

ALCOHOL AND GENDER RELATIONS: MOTIVATIONS AND VULNERABILITIES IN ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTIONS¹

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ABSTRACT. This article explores the perception of adolescents in a state of social vulnerability in the city of São Paulo, focusing on the perspective of gender relations on the motivations to drink and the risks associated with the use, as well as those inherent to the contexts of alcohol consumption. This is a qualitative study using the technique of focus groups with 153 young people from Youth Centers and Public Schools in the city of São Paulo, aged 14 to 17 years old allocated in 32 groups separated by gender. The reports were recorded, transcribed and subjected to content analysis. The participants of this research referred to perceive *Pancadões* as the main context of alcohol use by young people from the periphery and the motivations for drinking were attributed to personal factors (search for fun, relief from displeasure) and sociocultural, in which alcohol is a means for personal appreciation ('show off') and facilitator of the peer relationship ('to hook up'). Among the associated risks, stand out sexual abuse and frequent exposure of girls on the internet and social problems such as lack of inspection, police violence and the presence of trafficking. The results show perceptions about the interrelation between alcohol, gender and violence in *Pancadões*, suggesting the need for preventive and harm reduction actions in line with the demands of this socio-cultural context.

Key-words: Alcohol drinking; adolescent; gender.

ÁLCOOL E RELAÇÕES DE GÊNERO: MOTIVAÇÕES E VULNERABILIDADES NA PERCEPÇÃO DE ADOLESCENTES

RESUMO. Este artigo explora a percepção de adolescentes em estado de vulnerabilidade social da cidade de São Paulo, com enfoque na perspectiva das relações de gênero sobre as motivações para beber e os riscos associados ao uso, assim como aqueles inerentes aos contextos de consumo de álcool. Trata-se de um estudo qualitativo que utilizou a técnica de grupos focais com 153 jovens de Centros da Juventude e Escolas Públicas da cidade de São Paulo, em idade entre 14 e 17 anos, alocados em 32 grupos separados por gênero. Os relatos foram gravados, transcritos e submetidos à análise de conteúdo. Os participantes desta pesquisa

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referiram perceber os Pancadões como o principal contexto de uso de álcool dos jovens da periferia. As motivações para beber foram atribuídas a fatores pessoais (busca de diversão, alívio de desprazer) e socioculturais, em que o álcool foi apontado como um meio de valorização pessoal ('ostentação') e facilitador da relação entre pares ('pegar'; 'ficar'). Entre os riscos associados, destacaram-se o abuso sexual e a frequente exposição de meninas na internet e problemas sociais como falta de fiscalização, violência policial e a presença de tráfico. Os resultados evidenciam percepções sobre a inter-relação entre álcool, gênero e violência em Pancadões, sugerindo a necessidade de ações preventivas e de redução de danos alinhadas às demandas desse contexto sociocultural.

Palavras-chave: Consumo de álcool; adolescente; gênero.

ALCOHOL Y RELACIONES DE GÉNERO: MOTIVOS Y VULNERABILIDADES EN LA PERCEPCIÓN DE ADOLESCENTES

RESUMEN. En este estudio se explora la percepción de adolescentes en estado de vulnerabilidad social de la ciudad de São Paulo, con enfoque en la perspectiva de las relaciones entre géneros sobre las motivaciones para beber y los riesgos asociados al uso, así como aquellos inherentes a los contextos de consumo de alcohol. Se trata de un estudio cualitativo que utilizó la técnica de grupos focales con 153 jóvenes de Centros de la Juventud y Escuelas Públicas de la ciudad de São Paulo, con edades comprendidas entre los 14 y los 17 años, asignados en 32 grupos separados por género. Los relatos fueron grabados, transcritos y sometidos al análisis de contenido. Los participantes de esta investigación refirieron percibir los Pancadões como el principal contexto de uso de alcohol de los jóvenes de la periferia. Las motivaciones para beber fueron atribuidas a factores personales (búsqueda de diversión, alivio de displacer) y socioculturales, en que el alcohol fue señalado como un medio de valoración personal ('ostentación') y facilitador de la relación entre pares ('besarse'). Entre los riesgos asociados, se destacaron el abuso sexual y la frecuente exposición de niñas en Internet, así como problemas sociales como falta de fiscalización, violencia policial y la presencia de tráfico de drogas. Los resultados evidencian percepciones sobre la interrelación entre alcohol, género y violencia en Pancadões, sugiriendo la necesidad de acciones preventivas y de reducción de daños dirigidas a satisfacer las demandas de ese contexto sociocultural.

Palabras clave: Consumo de alcohol; adolescente; género.

