

Night life in Europe and recreative drug use. SONAR 98

■ **Authors:** Amador Calafat, Karl Bohrn, Montserrat Juan, Anna Kokkevi, Nicole Maalsté, Fernando Mendes, Alfonso Palmer, Kellie Sherlock, Joseph Simon, Paolo Stocco, M^a Pau Sureda, Peter Tossmann, Goof van de Wijngaart, Patricia Zavatti

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Research Coordinator: Amador Calafat

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Kellie Sherlock, Joseph Simon, Paolo Stocco, M^a Pau Sureda,
Peter Tossmann, Goof van de Wijngaart, Patrizia Zavatti

Collaborators:

Susanne Ebner (Vienna); Laura de Fazio (Modena); Alan Haughton (Manchester);
Lucia Mariano (Coimbra); Claudia Pilgrim (Berlin); Jérôme Reynaud (Nice);
Ioanna Siamou (Athens); Rebecca Simpson (Manchester);
Sabine Tyrväinen (Vienna); Erika Van Vliet (Utrecht)



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ORGANISATIONS, INSTITUTIONS AND NATIONAL RESEARCH GROUPS PARTICIPATING IN THIS RESEARCH

IREFREA DEUSCHTLAND

Horst Brömer
Drogenhilfe Tannehof Berlin e v
Wilhelmsaue, 116. 10715 Berlin
tel +49307440213 - Fax: +493076403229
broemen@tannehof.de

IREFREA - ESPAÑA

Amador Calafat, Montse Juan, Mª Pau Sureda
Rambla, nº 15-2º, 3ª
07003 PALMA DE MALLORCA - ESPAÑA
Tel.: +34 971727434 - Fax: +34 971213306
E-mail: irefrea@eurociber.es
irefrea@correo.cop.es
irefrea@irefrea.org

IREFREA - FRANCE

Gérard BROYER
Universite Lumiere Lyon 2.
Institut de Psychologie
5, avenue Pierre Mendes France
CP 11. 69976 BRON CEDEX - France
Tel . 33 4 78 77 24 33// 33 4 78 77 23 19
Fax 33 4 78 72 22 17 - broyer@univ-lyon2.fr

IREFREA GREECE

Anna Kokkevi, Ioanna Siamou
Univ. Mental Health Research Institute
72-74 Vas.Sophias Av. 11528 ATENAS
Tel.: +301 7225109 - Fax: +301 7233690
E-mail: akkoke@ariadne-t.gr

IREFREA - ITALIA

Paolo Stocco
C.T. VILLA RENATA. Via Orsera, 4
30126 LIDO DI VENEZIA - ITALIA
Tel.: +39 041 5268822 - Fax: +39 041 5267874
E- mail: irefrea@flashnet.it

IREFREA - PORTUGAL

Fernando Mendes
Av. Joao de Deus Ramos, 130-A, 1ºEs
3030 COIMBRA - PORTUGAL
Tel. +351 (0) 39 484 660-Fax +351 (0) 39 483 727
E-mail: irefrea@esoterica.pt

CSST / CREDIT

Joseph Simon
10, Av. Malausséna. 06000 Nice (France)
Tel:+330493926321 - Fax: +330493026320
E-mail: irefrea@mcn.mc

INSTITUTE SOZIAL UND GESUNDHERST

Karl Böhrn
Pladenhanergasse, 20/1. A-1440 WIEN
Tel.: +43 19833743 - Fax.: +43 9834527
E-mail: isg@aon.at

ISTITUTO DI MEDICINA LEGALE

Francesco de Fazio, Patrizia Zavatti, Laura de Fazio
UNIVERSITA DI MODENA
Policlinico. Via del Pozzo, 71
41100 MODENA - ITALIA
Tel. +39 59 422088 /89 /90 /91-Fax +39 59 371393
E-mail: medlegmo@unimo.it

SOCIALPÄDAGOGISCHES INSTITUT

Peter Tossman
Stresemannstrabe, 30 D. 10963 Berlin
Tel: +493025389-31
Tossmann@compuserve.com

UNIVERSITAT DE LES ILLES BALEARS

Alfonso Palmer
Ctra. de Valldemossa, Km. 7,5
07010 Palma de Mallorca
E-mail: alfpal@feelingst.es

UTRECHT UNIVERSITY

Goof van de Wijngaart, Nicole Maalsté
CVO ADDICTION RESEARCH INSTITUTE
Oudegracht 325
3511 PC Utrecht
tel. +31 30 238 1495 - fax. + 31 30 238 1496
addict@sw.ruu.nl

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL LANCASHIRE

Kellie Sherlock
Ethnicity and Health Unit Faculty of Health,
Harrington Building Preston, Pri ZHE
England

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IREFREA ESPAÑA
Rambla, 15, 2º, 3ª E
07003 Palma de Mallorca (ESPAÑA)

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. SOCIAL CHANGE AND RECREATIONAL LIFE

Young Europeans of the third millennium are the inheritors of a society defined in terms of consumption and opulence. These are young people born in the welfare society where leisure and entertainment take on a hegemonic value in social structure criteria. In contrast to the industrial order of a society orientated towards work and production, leisure time emerges as a restoration force of the individual qualities disguised or repressed by working conditions. Leisure is, therefore, defined as a success in welfare societies, as the space where individuals are liberated from the obligations imposed on them by the labour world, etiquette and routine, in order to devote time to those other activities which are freely chosen and which enable them to expand their better qualities. But leisure has also been assimilated by the market and is being defined by consumption criteria which have given rise to a very active leisure industry which is well-established and ever-expanding with an active role in creating life style criteria.

Having the free time to devote to “oneself”, to “liberate oneself”, is already a criterion in the definition of the quality of life and, therefore, a necessity. But experiencing leisure does not only depend on having free time but on doing something in this time which is supposedly one’s own, doing something considered creative and liberating, and taking part in the leisure industry. One of the social groups which has most appropriated the leisure space is the one comprising young people and this has led to the expansion of an industry and a market specifically engaged in promoting a supply of products, places and services, exclusively for this group. In particular, juvenile recreation is one of those sectors which has seen enormous expansion in the last twenty years, with activities closely linked to the weekends and holiday season, and which take place in specific spaces where the music, fashion and the use of legal and illegal addictive substances create the context of the entertainment. At the same time, the changes produced in this organisation of time are fundamental to understanding the dynamic of post-modern societies. Whereas the majority of activities relating to social reproduction, such as work, family life, studies, travel, etc., take place during the day, the night is the period of time devoted to rest, leisure and entertainment. During the night, although the majority of people remain in their houses, relaxing or sleeping, a part of the population, which includes a large number of young people, choose the night to go out and enjoy themselves, to take part in a ritualised meeting which may be with

friends or with those people with whom they most identify themselves or with whom they can share the activities appropriate to that time. The places where the young people go are generally public spaces distributed in different areas of the city, and in each one of these places an environment has been created to suit specific activities. The environment, the dress, the type of people and the music, in particular, are the principal elements in giving these places their identity.

