

PERSONAL MOTIVATIONS OF RESIDENTS WHO USE MOONSHINE IN AGRICULTURAL RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

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1. INTRODUCTION

Alcohol consumption is one of the major factors for the global health and it is associated with various adverse consequences and health problems such as death, injury and disease burden worldwide and has a major impact on public health. (WHO, 2011b, Rehm et al., 2009, Anderson et al., 2009). The world health organization estimates that there are about 76.3 billion people worldwide diagnosed with alcohol use disorders. Globally, alcohol causes 3.2% of all deaths, or 1.8 million deaths annually, and accounts for four percent of disease burden. Alcohol consumption has become one of the most prominent social and health issues in Sri Lanka. From 1995 to 2008 the adult (15+ years) per capita consumption (in liters of pure alcohol) of legally produced alcohol doubled from 0.20 liters to 0.43 liters (WHO, 2011a). Estimates based on legal alcohol significantly underestimate true consumption as these estimates do not account for illegally produced alcohol (Rehm et al., 2009).

In rural and poorer urban areas of Sri Lanka, the predominant alcohol consumed is illicitly produced kasippu, which is cheaper because it avoids government duty, and is unregulated. Kasippu is produced by combining sugar and yeast but toxic ingredients may also be added such as barbed wire, mosquito coils, cement and urea (Adelekan et al., 2008; Dias, 2010). At least two-thirds of male drinkers in srilanka consume kasippu (International Center for Alcohol Policies, 2012). Individuals on lower incomes and those in the 'middle class' are

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the most common consumers of kasippu (Abeyasinghe, 2002a; Silva, 2003b; International Center for Alcohol Policies, 2012). This situation is visible in both rural and urban areas (Assunta, 2001; Abeyasinghe, 2002a; Baklien and Samarasinghe, 2005). The consumption of kasippu also has additional well-reported risks, such as inadvertent production of highly toxic methanol and deliberate adulteration with various pesticides (Dias, 2010). A number of approaches have been implemented by the government and non-government organizations to reduce harms from alcohol, but overall alcohol consumption and its effects are increasing.

The increase of licit and illicit alcohol consumption has significant effects on the physical, social, economic and mental as well as emotional well-being on an individual, family, community and society. This seems to have a strong relationship with the increased number of cirrhosis patients treated in both public and private hospitals. According to hospital data, chronic liver failure and cirrhosis mortality rates in year 2000 was 5.7 per 100,000 males and 0.9 per 100,000 for women (**Ministry of Health, 2000**). There is a profound link between the alcohol consumption and the suicide cases and crimes in Sri Lanka. A survey done by Gunnell et al have pointed out that the alcoholic liquor consumption is a major reason behind the suicide cases in Sri Lanka (Gunnell et al., 2007). In addition, a survey done by Abeyasinghe et al also found that the contribution of alcohol misuse to male suicides, the importance of targeting the supply of illegal alcohol and improving the identification and aftercare of people who self-harm (Abeyasinghe and Gunnell, 2008). According to the researches based on the liquor consumption in Sri Lanka evidently shows, a clear relation can be identified between poverty and alcohol use. A frightening trend in Sri Lanka is that the increase in alcohol consumption contributes to the continuance of poverty and hinders the alleviation of poverty. Data has indicated that in Sri Lanka alcohol consumption is high among poor families (Gunasekara, 1997). The Department of Census and Statistics states that people spend approximately the same amount for domestic use as on alcohol regardless of income. Therefore, the poorest are found to spend a higher percentage of their income on alcohol (Department of Census and Statistics, 2002). Especially, poverty can be convincingly observed in rural areas where 80% of the total population lives. The illegal liquor consumption is vastly noticeable (Karunathilaka, 1996). Hence, the relation between poverty and alcohol consumption is clearly evident. Especially, the rural people spend a very large amount of their income on alcohol. In some cases, they spend money on liquor even by using the relief aids such as Janasavi, Samurdhi etc, provided to them by the government (Silva, 1991). Domestic violence and frequent family dispute are some of the major impacts that the female members of the alcohol-related families are faced with. The fact that women endure hardships caused by sons, husbands, father and brothers who use alcohol, has become a lifestyle. It has been revealed by various studies that especially within the families with low