Introduction

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC] World Report on Drugs, alcohol is the most commonly used substance of abuse by young people around the world (UNODC, 2012). In Brazil, a survey carried out in the 27 capitals identified that 59.3% of public school students reported having used alcohol in their lives (Carlini, Noto, & Sanchez, 2010).

The use of alcohol in adolescence is commonly motivated by curiosity, intention to belong to a particular group, social pressure, among other sociocultural factors. Abuse of alcohol by adolescents is related to numerous negative consequences, both at the individual

and collective levels (Brown, 2013). Intake of high doses of alcoholic beverages may impair school performance, interpersonal relationships, favor risky sexual behavior, involvement in fights, and increase the likelihood of the subject injuring themselves and/or others (Swahn, Simon, Hammig, & Guerrero, 2004). Regarding sexual risk behavior, alcohol consumption is related to the increase of intercourse without the use of a condom and, consequently, the predisposition to early pregnancy and the risk of sexually transmitted diseases (STD) and to commit or to be victim in cases of sexual violence (Brown, 2013).

According to the theory of ecological development developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1996), adolescent behavior is a result of individual characteristics and the way in which it relates to different contexts, such as family, school, culture and legislation. Thus, there may be several developmental risk factors present in ecological contexts that may increase the likelihood of physical, psychological, behavioral and/or social problems (Diniz & Koller, 2010). Within this view, problematic alcohol consumption can be interpreted in circular logic, as resulting from the interaction of biopsychosocial factors, as well as an additional factor of vulnerability.

Motivations and expectations about drinking may be related to the onset and maintenance of drinking, especially with respect to gender. Some cultural beliefs and values may favor certain behaviors between the sexes (Fachini & Furtado, 2012). For example, the interrelationship between alcohol use and the affirmation of masculinity for the male sex, sexual abuse or moral judgment, suffered in the case of drunkenness among the female sex (Freitas, Ribeiro, & Saldanha, 2012).

According to the *Atlas socioassistencial da cidade de São Paulo* (2015), vulnerability is defined as “[...] a set of factors such as territory characteristics, age cycle, difficulties faced by families and lack of access to public policies”. Such condition is more frequent in peripheral regions of the municipality, in which there is a predominance of public schools. However, there is a lack of studies that assess the adolescents’ perception of how it relates to the environment and how this relationship may influence the behavior regarding alcohol use.

This study aimed to explore the perception of adolescents in a state of social vulnerability in the city of São Paulo, focusing on the perspective of gender relations on the motivations to drink and the risks associated with the use, as well as those inherent to the contexts of consumption of alcohol. We expect to subsidize preventive and harm reduction actions in the contexts of alcohol consumption by adolescents.

Method

Study design

This is a qualitative, descriptive and exploratory study that sought to investigate the beliefs and values of adolescents about alcohol consumption in contexts of the periphery of São Paulo. The focus group (FG) technique was chosen because it favors the interaction among the participants and allows the study of perspectives of social groups and, considering that the alcohol use for this subpopulation happens mainly in the collective, we chose to approach the subject with the adolescents along with their peers. In addition, the adoption of FG is widely used and indicated in the development and improvement of interventions in the area of education and health care (Patton, 2002).

Data collection was performed by a team of 8 health researchers (complete doctorate [n = 4], incomplete doctorate [n = 1], incomplete master’s degree [n = 1], complete

undergraduate [$n = 1$] incomplete undergraduate [$n = 1$]) with prior experience in qualitative studies. The script was developed jointly by the team of researchers and was composed of semi-structured questions that explored adolescents' perceptions and beliefs about alcohol use, including contexts, consumption patterns, and associated risks. All the researchers were familiar with the script and after data collection were held periodic meetings to discuss the emerging contents and possible alignments regarding the conduct of the questions.

Participant characterization

A total of 153 young people from Youth Centers and Public Schools in the city of São Paulo, aged between 14 and 17 years old, participated in the study, 78 were female and 75 were male. Adolescents from the age group in question who were attending public education were invited to participate. FG were composed of a maximum of 8 participants, separated by gender. In order to characterize the sample in relation to alcohol consumption, before the beginning of FG, we applied the Alcohol Use Disorders Identification questionnaire, consisting of a self report questionnaire on the pattern of individual alcohol consumption (Saunders, Aasland, Babor, De la Fuente, & Grant, 1993).