Only the youngest have been clearly socialised with an organisation of time which differs between weekends and working days. This new form of organisation is defined by certain authors as a new cultural model in which the working days are seen in the collective mind as, Aa tendency to similarity, whereas the weekend is the space for differentiation and social distinction (Comas, 1996). This means that during the weekend there is a wide availability of activities with which the youngsters can associate themselves and this enables them to create an identity which is distinctive and their own. This temporal dichotomy expresses the need to break with the normatives of life which are being imposed on them by most of their activities during the day and throughout the week.

The young are probably the social group with more control over their own lives which leads them on a search for ways of overcoming their subordinate position. In the employment world, where the young must incorporate themselves to accede to adult life, it can be seen that the young also occupy the most subordinate positions. The employment rate has continued to rise in almost all countries and employment opportunities have been focused on the younger generations. Conde (1996) considers the alterations in work processes as one of the most transcendental changes of the present decade and situates young people in the population group most affected by the precariousness and instability of employment which induces them to adopt Aamnesic \cong consumption norms which is expressed in a more unproductive consumption and more leisure at weekends and during holidays.

In certain ways, leisure and entertainment may be considered as something which has emerged from the adult system of values. The ideal of present youth includes a type of obligation towards the immediate and the unimportant. Entertainment and the search for liberty are social defined as a necessity which must form part of juvenile life (Gil Calvo, 1996). To a certain extent, young people are obeying this mandate when they devote the weekend to enjoying themselves but, for them, this also implies an opportunity of escaping from the control mechanisms of the adult groups. The young people appropriate the weekend and the recreational sphere to create their own experiences and their own identity, and to give significance to their lives.

Taking all these factors into account, drug use associated with juvenile recreational life should not be evaluated merely as a form of violation or rupture of the patterns of established behaviour, but rather as an attempt to adapt to a style of life and an emotional state in accordance with social demands. We should bear in mind that our society creates a system of norms and patterns of behaviour for young people which, on occasion, includes contradictions and paradoxes. We should not, therefore, eliminate

the notion that young people use drugs to more easily achieve the demands that society makes on them - to enjoy themselves, socialise and live a carefree existence. Drugs, legal or illegal, act as a stimulant and as an element of group cohesion which facilitates their achieving their objectives. At the same time, there are substances such as alcohol and tobacco which are not only accepted but which are promoted in a subliminal way. Therefore, society as a whole bears some responsibility in the increase in the use of addictive substances and in their social backing and for the normative confusion which is being transmitted to young Europeans. All this forms part of the framework in which the relationship between recreational life and drug use must be analysed.

1.2. TRENDS IN DRUG USE IN EUROPE

The 1998 EMCDDA Report indicates that drug-related problems continue unceasingly in the majority of the European countries. Heroin use, in spite of the fact that it merits less attention from the media, is a problem which is far from diminishing, and although it is quite true that it is utilised more and more by marginal groups, it is beginning to affect rural areas and has made an appearance among the young in users of recreational drugs in some places.

As for the more typically recreational drugs, it can be seen that cannabis, which had been experiencing a notable growth in several countries from the early nineties, is becoming stabilised, particularly in those countries where its growth was greater. A similar thing is happening with ecstasy. It would appear to have stabilised in those countries where it had previously appeared or which had highest prevalences -although these data do not coincide with the views given by the young people interviewed in this present survey- and it would appear to be growing in areas where use was not traditionally so high. The other "synthetic drugs" do not seem to be experiencing any notable growth. However, amphetamines are rising -suggesting the possibility of their being a greater problem in the future than ecstasy- and so is cocaine. As we see it, the use of drugs in recreational environments continues to be a problem of the first order and one which is expanding.

1.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF DESIGNER DRUG USERS IN THE 1997 IREFREA SURVEY. RECREATIONAL POLY DRUG USE

The research into drugs which is presented here had its origin in prior surveys carried out by IREFREA. The publication of *Characteristics and Social Representations of Ecstasy in Europe* signalled the end to a first part of the work in which IREFREA, the European network of experts in drug dependency prevention, began comparative

research in five European cities on the characteristics of ecstasy use. In the survey, very significant data appeared in the ground research from a questionnaire which was answered in five cities. As a result of having a control group in the survey, the data we obtained shows a picture of ecstasy users far removed from the one which had been given to us by the media and certain professionals. The true image of ecstasy users is that they are higher polydrugs user than other young people; they are greater abusers of the other drugs they use (they get drunk with greater frequency and use other drugs with a greater frequency); they are not individuals who could be consider marginal but they do present significant differences in important parameters (e.g. they are greater seekers of sensation according to the Zuckerman Scale, score more on a social deviance scale...); they are less worried by the dangers associated with drug use and they are not worried about avoiding them; they are more interested in house culture.

One of the objectives of the survey was to analyse the social representation of ecstasy, and it concluded that “there is a strong association between ecstasy (and other designer drugs), dancing, music, a youthful lifestyle and even a concept of world. Not all musical styles are associated with a determined drug. But for what the Anglo-Saxon media has come to call *house*, the synthetic drugs are apparently an indispensable component” (Calafat, 1998).

This complex relationship between synthetic drug use, house music and recreational life has contributed new dimensions in which to continue research. To summarize, certain conclusions which were reached and which were definitive for this present study are as follows:

- The difference between ecstasy users and non-users in respect of drug use were not defined only by ecstasy but also by simultaneous use of other legal and illegal drugs; ecstasy users were multi-users, as well as ecstasy, a high percentage used cocaine, amphetamines and LSD. In addition, they drank alcohol in greater quantity and greater frequency than non-users of ecstasy.
- Not only were there differences between users and non-users but there were also differences between countries, so that it was concluded that there were three patterns of multi-use; the emergent pattern, corresponding to those countries where only the elite use this substance, in other words, its use has not become generalized; secondly, a multi-use pattern where ecstasy shares the same patterns as the other drugs used in the recreational sphere and, finally, the culturally sensitive multi-use pattern where there is a combination of ecstasy with other drugs but where their use is associated with music, age, aesthetics, etc.
- Another result which may be of relevance is that it was shown that, although the favourite music among ecstasy users was electronic music, other music such as rock was also important, at least in some countries, and, this had not been included earlier in what was considered as the stereotype of the ecstasy user.

In short, it was verified that ecstasy users are multi-users, a conclusion which marred the image of an individual who used exclusively ecstasy, and that, therefore,

ecstasy formed part of the constellation of drugs which are identified with the nighttime recreational sphere, in some way.

1.4. PRESENT SURVEY

On the basis of our 1997 survey and from other surveys, there would appear to be an obvious necessity to continue research into the recreational life of young people and its association with drug use. Recreational life, represented above all in the entertainment activities of weekends, is a social fact in constant expansion and has established itself as a genuine means of expressing the needs of young people. Thus, it is essential to have a description of the this recreational world throughout Europe, which is why it was one of the priorities of the survey. We devoted an important part of the research which we are presenting to achieving this description of the nightlife in those cities which took part in the survey. Through this description, it will be possible to see similarities and differences in the forms of entertainment and enjoyment, and to make a first approach on those aspects which are relevant for their relationship with drug use.

We also considered it opportune that this description of the night life in each city, should identify the different groups of young people who participate in the nightlife, to ascertain the most popular places, describe their habits and cultures relating to entertainment and, most particularly, to both legal and illegal drug use. It was also our intention to get to know the nightlife from the point of view of the population professionally involved in it, such as waiters, disc-jockeys, police officers, and club and disco owners.

