

Identity and Self Image in Adolescence A Case Study of Bumburet Valley in District Chitral Pakistan

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Abstract: The study was conducted in Bumburet valley of district Chitral, Pakistan. Qualitative anthropological research technique was adopted for acquiring the ethnographic data for the research in hand. This research paper is an attempt to understand ancestral and cultural traditions of the Kalash people. How these traditions are transmitted from one generation to the next? They teach and preach youth the rituals, offering and sacrifice. Adolescents are the ones to whom the traditions, customs and culture are transmitted and it requires maximum understanding and communication between the elders and the youth. They are considered as custodians of culture. The adolescence period is very critical for the children of minority ethnic group. Extensive socialization is required to conform to their traditions. The natural setting and the type of education a child receives plays a predominant role on his future pursuits. The Muslim and Kalash parents encourage both their sons and daughter to seek education. Academic intelligence and practical thinking can develop independently and may grant a specific identity to the individual which may be different to his cultural identity. Kalash identity is based upon unique and nonviolent way of life. The changes which incorporate in Kalash traditions may find their way through peripheral adjustments. The Kalash youth insist on keeping their self-identity as well as participating in modernity. Technological development does not clash with the basic practices and taboos enforced by the religion are generally accepted.

Key words: Youth • Generations • Ceremonies • Education • Emotions • Romance • Migration • Art • Music

INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is defined as the development period of transition from childhood to early adulthood, entered at approximately 10-13 years of age and ending at 18-22 years of age [1]. However it varies with genetic and cultural circumstances. Every stable society transmits values from one generation to next that is how civilization works in today's world [2]; a special concern is the original nature of values being communicated to children. Growing up has never been easy for Kalash children amidst the tumultuous emotions aggravated by the raging hormones; it is a challenge to maintain sanity to go through the process of growing up and maturing to become a responsible and constructive member of any society. It is not just the period of rebellion, crisis, pathology and deviance [1]. A far more precise vision of

adolescence is of a time of evaluation, of decision making, of commitment and of carving out a place in the world. This exposure generates a certain level of direct confrontation because of their thinking mind weighing and evaluating tradition with rationale and logic.

Margaret Mead (1928) in her book "Coming of age in Samoa" studied youth on the south sea island of Samoa. She brought forth a contrasting view. According to her; "nature" is not biological but "socio cultural" [3]. She concluded that cultures that allows adolescent to observe sexual relations, see babies born regard death as natural, assume responsible behavior, engage in sex play and know clearly what their adult roles will be? Will promote a relatively stress free adolescence [3]. Though half a century later her work was criticized by Freeman (1985) as being biased and error prone but he failed to prove that the reason of delinquency in Samoan cultures

was due to biology or some internal or external factors were also implicated in the scenario. Freeman and Meads work must be seen in the context of the “nature / nurture controversy” [1]. In fact it was more than two peoples contradictory interpretation that were at issue; the nature of truth, the meaning of science, the power of myth and the politics of academics were all in play. Hiram Caton (1990) observed that this controversy led to an entire disciplines taking stock of itself, past and present. But Freeman[4] does not take into account the changes that may have occurred during those fifty years which had given him such conflicting results [5]. Adolescence is a stage which is associated with many changes both physical and mental within a child. School, work and economics are important dimensions of the inventionist views. Some scholars argue that the concept of adolescence was invented mainly as a byproduct of the movement to create a system of compulsory public education.

Research Site: The study was conducted in Bumburet valley of district Chitral, Pakistan. The modern state of Chitral district is located in Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa Province. This state was once an old country with its borders extending up to *Badakshan* and *Bashgali* in the North West and the *Kunar* valley in the south all the way to *Bilam* and *Chaghasswari*. Most of these areas now lie in Afghanistan. Border of the state was not permanent due to the ongoing expansion of the neighboring state of Gilgit and Kashmir. Bumburet Valley of Kalash is part of Chitral and it laid claim to a land of steep slopes, some 35 kilometers to the south of Chitral which opens towards Kunar River. During 1959 the kingdom of Chitral was attached to Pakistan and therefore the Kalash people became citizens of Pakistan. The total area of Bumburet valley is 180 Sq. Km out of which 51 Sq. Km is habitable and cultivable. There are six main pasture units at elevation of 3500m above sea level and occupy about half of the total geographical area of the valley. The Kalash villages in all the three valleys are located at a height of approximately 1900 to 2200m [6]. The climate is generally semi-arid.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Qualitative anthropological research technique was adopted for acquiring the ethnographic data for the research in hand. The researchers lived in Bumburet valley and participated in their festivals, feasts, offerings

