Migration Letters

Volume: 20, No: S9(2023), pp. 67-82

ISSN: 1741-8984 (Print) ISSN: 1741-8992 (Online)

www.migrationletters.com

Interventions or Strategies to Prevent and/or Reduce Alcohol Consumption within the university Population: A Realistic Review

Mayra Solanye Galindo Huertas¹, Milena Alexandra Galvis López², Luz Stella Algarra López³

Abstract

Introduction: Alcohol consumption is a public health issue, as it is considered a multifactorial social problem with individual and collective effects. Motivated by multiple expectations, for young people, the consumption of alcohol also represents a way to approach others and have a sense of belonging. This realistic review aims to understand the impact interventions have on the prevention and/or reduction of the consumption of alcoholic beverages in a university population. Methodology: A bibliographical search was conducted in databases and other sources. After the screening and selection process, 13 documents were included. A theory of change was then put forward. Results and discussion: The theory was defined by a previous category titled "Youths, subjectivities of the subjects of law, from motivation, introspection, and self-awareness". Two views on the matter are: 1) the existence of the individual and the potentiality in social participation and leisure; the youth is seen as a subject who makes and builds history; 2) the existence of the collective and the potentiality in social participation and leisure, from institutionalization, the sociohistorical moment, and the collective youth culture. Conclusions: Strategies for the reduction in the consumption of alcohol among young people should come from a place of respect, dialogue, and the recognition of autonomy that can allow them to see themselves as socio-historical subjects and agents of change from their own senses and meanings concerning their experience of leisure.

Keywords: Alcohol consumption at university, consumption of alcoholic beverages, young adult, social and leisure centres, recreational activities, social participation.

Introduction

In the western world, alcohol consumption is intimately related to leisure, entertainment and social relationships. Thus, the selling of alcoholic beverages to young people comes together with the discourse of recreation, which affirms a positive idea of its consumption (1) and makes it the principal legal psychoactive substance used by young people in Latin America (2).

As a consequence, alcohol consumption attracts interest in public health in particular, as it is considered a multifactorial social problem with both individual and collective effects (3). Breakthroughs regarding this issue occur with the development of strategies around the reduction of consumption, which have gone from prohibitionist policies (4) to preventative and responsible consumption policies (5). From these perspectives,

¹ mayra.galindo@uptc.edu.co, https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2769-858X

² https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3352-7581

³ https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1643-5896

especially the preventative ones, studies seek to point out the characteristics of its consumers and its health consequences.

Concerning the strategies of prevention and/or reduction of alcohol consumption that have been proposed and developed, national statistics do not show a significant reduction in alcohol consumption, and the highest percentages remain among the youth population in Colombia (6) (7). For this, it is vital to understand substantial and methodological aspects of these resources, with the intention of being more effective with interventions.

Diverse studies, as well as national guidelines, coincide in that alcohol consumption is, to a great extent, determined by what is learned from society, as seen from spheres such as the economic, educational, family, institutional, ways of leisure, among others, and it is recognized as a highly voluntary and propositive behaviour. In summary, this refers to the fact that alcohol consumption is motivated by multiple expectations which move and dynamize behaviour and which, for young people, represents a form of closeness and a sense of belonging (7-14).

In this same vein, and even though young people develop within and are influenced by their social environment (15), it is important to state that consumers do not unconditionally respond to the supply of alcoholic beverages, nor the influence of the social and cultural environment. Therefore, they are considered active in the decision-making process and capable of making autonomous decisions (8). For this, it is necessary that they manage to access and position themselves as subjects of knowledge and deliberation regarding the conditions and expectations underlying that choice, in a conscious and elaborated manner from their own judgements, beliefs, needs and projects (8, 16).

This realistic synthesis is a result of the need to understand the impact of interventions on the prevention and/or reduction in the consumption of alcohol in university populations, within models, programmes, strategies and governmental policies. In a more critical sense, it is necessary to unravel what has influenced the fulfilment of the proposed objectives, if they are pertinent for the youth population, and for any other context, as well as the reasons for which some have not yet shown significant results or sometimes none at all (17).

Methodology

Following the methodology, a realistic review was conducted based on the bibliographic search of documents which present mechanisms that focus on the reduction in alcohol consumption. However, despite the existence of diverse approaches, the problem persists. Therefore, this work attempts to make a critical analysis of the situation through the formulation of a theory focused on young people and from the different spheres that form it. It was necessary to reflect upon social sense, participation, motivation, as well as leisure or the use of spare time among the university population and the professional consciousness, and how these could influence the development of interventions.