Another aspect we though relevant was to centre the survey on multi-use in recreational environments. To have concentrated once again on ecstasy, having established that this substance formed part of a broader multi-use would have meant running counter to the reality shown by the data. They show us to be facing a multi-use where two drugs are all-important, and these are alcohol and marihuana. Tobacco, too, is always present in this multi-use and must surely play a relevant role in the learning process of the adolescent. And, of course, other drugs such as ecstasy, amphetamines, cocaine, etc. are also important elements in this multi-use.

In this present survey, we have continued to employ a combination of exploratory methods, both quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (semi-structured interviews with key people), which we consider very useful, particularly when having to deal with such differences as those to be found in the nine cities which formed part of the survey. The quantitative part (300 young people sampled in each city) provides abundant direct information by those who are actually going out at night, and the qualitative part (more than 90 interviews with the key nightlife people in each city) enables such information to be put into context.

Another new aspect is that the survey was able to cover nine cities in the same number of European countries (Athens, Berlin, Coimbra, Manchester, Modena, Nice, Palma de Mallorca, Utrecht and Vienna) which clearly reinforces the representation of different environments in the survey, although it also causes methodological problems when establishing a comparison between them. Obtaining information on the life styles in so many European cities is a real challenge from which we have emerged quite well.

Secondly, the present survey also represents a thematic and conceptual broadening towards more sociological and anthropological spheres, and this has contributed a more global view of trends, movements, influences and networks which has enabled one further step to be taken in going beyond analysis of individuals. Some of these objectives have been met. Some are still to be achieved, and continue to be goals which orientate continuity.

Chapter 2 presents the methodology used in the research as well as its connection with previous works carried out by IREFREA. The information collected is presented in Chapter 3 (reports on the nightlife in each city) and Chapter 4 (results of the questionnaire given to 300 young people in each city). Chapter 3 also includes a brief description, by way of orientation, of the principal musical styles most popular with the young of today. As we know, the relationship between musical affiliation and group identity among young people is a narrow one although this relationship does not have the same force in all countries nor between all groups of young people.

Chapter 4 presents some results, the most overall ones, from the questionnaires given to the young in all the cities. The information contributes data on the socio-demographical characteristics of the young people, their habits and taste in respect of recreational life, and particularly on drug use. The questionnaire also included an approach towards the perception of the dangers of certain drug uses and of the risks to young people under the influence of such use, driving under the influence of alcohol, for example. Chapter 5 presents the main conclusions and recommendations which may orientate direct future research works or preventive actions. The Annexes include the more important methodological tools - the questionnaire which was used and the instructions given to the interviewers and the pollsters.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The present survey, whose design and results are described in this book, is the continuation of work initiated almost three years ago with the *Characteristics and Social Representation of Ecstasy in Europe* (Calafat, 1998) survey carried out by IREFREA from 1996-1997. Subsequently both the methodology and the results of this survey inspired other work which led to the development of the method and techniques for obtaining data in the sphere of drug use.

In the earlier survey, the methodology was designed to complement qualitative and quantitative techniques. This combination proved ideal and effective as it enabled data to be produced which could be used in both descriptive and explanatory analysis. But in addition, this methodology is also effective for studying the cultural and subjective aspects of the population being researched. The first, the qualitative methodology was used at two points during the research - in the exploratory phase and in the first part of the survey on social representations. The quantitative methodology was the one used in the research phase, properly speaking, which included the second phase of the survey on social representations as well as other sociodemographic and use variables.

The purpose of the exploratory phase was to make an approach to the object of the survey. This comprised involvement in the recreational sphere and ascertaining the different juvenile groups who would know of and use synthetic drugs - ecstasy in particular. As for the survey on social representations, the qualitative methodology was in response to the method utilised - the Similitude Analysis created by a group of sociologists and psychologists in Aix-en-Provence in France, among them (Abric, clemence, et al. 1994). Following this methodology, the first phase consisted of compiling the contents of the social representations of ecstasy, a task requiring such methods as analysis of texts or interrogative methods such as the interview.

The qualitative methodology instruments were bibliographical analysis and the semi-structured interview. Documents of all kinds were collected for the bibliographical review - magazine articles, press cuttings, scientific and non-scientific articles and grey literature. Each participating city drew up a report which was published in the book.

As for the semi-structured interviews, each national team carried out four - two with ecstasy users and two with non-users. The subjects covered in the interview were on the

line of why ecstasy is used, who uses it, how they described this drug and its effects, its combination with other drugs, etc.

The information we obtained was very useful as it provided a broader knowledge of the subject, facilitating the design of the quantitative phase, including the questionnaire design and the analysis of its result. It also enabled collection of ideas and phrases which were repeated constantly in the media and in the interviews and which were considered the contents of social representations.

Once again, the quantitative methodology was in response to the objectives of the survey. By means of said methodology, data was collected on such aspects as use characteristics, user and non-user characteristics and, of course, the second phase of the Similitude Analysis method was carried out, with a questionnaire comprising twenty of the ideas-phrases collected, and which those interviewed had to select in blocks.

The instrument used was a questionnaire of closed questions which comprised four parts; the first on sociodemographical variables; the second referred to variables on the characteristics of ecstasy use and life styles; the third comprised the Zuckerman Version V Sensation Seeking Scale, and a social deviance scale, and the fourth, the questionnaire on social representations.

As we expected, the results obtained through both methodologies shed light on many points which, at that time, were still somewhat obscure and enabled the design of certain recommendations for prevention. In addition, the conclusions reached opened up new fields of research, in that they generated new aspects. These conclusions led us to think that what was important was not so much the designer drug or ecstasy in itself as the role of drugs as a whole. And, that the nocturnal recreational environment was the central sphere where drugs were being used. It would be interesting to get to know this environment and to identify different groups of young people, as we were aware that the rave or techno movement was only a part of this world and, finally, to observe the use pattern in each juvenile subgroup to identify different cultural patterns. Drugs, of course, are considered as one further factor among those which define the identity of the different groups who frequent the night life in the cities studied.

2.2. PRESENT RESEARCH

The first objective of this research was to provide continuity to work which commenced in 1996 with the formation of a team of professionals engaged in the study of risk factors and drug use among the young. Experts from nine European cities participated in this Project: Athens (Greece), Berlin (Germany), Coimbra (Portugal), Modena (Italy), Nice (France), Manchester (United Kingdom), Palma (Spain), Utrecht (Netherlands) and Vienna (Austria). The research was carried out simultaneously in the nine cities.

Taking the results of the earlier survey *Characteristics and Social Representations of Ecstasy in Europe* (Calafat, 1998) as a basis, it was agreed to research the different juvenile cultures in each city and their relationship with nightlife and drug use. The results would be a social map of the different models of recreational multiuse.

In establishing the research, the principal scientific interest of the team lay in creating a significant knowledge which would enable in-depth study of the relationship between different juvenile cultures and drug use in the recreational nightlife environment. Subsequently, and through comparative analysis of the cities, an attempt was made to capture those general dynamics which are taking place in Europe and which explain the prevailing culture in which drug use occurs in recreational environments at the present time.