Selection of participants

This research was made possible by the partnership of the researchers with the Municipal Department of Social Assistance and Development (SMADS), responsible for managing Youth Centers (YC), municipal institutions that serve public school students in vulnerable state in the period after school activities; and the partnership with a Regional Board of the State Department of Education of São Paulo, responsible for supervising a network of 49 schools. The network of contacts with the mentioned institutions favored the selection and conduction of the research in two different settings, YC and schools of regions considered more vulnerable, according to the Social Vulnerability Index of São Paulo - IPVS 2010 (Fundação SEADE, 2010). Care was taken to avoid the double participation of the same adolescent coming from the two settings investigated.

To the YC, the invitation to participate in the research was made through SMADS. All 79 YC in the city of São Paulo were invited by email. Only nineteen responded positively, as the contact with such institutions was carried out via SMADS, we did not have the opportunity to ask the reason for the non-participation of the YC that did not agree to participate. Each of these institutions chose and sent a representative of each gender to compose the FG.

In the case of schools, the invitation was made directly to the managers during an event about health promotion in educational environments, carried out by the Regional Board. The invitation was open to all 49 schools present at the event, and 14 accepted to participate in the research, but only 8 met the vulnerability criterion to make the data comparable to the YC. A visit was made to the institutions for the presentation of the project and at the occasion an open invitation was made in the classroom to the students. For the data collection, the FG were organized by gender, and therefore, two groups were formed in each school.

Conduct of focus groups

Thirty-two FG were conducted, 16 of which were conducted in YC (49 adolescents) and 16 in public schools (103 adolescents). The groups were organized by gender and conducted by two researchers, one responsible for group coordination and the other for

observation and records. The groups had an average duration of one hour, with audios fully and literally recorded and transcribed.

The adolescents recruited in YC were gathered in a space provided by SMADS. The groups were formed randomly, separated by gender, and because they contained adolescents from different institutions, they did not know each other, nor had they had previous contact with the researchers. In the case of adolescents recruited in schools, the FG were conducted within the school environment and the groups were formed by adolescents of the same class.

Ethical aspects

The research was approved by the research ethics committee of the Federal University of São Paulo (Opinion Number: 674630). Each participant was informed about the objectives and methods of the study, with guarantee of anonymity and reliability. All were instructed not to provide information that could identify them or the institution to which they were attached. It was emphasized the freedom to not answer any of the questions or to give up at any stage of the research. Participation took place through the delivery of the Terms of Agreement and the Free and Informed Consent (FITC), duly signed by the adolescents and their respective guardians. In the case of the FITC for the guardian of age, the adolescent received in advance to take it home and asked that it should be signed. Only those who on the day of the group conduct had the FITC in hands participated in the survey.

Data analysis

Data of FG were subjected to content analysis, from which a floating reading of the transcripts of all the focus groups was done for the consequent choice of the categories of analysis with the aid of the NVivo 10 program. Three researchers from the team participated in the analysis of the data by periodic discussions of the data collected. From the floating reading and the discussion of emerging contents, the categories of analysis and theoretical saturation were defined based on the triangulation performed in pairs, in order to increase the reliability of the data analysis.

For each FG, a four-character alphanumeric code was created, in which the first two identify the institution (PS- Public School or YC – to Youth Center), the third, the gender (F- Female or M-Male) and the fourth identifies which is the FG. Ex: The first FG of school boys was coded as EPM1.

For the description of the data of this work, it was followed the Consolidated Criteria for Reporting Qualitative Research (COREQ) (Tong, Sainsbury, & Craig, 2007).

Results

Characterization of alcohol consumption by participants

Most study participants had used alcohol in their lifetime, 61% of boys and 58% of girls, and the *Pancadões* were mentioned in all focus groups as the main context of alcohol consumption by adolescents participating in the study. *Pancadões* are events held in open places, commonly streets of the outskirts of São Paulo, in which the young public prevails. The name refers to the funk beat and the automotive sounds, common in these environments.

Definition of analysis categories

In relation to the contents that emerged in the FG referring to the objectives of this study, it was possible to identify categories of analysis (Figure 1) that reached saturation in the two settings studied. The categories related to alcohol consumption in *Pancadões* were centered on three main perceptions: 1) motivations to drink; 2) risks related to consumption; 3) environmental vulnerabilities and; an axis that was analyzed transversally in adolescents' speech; 4) gender issues.