and prayers. Thus a complete immersion in the said culture has been adopted for a very good rapport, acceptance and recognition by the society. The basic data was collected through the socio economic survey. The survey facilitated me to gather information about the village regarding sex, education, family system, caste, population, ethnic groups, occupation and number of household residing in the village. The Bumburet valley is composed of 12 hamlets and through random sampling we selected few hamlets where both Kalasha and Muslims coexisted and shared the geographical space. We visited every house of the village Anish, Brun, Batrik and Karakal and conducted in-depth interviews to collect detailed information about their religion. Audio recording was used during the interviews. The secondary data for this study was collected from library by reviewing, journals, articles and documentary programs about the mythical people of Kalash. The data has been assembled in the form of photographs, maps sketches and floor plans.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Adolescent is the main building block of any group even for the fairly closed traditional society like Kalash. They are the one to whom the traditions, customs and culture is transmitted. They are considered as custodians of culture. This transitional phase requires maximum understanding and communication between the elders and the youth. Although at ground reality, the vision, ideals, aspirations, ideas, maturity and reasoning of the two groups are entirely different [7]. Hence the places and ideology are subjected to negotiation. Every society is inherently conscious of the problems of adolescence and therefore tries to guide it in a direction which conforms to the requirements of that society. Muslims start it from birth when the prayer call (*Azan* i.e. *Allahu Akbar*) recited in the ears of a new born. Circumcision is performed at an early age to give the infant its identity, at the age of 12 years, he is made to offer his prayers five times regularly, made to recite Quran and understand that what is permitted to be done and what is not. Christians give baptism to a child, introduce him to biblical readings and stories of their past heroes are recited to them which finally end up in developing love for their own society and detestation for others who did not follow their code of conduct. Kalash are no different even at birth they use identity markers such as “*shuman*” a hand weaved band wound on the forehead of both the girls and the boys.



Fig 1: Gul Kalash the Baby Girl Adorned with a Traditional Head Band used to identify her as Kalash.

They introduce their children to their cultural legacy and traditions from the age of three on a “*gosnik*” ceremony which takes place during the winter solstice on which they start by dressing them into Kalash distinctive dress pattern, bead and a colorful “*susit*”. Boys celebrate “*BhutSumbiek*” when they are five. In this ceremony they put on the pants for the first time before that they were just clad in a very long shirt. During this ceremony they are dressed in their traditional men’s attire and pose as stiff, fierce warriors at the temple of *Sajigor*, the most sacred altar of the valley [8]. This traditional ceremony indoctrinates the seed of individuality and identity, especially with the goal of discouraging independent thought or the acceptance of other opinions in the child. They then teach him the Kalash tradition *dastur* and make them learn Kalash oral songs and praise which have been handed to them by their elders. The exact Kalash *dastur* is not a written document and the original is not available but the *jist* of the *dastur* has been passed upon from generation to generation. They are told to love their beliefs and their customs which they demonstrate at festivals for all to see and witness.

Hall [9] believed that the adolescent development, like all development, is controlled by genetically determined physiological factors. The environment plays

a minimal role during infancy and childhood. However during adolescence its influence increases and that heredity interacts with environmental influences to determine an individual’s development. Biological processes cause change in the growing child as manifested in their genes inherited from parents and hormonal changes of puberty. The development of brain and cognitive faculty, height and weight advance in motor scale are all a reflection of biological processes. Cognitive processes are influenced by both genes and the environment at home and educational institution. Parents while contributing to genetic for the development also play an important role in providing the environment for their offspring’s. The influence of culture on adolescent development is broad based as the term culture itself. All the components of culture and their influence on an individual shape the very essence of personality. Behavior, beliefs, family, peers, schools, media, social class and ethnicity contribute to the development of an adolescent.