A literature review was carried out between April and May 2020 using databases such as PubMed, Cuiden, SciELO and *Biblioteca Virtual en Salud*, as well as government pages and Google Scholar. For the search, the following health science descriptors (DeCS) were used: "alcohol consumption at university", "consumption of alcoholic beverages", "young adult", "leisure", "leisure activities", "social participation", and their equivalents in Spanish and Portuguese. The descriptors were searched for in Medical Subject Headings (MeSH Terms) to find their equivalent in English. As inclusion criteria, documents published from 2014 to the date of the search, April 2020 were considered. In addition, documents from Latin America were included, the study population of which were university students. Qualitative and quantitative articles, strategies, policies, guides,

models, and programmes were included. Documents about school populations were excluded.

This review sought to respond to the following question: What interventions or strategies help to prevent and/or reduce alcohol consumption within the university population?

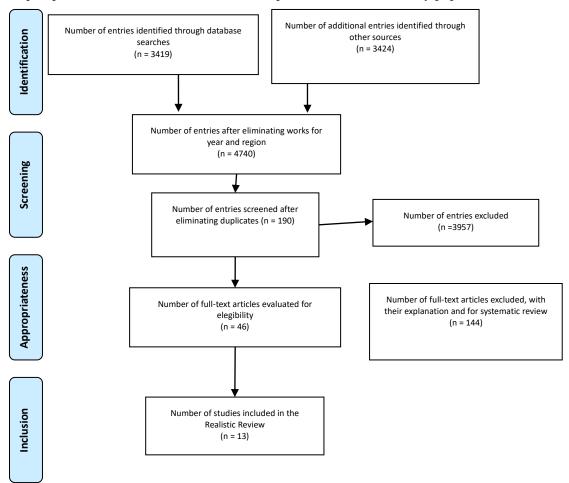


Figure 1. Flow diagram of the screening and selection of texts on interventions to prevent and/or reduce alcohol consumption among university students.

The search in the databases detected 7,743 documents (Figure 1) (18). After applying filters by year and region, there were 4,740 remaining, of which, given the inclusion and exclusion criteria, 410 titles were selected. After reading the abstracts, 209 documents were selected and 19 were excluded as they were duplicated. In total, 190 full documents were read by six people. For the realistic review, the decision was made to use experimental and quasiexperimental documents for the systematic review (which was not the objective of this article), as well as those which were qualitative, descriptive quantitative, in addition to strategies, policies, guides, models, and programmes. A total of 46 articles were analysed for the realistic review, which were then read critically in full, establishing the methodological design, the participants, interventions, and the synthesis of their results. The above permitted that the documents which presented theoretical and methodological weaknesses were discarded, leaving a total of 13 documents, of which 11 were labelled as promising strategies (19) and 2 as interventions.

To carry out the critical analysis, an observation instrument was created which contained the following items: assumptions about the youth, aspects of the participants (generation and gender), scenarios or territories, the intervention, the hypothetical influences, the results and unexpected results. The generation, gender, and territory are considered to be important because of the approaches of primary healthcare; the other observation aspects were related to the relevant mechanisms, such as, who, how, and what could have happened in order for the results of the intervention to be obtained (17). Each document was reviewed by two different readers and a triangulation of the data was carried out with a third researcher, who discerned aspects of certain documents that generated debate or seemed to be inconclusive for the realistic review.

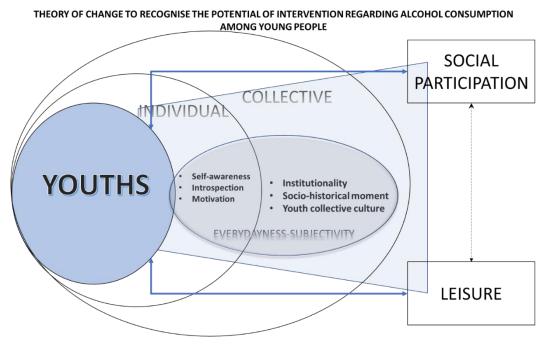


Figure 2: Theory of change to recognise the potential of the interventions regarding alcohol consumption among young people.