income levels, this been revealed identifiable. According to the research done by Subramaniam and Sivayogan, which was based on the domestic violence in Trincomalee district, liquor consumption is the prominent force behind the violence against women (Subramaniam and Sivayogan, 2001). Also, alcohol consumption is related to other pattern of violence in Sri Lanka such as hate crimes, armed robberies, gang violence, street riots and election and post-election violence. But there is no reliable quantitative data indicative of trends in alcohol-related violence at the national level (Silva, 2003). A research done by Abeysinghe find out alcohol withdrawal is an important cause of patient violence in hospital settings in Sri Lanka. According to Abeysinghe's study, Alcohol dependence emerged as the most important cause of patient violence in the hospital and 45.7% of the patients who were involved in violence had an alcohol dependence problem (Abeysinghe and Jayasekara, 2003).

However it can be identified that the alcoholic beverages are widely spread in all over the world because it is considered that alcohol as a psychoactive substance and its psychological benefits such as stress reduction, mood elevation, increased sociability, social integration and relaxation (Baum-Baicker, 1985, Peele and Brodsky, 2000). The volume of alcohol had a powerful relationship between the both of positive and negative effects of alcohol consumption. According to some experiments moderate alcohol consumption could have a protective effect on certain heart diseases in specific populations (Baer et al., 2002) On the other hand according to some other studies, moderate alcohol consumption helps in order to stress reduction, mood elevation, increased sociability, and relaxation (Baum-Baicker, 1985, Peele and Brodsky, 2000) and also stress reduction is reported to contribute to a lowered risk of cardiovascular disease and other health problems (Klatsky, 1996, Pohorecky, 1990).

The alcohol consumption in Sri Lanka is considered to be most widely used culturally and as a social practice in the Sri Lankan context. Historic and cultural evidence indicates that Sri Lankans did not consume alcohol significantly in the past. Alcohol consumption was discouraged by Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, historically the three main religions in Sri Lanka (Samarasinghe et al., 1987; Heath, 1995; Hettige and Paranagama, 2005; Fonseka, 2009). This situation entirely changed during the colonial period. New taxes were imposed on toddy production and it became a commercialized product under the British regime. Concurrently, new varieties of alcohol were introduced to the South Asian countries including Sri Lanka during colonial times (Samarasinghe, 1992; Desai et al., 2003). Spirits were introduced in Sri Lanka by the Dutch period in 1640–1796 (Silva, 2003b). Then several new kinds of alcoholic beverages were introduced under the rule of the Portuguese and British (Silva, 2003b). Bars serving alcohol

were opened and spread around many town areas, and taxes and alcohol permit charges were introduced.

After independence, the Sri Lankan government introduced Excise Ordinance No. 8 of 1964, the main objective of which was to collect income from taxes on tobacco and alcoholic products and imports. The Department of Excise was established and was responsible for all aspects of the legal alcohol trade, including production, distribution and sales. As a result, alcohol production and consumption expanded, and it became a major source of income for the government.

The later introduction of open economic policies and neoliberalism caused the development of alcohol consumption and sales still further (Silva, 2003b). It became possible to import new varieties of alcohol to the country through these new economic policies. Meantime, Sri Lankan society had to move with different cultures through this new economic pattern and new cultural traditions and factors were added to the Sri Lankan culture. Promotion through communication media such as television, radio, telephone, and the movies saw a change in the attitudes of the Sri Lankan society towards consuming alcohol and an increase in alcohol consumption generally (Heath, 1995; Samarasinghe, 2006). At present, the use of alcohol within certain limits is socially sanctioned. Weddings and other social functions in Sri Lanka are considered incomplete without alcohol. Sri Lankan people use alcohol as a mode of recreation and to enhance interactions among people in the community, specifically on holidays, social gatherings and social functions. It is a common fact that in Sri Lanka alcohol is consumed at Christmas, Sinhalese New Year and other national festivals. Especially in rural areas, arrack and kasippu are a common feature of social celebrations (Baklien and Samarasinghe, 2005).