Culture and ethnicity are increasingly becoming relevant to identity in the modern times. In this age of global village interaction between various groups is increasing and ethnocentric study of adolescence is bound to be deficient, keeping in account the influence of other cultures on an ethnic group and an adolescent’s response to that influence. Erickson [10] was very sensitive to the role of cultures in identity development. He pointed out that throughout the world, ethnic minority groups have struggled to maintain their cultural identity while blending in to the dominant culture. This struggle for an inclusive identity or identity within a larger culture has been driving force in the founding of religious sanctuaries, empires and revolutions throughout history. The adolescence period is very critical for the children of minority ethnic group. Since they are aware of social, religious and economical differences in the society they share with other groups. Harter [11] states that, “In contrast to children adolescents have the ability to interpret ethnic and cultural information to reflect on the past and to speculate about the future.... And as they cognitively mature, they became acutely aware of evaluations of their ethnic groups by the majority”.

During the early adolescence, individuals develop the physical aspect of their sex with the onset of puberty. Girls and boys experience intensification in gender related expectations and expected future gender role. Gender intensification hypothesis signifies the psychological and behavioral differences between boys and girls become greater during early adolescence because of increased

socialization pressures to conform to traditional masculine and feminine gender roles". Puberty's role in gender intensification may involve a signaling to socialize others. When the adolescent is beginning to approach adulthood and therefore should begin to act more in ways that resemble the stereotypical female or male adult the parents and teachers should take care of these aspects of children. Societies do have a certain extent of gender bias, which later affects the personality and adjustment of the individual in the society. Sometimes children have a sense of being unwanted. Parents do have kids without planning or often for the sake of having a male child they keep on having daughters. These unwanted girls usually develop a sense of poor self-esteem and confidence. This is mostly found in the third world countries. Role of gender is also very important in the growth and development of the personality of the adolescent. The preference to one group of sex over the other may lead to a conflicting situation.

In Kalash the brave people are considered honorable and acquire a heroic status in the society. Young boys are tested for their bravery and are sent with their flock of goats or sheep on the high pasture for the whole season. In these pastures they live alone and survive the ordeal and come down with their livestock i.e. from one autumn to another. If they are able to survive the whole year they are referred to as *Budalac* i.e. brave warrior. Upon his return all the pretty and eligible girls welcome him with flowers on the main entry of the village and a grand feast is held where he danced with all the girls with a right to choose anyone for matrimonial. According to literature this ceremony was associated with a very interesting and exaggerated debauchery. The *budalac*, procreating herdsman, who returns from the mountains after a long period of abstinence and on one night of the festivities has a right to make love to all the girls he desires. This usually takes place at autumn festival *ucaw* and is connected with a prayer of fecundity. Basically the origin of the mysterious story of *budalac* was created to tackle the demographical crisis which occurred at the time when the women could no longer succeed in bearing children. *Pajapoa*; a *dehar* inspired by the fairies revealed the means to putting an end to this serious demographic threat. He ordered that the men must sleep in the stables for a whole year, from one autumn to the next. A year later he announced a grand feast and declared that the period of abstinence having been accomplished and purity is restored; the men can now rejoin their wives. Out of all the men one or two men, reputed for their virility were said to have the right and the duty to take any

women of the valley he desires. No women can refuse his advances and it is his duty to sleep with the man. All this was meant to increase the chances of procreation. The children born out of this arrangement were raised by the female and her husband and were not regarded as illegitimate. But it is believed that hence they were different from the rest of their siblings in their physical appearance developed a poor self-image. This custom is still practiced but with a slight change which the people deemed, is due to the influence of Muslims on the Kalasha tradition. A chosen *budalac* went off to the pastures and stayed there for a whole season and at the height of the festival he reappeared dressed in a coat and cap of goats hair and mixed with the women arrived to receive him. He danced with them on a traditional song

*"Oh, oh oh budalac... drink cups of milk from the white goats of the heights... oh oh oh budalac my child returned from the he goats, oh oh oh.... budalac my child in the garden of flowers...!"*s

An old woman said that not all the girls of her time were allowed to attend this dance. She remembered that her brother wouldn't let her and her sister go for the dance to act as a potential suitor for the *budalac*.

