [] [] [] Cocaine [] [] [] Other (Specify)	
Q310	Have you ever used marijuana?	[] YES [] NO [] I DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	
Q311	Think about the first time you smoked marijuana. Did any one forced you to try it?	[] YES [] NO [] DON'T KNOW	
Q312	Why did you try it?	[] TO EXPERIMENT [] TO EASE FRUSTRATION [] TO GAIN SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	
Q313	Did you try it alone or with friends?	[] ALONE [] WITH FRIENDS [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	
Q314	Do you participate in group smoking?	[] YES [] NO [] DON'T KNOW	

Q315	How often do you use marijuana?	[] EVERYDAY [] AT LEATS ONCE AWEEK [] AT LEAST TWICE PER WEEK [] EVERYDAY [] OTHER (specify) [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE
Q316	Besides marijuana, what other drugs have you tried?	[] COCAINE [] HEROINE [] NONE [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE
Q317	Have you ever committed a crime to obtain money to support your marijuana use?	[] YES [] NO [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE
Q318	What type of crime did you commit?	[] STEALING [] ROBBERY [] FRAUD [] PROSTITUTION [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE
Q319	Have you ever committed a crime while under the influence of marijuana?	[] YES [] NO [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE
Q320	What type of crime did you commit?	[] ASSAULT [] STEALING [] ROBBERY [] PROSTITUTION [] FRAUD [] VANDALISM [] RAPE [] FRAUD [] ANY OTHER (please specify) [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE

Q321	How many times have you ever been arrested and charged for such crime(s)?	[] ONCE [] TWICE [] 3 - 5 TIMES [] MORE THAN 5 TIMES [] NEVER [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	
Q322	What do you consider to be marijuana abuse?	SMOKING: [] ONE "JOINT" PER DAY [] TWO "JOINTS" PER DAY [] THREE "JOINTS" PER DAY [] MORE THAN THREE JOINTS PER DAY [] I DON'T KNOW	
Q323	Do you smoke marijuana as part of your religious ritual?	[] YES [] NO [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	
Q324	Do you think that marijuana should be legalized?	[] YES [] NO [] DON'T KNOW [] NO RESPONSE	
Q325	Why do you use marijuana or alcohol?	[] TO HELP ME COPE WITH LIFE [] TO HELP ME FORGET MY PROBLEMS [] FOR RELAXATION [] TO EASE BOREDOM [] TO RELIEVE STRESS	
Q326	Which behavioural change takes Place when you drink alcohol or Smoke marijuana?	ALWAYS SOMETIMES NEVER I BECOME AGGRESSIVE [] [] [] I BECOME ABUSIVE [] [] [] I USE OSCENE LANG. [] [] [] I GET INTO FIGHTS [] [] [] I MISS WORK [] [] [] I MISS SCHOOL [] [] []	

Q327	Which of the following has been (or is)affected by your using alcohol and marijuana?	[] MANAGEMENT OF MY MONEY [] RELATIONSHIP WITH MY SPOUSE/FIANCE [] RELATIONSHIP WITH MY FRIENDS [] PERSONAL SAFETY
		[] PROBLEMS WITH THE LAW [] MY HEALTH [] MY JOB [] OTHER (specify)