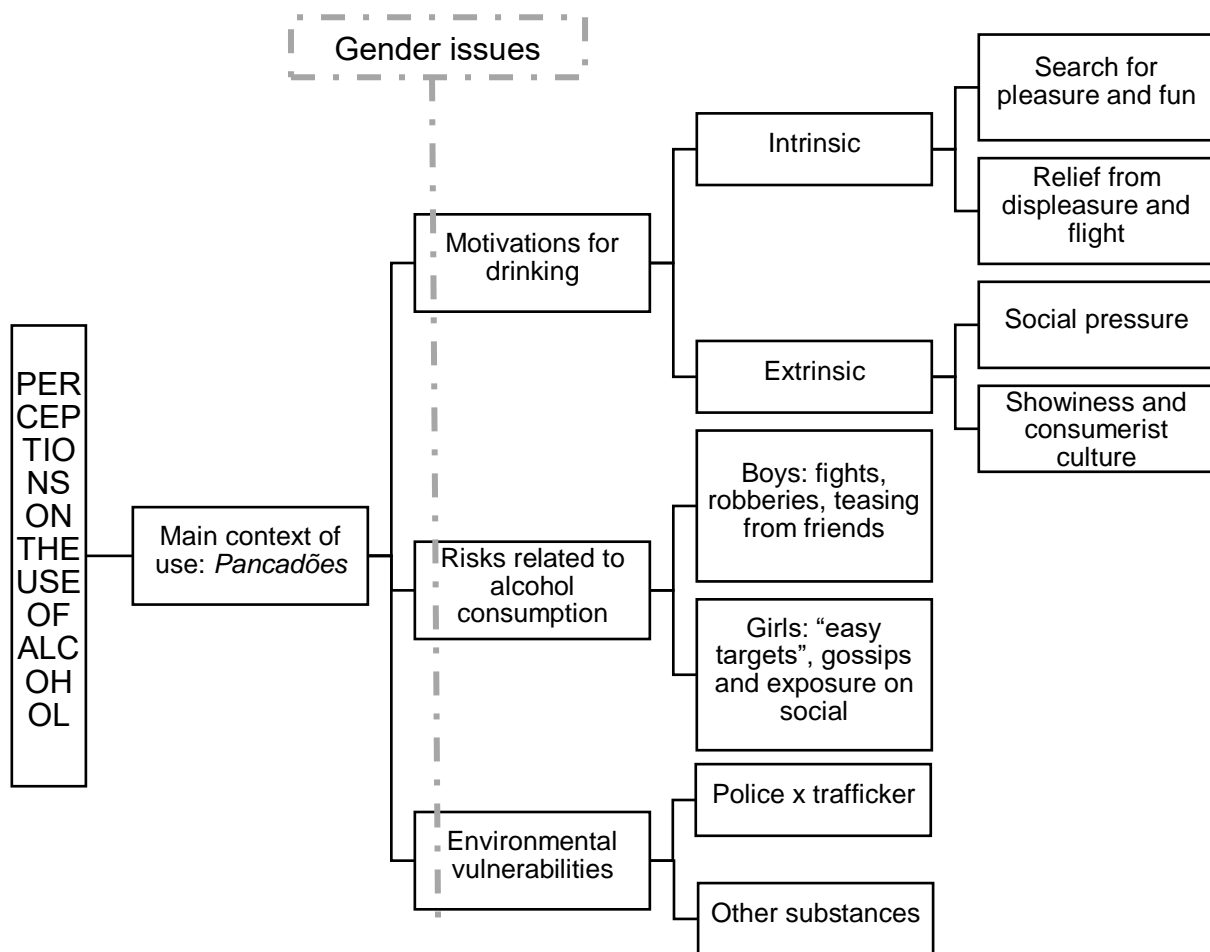


Figure 1 - Organization chart of contents analysis categories that emerged in focus groups. Source: the authors.

Pancadões: main context of alcohol use in the outskirts of São Paulo

The adolescents referred to the use of alcohol as a behavior favored by the search for fun and socializing in groups. The main context of use, described in all FG, was street

parties, also called *Pancadões*, *Fluxos* or *Funk*, in reference to the predominant musical style in these environments and commonly by means of automotive sound.

Funk is on the street, a car stops with a very loud sound, people join together... closes the street and the funk is free, there is no time, there is no day, but weekend is sacred, there are times that join up to 5 thousand people (YCM2).

Although not all participants had a history of direct experiences at *Pancadões*, it was possible to evidence perceptions, beliefs and values about patterns of alcohol consumption and other vulnerabilities related to such context. Different patterns of alcohol consumption have been described, varying from abstinence to drunkenness associated with risk. In all FG, they affirmed that it is possible to have fun without drinking, even reported the existence of abstainers in *Pancadões*. Among consumers, it was possible to distinguish in the reports that young people perceive two different patterns: 1- 'Young people who drink, but drink little' and; 2- 'Young people who get drunk'. The concept of much and little is relative and very particular, and when questioned what would be much or little in their perception, they related to absence or excesses of common behaviors when there is use of alcohol. For example, vomiting, loud talking, dancing and 'screw up' Although it was often an initial perception that all *Pancadões* goes drunk too much, as the participants described the context, they changed the discourse, claiming to realize that, in fact, most 'drink little'.

