

LOCUS PRAEVENTIONI MELIOR QUAM REMEDIUM. THE ICELANDIC PREVENTION MODEL IN THE FIGHT AGAINST YOUTH ADDICTIONS: ALCOHOL, TOBACCO, AND DRUGS

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ABSTRACT

What does prevention in adolescence refer to? Is it possible to borrow a non-fatalistic, non-monistic perspective on life, such as to lead individuals and institutions back to their historical, social, and moral responsibilities? How have Iceland's local policies changed in the court of public opinion, and how have alcohol, tobacco, drug consumption, and abuse been cut down among young people? This work focuses on the opposition between the individual and the society, highlighting the peculiarities of a specific lexicon that adequately discerns the dominant gnoseological and epistemological categories. Sharing, communicative interdependence, sport, and primary and secondary socialization in a sui generis context showcase the empirical evidence obtained through long-term planning. Nowadays, in an even more complex, layered, and liquid cultural climate, which struggles to break away from both national state heritage and ephemeral and circumscribed public policies, it seems necessary to clarify the effectiveness and efficiency of the pioneering model of Lýðveldið Ísland by deconstructing anachronistic stereotypes. Conspicuous literature will accompany this path through a reconstruction of the most significant steps, with reflections placed on the horizon of methodological individualism that will support the observations made, opening up new interpretative switches.

Keywords: individual; model; prevention; socialization; society;

INTRODUCTION

The well-known neologism of the *butterfly effect* coined by Lorenz in 1962, the nerve center of *Chaos Theory*, helps greatly to reflect on how imperceptible variations in initial conditions produce considerable variations in the subsequent and long-term behavior of a system. This metaphor interprets the deep changes that have taken place in that *global village* of McLuhan's memory, especially in those advanced economies without references, stained by articulated, and difficult-to-resolve dynamics. Among all, the pressing issue of primary prevention from the use and abuse of harmful substances such as alcohol, tobacco, and drugs, which compromise the regular psychophysical development of young people. Discordant proposals have been put forward by national governments, debated to excess in

conversations, interviews, television investigations (generalist and thematic), weeklies, reports, and radio news, too often taking on an approximate meaning that does not allow for understanding, selection and reconstruct the matrices and characteristics of political strategies supported by generational clashes and social conflicts. At the basis of this work lies one of the foremost demanding global challenges, which requires a collective response without exceptions.

The responsibilities and duties that come with it should be shouldered with a strong sense of responsibility. Without claiming to be exhaustive, the Icelandic model will be analyzed from a sociological perspective to identify the motivations that led to a multidimensional intervention being implemented on a large scale; this analysis will leverage an inspection of the social context and risk factors. Why? It is a mandatory duty to address the vulnerabilities of the youngest exposed to all sorts of addictions, the undisputed protagonists of tomorrow. An extended time frame, set in the twenty years 1995-2015, from which sharp points for reflection will emerge, condensing various disciplines in a dialogic way: from epistemology to the methodology of social research through the sociology of cultural and communicative processes, supported by the toolbox of statistics.

The chief aim is to highlight and question the critical issues of methodological collectivism¹ and the primacy of the social, which considers individual action as the result of external conditioning², determined by autonomous and extraneous pressures, neglecting the innermost components of those subjects characterized as *passive*. Starting from their reevaluation as *active* decision-makers, social determinism will be abandoned to embrace approaches such as the one illustrated by Kristjansson et al.³ in the multifaceted *Model for Primary Prevention of Substance Use*, bringing society structures back to the service of the individual no longer exclusively inert and subdued concerning unconscious influences, but concretely involved in the resolution of a non-negligible plague.

¹ For interdisciplinary insights, please consult Galluccio C. (2015), *L'individuo tra organizzazione, economia e società*, Aracne, Ariccia, 9-59. For a refined methodological distinction between individualism and collectivism referred to economic sociology and organizations, see again Galluccio C. (2009), *Introduzione alla Filosofia del Management*, Aracne, Ariccia, 9-23.

² See Oliverio A. (2015), *Individuo, natura, società. Introduzione alla filosofia delle scienze sociali*, Mondadori, Milano, 36-54. For clarification purposes, please refer to the behavior of people paying in a cinema following the alarm raised - by mistake - from a fire-fighting sound device, also investigated by Oliverio A. (2007), *Strategie della scelta. Introduzione alla teoria della decisione*, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 3-21.