Thus, if this situation can be minimized or controlled, there will be a possibility to decrease many harmful effects. It is difficult to raise public awareness regarding alcohol related health-risk issues, as alcohol consumption among men in Sri Lanka is connected to public acceptance and cultural involvement. In order to provide suitable and effective approach for that it is important to identify the motivational facts for the illicit alcohol drinking because an individual's attitudes toward alcohol play an important role in drinking behavior. There is a significant body of literature regarding alcohol consumption, but little is known about motivational facts for illicit alcohol consumption in Sri Lanka. Specially, motivating factors impacting the use of alcohol have not been adequately investigated in the resettlement context in Sri Lanka. Even though some studies have identified that agricultural resettlement schemes in the North Central Province, where one of the highest prevalence suicide rates, poverty and domestic violence that related to excessive alcohol consumption in Sri Lanka.

Residents in the resettlement schemes may influence alcohol consumption in many ways. Because residents encounter difficulties and hardships due to their transition into a new society and culture. Hardships include the stress of experiencing new environments and cultures; landlessness, unemployment, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, lack of access to common properties; and engaging with fewer and smaller social networks and these factors are associated with alcohol consumption and problems, immigrants may consume more alcohol. Understanding precisely why people drink in this manner is essential in informing practice and policy aimed at reversing the worsening trends highlighted above. Proper understanding of motives that direct people to drink would help public health and education authorities to formulate effective public health policies and develop cost-effective measures to curb the illicit alcohol problem. Therefore, this study attempted to explore the motivations that encourage residents in an agricultural resettlement scheme to use illicit alcohol.

2. METHODS

This qualitative exploratory study is a part of a larger research project to “Explore Future of Food Production in the Agriculture Colonization Schemes in the North Central of Sri Lanka” conducted by the department of social sciences at Rajarata university of Sri Lanka. This study was conducted in the Anuradhapura District of Sri Lanka, Where the high levels of self-harm (Knipe et al., 2017), which have been linked to alcohol consumption as a risk factor (Pearson et al., 2014). Therefore, an interest of the present study has been merged in how consumers’ view on their motivations to illicit alcohol drinking in an Agriculture Colonization Schemes where the majority of the population in this area who mainly engaged in farming or temporary employment. For that semi structured in-depth interview technique consisted the aim of the study to identify the consumers’ motivations to illicit alcohol drinking by using a purposive sampling method including a diverse range of persons in a manner that enables the researcher to answer the research questions. The sample size for the semi structured in depth interviews were chosen based on theoretical saturation. An interview time convenient to the respondents was allocated, in a way that does not hinder their day-to-day duties. In-depth interviews have been conducted in a confidential setting which preferred to the respondent. Interviews lasted approximately 45–60 minutes and conducted face-to-face by a trained interviewer. All interviews were transcribed and subjected to Braun and Clarke’s thematic analysis approach to analyze the semi structured in depth interviews. In initial stage, all the audio recorded interviews were transcribed to the word document. In the second stage, the researcher has read the interview transcripts repeatedly to familiarize with the data and started to generate the initial codes by identifying where and how patterns occur. Then the codes were categorized into meaningful groups and labeled based on the research question. All the codes inserted into a table

using Microsoft excel. Finally, the themes were identified based on the similarities of the codes.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The study focused on identifying the motivational facts for illicit alcohol consumption in the rural community using qualitative component. According to this study, the motivations for the illicit alcohol consumption in the resettlement do not depend on a particular reason. The same person consumes illicit alcohol depending on multiple motivations. A thematic analysis of the interview transcripts generated seven factors which were cited as motivation on illicit alcohol drinking.

3.1 Price and availability

Price and availability were frequently cited as an important motivation on illicit alcohol drinking, particularly when deciding whether to use a substance on an occasion and which type to obtain. For example, some respondents who commonly used illicit alcohol reported that the price of the illegal alcohol is very cheap in price than licit alcohol. In the study area most of the people make income by engaging in inaccurate labor work. Therefore, their income level is in a very low position and if they purchase illegal alcohol instead of the licit, they should spend a higher percentage from their income for licit alcohol.

“Kassippu is cheaper than arrack. I will be able to buy 3 kassipu bottles from the amount that I spend for one single bottle of arrack. How can I find such an amount to buy arrack every day?” (Male, 51 years old)

“Now see sir/imagine sir... how can we buy arrack by earning this little sum of 600 rupees per day. If I go for a quarter a bottle of arrack, it will cost 175 rupees. (Male, 47 years old)”

When the ‘Price’ has become a determinant factor for their alcohol consumption on the other hand the availability has become the other factor. If they want to buy legal alcohol, they have to spend more and go to the urban areas. Yet, most of the respondents in both the communities are using Kasippu. It was easy for them to buy Kasippu whenever and wherever they want.