Educational Environment: The Muslim and Kalash parents encourage both their sons and daughter to seek education and to improve their standard of living. The females of the region often claim that they are not given the right to choose or make decisions regarding their future; the term choice invokes a strong urge in the human being to act on their internal philosophy. Choice is the integral part of the self-identity but this desire to formulate self-identity is in direct conflict with the salvation of cultural identity. Culture restricts humans to opt and accept against their will and desire. Giddens [12] says that in the posttraditional order, self-identity is reflexive. It is not a quality of a moment, but an account of a person's life. The individual's right to choose is directly associated with the awareness of choices available. *"What to do? How to act? Who to be? These are focal questions for everyone living in circumstances of late modernity - and ones which, on some level or another, all of us answer, either discursively or through day-to-day social behaviour"*[13]. The knowledge is bound to come through education, migration, theology and above all the impact of modernization. This in turn gives rise to

the contestation of ideas, reservations, related to religious beliefs, customs, norms and instigate resistance against orthodoxy. To sustain the traditions only rational choices are allowed to be made. This brings us to the question that who decides that what a rational choice is. Scott describes rational choices as an idea that all actions are fundamentally rational in character and the people calculate and analyze merits and demerits along with cost and benefits of any action before finalizing a decision. The decision regarding marriage, job or conversion to a different religious doctrine comes under rational choices.

The Kalash and Muslims both study in a government schools which offer coeducation and cater both for girls and boys. Students are supposed to wear the standard uniform to bring harmony without any distinction of class, religion and ethnicity. The syllabus is according to N.W.F.P educational board and *Islamiat* is compulsory for all the students. Hence the Kalash youth is familiar to the concept of Islam which is the religion of the majority group among which they coexist. In this way Kalash has an edge over their Muslim class fellows who in contrast have very little knowledge about the belief, customs and morals of the Kalash. Kalash do not preach their faith to others or encourage others to convert into the folds of Kalash faith. Here they resemble the Jews who do not allow any conversion to keep the purity of their race intact. The Kalash percentage in the school is greater than the Muslims. There is just one high school for the Kalash valleys which is located in Brun. The youth of Muslims and Kalash share a very good and compassionate relationship. They formulate an in-group identity which is different from their personal identity [14]. The class mates in Kalash school are not just limited to one or two villages of Bumburet they include the students of all the three valleys. The youth belonging to Shakahandah village near Afghanistan border study in the same school.

The Kalash and non Kalash are equally treated and encouraged on the basis of their academic performance. Albeit they are aware of the variance due to the scarcity of resources and the utilization of governmental aid is the bone of contention between the elders, but in a class room situation the ethnic conflict is replaced by youth's group identity. The values and norms of a cultural group also influence the direction in which teens develop. In a cross cultural context intelligence depends a great deal on environment and people. The thinking and logic faculty of mind is very active so the child without realizing the cultural taboos and mores challenge the authenticity of certain rituals and mores or unable to grasp the essence. They are later through the mild use of coercion and

dialogue advised not to challenge or question things which they cannot comprehend. This eventually destroys the resistance of the child.

The natural setting and the type of education a child receives plays a predominant role on his future pursuits. Previously in Pakistan admissions to technical and nontechnical institutions were based on quota system. This system whether fair or not provided an opportunity to those who were less privileged and learned to seek professional education and to become doctors, engineers and scientists. But the modern system of centralized entry test designed in GMAT and GRE standard, has closed doors to the less privileged youth to higher professional education. These students claimed that they barely could get good marks in the annual exams held under Peshawar board and now top of it they have to appear for a centralized test based on entirely different method which they had not been taught in their entire school years. It is not possible for them to realistically compete. They added that even their teachers are unable to qualify for those tests. The Kalash and for that matter all the students of that educational environment are critical of the policy of admission to higher education.

These deprived youth due to lack of resources both (human and material) fail to qualify and the marks they receive are low in comparison to other urbanized areas of the country. The point of concern is that these people are at the lowest economic strata. They can't afford the luxury of sending their children to private institution with exorbitant fee structure. These students are beneficiary of scholarships awarded by various philanthropists like Agha Khan Foundation. They support them with a certain amount of money when they successfully complete their education. There is no ethnic or religious bias in awarding those scholarships. But the number of scholarship is few. Only some foreign NGO's like the Greeks and KPDN, are catering for the Kalash youth. Here I would like to quote a response of a minority youth from Spencer and Dornbusch, "The future seems shut off, closed ... why dream? You can't reach your dreams, why set goals? At least if you don't set any goals, you don't fail" [1]. But facts remain that "Ethnic minority youths are aware of negative appraisal, conflicting values and restricted occupational opportunities can influence their life choices and plans for the future [15].