Another fundamental objective was to continue research within the accumulated methodological experience but opening up perspectives on new areas of study - that of the juvenile subgroups in each city. Nevertheless, wide use of the data corresponding to the subgroups will form part of future publications.

2.3. QUALITATIVE SURVEY

Not only did the qualitative methodology cover the exploratory stage through which we were approaching the objective of the survey, the recreational nightlife environment, in other words, and the groups which frequent it, but it made an introspection in all the cities, sufficiently in-depth to be able to consider the information obtained as important in its own right and not merely complementary. To such an extent that a chapter has been included in this book, presenting a brief ethnography on the nightlife in each city and the results of the comparison of them all.

Returning to the relevance of the qualitative methodology in this Project, it is in fact merely the response to the necessity imposed by the proposed objectives. Objectives such as the description of the nightlife in connection with drug use or the identification of new trends in drug use or the identification of different subgroups of young people. It is difficult to obtain information on different areas, environments or groups if it is not through direct contact and personal observation in such environments. Similarly, acquiring information on individuals who are part of the nightlife environment is crucial, either because they are users or because they have a professional relationship with that environment. As for the quantitative approach, it is most appropriate method for the study of use patterns, different models of multi-use and habits of those going out for the night of a high number of subjects.

INSTRUMENTS

In the qualitative approach, the instruments considered most appropriate were *personal observation*, and the *semi-structured interview of key informants*. Given the

necessity of creating criteria in common for the nine cities participating in the Project, a protocol was drawn up which was followed by the researchers in each of the participating cities.

The personal observation was carried out by each researcher in accordance with his own criteria, experience and the possibilities offered by each city. The aim was to distinguish the different environments, describe them and make contacts with their users in order to select key informants.

The protocol for carrying out the semi-structured interviews comprised two parts. The first part (see **Annex 1**) contained a series of instructions for the various teams on the characteristics to be met by key informants and the conditions in which the interview should take place, such as the necessity of using a tape recorder, etc. The second part was a list of the subjects and questions which had to be discussed and put to the informants. In these lists, there were certain questions in common for all the informants and other, specific ones, determined by their particular relationship with nightlife.

THE SAMPLE

The selected key informants, as we have mentioned previously, had to have some connection with nightlife as, on the basis of these interviews, we were proposing to draw a map of the nightlife in a city and a description of its users and contrast this information with the quantitative data. This information was also very valuable for two reasons: on the one hand, it enabled us to identify the population from which the sample would be taken for the quantitative phase of the survey and, on the other, to establish those items which could be relevant in creating the appropriate questions to be researched through the interview. Therefore, the qualitative information also contributed to drawing up the questionnaire and, subsequently, to interpreting the data from the interview.

List of the typology of the key informants in each city:

- Two owners of clubs or similar (directors or managers)
- One or two disco DJs
- Four "users" of nightlife establishments (two of 18 years of age, one between 18 and 20 years and one between 25 and 30)
- A security guard in a club
- A public relations worker
- A social worker
- A local or national police officer

With all these key informants, it was considered, as indeed, was demonstrated through the field work, that practically all the different points of view on the nightlife of the city in question were taken into account. In spite of the limit on the number of

informants in each area, the information obtained covered a wide enough range. The different experiences of each informant and his or her role in the nightlife made it possible to obtain diverse contrasting and comparative opinions.

DATA ANALYSIS

A list of subjects for research was drawn up for both obtaining the data as well as for subsequent analysis.

- Annual rhythm of the city, seasonality, changes in dynamic between summer and winter, between the academic year and student vacation time.
- Weekly rhythm, differences in dynamic between the weekend and working days.
- Changes occurring in the last few years.
- Central or peripheral position of the city. The city as a receptor of population from other localities in search of entertainment or on the opposite, the population of the city goes in the direction of other places of reference.
- Areas of the city. Description of the different areas of night-time activity.
- Movement between areas.
- Population typology. Different groups, signs of identity, age, educational level, social class, ideology, musical affiliations, relation with drugs, etc.
- Music and musical styles
- Drug use patterns
- Opening hours of the establishments and duration of nightlife
- General public opinion on the nightlife, possible, conflicts, complaints or polemic.
- Night-time control policies, normative, and cases which require police intervention.

The quantity and quality of the information obtained led to an ethnography of the nightlife in each city and a comparative analysis which enabled an evaluation of the entire European nightlife dynamic with its common and differentiating aspects. The results of the qualitative survey were also very useful in defining the population of the survey in the quantitative phase and the establishment of the selection criteria for the samples.

2.4. QUANTITATIVE SURVEY

The quantitative survey enabled us to widen knowledge of the different juvenile subgroups going out at night habits identified through the qualitative phase. It also

enabled information to be obtained on the drug use patterns of these groups. A sensation seeking scale and a deviance scale were also included in the questionnaire to enable evaluation of the relationship between these two indicators and drug use.

POPULATION

The population which was the focus of this survey was formed by those individuals who participated in the nightlife of the nine cities, in other words, all the users of night-time establishments and places of leisure connected with the night and entertainment.

It would have been ideal in this project if all the groups or environments identified in each of the cities could have been considered as the population for sampling, using a type of stratified sample and with a number of individuals interviewed which would have made the sample representative of the entire population. However, methodological necessities, budget and time determined *the selection of only four groups or environments identified in each city*. In order for these groups not to be selected in an arbitrary way, there was one criterion: selection of groups of juveniles which represented the majority of the young people, those with greater social presence, those whom we could call 'normatives' in Forns of night life. The idea was to obtain data on drug use patterns and trends which we could classify as 'normal' on the ground that they were being practised by the majority of young people. In this way, the more minority and marginal groups would remain on a secondary plane as far as the objectives of this survey were concerned.

QUESTIONNAIRE

A questionnaire was drawn up consisting of fifty closed questions, some with only one answer and others with several (see **Annex 2**). It was carefully taken into account that the questionnaire is an intermediary instrument which should operationalize theoretical and analytical concepts in specific questions. To do so, the experts from the various countries worked together on its design and also ensured that the questions were formulated clearly and precisely and that the responses covered the possibilities of all the cities to the maximum. The questionnaire was designed to facilitate comparison of the responses and so that the questions would be easily understandable.

The questions were classified in five large blocks:

1. Sociodemographic variables: age, sex, educational level, living at home or not, activities, socio-economic position of family, etc.
2. Customs, habits and opinions on nightlife. This block emphasised musical tastes, type of establishment most frequented, frequency of going out, relation with peer group, reasons which condition decision-making, etc.
3. Frequency of use of different substances and general opinions on drugs.
4. Sensation seeking scale (Arthur M, Hawkins JD and Catalano RF, 1997)

5. Risk and deviant behaviour.

6. Specific block for designer drug users on habits, attitudes and opinions resulting from their experiences as users.

SAMPLE

The sample in each of the nine cities comprised 300 individuals divided into four groups with, therefore, 75 individuals in each subgroup. The whole European sample totalled 2,700 individuals. The size of the cities involved in the research conditioned the size of our sample, so that it was not truly representational. Financial circumstances did not permit increasing the sample to a number which would have made it representational. The theoretical limitations of a non-representative sample imply that the generalisations must be qualified. Nevertheless, we believe that we have obtained a significant degree of knowledge which enables use trends and habits to be sketched out and certain conclusions to be reached.