No need to run here and there to find a place to have a drink. We can easily get it from anywhere. Rather than buying a bottle of arrack from town which costs me more and which is far away from here...” (Male, 51 years old)

"When I feel like having a drink, I don't need to fuss about it...It is available nearby.... so whenever I feel like having a drink I can go there and buy it...If there isn't a shop nearby I don't feel like going far to get a bottle...." (Male, 58 years old)

3.2 Avoid withdrawal symptoms and pain management

Avoiding withdrawal symptoms and pain management is common motivational factor for individuals who are physically addicted or dependent on illicit alcohol drinking. Thus, they consume alcohol before they start their daily employment. If not, it will lead to cause physical and mental problems such as shivering their fingers and difficulty in concentrating on their work.

"Before I start work in the morning I should have a quarter a packet of arrack...if I'm not drunken my fingers starts to shiver...I lose my concentration... once I have some arrack, then only I can concentrate on any work... " (Male, 45 years old)

However, few of the respondents stated that they should have alcohol before they start their daily work. But, most of them stated that it is a must for them to have alcohol in the evening once they finished their daily work. In here, some of the respondents stated that they are waiting till they finish their daily work to go to the liquor shop to consume alcohol.

"I'm waiting till it becomes five in the evening... though I engage in work, my mind is there.... I go off there as soon as it becomes five... now I have used to that ...I don't feel good if I do not take some alcohol in the evening... the whole day becomes useless..." (Male, 48 years old)

In addition, according to some respondents, if they do not have any other important work to be engaged in, they have used to consume alcohol.

"Now... now if I'm staying like this I should have taken some alcohol... once I go out and have a quarter of a bottle I should have another quarter... so I drink like that too...so after a while I eat something...after eating something I go and have another drink... so it goes on and on if I stay doing nothing... now say if it's raining and I don't have any work to do...Then I drink... if the whole day rains then I don't have any work to do the whole day... so what I can do is to drink the whole day..." (Male, 58 years old)

On the other hand, according to the respondents' number of reasons are there to consume illicit alcohol once they finished their daily work. They are, to get a relief from their mental and physical stress and to be able to sleep well and

so on. Thus, if they do not consume alcohol in the evening it will be very difficult for the respondents to spend that day.

"I drink... you know when I drink I...I can get rid of that... this thing...but, I can sleep well...I can sleep at a stretch... when I drink and sleep I can sleep at a stretch till about four in the morning... if I didn't drink in such days I will not be able to sleep..." (Male, 58 years old)

Therefore, it is clear that most of the people have addicted to illicit alcohol because they have been using it for a long period of time that has become one of the indispensable and main entities in their daily life.

Another reason observed from alcohol consumers is that alcohol helps for mental and physical stimulation in different occasions. Physically, alcohol helps to increase the physical strength and reduce physical fatigue. These two factors are more visible among laborers. Most of the alcohol consumers consume alcohol with their colleagues in the evening after work. They believe that it helps them to recover from high fatigue.

"You know... working in a paddy field causes body aches ...It's just like doing exercises... so we all get together to diminish our fatigue by taking alcohol..." (Male, 28 years old)

"I work with machines day and night... so I buy a bottle of arrack in the evening...I can get a certain relief from the fatigue if I'm drunken...I feel good at that time... in a while I don't feel good again... therefore I take some drink to feel good..." (Male, 44 years old)

Therefore, those who use alcohol believe that alcohol leads to get them a relief from physical fatigue. Furthermore, they believe that alcohol leads to increase physical strength. And also, they consider that consuming alcohol helps to do any task correctly and accurately. One of the wood workers among the community stated that before starting his work in the morning, it is a must for him to have quarter a bottle of arrack. If not, he cannot concentrate on his work and his fingers started to shiver so it is difficult for him to do his work.

"If I don't have quarter a bottle of arrack in the morning I just cannot do any work... my fingers started to shiver... I cannot concentrate my mind... if I have a slight drink, I can easily do my work..." (Male, 51 years old)

As stated, it is said that alcohol helps to get a relief from physical fatigue and increase the physical strength. And the respondents believe that it also leads to stimulate a person mentally.