Elaborated by the authors.

As an element for the selection, reading, analysis, and synthesis of the documents included in the realistic review, a hypothesis or theory of change was formulated (Figure 2) which recognises young people as actors, subjects of law, and autonomous beings. Starting from this premise, it was considered that in order for young people to consume alcohol consciously, all the interventions had to act over two mechanisms: social participation, based on action, and time management, more specifically that of leisure time. In addition, it was established that these two mechanisms were influenced by self-consciousness (autonomy and care), introspection (reflexivity), and motivation (will), all at an individual level. Collectively speaking, they were influenced by institutionality, socio-historical context, and the collective culture of being a young person in Colombia. Thus, the authors' theory of change is framed around the confluence, bonds, or relationships that are weaved between the micro and the macro-systemic factors (20), that is to say, the micro-dynamisms or psycho-cultural level (21), which express the fields of action (22) that young people develop and experience with respect to alcohol consumption.

Results and discussion

According to the results of the search carried out of the different databases, it is evidenced that most of the documents (9 articles) are in Spanish, 3 in Portuguese, and those remaining are in English. At the same time, 3 documents correspond to public policies and 10 are research articles, most of them published between 2014 and 2018.

All the final texts address the topic of alcohol consumption in young people, specifically in university environments and during free time. It is valid to highlight that some

documents establish interventions and/or proposals (promising strategies) that are based on the principles of public health, human rights, and differential and gender approach, which contributed to the development of this review.

The hypothesis that guided this review was defined by considering that the interventions that favour the conscious consumption of alcohol among young people have social participation and leisure at their axis, and have their roots in the recognition of the fields of action that young people create in their daily lives regarding the consumption of alcohol.

For the data analysis, and in a pedagogical manner, the aspects were examined separately, without overlooking the connections between the macro and micro; a space of primary observation that Zemelman recognizes as "every day" and that, logically, will not appear explicitly in this review. However, in the analysis, there are some overtones of the possibility of the everyday experience of the subject, as a source of expression of their existence and potentiality (23).

Having said this, it should be pointed out that some of the most relevant aspects of Zemelman's epistemology and theory are addressed (24) and they were the basis used to develop the theory of change and, therefore, the data analysis obtained from the realistic review.

Following Zemelman's epistemology, for the researchers who carried out this realistic review, the texts examined were not seen as elements to contradict or adhere to but to be read as from reality, and as devices that permit the formulation of questions (25) that may lead to expanding the view of the phenomenon under study. At the same time, and according to the proposal of the realistic review, the texts help us to "discover the existing suppositions about how it is believed that change may occur and articulates them in such way that our logic of intervention is coherent and relevant" (26).

Thus, the starting point is the recognition that our understanding of leisure distances itself from its tendency as a strategy in itself, but rather, it is conceived as a product of vital movement, of young people as historical subjects. For this, it is not possible to begin to comprehend the uses of time of the subjects, without understanding how and in which historical-spatial contexts they are configured.

From this framework of understanding, we then present a previous category of understanding, two analytical categories, and a linkage category. The first is recognised as a previous category for being a theoretical fundament of analysis, it is called "Youths, subjectivities of the subjects of law". The analytical categories are: 1) the existence of the individual and the potentiality in social participation and leisure; 2) the existence of the collective and the potentiality in social participation and leisure. Finally, there is a linkage category denominated "Recognition of options for the construction of utopias and possible projects".

Youths, subjectivities of the subjects of law

It is indispensable to acknowledge the sometimes overlapping relationship between objective and subjective processes that constitute the social sphere. Here, the active role of subjectivity and that of the subjects has to be highlighted, in the processes of the construction of knowledge as well as in the dynamic history and the construction of social reality (27). From a historical-cultural perspective, subjectivity opens up new options for the development of social representations and, above all, permits an integration between the individual and the social.

From Zemelman's epistemological perspective, the subject is an active one, with different ways of approaching reality, in a search for new meanings, a being in the world with ample consciousness of their historicity where constructs such as culture, memory and thought are intertwined from the reading of their reality.

"All social practice connects the past and the future in its present realization, as it will always show a dual subjectivity: as the reconstruction of the past (memory) and as the appropriation of the future, the constitution of the subject depends on the articulation of both, thus, conditioning social practices as it is conditioned by them" (28).