The Kalash youth are in close proximity of the natural setting and still they are not able to develop their faculty of perception and innovation but are very intelligent. Intelligence is the ability of a person to adopt

and learn from everyday experience. According to the authors [15] "cultures vary in the way they describe what it means to be intelligent" western cultures regard intelligence as the ability to reason and find logic. For eastern society perception of intelligence is the ability of the individuals to successfully engage in their social roles. There is no room for philosophical discourse [15]. In Kalash the person who memorizes and recites maximum oral stories and praises is considered well-informed and intelligent. They regard this ability as God gifted attribute which is present in only the blessed and chosen one. Santrock [16] and her colleagues 2001 studied the concept of intelligence among rural Africans in Lou culture of Kenya and categorized intelligence in four basic domains. Academic intelligence [1] involves the capability and potential of the person which he or she has, when associated with a group or institution together with Social qualities like respect, responsibility and consideration towards the community. Realistic thinking helps the man to develop and adjust to the present situation and to make logical reasoning by correlating his disconcerting ideas with his identity. Comprehension involves the ability to connect this identity with his present environment, according to the religion and culture.

Academic intelligence and practical thinking can develop independently and may grant a specific identity to the individual which may be different to his cultural identity, but values of culture definitely influence the direction in which a child develops. The researcher had conducted intelligence quotient test, for the students of class 9th and 10th of the local Government High School Brun. For intelligence comparison the test were given to the students of same level in Islamabad. The students of Islamabad were able to comprehend them with ease and attempted the questions fairly well. While the students of Kalash needed the help of their teachers to attempt the test. It has been observed that they are willing, inspiring and hardworking youth and have the ability to improve if provided with better educational facilities. During my course of data collection few Kalash students have requested that can they have an extra copy of the test for their younger siblings who are studying in the Greek administered School. After few days they brought the test back and requested the researcher to evaluate the results. Surprisingly the score of the students of Greek administered school were higher than the Government high school students and I replied to the eager faces "i aboprust" this is very good, the children were very pleased with their performance.

These minority youth of Kalash in past do suffer from the lack of successful role models [10] with whom they can identify themselves. Sometimes the past glories are not sufficient so they may develop a tendency to switch to some other class and seek afresh identity and it may manifest in form of the religious conversions. However anthropologists like Peter Parkes, Gillian Darling, Maggie Wynne and Viviane Lievre have left their legacy in the people and now they are naming their children after them. They do respect and regard *Taj Khan Kalash* who is one of the first literates among Kalasha People to have received BA in Political Science and Law, at Edwards College Peshawar Pakistan and MA Human Rights from Central European University Budapest, Hungary. *Taj Khan* has made first indigenous documentary film about his people as part of anthropological documentation and advocacy for Kalasha people's linguistic rights in education and cultural autonomy. He is also writer of first hand report on "Kalasha Mythology, herbs and Shamanic practices". *Taj Khan* has been a spokesman for Kalasha with his exceptional linguistic skills speaking four Asiatic and three European languages besides his mother tongue. *Lakshan Bibi* was the first girl from her valley to go to graduate school (she earned a graduate degree from the University of Peshawar) and became a commercial airline pilot the first Kalasha woman ever to follow that path. Now things are changing for the Kalash youth and they have dreams and aspirations for a better future.

Art and Music: The researcher discovered that the Kalash youth is fond of performing art and music but are still restricted to the traditional instruments and musical tunes. The musical instruments commonly used are *Whan'aca* small drum, *Dhhan'w* Large drum and *Ishpoia* flute. They do not receive or even have a provision of any professional training. They just acquire the skill by practicing the music and sounds made by their elders. The Kalash youth love to hear Indian and Pakistani songs they are aware of the latest hit. Many of young youth who have excess to cities have purchased posters of their favourite artist. *Junaid Jamsheed* the vocalist of a famous pop band *Vital Signs* simply adored by the youth because of the romantic song and video he had recorded.

The children of Kalash have not been exposed to any teaching and guidance in drawing that is why they have not yet gone beyond the primitive sketching. They are not innovative because their elders restrict them to follow the customs. When the researcher visited the holy temple of to study the decorative art of the temple it was observed that the wood paneled walls of the temple were

unpolished and unvarnished. The various simplistic hand drawn figures of animals like goat grazing in the pasture, the sun rising and geometric shield like designs are painted on the walls as a symbol of adolescents cultural perception and identity. The traditional shield design not only symbolizes protection from the evil and dark forces, oppressors and invaders but also when applied on dress highlight the heroic deed of some ancestor.