3.3 Tension or anxiety reduction

Another dominant theme that emerged from the qualitative interviews was that of participants consuming illicit alcohol for the purposes of Tension or anxiety reduction, specifically anxiety and stress due to adverse life events. Among the life events most commonly reported by study participants as contributory to their illicit alcohol drinking were loss of employment, being unmarried, family relationship difficulties, and overall dissatisfaction with life. Here are a couple of examples where participants experienced a traumatic event of consume illicit alcohol to help deal with the resulting emotions:

“Staying at home is very boring, you know.... different problems make me worried I have to look after the family too... it's not good to stay at home anyway...I have to bear all necessities at home.... I have to find a job anyhow; even a daily wage work...I can't just stay in home doing nothing ...I still don't have a job...I'm not yet married...my sister is still single...I have to settle her first before I think of a marriage....I don't have a job...when I think of these matters, I feel like having poison instead of having alcohol...No point of discussing about these problems....I'm suffering with thousands of problems like problems of my family... problems of my own....now you see, I don't have a proper job... I have to think of a marriage... It's hard to find even a daily wage work... cannot find jobs in this village....so... I have such problem....so that is why I drink a lot.... when I stay doing nothing, all these problems are coming to my mind... I feel like my mind is going to burst out.... when I drink, I can stay away from all these problems...” (Male, 31 years old)

“The reason is....the problems that I have at home....my mother and my sisters always ill treat me....I usually don't go home...all my sisters are married....I eat only if they give me something to eat...I sleep, then I don't need to worry about anything...I sleep in the evening....I wake up in the morning and go off to find some work...my mother gets upset when I go home....I don't have a wife or a child....So if I had a drink, I can get rid of all those problems....” (Male, 46 years old)

“I am fed up of staying at home... I still don't have a job...I don't mind if I can engage in any labor work...but, it's difficult to find such work every day...people don't have money...so I'm fed up of staying at home... different problems make me worried ... when I have a drink I can spend the day without thinking of any of those problems...” (Male, 31 years old)

3.4 Masculinity

According to the respondents, consuming alcohol leads to show off themselves among the same age groups or in the society. There are different forms such as; the one that drinks illicit alcohol leads to consume alcohol, the amount of consuming and the way they serve alcohol to others. Therefore, as a man he should, or it is a must to use at least a few amounts of alcohol. When it is not the case, it cannot be considered as a feature of masculinity.

“A man should take at least a few alcohols. There is no use of being men who don’t do so... They are like women. Today even women take alcohol... ..” (Male, 31 years old)

On the other hand, another reason to prove the masculinity is that the ability they have to consume alcohol. That is, the amount they can consume. Thus, if a person can consume one bottle of alcohol or more at a time, he can be considered as a physically strong person. Unlike the above, if a person gets dizzy even by consuming a small amount of alcohol that person will be regarded as a physically weak person.

“Have a bottle , then only you will be a man... I cannot... when I drink half of a bottle I get dizzy... my body cannot tolerate now...” (Male, 34 years old)

3.5 Prerequisite for sex

Some of the respondents stated that consuming alcohol makes a positive impact on their sex behavior. That can be identified as two forms. That is, it leads to stimulate them mentally and physically towards sexual activities and on the other hand they can engage in sex for long hours. Furthermore, they also believe that they should have a little amount of alcohol as a prerequisite for sex and consuming too much alcohol makes a negative impact on sex.

“Well it might lead to weaken the body and also weaken the sexual ability if I drink too much...but, if I'm truly speaking I can say that there's a pleasure if I had some alcohol before sex...” (Male, 26 years old)

3.6 Medicinal value

Another reason why the respondents are using alcohol is that they believe that it can be used as a medicine for some physical illnesses. Therefore, in day-to-day life a person can heal illnesses such as headache, stomachache or toothache by using alcohol.

"It is said that when you are sick... imagine that if we are suffering from a stomachache or headache... have some alcohol, so that you can have a speedy recovery..." (Male, 51 years old)

Hence, they believe that alcohol helps to cure physical illnesses as well as it helps to give a relief for food dislike and lack of sleep. Therefore, it is said that once they consume alcohol, it helps to have a good sleep. On the other hand, they have stated that if someone has taken some alcohol before meals it creates a certain desire to appetite.