³ Kristjansson et al. (2020), *Development and Guiding Principles of the Icelandic Model for Preventing Adolescent Substance Use*, in *Health Promotion Practice*, vol. 21(1), 62-69. The origins of this model can already be seen in the studies carried out by B. K. Alexander of Simon Fraser University and subsequently by H. Milkman of the MSU in Denver, who had reached the same conclusion: dependencies, whatever they may be, arise primarily from processes individual decision-making and from the socio-relational context of reference. The consumption of psychoactive substances was correlated to the management of stress: only by replacing the pleasure effect produced by tobacco, alcohol, and drugs with activities that naturally stimulate the endorphins produced by the anterior lobe of the pituitary gland does it become possible to obtain the *same* chemical reactions without resorting to intake of exogenous substances. If, upon a quick reading, this passage appears forced, the astute reader will put aside the strictly biochemical aspect and the different mechanisms of action, grasping the underlying idea according to which the effects of substances are multiple (well-being, inhibition, pleasure, sedation, etc.) and of different intensity. It proved necessary to intervene on the symbolic meaning, developing awareness campaigns starting from lower secondary school, aimed not only at informing but also at training teaching staff, families, and students on the importance of healthy lifestyles and the short-term consequences, medium and long term.

1. THE STATUS QUAESTIONIS AND THE EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

The ESPAD report, the acronym for *European School Survey Project on Alcohol and Other Drugs*⁴, the result of the collaboration and shared effort of 35 European countries, constitutes the most valuable contribution to photographing not only the consumption of alcohol, tobacco, and drugs but also the harmful effects caused by addiction to gaming, gambling, and the internet in all its forms, on a large statistical collective of 96,043 subjects. Through the collection of updated data, it is possible to obtain a clear picture of the national and international situation, initiating adequate measures aimed at protecting the categories most at risk. This is the intent that drove Á. M. Arnarsson, Prof. of *Developmental and Learning Psychology* at the University of Iceland, investigated the worrying data that emerged in '95, which placed the island in line with high rates of tobacco and drug consumption, except for alcohol abuse, four percentage points above the European average. Traditional methods were based on and the educational logic of an individual nature and were totally inadequate in discouraging young people from using substances. For this reason, the only possible scenario consisted of an organic, and compact response involving social scientists⁵, local and national representatives of the world of politics, financed by the government and the Reykjavík city council. An ambitious project taken as a reference in the most important European and US cities known under the name of *Icelandic Prevention Model (IPM)* or more commonly *Youth in Iceland*, the precursor of the *Youth in Europe - A drug prevention program (evidence-based)*⁶ thanks to the efforts of the Swedish non-profit organization *European Cities Against Drugs (ECAD)* which has taken to heart of the results of the Icelandic *glocal* approach.

The *IPM* has dissected the recurring factors that trap the majority of adolescents in the spiral of addiction by recovering the main criminological theories⁷ on social control, social bonding, and social disorganization. The innovative idea was to intervene directly in the relationships and settings where the process of primary and secondary socialization takes place, cementing a dense network of interpersonal relationships is essential for the growth of

⁴ ESPAD Group (2016), ESPAD Report 2015, *Results from the European School Survey Project on Alcohol and Other Drugs*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, available for free at the following address: [<http://www.espad.org/sites/espad.org/files/TD0116475ENN.pdf>]. The trend analysis was carried out for twenty-five countries, including Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Faroe Islands, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Malta, Holland, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden and Ukraine as represented on the page. 70 of this report.

⁵ Please refer to Pacinelli A. (2008), *Metodi per la ricerca sociale partecipata*, FrancoAngeli, Milano, 18. The issue of skills is not of second order «since even if it is undeniable that citizens can be informed to increase their specific knowledge on the problem, there are always too many variables that can distort the evaluations, so often the complexity of the problems makes even the best system for transferring the skills necessary for assessments inadequate. The assessment of the needs and desires of the community», consequently, «has mainly a strategic orientation function for the decision maker». This and the following translations of the direct quotes were made by the authors in English, remaining faithful to the works in the original language.

⁶ It is not possible to address the strengths of *Youth in Europe* here for the purpose of conciseness. In this regard, see the four-handed excursus by Antinozzi M., Cattaruzza M. S. (2018), *Un modello integrato per la lotta all'uso adolescenziale di sostanze psicoattive*, in *Tabaccologia*, n. 3, 29-37, available for free at the following address: [https://www.tabaccologia.it/PDF/Tabaccologia_03_18_SITAB.PDF].