Among the adolescents referred to with lower consumption, differences according to gender were found. On the girls in the FG of both genders, statements have emerged that some 'pretend' to be more drunk than they really are. The role of caregiver was also evidenced that some, who drink less, assume the situation of a drunken friend. In fact, this was the only strategy of care or risk reduction described by the participants. Such actions were described only for females.

[...] that friend who drinks little and takes care, takes her home, holds her hair to vomit, does not let the guys take advantage (PSF8).

Among boys, however, it was reported that it is common not to drink much, but to stimulate female intoxication through the supply of alcoholic beverage, with the purpose of favoring approximation, referred to as 'hook up' for a kiss, hug or, in some cases, having sexual intercourse.

The brats do not get drunk. But [they] chug tequila, vodka in the girls, then they go drinking, they are becoming 'easy to get (YCM7).

Added to the reports of the consumption that leads to the drunkenness of adolescents, the situations of greater vulnerability are described. In this group, discourses involving situations of unplanned sex and without condom use, exposure in social networks, sexual harassment, often involving collective abuse, fights, robberies and loss of objects were common.

There are some girls who drink a lot, the guys already enjoy it and end up taking them to bed (PSF3).

Several cases in which the person who drinks a lot and they take off her clothes, leave her naked. And several people film, take a picture and post it on Facebook: 'so-and-so, naked at the party'. That's where the gossip begins (YCM1).

Beliefs about drinking motivations and gender influences

When asked about the motivation to drink, perceptions of intrinsic (related to individual factors) and extrinsic (sociocultural factors) motivations were mentioned. The intrinsic motivations included the curiosity and search for fun, based on the belief that 'drinking is fun'. As was also mentioned the motivation for relief from displeasure and escape from the particular problems that, according to them, alcohol would help to forget problems, at least for a while. Alcohol was also referred to as disinhibiting, by favoring interpersonal relationships, especially in relation to the opposite sex, as a way to 'lose the shame'. Such intrinsic motivations can be observed in the following statements:

There are some who drink only not to be in the natural state, because it is not funny. Not to be ashamed, I drink (YCF3).

There are some who drink because they're having a problem at home and think, 'Oh, if I go out, I'll drink enough to calm down (YCM8).

Because they lose their shame, there are people who is ashamed, and do not have the courage to win over a girl. Drinks and gets uninhibited (YCM4).

Among the extrinsic motivations, several elements related to culture and gender were related. Alcohol was referred to as a form of self-assertion of masculinity for boys. According to participants, there is social pressure for boys to prove their masculinity or as a rite of passage through adolescence through the use of drinks.

The guy has to drink to show that he's a male, that he can take it... (PSM8).

For girls, alcohol was referred to as a way to stand out in the group ('drawing attention to herself'). They stated that sometimes they pretended to consume alcohol because they might claim that being drunk exempted them from responsibility and blame for their actions. This behavior among girls was reported in the FG of both genders:

Girls want to be popular, so they drink to get noticed or not even drink, but they just pretend to get attention (YCM3).

If she's drunk she has more excuse to do whatever she wants. Then she pretends to drink so she can fuck the guy and the other day she says she was drunk (PSF4).

The young, especially the boys, reported a behavior very characteristic of these contexts, the 'show off'. According to them, the motivation for choosing certain beverages would be related to the 'trendy' brands or that would be evidenced in the songs. According to the beliefs of FG participants, young people would be evaluated by their peers, according to the drink, clothes and cell phones they used.

Need to make the consumption of the fashionable drink, show off, like Red Label (brand of whiskey) the more expensive, the more people will want to like you, the more will want to be with you, got it? (YCM3).

The adolescents' gender also seemed to influence their choices regarding the type of drink. Girls' preference for distillates was attributed to the 'unpleasant' taste of beer, while boys emphasized the cost-effectiveness and depreciation of certain types of beverages.

Whiskey with soda or energy drink to taste sweet (YCF2).

Young people today do not even drink beer, it's more whiskey, energy drink, vodka. If you drink cachaça, sometimes you're kidded because it's old. You have to take the fashion drink (YCM8).

It's very expensive to drink beer because you have to buy many (PSM7).

Sexual expression associated with drunkenness

In all FG, the perception was that the consequences of drunkenness associated with the expression of sexuality are worse for the female gender. Moral judgment and media exposure, predominantly aimed at girls, were reported.

School gossip is more about women, not man. Usually the guy records a fuck and puts it in WhatsApp and generates a rumor. Like, for the girls: slut, bitch, various things, but not for us, men (YCM1).