"If I drink too much, I won't be able to eat ... if I'm drunken a bit; I'm able to eat well... if I drink half or quarter of a bottle I'm able to eat well... I can eat well at times like that... if I drink too much I won't be able to eat and I feel horrible to eat ... and also it is said that if I'm drunken a bit it will help for a proper digest too..." (Male, 32 years old)

"Now if I drink in the evening and sleep, I will be able to sleep at a stretch till about four in the morning... if I am not drunken, in such days I will not be able to sleep... I have to watch television till 12 or 01 in the night... or else I have to engage in some work until I feel sleepy... even if I go to the bed it keeps me awake..." (Male, 58 years old)

3.7 Social facilitation

The most often cited reason for consuming both licit and illicit alcohol was that participants feel that drinking alcohol enhances their social facilitation. Social factors like peer pressure and prerequisite for social interaction were the most commonly reported motivations for alcohol drinking among the respondents. According to the respondents' views in every social event in the contemporary society such as wedding, funeral and the New Year festival alcohol consumption has become a must. In such occasions they enjoy themselves and alcohol makes that occasion more pleasurable. So, it makes physical and mental ease to express their views and to entertain. Through this, the social ties will strengthen within each other and on the other hand it leads to stabilize the social cohesion. Moreover, consuming a little amount of alcohol in such occasions has been accepted by the society. If not, they believe that they have to neglect, and it leads to lose the social interaction with the society.

"So, at a time like that... what the hell, can you call yourself a man.... why don't you eat, drink and enjoy yourself... At least in a day like today... that is what people say" (Male, 44 years old)

“let’s take our new year...you know different kinds of people are visiting our houses... that means relatives... so we can’t treat them only with a cup of tea.... it is said that we must treat the ones with a bottle of liquor who take alcohol ... so, now as a habit we used to call any party that ‘It’s like the new year’... in such days people expect us to treat them with arrack... so if we refuse, it will create a problem... I should know that I have to serve them arrack before inviting them for meals... soon after that I can invite them for meals... imagine if I serve them with a meal spending thousands of rupees yet, he leaves with a bad mood... that person expects a very little amount of arrack, so if I do so he leaves with a good mood...”(Male, 42 years old)

4. DISCUSSION

This paper demonstrates a qualitative study of motivations of illicit alcohol drinking amongst residents in agricultural resettlement scheme aged from 19 to 58 years old residents. Majority of the residents in the study area were illiterate. Majority involved in agricultural activities, with a higher proportion of residents coming from a lower economic status. A purposive sampling procedure was manipulated to recruit individuals whose experience of illicit alcohol drinking for this particular age range. A thematic analysis of the data yielded seven motivational factors which were visible to motivate the illicit alcohol drinking revealed by the sample. Focusing on any of these factors could provide an opportunity as prevention measures to influence the decisions made by illicit alcohol drinkers. Furthermore, addressing several of these factors forthwith, might considerably strengthen the effectiveness of such prevention programmes, by addressing the issue from several stances.

The responses of the study were obtained from illicit alcohol drinkers to help better recognize the reasons why they use illicit alcohol. Qualitative thematic analysis resulted in seven distinct motive categories with excellent internal reliability. Cheapest price and accessibility were the most frequently reported motivation factors, followed by some other factors such as avoid withdrawal symptoms and pain management, tension or anxiety reduction, masculinity, prerequisite for sex, medicinal value and social facilitation.

In terms of importance rankings, cheapest price and accessibility were the two preeminent motives. Low price was indicated as the most important motivation factor for illicit alcohol drinking. Illicit alcohol is cheap in price due to its illegal production. The reason for the high-priced nature of legally produced alcohol is its exceeding taxes. Per se taxes are not applicable to the illicit beverages, therefore they are low-priced, and consequently they are consumed more than legally permitted alcoholic drinks. By reason of majority of interview participants undergo financial difficulties, as they survive from agriculture,