In order to draw up the sample, a visit was made to the establishments frequented by the groups identified during the qualitative phase and a random method was used to select individuals. Various nightlife establishments were chosen in respect of each of the environments or groups selected in each city. The number of establishments varied according to the group selected in that there could be more or fewer places to visit, depending on the cities. In some cities, permission was sought from the owners or managers of the establishments to hold the interview inside, particularly in those cities where it was too cold at night to hold the interviews in the street such as Vienna, Manchester and Berlin.

Individuals were selected at random; the interviewer was instructed to place himself close to the entrance to the selected establishment and to interview every fifth person who entered there, starting with a 'zero individual' selected at random. In some cities, instead of remaining outside the entrance, the interviewer was inside because of the low temperatures. As we said above, in these cities, prior permission was requested from the owner/manager of the establishment.

INSTRUCTING INTERVIEWERS

There was a team of interviewers to carry out the field work in each city and they were instructed in the particular aspects of the questionnaire. The characteristics of these interviewers varied from city to city as these were individuals who were specifically sought for their closeness and familiarisation with the environment where the interviewing was to take place.. All received the same instructions on the characteristics of the sample and where and how to take it.

FIELD WORK EVALUATION

The detail of the field work is not generally written about in many research works because it is excessively anecdotal and of little interest, but we consider that it is indeed

of interest in this particular work. Taking into account the way the information was obtained, the pros and cons of the most artisan part of the data production, it not only helps in reaching a better understanding of the data produced but also of the methodological progress in a difficult context such as drugs. The field work conditions in themselves provide very descriptive information on the social representation of drugs in recreational life.

In spite of the social tolerance of drug use in the nineties, it is still something which takes place on the fringe of legality, and is of a private and intimate nature. These conditions were present during all the field work and the quest for information. At all stages of the research, it was taken into consideration that one was broaching a subject characterised by secrecy with an enormous symbolic weight so that a wide range of reaction was foreseen in those whose cooperation was being sought. It is essential to bear in mind, as was said above, that we were approaching 'normalised' individuals and asking them for private information on a subject which could incriminate them and which carried a stigma.

Nevertheless, it was notable that, in general, there was no hesitance from the population in talking of drug use and its use in recreational life. We noted that it was a subject inserted in daily life, which could be spoken of without taboos or too much fear. Perhaps the major difficulty occurred in trying to obtain information on the recreational context as the night advanced, as eventually one was asking for information from people who, at that stage, were reticent, tired, enjoying themselves and had no interest in giving up their time to answer a questionnaire, so that the majority of the interviews took place during the early hours of the night. This situation made it difficult to interview certain groups such as those who frequented the afterhours establishments as many people were in no condition to be interviewed in the early hours of the morning. In some cases, as occurred in Palma, the interview had to be postponed to another day when they were in a better state to respond. In addition, the snowball method was used to find individuals in this group.

As has already been mentioned, four different groups were selected to be interviewed in each city. In principle, the interview should have taken place outside the entrance to the establishments but the weather in the more northern cities made it necessary to carry out the interviews inside the establishments, in a specific area. In Manchester an area in the establishments run by Lifeline, a non-governmental organisation, was used for the interviews.

It can be said that the experience was different with each group of young people. The youngest were the most receptive and cooperated with greater enthusiasm. The other groups did not present any special difficulties but, by way of illustration, we quote a section of the field work report from Utrecht referring to the student group.

"We recruited students at the best known student's discotheque in Utrecht, where all kind of students spend their nights. Three fieldworkers went to clubs at the beginning of the night. People from the discotheque helped them recruiting more respondents. They could fill in the questionnaire in a small room near the garderobe. After three hours the

interviewers found a lot of drunken people who were not able to fill in the questionnaire. So they decided to quit. At that moment 36 respondents had been able to fill in a questionnaire.

We tried to ask permission at another student-club who organised a large party for Social Science students. The student board, which consists of students who run the student club, didn't think it was a good idea. From that experience we learned that it is quite complicated to negotiate with more than one person, because none of them wants to make decisions. In all the other student-clubs we encountered the same problem. Since we had not that much time we decided to recruit the rest of students by snowball sampling. We asked some of our students to ask the people in their student houses to fill in the questionnaire. Since people of different studies live together in student houses, we have attracted a variety of students”.

In general, there were no problems in responses to the questionnaire. Only a minority found it too long and, as already mentioned, it was only in the early hours of the morning when it was more difficult to persuade people to be interviewed.

Another aspect to be mentioned in respect of completing the questionnaire is that in principle, the method of sampling was to interview every fifth person who entered the selected establishment. This method was used only partially, when the establishments were busy. At other times the selection, was made at random.

At the same time, it should be said that the attitude of respondents in the semi-structured interviews was excellent in almost all cities. In this sense, Utrecht was an exception as it found reticence in encountering informants. In the words of the team:

“However, some people, such as social workers and people who work for the municipality or the police, who has been asked for information several times did not want to participate or could not find the time. We realise that, because of this, the collected data might be biased, as all respondents are connected to night life in a certain way”.

Nevertheless, this attitude was the exception. At the same time, it should be mentioned that the people who take part in the recreational life as professionals working in it have a privileged position as observers and have experienced the changes in drug use in a very direct way. This group, the DJs, managers and owners of the establishments, social workers, waiters/waitresses, doormen and police officers have contributed very substantial information although it has been necessary to sift the facts in their subjective evaluations. The majority have a certain interest in presenting the nightlife from their point of view, some presenting it in a positive way, minimising the problematic such as the violence, the noise or complaints from the other part of the population who sleep at night. Others had an opposing viewpoint, emphasising the problematic aspects, the violence and the conflicts which arise. In some cities, such as Palma and Modena, one difficulty in carrying out the semi-structured interviews arose in endeavouring to reach the most appropriate key informants. On occasion, informants were questioned on subjects which they had not previously considered and therefore had nothing to say on them. Faced with this situation, more interviews were made in order to reach more appropriate informants.

In describing the most relevant difficulties in the field research, those which were inconsistent with the initial plan are the ones which have been highlighted. However, we do not consider that has altered the significance of the sample nor the information collected.

2.5. ANALYSIS OF THE QUANTITATIVE DATA

The SPSS Version 7.5 was used in the analysis of the quantitative data. The frequencies table was obtained for the qualitative variables comprising the majority of the survey, with the percentages corresponding to each category of the variable, whereas we used an exploratory data analysis (Palmer 1999) on the quantitative variables obtaining location, position, shape and dispersion measures, as well as stem and leaf display and the box and whiskers plot. The location measures which we used included the arithmetic mean, the trimmed mean of 5% and the median as well as the M-estimators as resistant measures (Palmer 1993). The distribution percentiles and those known as fourth were obtained from the position measures. The shape measures are the classic ones of skewness and kurtosis and their standard errors. The variability or dispersion measures are formed by the standard deviation, the standard error of the mean and the inter-quartile range. These numerical measures and the diagrams mean that the behaviour of said variables are well defined. Nevertheless, and for reasons of synthesis and space, only some of these measures have been used throughout the text as representative of the description of the quantitative variables.