Both groups brought a blame speech of the victims, presenting a belief that drunkenness entitles a girl to be abused. On the other hand, alcohol (drunkenness) has also been seen as an 'excuse' to justify behaviors desired by girls, but socially disapproved when they are sober.

The girl goes almost naked, gets dancing and accepting any boy's drink, they really take off her clothes. She got drunk because she wanted to, rubbed her ass because she wanted to. They enjoy it (PSF8).

Although many cases of sexual abuse have been reported, there have been few testimonies that have shown a perception of risks related to sexual practice without a condom, such as pregnancy and STD contagion.

Perceptions of other contextual vulnerabilities in *Pancadões*

The young people reported that lack of financial resources to finance consumption favors the supply of adulterated drink, perceived as being common in these environments, due to lack of inspection and sales control. 'Show off' has also been referred to as motivating this and other risk behaviors, such as theft or involvement with trafficking, as a means of sustaining their spending.

It's very easy to buy a drink, no one asks for personal documents and at Pancadão there are those sellers selling Red (brand of whiskey), you pay 35 reais for the dose, but that's not whiskey, and it does not matter because what counts is having the glass in hand (YCM2).

You need to flaunt, so you have to have a cool cell phone, nice clothes and not everyone who can afford it, so what? Steal, steal, or enter drug traffic (YCF4).

In addition to alcohol, participants reported the use of other substances. The use of marijuana, cocaine, crack, narghile and mainly the use of solvents, referred to by them as *lança*, has been reported. The use of *lança* was cited in most of the groups, including related to the cause of death of young people at *Pancadões*.

Marijuana, cocaine they pretty use. More cocaine, they get well on alert, some people mix (PSF7).

[...] put *balinha* along with the lança, it is delicious. Before you could not even hear it, now it's the trend (YCF2).

Last month a boy died there, a boy from the NGO, it was a lança that was actually welding splash (YCM3).

Also perceived are structural risks common to all *Pancadão* regulars. Violence was reported by traffickers who, according to the testimonies, signal the beginning of these festivities by shooting upwards. Likewise, violence was cited by police officers who, according to the participants, usually 'invade' the event to 'evacuate' the streets. There are cases where young people have described situations of disorder that end up putting them at physical risk.

That's the way it is, there are times when there is an armed trafficker. They do not need to because everyone knows who they are, but they like to show off [...] sometimes they start firing up to warn the guys that Funk will start (YCF2).

Police enter already cursing, throwing rubber bullets and bombs, they do not ask before (YCM8).

Everyone runs, runs, runs, runs. One goes to the other side. One runs over the other. The motorcycles are all down there, what is stolen is left standing in the middle, the boys lose the cell phone, they lose everything there, running, cell phone, watch everything (PSM7).

Discussion

The testimonies of adolescents in this study suggest a process of naturalization of alcohol consumption at *Pancadões*. Although some say not to drink at these events, important factors of valuation of consumption associated with risks were mentioned. The motivations for drinking could be divided into: Intrinsic, as a search for pleasure and fun or relief from displeasure and escape; and extrinsic, such as social pressure, showiness, and consumer culture. Among those who drink, there were many reports showing different patterns of use and several associated risks. Particularly important are the sexual behaviors, especially those involving the abuses suffered by girls and the frequent exposure on the internet. Despite this, testimonies that showed a perception of risks related to pregnancy and STDs were rare. Added to the context described above, social characteristics were mentioned, such as lack of inspection, police violence and the presence of trafficking that increase vulnerability in these environments and the influence of culture that, according to the young people, can modulate behaviors.

Faced with such findings, this study highlights the importance of broadening the discussion about alcohol use and the behavior of young people beyond banning *Pancadões* or drinking. Another strong point is that the research was done from the perspective of the adolescent that is inserted in the described context. On the other hand, there were some limitations, such as the exclusive perception of young people from São Paulo, which makes it impossible for the data to be generalized to other scenarios and the lack of representativeness of participants who deviate from heteronormative models. There were methodological limitations because it did not involve field visits to check the data and, since the FG technique accesses the collective construction, it was not possible to investigate the private and deeper perception of the participants. Finally, the division of FG by gender provided gains by making participants more comfortable talking about delicate issues for the

age group, such as sexuality issues, but lost possible counterpoint to the discourses that might have resulted from the union between boys and girls, on why the moral consequences are perceived as more shocking to girls, for example.