Due to the above, the critical view of the conceptualization of this construct, in the different texts, is framed in three elements that help the context of the recognition of this previous category to be understood from Motivation, Introspection and Self-awareness (which some authors call autonomy). Also, starting from the theory of change proposed, they are conjugated so that the youth assumes decision-making with self-awareness, as a product of an environment, culture and recognition of being a historical subject. As Zemelman states:

"The will to act embodies a subjectivity in a process of amplification as the capacity of appropriation of what is real is enriched and, for this same reason, a widening of the consciousness of the subject takes place" (29).

In the context of self-awareness, the youth recognises their vision of the social being and their horizons of possible actions and what they can achieve in the transformation process, always in a social context that determines them.

When there is motivation in the will to act, it can be anchored to a growing individual subjectivity. When appropriating reality and doing their own reading it is possible to obtain recognition for their autonomy, which could lead to making decisions and acting accordingly (30).

The youth as subjects of law should recognise themselves as owners of their thoughts, connoisseurs of their experiences with possibilities of development according to their context or interpretation of their reality.

"The category of the subject becomes relevant in the construction of social reality from emerging subjectivities. One is a subject, individual or collective, when they are capable of recognising the constraints of the context and there is the will to overcome them from practices oriented by visions of the future different from the hegemonic. Within this framework, the subject represents a potentiality based on the alternative of social sense" (28).

In the literature reviewed, the concept of youth is highlighted, its meaning going beyond that of a stage or event in life. At times, the texts reviewed seek to define young people/youth using dominant representations, mainly class-related, which give the group that is young people an apparent homogeneity.

In this way, it is indicated that one of the main characteristics of youth is irresponsibility. Sociological studies show that the most common issues with young people are delinquency, and drug and alcohol abuse, associating the concept of youth with the notion of irresponsibility and social problem (31, 32,33).

Young people have been recognised as subjects that are widely influenced by the media and social networks. This sheds light on the assumptions that exist about how information reaches young people and leads to a delimitation of the field of action of interventions or strategies used in the prevention of alcohol consumption. As a result, advertising is established as the core of the problem by offering the idea of alcohol as part of the realisation of happiness (10, 34)

In some texts, there exists a tension between autonomy, independence, vulnerability and the necessity of care. This follows the dominant social representations in which, as the person grows, they should demonstrate independence, which is translated as autonomy (6, 13).

In Pactos por la Vida: Fundamentación, principios y estructura de una estrategia para reducir el consumo problemático de alcohol, 2013 (Pacts for life: The basis, principles and structure of a strategy to reduce the problem of alcohol consumption), it is stated that "it is not possible to think that consumers obey, without restrictions, the conditions of the supply of alcoholic beverages, or the influences of the social and cultural environment, but rather that they are active decision-makers" (6).

Seen in this way, the motivational process follows a logical cycle which starts with a motivational stage (in contrast to the volitional stage), which, with the mediation of cognitive processes, moves towards action through three phases: (a) stimulus, in which the internal or external stimulus indicates the presence of an unsatisfied need; (b) predecision, the moment when the individual creates expectations of reinforcement, outcome and self-efficacy with respect to the action; and (c) decision, which refers to evaluating in order to determine the course of action (do or not)" (29).

Another element that stands out in the review process refers to the recognition of the young person as vulnerable. Their exposure to alcoholic beverages is seen as a social and culturally accepted habit, which causes tension when the young person is placed in a framework of situations of risk or problematic consumers, identifying youth as a problem that ends when adulthood begins. These ideas recognise that the young person requires processes of introspection in which strategies of behavioural and educational intervention are required in order to boost their confidence and capacity to make decisions regarding the consumption of alcohol (7,9,35,36).

Finally, the texts point to adults as the creators of stigma and prejudice regarding young people, oriented by practices that are established as "every day" by the social context, labelling alcohol consumption as an agent of socialization. For this reason, the need of young people to be part of a group of peers emerges, to belong to a social group, responding to an identity that is reinforced by the interests of the industries of consumption. Under this premise, the youth is presented as a consumer of alcohol, due to the need to be a social being (10, 34, 36).