3. NIGHT LIFE IN EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

Music and dancing are the main ingredients of the recreational nightlife and this is why it is important to set aside space to describe and evaluate their significance in the juvenile movement. Young people in their specific groups recreate their personal and group identity in association with a certain musical style. The main characteristic of these styles is flexibility with an enormous capacity for transformation and hybridisation. In spite of the fact that they come from Anglo-Saxon sources - the United States in particular - on reaching Europe they become impregnated with new contents and connotations. In the seventies and the eighties, rock music underwent a similar process as it acquired different meanings in each country - in each region, even - where indigenous interpretations evolved and the beat was accompanied by lyrics which transmitted a message of local importance.

A similar appropriation occurred with electronic music, in the nineties, in various European countries but with fresh nuances which converted the juvenile musical movement into a specific social phenomenon. Electronic music covers a multitude of styles which have developed in a very specific way and which have become the centrepiece of the raves, although the fathers of European techno (Kraftwerk, Can, New Order...) originally had more intellectual and less frivolous intentions.

Instrumental high-tech that permits listening, synthesizing, recording or manipulating pieces of music has launched a new musical culture. The young have greater access to instrumental music and this has given rise to a new profession and a culture where the mixture of musical pieces sampled has become something of a fine art as the disk jockeys or DJs, who have become the foremost creators of the young scene, remix diverse and heterogeneous pieces of music, their fame even superceding that of the performers themselves. Perhaps the greatest significance of the DJs' creation is that it is ephemeral, momentary, unique and unrepeatable. Each DJ creates his own mixtures of a hybrid and eclectic nature.

Separate evaluation of the different musical styles acts as an initiation into the complexity of recreational nightlife. Each musical style is part of a cultural framework which combines the other aspects which configure every juvenile subculture such as clothing, the settings chosen for the rave, the aesthetics of the environments, affiliation to ethical and moral values and even to drug use. The music is intimately associated with dancing and every musical style allows the development of a specific style of

dance. The desire to enjoy the fun, the music and the dancing with greater intensity and to stretch it out as long as possible has contributed to recreational drugs forming part of the fun scene. Drugs are, therefore, one more aspect of recreational life and have a significance within it but should not be evaluated as a vital component without which recreational life would not exist. In fact, many young people who participate in these raves are not drug users.

A description of the different musical styles is part of the introduction to the cultural aspects of juvenile movements on the basis that it leads to a better understanding of the context in which many young people choose to take drugs and, in this way, enjoy their fun with greater intensity.

Music can be incredibly subjective. We have tried to be as balanced as possible in these definitions, and endeavoured to provide a taste of the cultural context of these different musical styles. These definitions came from selecting the most popular terms that were used in answering the questionnaire. Because of this, it is by no means a definitive list of different musical styles that are popular in Europe. The terms themselves are quite varied – speed garage is a very specific type of music – mellow is a name that encompasses a number of different styles.

3.1. MUSIC STYLES

HOUSE

The name means “the house of the beat”. House music emerged after several evolutionary stages, one of the most significant being techno music evolved in Detroit, which consists of up-tempo beats and mechanical melodious over-layers. An important early Detroit DJ was Derrick May. Techno is the original style of music from which the other musical styles evolved. House music originated in the gay nightclubs of Chicago and New York in the late seventies and eighties. The name arose from the Club Warehouse in Chicago and the music took off in the Manchester clubs in the hands of the DJ Frank Marples. It was perhaps the first form of dance music to be associated with the massive explosion of ecstasy use in the UK in the late eighties. Nowadays, it is difficult to classify house music because of its ability to create and influence musical styles. In Spain, for example, an eclectic beat emerged, making a break with the musical styles of the eighties. It was created by the remixes of the DJs in Ibiza (rock, house, techno, soul, etc.) and the British christened it the Balearic Beats. House music is still phenomenally popular today, all over Europe. In its purest form it relies predominately on a steady 4/4 beat, often with strong vocals to uplift the crowd. There have been many musical sub-genres which are related to house music, including garage and handbag.

Famous house DJs include: Larry Levan, Todd Terry and Frankie Knuckles, *An Der Beat and Laurent Garnier*.

MELLOW

Rather than being a specific musical genre, mellow is more of a catch-all term that encompasses a number of musical genres, including *ambient*, trip-hop (the Bristol Sound) and chill-out music. People are most likely to listen to this more relaxing style of music at home, often on a comedown after they have been out to a nightclub. Mellow music may well be accompanied by cannabis smoking. This type of music is likely to have slower beats, or no beats at all (as in the case of ambient music), and will often help to create a calm, restful atmosphere. Music associated with the term mellow would include Massive Attack, Air, Portishead, and The Orb, the Spanish Newja jean o the French Air. ‘Unfinished Sympathy’ by Massive Attack is undoubtedly the anthem of all mellow music lovers. Key albums include: KLF ‘Chill-out’, Nightmares on Wax ‘Smokers Delight’, Portishead “Dummy” o Tricky “Pre-millennium tension”.

HARDCORE

This is the style that defines techno or machine music. It has a hard repetitive and fast beat. It is associated with the skate culture, adolescents out in the streets on their skateboards. In Spain, the most marketable version is popularly known as bakalao. Hardcore or gabba were invented in the Netherlands, but, in the last few years, hardcore has declined in popularity in England, and there are now only a handful of major raves in sports centres, and a limited number of clubs which play this kind of music. It relies on fast, manic beats and speeded up vocals. Hardcore was very much an offshoot of early 90’s rave culture and enjoyed its largest following amongst young, white working class boys. It was especially popular in Scotland, although it gained national press attention following the death of several young boys at Hangar 13, a venue in Scotland. Hardcore was often seen as an inferior, cartoon version of techno, and its popularity was often linked to the invariably large intake of amphetamine sulphate by its followers.

SPEED GARAGE

Speed garage emerged in the London clubs in 1996/97. It has a certain similarity with hardcore and is based around a hard kick and a good baseline. It was a hybrid form of music – DJ’s who were disillusioned with the Drum and Bass scene returned to their garage roots and began to play around with the speed and beats of the music. For many, it is much easier to listen to than jungle as it is heavily reliant on good vocal tunes. However it has rapidly become a victim of its own success – crossing from ‘underground’ to ‘mainstream’ too quickly resulted in it falling out of fashion almost as fast as it came in. Key DJ’s include Matt ‘Jam’ Lamont and Karl ‘Tuff Enuff’ Brow.

ROCK

Rock was well-established and had spread strongly in Europe a decade before house or dance music. It is basically guitar music and the strength and power of the melody is everything. It is divided into an infinity of styles, from the more classic ones of the fifties and sixties such as rock 'n roll and psychedelic rock very closely linked to the drug culture in the seventies to the heavy rock and industrial metal of the last few years. In some countries rock has had an indigenous impulse influencing traditional styles.

Heavy metal could be defined as drum and guitar based aggressive music – usually by all-male bands wearing leather and varying amounts of make-up. It was very popular in the 70's and, although it still has a very dedicated fan base, it is rarely heard, as it does not really feature on mainstream musical playlists. Bands such as Def Leppard, Metallica, Aerosmith, Meatloaf and Kiss could probably all be classed as 'heavy'.