The discussion of the presented results was proposed based on the structure of the bioecological development perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1996). Particular characteristics of adolescents were considered regarding personal motivations for drinking, contexts of use, relationships with peers and social and cultural influences that can act as modulators of alcohol consumption and associated risk behaviors. The adolescents reported that alcohol use is common in collective meetings with their peers, which corroborates studies that point to alcohol as a facilitator of socialization (Ambiel, Reis, Cesco, & Oliveira, 2015). The particularity of our data, however, were the *Pancadões*, the main contexts of use cited by the young in a state of vulnerability, which did not happen in studies with the same age group of students from private schools in São Paulo (Gonçalves, Opaleye, & Amato, 2014). Often young people gather on the street to dance and often these parties are associated with various risk behaviors due to the use of alcohol and other drugs, as well as the difficulty of inspection (Pereira, 2014).

We observe in the reasons for drinking pointed out by the young that they always seek in the drink a means to reach another purpose. Thus, to alcohol is assigned the most varied functions. Based on reports from adolescents, it was possible to establish relations of both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations to make use of alcohol. In adolescence, the nervous system undergoes changes inherent to human development that increase the vulnerability of young people to risky behaviors and searches for new experiences that include the use of substances (Chambers, Taylor, & Potenza, 2003), that is, curiosity and the attempt to experience new sensations through the use of alcohol, for example. When this occurs, common vulnerabilities of adolescence as doubts and insecurities, for example, may be potentialized when alcohol effects are added (Chambers et al., 2003).

Motivations linked to self-assertion as 'butch' for boys anchored in alcohol use are more related to social construction than to a morphological or physical characteristic of development. Thus, social and peer pressure for boys to express their masculinity reinforces both consumption and increased risks related to the use of beverages (Iwamoto & Smiler, 2013).

Girls reported drinking and often getting drunk as a way of expressing their sexuality, justified by the belief that 'if you are drunk you can'. This shows that while for men, active and exacerbated sexual behavior is commonly and culturally supported, women are given a discourse full of judgment and prejudice with the way they expose their body or express their sexual desires. It may be associated with the belief that 'drunk women are easier' and the mentioned cases of cases of drunkenness stimulus on the part of boys show that female sexual freedom needs to be better discussed and that from those who express their sexuality with greater freedom should be withdrawn the labels that associate sexual behavior with the character.

Associated with the motivations to drink, a pattern of consumption that goes beyond the financial condition of many young people has been evidenced. The behavior reported as showiness by the participants brings to the surface capitalist ideals, in which, in a consumer society, the subject is valued and admired for what he/she has and not for what he/she is (Baudrillard, 1995). The need to show off is also observed in other groups in our society, especially if we consider the young audience, the main target of marketing campaigns for most of the products cited by the participants. What is problematic in the context studied were the adolescents reporting using illicit means to finance consumption

or, in the case of alcoholic beverages, putting themselves at additional risk when ingesting counterfeit products.

Although personal motivations for drinking were often presented positively, a number of sexual risk behaviors were associated with alcohol use, such as unplanned sexual practice, no condoms and sexual harassment, with the habit of exposing girls to social networks. Studies have shown that alcohol use promotes a critique downgrade, increasing impulsive behaviors (Brown, 2013; Chambers et al., 2003), and may indicate a greater propensity for unplanned and unprotected sex. Despite reports of non-use of condoms, there have been few reports of concern about a possible early and unwanted pregnancy or the possibility of contracting a disease. In recent years there has been a considerable increase in the number of new STD and AIDS cases for this age group in Brazil, according to the HIV and AIDS Epidemiological Bulletin of 2015 (Boletim epidemiológico..., 2015), which may be related to this low perception of risks and the consequent non-use of protection.

Several situations described by adolescents can be classified as reports of rape, including collective rape. But they did not seem to realize the gravity of the reported situations, not even by the victims, since the girls were not able to name the abuses as rape, but they emphasized the importance of having a sober friend who plays the role of caretaker of those who get drunk and thus protect them from being approached by boys and putting themselves at greater risk (Odgers et al., 2008).

Both acts of sexual abuse and exposure and sharing of unauthorized images on the internet or via cell phones may be classified as defamation (defamation of reputation) or injury (offending dignity or decorum), pursuant to Articles 139 and 140 of the Brazilian Penal Code (Lei nº 2.848, 1940). In the case of under 18 years old, article 241 of the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (ECA) qualifies as a serious crime the dissemination of images of minors in situations of explicit or pornographic sex (Lei nº 8.069, 1990). The practice of sharing photos and videos with sexual content via mobile phones or new technologies, with the name of sexting and the frequency that occurs has gained worldwide visibility and attention due to concern about the legal and psychological consequences of such exposure to the person in the real world (Mitchell, Finkelhor, Jones, & Wolak, 2012). Young people seem to underestimate or not perceive the risks and lack of reporting causes the practice to be maintained, the guilty go unpunished and the responsibility is usually on the victim.