The existence of the individual and the potentiality in social participation and leisure

What we here call individual is based on the approach of subjectivity that was clarified in the first category of this text. For this, the youth, as a subject who makes and constructs history, has the capacity to transform, but for this to happen, there is an initial condition in the processes of subjectivation: the recognition of the individual as a historical subject. In other words, it refers to understanding the fact that despite the circumstances not having been chosen by them, they can take ownership of what Zemelman calls the will to act. Thus, although there are "unmodifiable" scenarios for the youth on an individual level, in the critical consciousness arises the potentiality, which, by definition, is intrinsic to the subject regarding the transformation of realities (37), through enriching the capacity to appropriate what is real (2). This implies an interdependence between three elements that explicitly appear in the documents reviewed, which are self-awareness, introspection, and motivation (6–12,34).

How these three elements of young people's individual spheres come into play in the consolidation of a historical subject is what texts widely recognise as autonomy. Clearly, in the texts, autonomy is linked to a liberal and moral version of the Kantian tradition. However, it is worth highlighting that this level of appropriation of the subject is always present as a starting point in any intervention or strategy regarding leisure; as well as from their recognition as a collective subject, that is, it is necessary that the subject distances themselves from their own existence (2).

It is because of this that the autonomy of the young subjects seems to, at times, require an intervention: to what extent can a young person make free and autonomous decisions, without the guidance of the formal structures of society? This is notable in the claim

which is made that leisure education exists, in the norms that regulate how young people should or can participate, and what activities or actions can be considered productive or "good leisure" when one is young. As was alerted by Freire, the strategies of health education for the consumption of alcohol have sought to educate in order to intervene in the world of the other, but from a logic of dominance, where the values of adults are held as a point of truth, kindness, and integrity, and thus, what is then intervened into by education is the autonomy of the youth, a welcome into the adult world. In this respect, we remember Freire's words: "Respect for the autonomy and dignity of every person is an ethical imperative and not a favour that we may or may not concede to each other." (38).

In addition, the discourse of autonomy appears as an identifying element of young people. It seems to be a bastion of their biological and social process and yet, they demand that it is the adults who show them the way (talks, workshops, activities) to identify aspects related to the conflictive use of alcohol; a situation that becomes problematic when they acknowledge what the dangers, consequences and risks are when consuming it. It is possible to notice that young people create tension between their capacity of self-determination and the passive expectation that others teach them. This means that they have the potential to change and transform (activate their introspection and self-awareness) in the matters that motivate them. There are many examples of this, such as young people's fights for territory, music, and fashion, and for others that are not motivating, they suggest the intervention of others, in general an adult, although it is always questioned, considered insufficient, or that it does not respond to their interests, and so they consider the talks or activities proposed to be boring.

Based on the above, we venture to expose that social participation and leisure for the conscious consumption of alcohol should be guided by the points of interest of the young, the consumption of alcohol being an element present there, not the core, but transversal, framed in that from the context of self-awareness, the youth recognises their vision of the social being and their horizons of possible actions which can lead to achieving a transformative process.

For example, in a gathering of young people in favour of the environment, created by them, a space where it makes sense to activate their potentiality, where they are connected, where they act fully from their autonomy, each one, from their own acknowledgement as social subjects. What can be done concerning alcohol consumption without overshadowing them, or breaking out? How can the conscious consumption of alcohol become part of the environmental cause? Or for that matter, the passion for a football team, or the liking for a space created by them, as alcohol that is present in all their gatherings. It resignifies, so it is not only the accompaniment of the encounter but part of its purpose of standing out or of constructing as a conscious subject, without ignoring that prior experiences influence the subject leading them to one interest and not to other, based on joy or the avoidance of specific sensations (3).

Individual strategies will be prescribed from the world that the young person constructs, in which those who coordinate will be active observers to establish the relationship that is woven between the processes of social participation and leisure with the consumption of alcohol. In addition, ways will be found to make them visible and conscious, and to endow them with other meanings in the space given. Thus, they will participate in a marginal, but, at the same time, paradoxically central way, in the motivational processes in line with those proposed in the text *Pactos por la vida*.

This requires a first moment of self-awareness and introspection of those who carry out or propose the strategies to recognise that alcohol is not the core of leisure, but rather an accompaniment, and that the control of leisure is not the final objective of the strategy, but the acknowledgement of how the relationship between leisure and alcohol takes place. From there, it is possible to establish the meaning that should be transformed or enhanced

regarding its consumption; the above from a theoretical, volitive, ideological and emotional capacity of historical thinking that places the subject in a situation of historical creation. This leads to an efficient response from their "everydayness" where there is a reedification of the reality or the theoretical constructs that address them (2).