The researcher noticed a very familiar figure of a cupid arrow piercing a heart with blood dropping from it. When the elders were asked about the any symbolic meaning attached to this drawing in their culture, it was volunteered by an elderly respondent in disgust that now they are making heart and cupid arrows on the sacred walls of *jestik-hand* during *chawmos* festival, which are to be made on the are very sacred and the ink used is sacred ash. Traditionally they can only draw flowers, birds, goats and fruits on the walls of *jestik-hanas* a gesture of gratitude and prayer, that the springs will bring prosperity and health for the village. In my opinion the drawings of cupid and arrow may not be an act of vandalism, typical of an adolescent but of self-expression of the youth and may have a religious and holistic meaning attached to it. Elders though were dismayed and consider it as a desecration in the pristine environment of the temple. Keeping in view the claims made by the Greeks that they could be remnants of Greek lineage, it can be interpreted as an acceptance among the Kalash youth that they are of Greek origin, therefore they acquired it and considered cupid arrow as their own and made it a part of their cultural heritage and made a place for it in their holiest temple. Another simple assumption which may be closer to the actual event could be that an over exuberant and amorous youth wanted his romance to be blessed by the gods and in his simple expression he made that symbol on the wall without any malice to the sanctity of the temple.

Self-understanding and Self Image: Adolescence is the stage where a child experiences emotional changes, increased self-understanding and suffer from identity issues. Self-understanding is the adolescent cognitive representation of the self, the substance and context of the adolescent's self-conception. The understanding in adolescence is complex involving a number of aspects of the self. The rapid changes that occur during the transition from childhood to adolescence produce heightened self-awareness and self-consciousness. Which in turn can produce doubts, about who the self is?

And which facets of the self are real [17]. Changes in the self during adolescence can best be understood by dividing them into early deconstruction, middle reconstruction and late construction phase [17]. In the initial phase the adolescent confront contradictory self-description and wavered ideas about his role in the society. In the middle phase adolescent attempt to resolve these contradictions and in the last phase he develops a more integrated self-theory i.e. identity. This is the reason that in contemporary times the children are asked to study the *Kalash dastur* so that they can gather maximum information about their own religion and develop the ability to eradicate contradictions. This awareness helps the individual to develop a more concrete and integrated self-theory.

Sense of identity and self-understanding are correlated. Self-integration is exemplified in the development of an identity. Santrock was the one who had used identity as tool to understand the adolescent development. His concept of identity vs. identity confusion as a fifth stage of development occurs during adolescent development. This is the phase called identity exploration where an adolescent search for the answers to Who....? What.....? Why.....? And where we are going in life? They experience all the roles featuring their personal family life, vocational, academic and romantic roles political and religious [1] if they fail to pass this stage of conflicting roles smoothly they suffer from identity crisis, which leads towards identity confusion. This state can make an individual to withdraw from his family, peers, other activities or they immerse themselves in the world of peers and lose their identity in the crowd. The reason behind religious conversion in Kalash society is that their youth are contesting with each other over the legitimacy of their religion, gods and deities. The role of *Qazi* in both the religious and moral education is not satisfactory in comparison to the Imam of the community and Christian Missionaries. *Qazi* addressed the Kalash youth only once year. They don't have religious sermons on a regular basis like the Muslims and the Christian. The elderly respondent added that reason for not having weekly session is the active participation and interest of the Muslim boys who take maximum advantage of this opportunity to lure the good and decent girls of their community. On contrary, they are often accused by the Muslims that they are using their women folk to influence both the local Muslim youth and the Kalash Muslims of prosperous families who do not approve the intermarriages. Erickson was a firm believer that the choices one make reflects the desire to achieve a

meaningful identity in the larger society. Identity to him is a self-portrait that is composed of various roles and images taken from the culture or society.