⁷ Ponti G., Merzagora B. I. (2008), *Compendio di criminologia*, V ediz., Raffaello Cortina, Milano, 79-153. An insight into *social reaction* comes from the theorists of the *labeling approach* who recover the works of symbolic interactionism, expanding them with the concepts of *stigma* and *stereotype*. A milestone in this line of studies is the work of Becker H. S. (1963), *Outsiders. Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, The Free Press of Glencoe, New York.

students; the concept of *habitus* taken up by Bourdieu⁸ and reworked by Oliverio fits perfectly here, defined as «action or perceptive patterns, predetermined ways of thinking, feeling and acting that the individual acquires through ‘socialization’»⁹. Without imposing immediate results but by gradually acting on the space-time dimension, on social capital, and socialization agencies, it was possible to implement a change of pace compared to obsolete behavioral models, which presented three hurdles:

1. absence of sanctions;
2. inconsistency of positive community¹⁰ values;
3. lack of extracurricular opportunities, adequate sports, recreational and cultural facilities.

Not isolated sectors but the whole of society was mobilized to enhance the protective factors, territorially limiting the risk factors (families, free time, educational institutions, peer groups) thanks to a preventative approach, essential for identifying and paying attention to the needs of the communities’ locals. Extracurricular activities, opportunities for meeting and dialogue among guys and parents, the latter too often far from home due to professional commitments, were multiplied, maintaining a weak, “intermittent” presence which had an enormous impact on adolescents. The need for stable communication¹¹ was encouraged by training seminars organized by schools with the help of artists and competitive athletes, aimed at rediscovering the importance of sacrifice, listening, sharing in the broad sense, physical activity, and culture as deterrents to substance use. Iceland, therefore, radically overturns the Debordian reflection on that widespread case of «society which, fixing itself locally, gives content to space through the setting up of individualized places» finding itself «therefore closed within this localization»¹². However, the cultural and value revolution could not fail to be accompanied by a structural reform of welfare and more stringent regulations that limited the purchase, distribution, and advertising of cigarettes and alcohol. It was necessary to introduce a curfew among youths aged between

⁸ See Bourdieu P. (1980), *Le sens pratique*, Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris.

⁹ See Oliverio A. (2020), *Spiegare la decisione. Modelli e teorie per la ricerca sociale e applicazioni in ambito criminologico*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli, 10.

¹⁰ The isolation of individuals and the depersonalization of human relationships were anticipated by Tönnies F. (1887), *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, Reiland, Leipzig. An overview has been proposed more recently by Oliverio A. (2012), *Dall’imitazione alla cooperazione. La ricerca sociale e le sue sfide*, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino, 13-41. An equally interesting clarification can be found in Boudon R. (1985), *Il posto del disordine*, il Mulino, Bologna, 72: «[...] rigorous adherence to common values does not express who knows what dissolution of individuality, but rather testifies to the effectiveness of social control and the high degree of interdependence between the members of the group».

¹¹ See Simon H. (1967), *Il comportamento amministrativo*, il Mulino, Bologna, 241: «[...] the greatest difficulty lies in the fact that not all the information relevant for a particular decision is possessed by a single individual. Therefore, if the premises of the decision each refer to different individuals, it is necessary to establish a communication process to transmit these elements from the various centers to a single point; here, they will then be combined and transmitted in turn to those members of the organization who will have to execute the decision».

The Nobel Prize winner for economics in 1978 focused this passage on communication in organizational systems strictly speaking, proposing the example of military organizations, but taking the necessary precautions without excessive embellishments, it can be broadened the significance of the communication system amongst stakeholders in the discussion addressed here.

¹² See Debord G. (2013), *La società dello spettacolo*, Baldini&Castoldi, Milano, 2013, 126.

13 and 16, both in the summer and in the harsher months, allowing parents to re-establish the right degree of authority within the home without in any way rediscovering the patriarchal imprint¹³. From a methodological point of view, the project actions were developed to aim at a common objective within all the participants, recalling the non-negligibility of the evaluation as a cognitive key to the programming, which must target at the «formulation of a judgment on an intentional action (a decision), be it a program, an intervention or a service, public or private»¹⁴.