The existence of the collective and the potentiality in social participation.

From the collective, three structural elements were useful to read and understand the dynamisms that are (re)created as "everydayness": institutionalisation, socio-historical moment and the collective youth culture. It is necessary to see them as linked and determinant elements in the worldview of the youth regarding alcohol consumption.

The dynamic of socio-historical moments is undeniable, despite the apparent quietness of the more formal structures of society, such as family, religion, school and state. They have been broken, reconstructed and transformed in different moments, therefore, the configuration of collective subjects is rooted in these determinations and their movements (39, 40).

For this article, those we recognise as youths, given the division by age group for statistical purposes (41), are those people who were born between 1995 and 2005, which the corporate world has called centennials or generation Z, and whose characteristics have been used as the source of analysis of different phenomena, among them the adherence to family planning, the analysis of consumption and the value of work, education, upbringing models, environmental commitment, among others. The force of representation that has been consolidated around the term generation, according to Patel "gives rise to a number of characteristics and behaviours that are said to be linked to all young adults" (42).

What has been previously expressed shows a strong point which is not new but which is normally overlooked when generating a strategy. Nevertheless, its power is to be recognised in the response that young people have regarding the strategies for the reduction or conscious consumption of alcohol, and this is the power that has been established from a market-centred culture, recognised as a capitalist model and represented in a society of consumption. This socio-historical and institutional aspect is identified in the reviewed documents when referring to advertising and globalization. Concerning the first, the text *Las previas ¿un problema social o la punta de un iceberg?* reveals that

"This necessity of being included in a group of peers, of belonging to a social group, responding to an identity, is reinforced by the interests of the industries of consumption, an environment where young people have been given an active conceptualization, generating spaces of production, recognition, and inclusion of cultural diversity. Conversely, in other environments, such as the family, state, and education, young people have been considered passive subjects" (10,44).

This leads us to reflect not upon the advertising and selling of alcohol in itself, but the selling of a youth culture associated with that consumption, a culture that is visualised from a perspective of joy, freedom, "decision-making", and the finitude of this stage of life, which implies experiencing everything in the moment, because afterwards, it will not be possible. This idea is reinforced by the traditional way of seeing human development as a series of chronological phases rather than life trajectories.

Likewise, it is an invitation to recognise how advertising and marketing communication is inserted in the tastes of the young, while communication about health regarding the consumption of alcohol generates content similar to its prohibition and the mitigation of the consequences (focused on stigmatisation) (34). Additionally, some documents end up omitting the symbolic power of belonging and freedom. Thus, reading is an invitation to reject this symbology which has been appropriated with the act of consuming alcohol. For that reason, the discourses from a perspective of prohibition and the mitigation of

consequences, as expressed in Dietz's citation, make young people look passive and far from the world of ritual, symbolism and meaning.

Moreover, but reinforcing what was stated above, there is the globalised culture into which Latin America entered from the 1980s and with it the opening up to neoliberalism, a game of social development sold to us by the first world (45) which has shaped the values and behaviours which would later be seen as ideal. Although they have been dynamic and have transformed, they continue to be framed in this logic of construction. This is not alien to how we identify the behaviours regarding the use of time or festive leisure, as a "consolidation of the youth market", as seen in "Paths and breaking points in the festive youth leisure space in the city of Concepción – Chile":

With regard to young people who produce and create festive spaces for young people [...], these circuits are characterized by a level of highly elaborate material and symbolic production and of relative autonomy concerning the logics that are strictly mercantile and massive. It is here where elements of the global and the local culture, types of festivities, users, styles, and cultural environments promiscuously recombine, creating circuits of social innovation, particularly in the case of *Casa de Salud*, where the use of spaces of nocturnal festive leisure intertwines with the production of live shows: music, literature, scenic and plastic arts, etc. It is a set of young cultural producers or from different generations and new media groups who manage resources and collectively generate a public space where urban culture is promoted [...] It is an ongoing "symbolic work" (Willis (35,46), that many young people tactically put into practice on a complex network of consumption (music, relationships, clothes, accessories, technologies, styles, places, etc.) as a way to compensate for the current scarcity of meaning and promises that schools and conventional work do not offer them (35).