Young people who are rock fans feel a certain contempt or disdain for house or dance music. Although there is an open communication between these musical trends and a great mutual influence, fans of each style tend to treat one another with a certain degree of coolness. But they can come together in perfect harmony, and with spectacular results, as can be seen in the version which Apollo 4.40 made of a Van Halen classic. Some musical styles that are examples of the mixture of the rock/pop world and that of techno/house are the eurobeat, the post-rock and the big beat.

Rock music has become a term that now encompasses different definitions. If we take it as essentially meaning guitar led-groups then the mid to late nineties has seen a huge revival of so-called rock bands. In the UK it could also be classed as Brit Pop – for many young people 'rock' reminds them of the Rolling Stones and Rod Stewart. Oasis, Blur, the Manic Street Preachers and the Verve are probably the biggest rock bands of the last few years and all are world famous.

POP

Like rock, pop covers an infinity of groups and styles. Perhaps its most distinctive feature is the importance of the melody which means it can be listened to at a low volume. The beginnings of the pop movement are closely associated in the UK with the *Beatles*, *Kinks*, *Roxie Music*, *The Police*, *Paul Weller*, etc. At the present time, it is a style linked to the more commercial music.

The last two years have seen the UK produce some phenomenally popular artists. Pop has always meant popular music and England has always been very good at it. The Spice Girls, the Corrs, Steps and Robbie Williams are all recognisable artists whose music is classed as Pop. The music is usually well produced, relies on straightforward verses and choruses and is often upbeat. For many of the major record labels, it is the mainstay of their economic fortunes, with many pop bands being manufactured to order to cater for a gap or a trend in the market.

Closely linked to pop music is melodic music, based on the voice of the singer and the soft composition of the lyric. The most oft repeated subject is love or emotions. In a wider context, the music of singer-composers could also be included.

PUNK

Originally a movement in the 70's in England, few people now listen to punk as there are no longer any popular English artists making punk music – if people say that if they listen to Punk, chances are that they are listening to music made 20 years ago – the Sex Pistols being the most famous punk band ever. Their music was raw, angry and more like noise than actual music – the Sex Pistols were a manufactured band that was created by Malcolm McClaren. Famously, none of them could play their own instruments. Both Malcolm McClaren with his Buffalo Girls as much as Johnny Rotten, ex-singer with the Sex Pistols working together with Public Enemy could be said to mark the union between punk and techno music incorporating the New York beats of Hip Hop.

The young people associated with punk music are trying to express their discontent and hopelessness not only through the music but also in their dress and life style. Its fast beat, noisy guitars, ragged voice and anti-society lyrics are distinctive.

SALSA

Salsa is a Latin American dance as well as a type of music. It is popular in different European countries, particularly in the countries to the south, although, on the whole, it is limited to specific Salsa dance clubs and does not have much impact on mainstream music. Salsa is uplifting, rhythm- driven music. Because there is a set dance to Salsa music, many people will attend classes to learn the moves as part of the Salsa experience.

In the mid-eighties, there was a strong movement in the British clubs mixing Latin beats with English pop. Groups such as Matt Bianco and Blue Rondó recreated the dance scene only to disappear without trace in the explosion of the house beat. In Mediterranean countries such as Spain, France and Italy something similar emerged in the nineties. It was called *mestizaje*, and mixed Caribbean beats, flamenco and rock, and won many fans both in the rock world and the dance scene with such performers as Mano Negra, King Chango, Les Negreses Vertes and Juan Perro.

JUNGLE

Jungle music evolved in London in the early to mid-nineties. It is a kind of dance music made with synthesizers. Its dark, fast intense drum patterns sounded totally new, and it was regarded as an urban soundtrack for disaffected black youth. It relies on deep and low baselines, with fast complex drum patterns over the top, often with either

soaring vocals or MC's rapping over the top. The lyrics talk of psychedelic subjects and drugs. Jungle suffered from a perceived association with gangster violence, crack and guns. It is perhaps for some of these reasons that the term drum 'n bass has become a more popular term of reference for most of this music. Goldie is often called the first jungle superstar, and he certainly has a reputation that extends far beyond musical boundaries, appearing in celebrity columns and dating supermodels. "Inner City Life" was one of the first crossover jungle songs and Metalheadz, the group he is associated with, have produced a number of singles and albums that have enjoyed a certain degree of success. In the last few years, stars of the stature of David Bowie, Madonna and U2 have flirted with the jungle beat in their latest albums.

DRUM 'N BASS

This has become the more commercially acceptable term for jungle style music, although drum & bass tends to be a lighter style of music, more influenced by jazz and easier on the ears for many. Drum 'n bass is a variety of techno music on the line of jungle with a strong base beat whose inspiration is likely to have been the variations of the Jamaican reggae made by disk jockeys known as "Dub". One of the principal creators of this type of music was the Jamaican Lee "Scratch" Perry. LTJ Bukem was the first popular exponent of drum 'n bass, although other artists such as 4 Hero and Roni Size went on to achieve huge commercial success and critical acclaim. Roni Size's first album won the Mercury Music Prize in 1997, regarded by many as the music establishment's endorsement of drum 'n bass as a serious music form.

FUNKY

Again, this does not describe a specific type of music but covers a whole series of possibilities. The original 'funk' music came from artists such as *James Brown*, *Marvin Gaye*, George Clinton and Bootsy Collins, who used blues and soul but gave it a raw edge. Prince carried on the funk tradition with his sexually explicit and dancefloor friendly music. Nowadays, the term funky could be applied to anything that makes a person dance – it usually implies that it has a beat that makes people want to move and really 'get down'. It is hard to categorize more recent artists or bands that would be classed as 'funky', but it could include contemporary UK artists such as Fatboy Slim, whose cut and paste mix of different musical styles makes them instant funky dance floor hits.

HIP HOP

There are those who define it as the most important street and urban culture of the end of the century. A sound that emerged from the streets of New York in the late seventies and early eighties, hip hop was about mastering and creating music from other

people's sounds – cutting up records and mixing them between two turntables, speaking over the top and adding samples to make new sounds. Hip hop has gone on to be a major musical force all over the world, informing and influencing a number of other different musical styles but always attempting to stay close to its urban roots. Hip hop combines the recited beat of rap, the acrobatic movements of breakdance and the artistic expression of graffiti.

RAP

Rap continued the strong black tradition of oral poetry, giving marginalised young black men an opportunity to express themselves and the stories of their lives. Again, its roots were in the ghettos of black America, but it has also gone on to become a huge musical force. As well as reflecting the hardships of living in the ghetto much of rap has had a strong aspirational element – rappers talking about the wealth, cars, jewellery and lifestyle that their talent has brought them. There have been a number of hugely successful artists from this genre in the last few years, who have had worldwide success, despite the continuous problems of East and West Coast rivalry and distrust. Puff Daddy is perhaps one of the most famous artists, particularly following his number one hit which sampled the Police's 'Every Breath you Take', a lament to his close friends the Notorious BIG, who was murdered in a drive-by shooting. Other artists include Pras and Wyclef Jean, members of the Fugees who have both had huge success independently.