Kalash youth's first vocational preference in the region is to attain the job in Chitral Scouts. Here they admire the uniform and the concept of power and patriotism associated with it. Another reason for the preference is that it is a permanent pensionable job which gives them a sense of economic and political security. The females in the region admire the Chitral Scouts and it is believed that mostly boys opt for this profession, to have the attention of the girls they admire. Most of the documented marriages of Kalash girl with Muslim boys happen to be with boys associated with Chitral scouts. Political and religious identity involves the characteristics which are constructed by employing an external force in the form of coercion and compensation. Together they constitute the cultural identity of any group.

An identity test was conducted to evaluate the self-determination and self-image of the students studying in Government high School Bumburet. According to the findings of the test the Kalash youth appears to be very promising, balanced and mature in their perception regarding their cultural and national identity. They consider that both culture and religion together constitute the identity of a group. Some consider the cultural traits as a symbol of identity and some base the cultural identity on the religion. They present the example of their school and challenged the researcher to segregate the Kalash from the Muslim Kalash or even the *Chitrali*. It was impossible because all of them appeared to be similar just because of their uniform and physical features. The Kalash youth are not seemed to be hesitant to voice their desire to protect their cultural identity and respect for their national identity. They all replied simultaneously that patriotism is independent of religious affiliation. They believed that the respect for cultural identity is the mile stone of national identity. Cultural and national identities are inseparable because the national identity is the space where the cultural identity prevails.

Kalash Youth regarded themselves as more patriotic than their contemporary Muslim. Kalash claimed that they too suffered at the hands of the British but did not surrender. They are not satisfied with their standard of living and basic amenities. Since due to migration, cross cultural exposure and the degree of development around them had made them aware of their disparity. An elderly woman narrated that she was the part of the troupe that had visited Islamabad in 1971 on Prime Minister

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's invitation to perform in the annual festival of Lok Versa and she loved the city the greenery and the cleanliness. She wished and hoped that one day they would be able to afford the same luxury of life. La Fromboise and Low 1989 believed that substandard living conditions, poverty and chronic unemployment place the youth to develop poor health and school failure which can contribute in developing a poor and negative identity [18].

Emotional and Romantic Behavior: Emotional and romantic behavior is the natural and important juncture in the life of an individual. The Kalash society revolves around the pagan custom of courtship. It is a liberal society where they allow their children to be friendly beyond their gender and can develop intimate relationship with others. They can exercise their right to choose. Sense of rejection is the only negative aspect of this courting. Sometimes it happens that a girl can be admired by more than one boy. Now the boy's fate is dependent on the choice of the girl, that who she accepts and rejects. They don't silently wait for the response of the girls; they use the facility of their closest friend or a younger kin. They never court un-chaperoned the girl is always accompanied by a friend or younger sister. The girl prepares a beautiful bracelet for the boy and the boy in return presents her with a beaded necklace. Every time they are supposed to meet, the boy wears the friendship band. If they fail to turn up wearing their gifts it is interpreted as a signal of waning of interest.

The element of sexual jealousy amongst the females is very evident. The boys don't mind if the girls are flirting with the tourists. The girls openly exhibit their displeasure if they spot a local boy with a female tourist. There are fewer eligible males for the females. Hence the competition amongst the girls for the boys' attention is bound to arise. In rare cases of rejection the boy gets emotionally disturbed and often is the target of the mockery of his peers. They utilize the occasion of *chawmos* festival's song competition and reveal such secrets in the heat of opposition. The girls reveal all the gossip they had gathered during their stay in *Bashalini* and the boys utilize the services of children to unveil the secrets of girls. The boys are not jealous about the girls because they are more in number so if the girl marries outside the clan it will not affect the boys chances of matrimony. The boys are naturally apprehensive of the girls' father they are courting with. Because if the father is aware of the extent of the relationship: he may ask for an exorbitant bride price, which would be difficult to meet.

Until or unless the girl moves in with him in his family home, the bride price claimed will be according to the standard. The respondent Zafar whose services were utilized as an interpreter was dating with the daughter of the *Qazi of Batrik*. He excused himself and avoided entering the house.