temporary daily wage work or experience irregular income. Further, in consist with other studies in Sri Lankan setting noted that the people with low incomes and middle class people are the most common consumers of illicit alcohol (Abeyasinghe, 2002; Silva, 2003; WHO, 2004; Gunasekara, 1997; Hettige, 1993; Herath, D., 2001; Samarasinghe, 2006; Karunathilaka, 1996; Silva and Athukorala, 1991). Further, these findings fit with findings of other country settings, where consumption of licit and illicit alcohol and other drugs are strongly related to price (Wagenaar, Salois & Komro 2009) and the availability of illicit alcohol which was another motivation factor to illicit alcohol drinking among residents in the resettlement scheme. While there is lack of research on the relationship between availability of illicit alcohol and drinking pattern among residents in the resettlement schemes, a number of investigations have been focused on this relationship for alcohol consumers among lower socio economic groups in rural and urban settings found that availability and easy access to illicit alcohol is associated with increased alcohol consumption (Kypri et al., 2008; Scribner et al., 2007; Weitzman et al., 2003). Therefore, these findings suggest that a proper implementation of laws that restrict selling illicit alcohol and penalizing which do not adhere to the law are essential preventive tools to reduce the illicit consumption of alcohol in the resettlement schemes and also other parts of the country.

Findings of the study suggest that drinking to pain management, avoid withdrawal symptoms and tension or anxiety reduction seemed to be another unambiguous motive of illicit alcohol use in this sample of resettlement residents. In Sri Lanka resettlement contributes severe negative impacts on society which can be identified as resettlement stress because of landlessness, unemployment, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of access to common properties and social disintegration. Due to landlessness, unemployment and homelessness, residents of the resettlement schemes take much time to adapt as they look for a permanent livelihood and this resettlement stress causes tremendous pressure on them. Previous research in this area of Sri Lanka revealed high levels of self-harm (Knipe, Padmanathan, Muthuwatta, Metcalfe, & Gunnell, 2017), which have been linked to alcohol consumption as a risk factor (Pearson et al., 2014) and some of the studies carried out in Sri Lanka noted that the common belief is that alcohol helps to relieve distress. This societal acceptance and believes may positively impact to motivate the residents in the sample to reduce their pain management, avoid withdrawal symptoms and tension or anxiety reduction by means of illicit alcohol.

Social factors such as having a fun, peer pressure and prerequisite for social interaction may enhance the number of people motivated in drinking. Reasons like consuming alcohol to hang out with friends, when feeling peer pressure, or to identify oneself in a group are significantly cited more by the residents in the

sample. These findings are well documented in literature and were the most commonly reported motivations for licit and illicit alcohol drinking. The results of the present study were consistent in many ways with previous research but also indicated additional motives which are not taken into consideration in Sri Lankan setting. Overcoming illness was an important motivational factor for the residents who use illicit alcohol and relatively unique to the present study. Hence, they believe that alcohol helps to cure physical illnesses as well as it helps to give a relief or a remedy for food dislike and lack of sleep. Therefore, it is said that once you consume alcohol it helps to have a good sleep. On the other hand, they have stated that if someone has taken some alcohol before meals, it leads to a good appetite. Further these people believe that alcohol can be used for medicinal purposes such as, as a sleep inducer, appetite enhancement beverage and muscle relaxer. It is also commonly consumed as a refreshment to quench thirst and to accompany meals, particularly in the evening. Further, previous studies have identified that there is a profound link between the consumers attitudes towards alcohol drinking and sexual behavior. In fact findings of the current study indicated that enhancement of sexual performance as a motivational factor for illicit alcohol drinking among residents in the resettlement scheme. This finding highlights the importance of addressing sexual expectancy on alcohol use and changing norms and correcting misconceptions regarding illicit alcohol and sexual encounters.

As qualitative data revealed, another important finding is that many illicit alcohol consumers believe that their pattern of drinking is considered to be an important component of masculinity. Accordingly, ability to tolerate and consume large amounts of alcohol is perceived as “symbol of manliness” and if a person fails to consume large amount of alcohol or absence of alcohol is perceived as unmasculine. This study revealed that within a diverse sample in agricultural resettlement scheme, there was a positive association between the hegemonic masculinity and illicit alcohol drinking, and it is served as a clear motivational factor for illicit alcohol drinking. Although this present study is a unique finding in Sri Lanka, this have been investigated in other country settings revealing that the use of alcohol is generally seen as a more masculine habit. Visser and Smith (2009), noted that the alcohol consumption is a particular pattern of masculine competence and others noted that alcohol consumption may be a vital resource in regard to a masculine identity in the social construction (Connell, 1987, 1995; Courtenay, 2000). Thus, it is highly important to address to the masculine motives regarding illicit alcohol drinking among consumers in prevention programmes.

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