Thanks to a preliminary evaluation (which in no way intends to replace decisions as such) during the first half of the 1990s, it was possible to analyze the starting context, which helped stakeholders limit the scenario within which to select the most suitable tools for the achievement of the set objective. It was decided to administer an anonymous questionnaire containing eighty questions to understand the frequency of the consumption of *reefers*, alcohol, and tobacco, when and how guys came into contact with them, where they were found, how they were shared, and whose company, how strong are the relationships with parents, what afternoon activities are carried out once school learning is finished. Starting from habits, educational institutions, and relationships with parents and friends, it was possible to parallelize the results coming from several realities, which revealed striking data: in communities with solid protective factors, the percentage of use and abuse of substances was reduced compared to those who had not focused attention on targeted policies pointed at strengthening those factors. This does not mean that prevention was absent, but such models were limited to approaches built only on instruction, neglecting the role of families who allowed their children to stay away from home until late at night, proving to be often in the dark regarding recreational activities carried forward and to the group of friends with whom one interacts daily¹⁵. There were all the conditions to embrace a breakthrough



model, which brought about three noteworthy results:

The results referring to Iceland are summarized below, but in the ESPAD report, they were juxtaposed with other states for the correct analysis of the respective trends.

The continuously decreasing trends are clearly visible for the variables considered (tobacco, alcohol, and cannabis), but for the consumption of cigarettes (Fig. 1) and for the consumption of alcohol (Fig. 2) the decrease was greater, widely exceeding twenty percent points, for the use of cannabis there was a modest decline, specifically in the last five-year period 2011-2015 (Fig. 3). Furthermore, the Icelandic preventive model contributed significantly to the reduction of alcohol use which during the first phases of the investigation showed values higher than the European average. The second graph shows how during the

¹³ See Naranjo C. (2009), *L'ego patriarcale. Trasformare l'educazione per costruire una società sana*, (edited by) Callegari A., Feltrinelli, Milano.

¹⁴ See Maretti M. (2006), *Valutazione e politiche sociali*, Aracne, Ariccia, 14.

¹⁵ The comparison was betwixt those municipalities that joined the project since its first formulations compared to those that remained outside. For an overview, please refer to the analysis of Young E. (2017), *Iceland knows how to stop teen substance abuse but the rest of the world isn't listening*, in *mosaicscience.com*, available for free at the following address: [<https://mosaicscience.com/story/iceland-prevent-teen-substance-abuse/>].

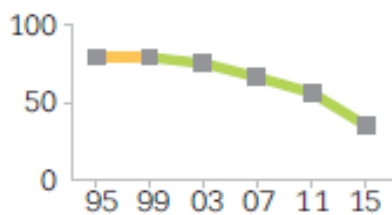
five years spanning 1995 to 1999 no change was achieved, maintaining an unchanged trend and then gradually decreasing in the new millennium. The explanation must be sought in the intrinsic nature of the long-range approach, which must not foment unnecessary alarmism or even false expectations in terms of impact. The effects are constantly evolving and mostly depend on the response of the subjects involved: in most explanatory models *active* and *passive* actors can be distinguished but not in *IPM*. All parties play a dynamic role such that they do not “suffer” the changes but rather contribute to their effective implementation by verifying the needs of adolescents from time to time. For completeness, the use of tranquilizers and sedatives without a medical prescription as well as chemical inhalants has remained in a stable condition, alternating improvements with slight relapses, except for the period 1995-1999 when the abuse of toxic volatile substances experienced a pronounced increase.

Fig. 1 Lifetime use of cigarettes in Iceland: 1995-2015 (%)
Legend



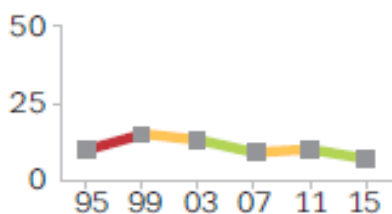
Source: ESPAD Report 2015, 77

Fig. 2 Lifetime use of alcohol in Iceland: 1995-2015 (%)



Source: ESPAD Report 2015, 78

Fig. 3 Lifetime use of cannabis in Iceland: 1995-2015 (%)



Source: ESPAD Report 2015, 79

2. REESTABLISHING THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND SOCIETY: ENSURING THAT YOUNG PEOPLE ARE NEVER ALONE AGAIN!

The success of *IPM* is due to the reversal of the approach towards primary prevention, which was initially confined to education alone. The schools, despite demonstrating commitment and dedication, failed to bring about significant changes among the students because that connection with parents, institutions, and third sector was missing. As seen above, individual techniques also produced unintended consequences¹⁶, distancing young people from educational processes and generating a certain degree of mistrust in their midst. Participation was lost, the feeling of being part of a larger project where one could find stimuli and plan the future with the support of figures who were no longer disconnected but complementary, indispensable for the healthy growth of the main protagonists of this project.