The reading of these two, the culture of consumption and globalization, over the conception, representation, and understanding of the collective culture of the youth and their times of festive leisure and social participation, has been mainly done from an adult-centred view. It is also connected to a global logic of consumption, but calculated in other of their elements, which represents the foundation of this society centred on the market, productivity and productive time, focused on a future that seemed to be loaded with fear, but also clear certainty, that exists and that one has to be prepared for. Having said this, in the studies reviewed some of the results expected in the young populations studied were: generating responsibility (13), crime, violence and abuse prevention (11,12,34,47), self-regulation (6), self-efficacy (36), and education in the use of free time (11,13,33).

This perspective, then, gives, as a result, an idealised future young person who is responsible, free of vices or problems, and productive, which opposes the representation of an irresponsible, incomplete, incapable, and even infantile young person (9). For this reason, leisure time is vital in the consolidation of this ideal, as it is at this time that young people may deviate from the objective of being, in the future, a responsible adult. Thus, the discourses regarding the free time of the youth are full of logics of the good use of it, even the idea that this time is transformed, in the best-case scenario, into a productive and successful time, as is explicit in Abanto Ramos' text,

"Outstanding students from the workshops were invited to take part in the cast [related to the abilities in urban dance]"... "For their part, the crew participated in different national and international competitions, achieving first place in the categories they participated in. Also, some members of these casts gave lessons in other dance schools, generating their own income. Afterwards, the casts were invited by the Municipality of Metropolitan Lima to take part in the municipal programme *Cultura Viva Comunitaria* (Community Live Culture), presenting their choreographies in different parks in Lima" (11).

Even so, this is not linear, but rather a series of tensions are indicated. The discourses that foster the orientation and organization of the good use of young people's time enter into conflict with the premises of self-regulation, self-efficacy, and autonomy that young people are supposed to have among their capabilities, and which permit them to make good use of their time independently. On the other hand, the designation of youth as a path to adulthood and "adult responsibility", enters in conflict with the adult-centric perspective, from which decisions made regarding diversion are questioned and delegitimised, and even leisure time is stigmatised as time which is lost, unproductive and loaded with an image of temptation to laziness and criminality, even social and political participation are questioned, especially in low-income communities (48–50). Finally, the tension between promotional discourses of the immediacy of youth, of living in the present, and the production of a young person for the future, a manifest destiny which is represented by moderation, responsibility, indicative of dullness, seriousness, and the loss of freedom (51).

Within these tensions, times of leisure and social participation are constructed, between institutionalization, characterised by adult-centeredness, and the social representations of the youth in a culture dominated by the market and consumption. The collective culture of young people in Latin America is as varied as it can be and it is only possible to carry out comprehensive exercises if these elements are identified as intersectional determinants along with other multiple ones, characteristic of the inequalities of the region (9).

Based on this, recognising the potentiality for the transformation of young people in these societies is pressing, as said potentiality is recognised in strategies against institutionalization. Unfortunately, the institutionalization which young people are against is linked to the archaic view of adults and, due to this, young people create rituals where an element of differentiation is the lack of adult presence (10). Paradoxically, it is intended that these adult-centred institutionalities be the place of origin for the prevention of alcohol consumption when really, they are characterised by being oppressive, indifferent or encouraging this behaviour, as described by the Ministry for Health and Social Protection of Colombia, "Recognise aspects such as the tolerance of the consumption of psychoactive substances by the family or peers, experiences of violence in the family and/or school, untreated mental illness and a lack of psychosocial support programs" (12).

Finally, another element that could be observed with regard to the collective is the role with which the young person appears to be participating, although with a certain apathy or silence, which registers a certain blaming, in which adults do not do enough and what they do is not interesting for young people (13). This reveals that the potential and agency of young people regarding this phenomenon seems to be dormant, waiting for the proposals of adults, schools or the state, proposals that they end up recognising as insufficient, removed from their interests, or unattractive, without presenting their own solutions or proposals. Perhaps, because the consumption is not seen as a problem in itself, but rather as part of a symbolic universe, of a framework of meanings, which are configured in festive leisure time, and which invites them to be extraverted, and to differentiate themselves from adults (33), to be together (35), to be loyal (8), to be recognised (47), to sharing sensitivities (through music, art, dancing, fashion, etc.) (8,35), to be visible (35).