The blame of the victim, not only for boys, but often endorsed in the female speech, shows that culturally, rape is naturalized and little recognized. Moreover, despite the fact that the female figure is sexually exploited from Brazil Cologne, a woman is not well regarded and even suffers moral judgment if she expresses her sexuality (Souza, Baldwin, & Rosa, 2000), even in erotically stereotyped environments, as funk culture sites.

It is known that the media and the different cultural expressions, although they are ecological levels more distant from the coexistence of the adolescents, when compared to family and friends, for example, present a bidirectional relation, being result of social concepts, and can modulate behaviors (Silva, Araujo, Santana, & Vasconcelos, 2012), corroborating bioecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1996). In this study, it was mentioned by the participants that funk would be influencing the behavior of some adolescents, in the way they dress, act, even relate.

In Brazil, funk as well as portraying general characteristics of the communities of the periphery, was divided into two subgenera, *Funk Ostentação* that apologizes to the culture of consumption, including alcoholic beverages and *Funk Proibidão* that uses a more pornographic language, with erotic compositions in which the allusion to sexism and the devaluation of women stands out. Young people may identify with songs that portray the

environment in which they live, such as shantytowns, drug trafficking and drug use, recurring themes in music of this genre, and thus, are more vulnerable to influences from other topics such as showiness and/or devaluation of women, through a perspective alluding to sexism. Although we are evidencing this musical genre, exclusively, due to the fact that it is what predominantly plays in the *Pancadões*, we emphasize that the values described and disseminated by this type of music are also propagated in other genres and environments (Primack, McClure, Li, & Sargent, 2014), even frequented by people of greater purchasing power.

The attempts by the São Paulo City Hall and the State of São Paulo to extinguish this phenomenon through police actions or law-making have proved to be ineffective, so much that the law that became known to the media and to the population as the 'Law of the *Pancadão*' created in 2015, has not yet entered into force (Lei nº 16.049, 2015). *Pancadões* are collective expressions of adolescents from the periphery, very similar to the *Rolezinhos* (collective walks of dozens of young people from the periphery in shopping malls or centers of coexistence of zones of greater purchasing power that occurred in the city of São Paulo between 2013 and 2014) (Viana, 2014). So, it is possible that, once impeded from holding the *Pancadão* in one place, the young people will probably gather in another, just as they did in the *Rolezinhos*. Therefore, discussions about regulation of this type of event should go beyond its prohibition and consider what it means and what young people seek through this phenomenon (Viana, 2014). Understanding their intentions, it will probably be possible to discuss and promote reflection on the risk behaviors adopted by adolescents in these environments, especially when we consider that although they reported several risk situations, they showed no concern about adopting strategies to protect themselves. This leaves a gap for future studies focused on the reduction of risks related to the use of the substance, considering the reality of consumption of this population and create spaces of reflection for the young person to understand that autonomy involves responsibility and care with oneself and with the others (Moreira, Silveira, & Andreoli, 2006).

Final considerations

For an intervention to make sense, it is important to consider the reality in which the target audience is inserted and define objectives and actions that can be developed at different levels. Our data suggest that adolescents on the periphery have similar drinking motivations to other social contexts, the context of use described by them is what increases the risks to which they expose themselves to drinking. Developing strategies that stimulate critical sense, self-care, respect for others, and the enhancement of personal skills for life should be encouraged. But for changes to be truly effective and lasting, cultural transformations must be fostered in the way that the whole society deals with issues of gender and consumerism, which takes time and action at different levels.

Some issues, however, can be performed in a more practical way. The use of alcohol, gender, violence and sexuality are themes that appear interconnected in environments of *Pancadões*, which makes it essential that they be worked together and clearly. Our data suggest the adoption of simple harm reduction (HR) strategies, such as make water and condoms available to the regulars, could be adopted as a starting point in these contexts.

There are nongovernmental organizations that work on HR projects at parties, but often rely on the support of the organizers. In the case of *Pancadões*, the lack of inspection and security would hinder the work, being necessary that municipality and state were partners in these initiatives. Another way to deal with risks in a more global way, although

not perceived by adolescents, would be the adoption of strategies designed in conjunction with these, promoting reflections and criticisms about their attitudes, self-respect and respect for others, as well as the presentation of information of quality and life projects that would broaden their perspectives for the future. This would increase young people's perception of their behaviors, maintaining their autonomy in making more conscious and safe decisions regarding alcohol use and other behaviors interconnected in any context, besides the *Pancadões*.

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