Establishing a marked correlation between preventive models based exclusively on school education and substance use is interesting from a medical-psychological approach without demonizing the past, contextualizing certain types of choices in the space-time frame of reference. Social Sciences¹⁷ are no exception and allow to shift the view, both on the (previous) lack of extracurricular opportunities on the part of local institutions and the distance amid the actors involved, bringing down the responsibility onto training centers and dated educational policies. Not only that, there was a scarcity of individual motivations, those internal drives aimed at making teens first and foremost responsible for themselves, and with them, their parents in the most common daily activities¹⁸.

¹⁶ See Antiseri D. (1993), *Che cosa vuol dire essere razionali*, in Antiseri D. (edited by), Boudon R., Viale R., *Teoria della razionalità*, LUISS - Borla, Roma, vol. 2, 43-81. Brief digression: «The intentions were good, but the results turned out to be disastrous. One may desire one thing and end up with something different. When striving for a goal, unintended and perhaps unforeseen outcomes may also arise. Social configurations even emerge without anyone wanting them. [...] Why this continuous onset of unintended consequences? Why this non-stop flow of spontaneous orders? Well, all of this occurs: 1) since the consequences of human action are infinite as the consequences of a scientific theory; 2) inasmuch as the possible interactions among the different consequences of different human actions are infinite, that is, the possible random encounters of causal and independent chains are infinite; 3) due to the fact that in systems open to information flows, the possibilities for initiatives and, therefore, inter-actions are multiplied. Spontaneous orders are given because the product is not the producer. The producer of a theory, a law, a work of art, or an institution is an *occasional element*: the products of World 3, once they come to light, intentionally or unintentionally, have an autonomous life. It is this autonomous life of theirs that needs to be explored and not the intentions of the builders. Each product of World 3 has its history of effects: this history demonstrates the autonomy of World 3; it demonstrates that the products of World 3 (the world of culture) are not and cannot be reduced to the life of World 2 (the world of the human mind; the world of projects, feelings and intentions)». Methods anchored in education were formulated to prevent substance abuse in adolescence, often producing effects that were inconsistent with the set objectives as well in the case of alcohol consumption during the early 1990s. From magnanimous intentions, the intentional and unintentional outcomes were only minimally positive and preventive until the driving force of the *IPM*, which managed to resolve the contrast interposed the individual and the social structure to arrive at a model capable of condensing the individual and society.

¹⁷ See Boudon R. (1997), *Metodologia della sociologia e delle scienze sociali*, Jaca Book, Milano, 66-67: «[...] one can find oneself in a situation of interpretation, even when causal questions are asked. The causality of certain situations is so complex that one cannot expect to restore in its entirety the causal network that is responsible for them, much less objectively evaluate the relative importance of particular causes».

¹⁸ See Touraine A. (1998), *Sociologia*, Jaca Book, Milano, 18-19: «Against all forms of sociologism, against the theories that have aimed to make social itself the foundation of values and norms, it is necessary to uphold the idea that the social actor 'produces' society in the deepest sense when subjecting it to a non-social principle of choice and action that, in its various declinations, always represents a facet of the human subject, of their

Operationally, the need emerged to identify five guidelines capable of defining tailored interventions that enhance protective factors and undermine risk factors. Each of them must be understood as a crucial element for the success of the *IPM* as a global strategy, without a literal chronological order but placed on the same level since whatever goal one decides to pursue, one cannot ignore these principles:

1. improve the social environment thanks to a primary prevention approach that can answer the following question: why do adolescents start consuming substances from an early age, and how to intervene? By providing access to qualified personnel, it will be possible to select suitable choices and methods to act directly on the causes of the problem: socio-cultural context and risk factors;

2. enhance the community effort by placing public schools' core focus as an intermediary between families and institutions, guaranteeing the collection and dissemination of data regarding substance consumption.