Conclusions

Finally, and in order to show the main conclusion of the present realistic review, the following binding category was put forward:

Recognition of options as construction of utopias and possible projects

The review of the literature and the reality that is proposed to us allows the establishment of some elements that, if seen linearly, could present a window of opportunities to work with and for young people within the topic of alcohol consumption.

A first element is the recognition of university youths as autonomous beings, which is not a synonym for independent, whole or totally stable as, on the contrary, recognising autonomy in line with the necessary exercises to recognise themselves as historical subjects is always done from a relational perspective, of construction with the other, so autonomy is a recognition of the constitutive of we, as part of my potentiality as a historical subject.

The second element is the understanding that strategies should be applied with the entrance to the worlds of others from a position of respect, dialogue, and above all, the recognition of the autonomies. In this sense, it is not a strategy that breaks with the "every day" of the young person, but it is intertwined with their own routes of care and self-awareness.

The third element is to recognise that the strategies for the conscious consumption of alcohol are only possible when there are coherence and cohesion with the world of social participation and the leisure spaces already established by the youths; when we stop making strategies whose objective is to construct leisure spaces, that young people already have; when we understand that leisure is not alcohol consumption in and of itself, but that said consumption is an accessory to the encounter. In this way, we can find the real relationship between leisure and alcohol and, from there, recognise the meanings of young people to build through dialogue other meanings regarding alcohol consumption.

The fourth element is to enable the youths to recognise themselves as agents, from their subjectivity exercises, looking at their possibilities and projects as historical subjects, not as subjects who count the hours to stop being young and enter the adult world. This implies taking distance from an adult-centred view, the fake idea of knowing better than the youths how "to use time wisely".

The fifth element is associated with the ways in which relationships are established with the socio-political and economic structures, the youths and humanity in general have been destined to a superficial relationship with these structures. For example, I am a citizen if I vote, I am productive if I work, which leads to the construction of ideas and representations of personal realization tied to the notions of success, popularity, and happiness that have been publicised and sold through alcohol as an expression of values such as freedom and autonomy, which are constantly reclaimed in the ideal of youth.

The sixth element seeks to recognise leisure from the diversity that is presented in the worlds of human life and, thus, avoid reducing it to a strategy as in this time and space, creativity and the ways of resisting, transmitting, becoming history, and constructing collectiveness are created and re-created; it is the time to think outside the box (economic-productive), in the liminality which gives way to the transforming potential. Having said that, in this time when young people in particular, and all human beings in general, construct projects and utopias, it is not our duty to control them but to accompany their experience, from the consciousness of not doing it under the effects of alcohol.

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

We thank the nurses: Nathaly Alejandra Sandoval Puentes, Karen Sofia Rodríguez Ramírez for their support in data collection.

Funding: This product is part of the project Social perception of risk and risk reduction strategies against collective alcohol consumption in university students, funded by the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation of Colombia

MINCIENCIAS, through call 844-2019 for Science, Technology and Innovation in Health 2019 projects, contract number 912/2019 –SGI 2794

Image Use Consent: "Not applicable."

Approval of a research ethics committee: According to minutes No. 4 of May 20, 2019 of the research ethics committee of the UPTC, the project that originated this product entitled: Social perception of risk and risk reduction strategies against collective alcohol consumption in university students is endorsed in the category of minimum risk according to Resolution 8430 of 1993 of the Ministry of Health. funded by the Administrative Department of Science, Technology and Innovation of Colombia (Colciencias), through call 844-2019 for Science, Technology and Innovation in Health 2019 projects, contract number 912/2019-SGI 2794.

This product is part of the project Social perception of risk and risk reduction strategies against collective alcohol consumption in university students, funded by the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation of Colombia MINCIENCIAS, through call 844-2019 for Science, Technology and Innovation in Health 2019 projects, contract number 912/2019.Conflict of interest.The authors state that they have no conflicts of interest to declare.

Authors' contribution: all the authors contributed throughout the entire process of research, analysis and the writing of the article.

Acknowledgements and funding: This article is part of the project called: *Percepción social del riesgo y estrategias de reducción del riesgo frente al consumo colectivo de alcohol en jóvenes universitarios* (Social perception of risk and risk reduction strategies with regard to the collective consumption of alcohol among university students), financed by the Ministry of Science and Technology of Colombia, within the framework of the request for proposals 844-2019; contract 912/2019; and developed in association with the Fundación Universitaria de Ciencias de la Salud and the Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia.

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