Difference and diversity that occur between various groups are the result of historical, economic and social experiences produce legitimate differences between various ethnic and cultural minority groups. Prejudices, biases and discrimination are the causes which lead toward a lower self-esteem and lack of confidence. This in turn paves the way for reactionary hostility. There is no society which is free from the class stratification due to economic, racism, ethnic and sex differences. The socio-economic status carries certain inequalities where members of the society are forced to take on high status jobs and low status jobs. The one associated with the highest strata used to have a better self-concept, whereas the rest suffer from a low self-esteem and with a degree of identity crisis with a constant search of excuses for their failures. The adolescent is the period of biological and psychosocial growth. This period of intense turmoil may lead to abnormal or problematic behavior which may be a direct result of low self-esteem and identity confusion with respect to biological, social and economic factors. Abnormal or maladaptive behavior manifest in many forms committing suicide, poor self-image manifesting in females in form of anorexia nervosa, bulimia nervosa and self-mutilation. In males depression and rejection may result in antisocial, heretic behavior and volatility such as alcoholism drug addiction. The treatment of biological causes of abnormal behavior, are based on the medical model or disease model. The medical model states that abnormality is a disease or illness precipitated by internal bodily causes. Such abnormalities are called mental illnesses like schizophrenia, epilepsy which can be treated by appropriate drugs by the doctors in hospital.

The implication of psychosocial and cultural environment in abnormal behavior is very appropriate because when an adolescent is labeled as mentally sick he needs the support of his parents, peers and doctors to understand, address and come to term with the problems which are leading to emotional instability, learning inability, poor interpersonal skills and thought distortion. The variations in disorder are related to economic, technological, religious and other cultural factors [19]. Most experts on abnormal behavior agree that psychological disorders are universal, appearing in most cultures. However the frequency and intensity of abnormal

behavior may differ from culture to culture. In Kalash 90% of youth do not manifest any sort of abnormal or antisocial behavior. They are generally docile, agreeable, helpful, curious, inquisitive and aspiring. But there are few reported cases of abnormal behaviour where the people around them believe that they are possessed. Such people are first examined by local exorcist and when they don't find any cure and the condition of the patient worsens, they are taken to the hospital. Firstly they are treated in Chitral but later on the instructions of the local doctors they are shifted to the hospital in Peshawar.

CONCLUSION

The identity of Kalash people is known by their unique and nonviolent way of life based on their traditions and practiced. Their traditional culture plays a significant role for establishing the identity of these conventional people. Tradition is a set of customs and rules handed down from the past to the present in the form of religious songs, folklore, dress, art and crafts. Tradition resists change and most often remain unaltered in a static spatial arrangement. The changes which incorporate in Kalash traditions may find their way through peripheral adjustments. The Kalash youth insist on keeping their self-identity as well as participating in modernity. The progress in scientific and technological fields is continuously taking place which results with the invention of tools and materials to make life easier and simple. The changes which do not clash with the basic practices and taboos enforced by the religion are generally accepted.

There is a diversity of opinion available in the region. The youth who have migrated or are having been displaced in pursuit of education don't want to return to their native land permanently. As after living in an urban area they find it very difficult to adjust into their own cultural setting. An occasional visit for few days is fine; but those who get an opportunity of education or an employment, get exposed to a standard of life which is better from what they have experienced in Kalash. They don't want to come back to the same surroundings on permanent basis, because now for them survival becomes a little difficult. But that doesn't mean that they don't love their native place. They cherish their Kalash identity and make it a point to attend all the religious festivals but they don't want permanent settlement in the region. The justification they offer is that they can look after their kiths and kins in a better way from a position of financial strength. This argument is not really hard to

imagine' Indians and Pakistanis form the largest immigrant's population in the developed countries and they too like Kalash are close to their roots. They themselves face an identity crisis in the foreign land but they continue to stay there even though they are regarded as a second class citizen. There are very few Kalash who have gone outside the region (Chitral) and therefore they just have to mingle with people around them and this question of identity crisis has not arisen yet. The Kalash youth is trying hard to equip them with both technical and nontechnical basis. They can face this crisis when they will spread in the region and will be able to develop their own Kalash community. Because the time they pass or spend away from home will change the home they had left behind. It will be different and so would they be. And it is quite possible when they return to the place of origin they may not find it hospitable and friendly.

The Kalash youth have maintained their centuries old traditional culture despite the fact of current globalization and modernization. Media is invading their privacy, esteem and societal norms by introducing new ideas and inspirations to the youth. Albeit the people have subjugated to the latest trends of globalization and modernization but are also striving to keep pace with their socio- cultural and religious traditions transmitted to them by their forefathers. Currently the society is passing from the phase of transition and transculturation due to the impact of modernization and change but still the people are trying hard to preserve and maintain their cultural identity.

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