Connection and collaboration to act in concert with those who live in the neighborhood or the identified area (i.e., service area), creating a cohesive group where everyone feels an active part carrying out a specific role, paying attention not only to the influence held by peer group on individuals but also to the management of free time as well as the number of night hours spent away from home;

3. involve every member of the local community to carry out concrete actions based on a *practice-based evidence* framework with updated, accessible, and high-quality data after a scrupulous diagnosis as «High-quality data strengthen opportunities to accurately describe, diagnose, and inform community decision making»¹⁹. Everyone helps each other through a persevering exchange of information, allowing researchers to collect and disseminate accurate information;

4. teamwork for lasting experiential/professional sharing by integrating researchers, professionals, teachers, political administrators, and ordinary people, taking to the field with an approach aimed at intervening in practical problems and specific areas;

5. The range of solutions must align with the scope of the problem by identifying the appropriate resources since the use of substances is multifactorial and is not attributable to a sole explanation; social and individual causes add up to the absence of opportunities outside school hours. Increase extracurricular activities hand in hand with regulatory adjustments and support for families, with vouchers capable of covering some afternoon expenses (sports, theatre, cinema, hikes), avoiding burdening the household budget and leaving adolescents the possibility of cultivating virtuous passions.

CONCLUSIONS

Universal and prescriptive interventions will prove to be unsuccessful since each community must be studied on a case-by-case basis, presenting unique and unrepeatable peculiarities in terms of resources, critical issues, and strengths²⁰. Maximizing wholesome

reflexivity, of their capacity not only to act on society [...], but to act on themselves, to be the gaze that sees itself in the mirror, in a word, to be consciousness: the creation of norms, knowledge, beauty, and morality».

¹⁹ See Kristjansson et al. (2020), *op. cit.*, 66.

²⁰ See Scoppettuolo A. (2010), *Etica economica e teoria dell'azione. Ragione, individuo e società in Raymond Boudon*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli, 86-87: «The actors will never be able to achieve the common goal if they are not forced through a rule to cooperate. The result of this interaction's system is that a type of rationality essentially private and not vectorial to the common interest culminates in creating public irrationality. [...] the

and riveting pathways thanks to structural reforms that affect all sectors of society, rejecting approximate solutions in line with the contents of the *pyramid for the impact on health* promoted by the *Center for Disease Control and Prevention of the Department of Health and of the United States of America Human Services*²¹. The US federal agency shows how the impacts on public health cannot only concern the individual clinical aspect, but it must continue hand in hand with community interventions aimed at improving the well-being of those who live in that area during a designated perspective of five years. A model that aligns with the *IPM* emphasizes the obstacles resulting from non-compliance, whether partial or complete, with the guidelines. It establishes impactful actions that necessitate a collective effort, embarking with interventions addressing socioeconomic factors and the overall context. It progresses to steps requiring more individual effort, albeit having a lesser impact on the collective. Conversely, in the upper part, some measures necessitate a personal transformation. While these may have a minor immediate impact on the population, if imp

To wrap things up, the individual is never an exclusive surrogate of his environment since, in this case, the value of the decision itself would shatter nor an entity detached from its context of belonging, as pointed out by R. Boudon²². The individual “produces” society and, in turn, society conditions the individual without canceling his free will: this is what emerges from the Icelandic primary prevention model from which national institutions should draw inspiration to guarantee youngsters a better future, not locking them up in a glass bell rather by leveraging the weapon, both resilient and underestimated, given by knowledge.

use of the aggregation model is not limited only to the reading phase of individual actions but also concerns the explanation of the phenomenon through the adoption of a rationality paradigm. [...] the model must be built case by case since there is no universal composition process. The repetition of actions in different interaction models produces dissimilar effects from time to time, so much so that scientific hypotheses must be structured through hypothetical and deductive schemes. It is thanks to them that we can see whether the phenomenon observed is the result of the aggregation of the actions of individual actors or an undefined product of the social structure».

²¹ See U.S. Department of Health & Human Services. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Office of the Associate Director for Policy and Strategy (2018), *Health Impact in 5 Years*, available for free at the following address: [<https://www.cdc.gov/policy/hst/hi5/>]. On top of that, see the infectious disease specialist’s summary Frieden T. R. (2010), *A Framework for Public Health Action: The Health Impact Pyramid*, in *American Journal of Public Health*, vol. 100(4), 590-595.

²² See Di Nuoscio E. (1996), *Le ragioni degli individui. L'individualismo metodologico di Raymond Boudon*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli, 35-36: «Boudon bases his methodological individualism on an intentional and rational social agent who, conditioned by the situational context in which he is inserted, adopts his decision-making strategy based on the limited knowledge he possesses. [...] He presents three fundamental steps: a) all phenomena are the intentional and/or unintentional result of the aggregation of individual actions; b) such actions are supposed to be rational; c) to explain the behavior of individuals, the researcher must reconstruct the reasons that dictated the action about the *social environment* of the actor».

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