REGGAE

Laid back, easy-going music from the Caribbean – there can't be many people who have not heard of Bob Marley – the most famous reggae artist ever, with his brand of heartfelt, but commercially appealing music – Stir it Up, No Woman, No Cry and One Love. It is a style of music which originated in Jamaica, very closely linked to religious beliefs and the Rastafarian movement, which advocates smoking marijuana as part of its philosophy. Reggae music is unmistakable and has a beat that makes it different from any other. The reggae singer generally has tangled hair or dreadlocks and wears multi-coloured light clothing. Legend has it that the syncopated beat of reggae was born from the songs of Bill Haley and Fats Domino which were broadcast from the United States and were heard in Jamaica on transistor radios with all the interference this entailed, giving them the broken beat which the Jamaicans later reproduced. Others say that the heat of Jamaica in combination with the large amounts of marijuana smoked makes it impossible to play faster and less syncopated beats. The music is very closely linked to African symbols and expounds a special philosophy on love and life. Dress featuring the marijuana leaf on sweaters and earrings are essential part of the image of reggae fans, complemented by bracelets in Ethiopian colours, long hair and a relatively untidy appearance.

3.2. NINE ETHNOGRAPHY OF NIGHTLIFE

3.2.1. Athens

According to the information obtained from the “key persons” interviewed, young people choose their entertainment environment according to their age, their preferences in music and peer influence.

ENTERTAINMENT ZONES

Based on the interviews, the following areas were classified as entertainment zones:

- Contemporary music dance clubs are to be found mostly in the centre of Athens.
- Some of them are also in suburbs of Athens and in Pireaus.
- During the summer months clubs offering “house” music, contemporary rock and Greek music move to the southern suburbs of Athens.
- Trance parties are organised in open spaces of the southern suburbs, and they are of special interest since they are representative of the Athens rave culture.

Parties are usually organised by groups of young people in clubs or in open spaces on the coast of Athens or on the islands during the summer. Flyers informing the young public about forthcoming parties are handed out outside clubs or in much frequented areas of Athens, such as squares, train stations etc. According to one interviewee’s opinion, flyers serve as an informal control of party goers, so as to insure homogeneity among youngsters attending the parties. Respondents agree that most parties are of an “open” character. However, there are also parties which are “private”, due to the type of music involved or because they include a broad “circle of friends”. In the past, parties in open spaces were more frequent and lasted from the early morning hours (4 or 5 a.m.) still early afternoon. In the past two years, though, open air parties are less frequent, after police intervention because of synthetic drug use. During the past year there has been a revival of Sunday afternoon parties in clubs attended by very young people.

Clubs playing classical rock music are to be found in the centre of Athens and the Western suburbs. During the summer months, many of these clubs stop operating and their owners open similar clubs on the islands; often, the people in charge of public relations contact rock radio stations or rock magazines and jointly organise concerts in stadiums, open air concert areas and on beaches.

Greek music clubs, which hold the majority in the field of entertainment all over Athens, are to be found mostly in the city centre and the Western suburbs. During the summer months, the more popular and modern ones move to the coast of Athens.

Regarding the pattern of going out, most youngsters usually meet in the afternoon or early evening in coffee shops or “bars” and then go on to clubs. Others meet with their friends before going to the club, in open spaces (usually squares or parks) or at someone’s house, and may - according to some respondents - use drugs. The majority, though, go directly to clubs, bars or concert areas for their evening outing, because of the cost of entertainment.

MUSIC

The prevalent types of the international dance music scene are the following:

- The Rave scene: trance, psychedelic trance and jungle.
- The House scene: house, mellow house, drum n’ bass and hip-hop.
- The Rock scene: independent rock, heavy metal.
- The Greek music scene: modern popular dance music.

Musical preferences according to the age of young clients:

Young people (up to 25) prefer the international modern dance scene and most go for trance, jungle, house, drum n’ bass, speed garage, hip-hop and heavy metal. More specifically, hip-hop and heavy metal attract mostly youngsters 14-19 years old. The older ones prefer house and mellow house music as well as some of the more contemporary types, such as free style, progressive, electronic pop, experimental, intelligent, drum n’ bass, certain types of rock and punk rock, heavy metal and modern popular Greek music. According to several respondents, the young public generally prefers modern popular Greek music.

ENTERTAINMENT TIMES AND DAYS

Clubs start their program after midnight or even later; some trance parties take place on Sunday afternoons. Most young people in Athens go out one or two days a week, usually Friday and Saturday. This is because youngsters are busy (school, work) during the rest of the week and also because going out on Saturday night is considered a “social must” . Knowing that most people go out on Saturdays, they believe they will have the chance to form social ties. Some respondents believe that because entertainment is costly for young people with limited income, they confine their evening outings to once or twice a week. It was also mentioned, that quite a few clubs operate only on certain days, such as Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

CLUB GOERS

Youth involved with the trance scene. Some youth groups involved with the trance scene represent the subculture of Athenian ravers¹. The age of members of this cultural

¹ The term “rave” is considered dated by the youth subscribing to the trance scene.

group is up to about 25. It was observed that they belong to various social segments of the middle class and that young boys outnumber the girls.

Their appearance conveys the aesthetics of their style. Boys and girls wear athletic clothes and shoes, phosphorescent T-shirts with psychedelic designs, black sunglasses, wide trousers. Girls wear phosphorescent accessories, such as rings, cords around the neck and the wrist and barrettes in their hair. Boys have a special hairdo called “flatto” (shaven head with a few tufts of hair on the crown). According to some of the respondents, the appearance of girls is more moderate compared to that of boys and does not offset their femininity. One surveyor’s opinion is that there is a trend of convergence regarding the stylistic standards of appearance of both sexes expressed by the use of unisex clothing and accessories. During the developing stages of the dance music movement, certain youngsters appeared with very eccentric looks (“fashion victims”: young people in divers’ suits, wearing athletic clothes over other clothes etc.). During this same period the slogan prevalent among these youngsters was “love, peace and unity”, reminiscent of the hippies of the 70’s. The appearance traits of these young groups are discriminatory stylistic reference points vis-a-vis “other young people” and express, to a certain degree, their collective identity.

Certain groups of youngsters seem to have some sub-cultural preferences. They have adopted the values of leisure, enjoyment and pleasure, which are considered as morally “anti-conformist” behaviours, as the sociologists-criminologists Matza and Sykes² have notably supported. They question the dominant social system, albeit without subversive intentions. More specifically, music and the drug “trip”, according to one respondent, are considered as “anti-conformist” activities by the youth of this music scene. They are not concerned with politics and their confrontation with the police is because of drug use and trafficking. They also seem to be ecologically aware and reject violent behaviour. They despise contemporary Greek popular dance music, which expresses the dominant youth culture. At the same time, they believe they are “submitted” to formal and informal social control, because their lifestyle is “offensive” to the dominant culture and that they are thus judged negatively and considered as “marginal individuals” by “the others”. Their form of entertainment is a quest for individual pleasure rather than social contact. In other words, they have adopted alternative cultural choices expressed through their special lifestyle.

Drugs are part of their entertainment. They use cannabis or “stuff”, as it is commonly called, and synthetic hallucinogens called “trips”, “panoramix”, “Hoffman”. They also use synthetic drugs, such as ecstasy (“hearts”, “buttons”) or other “amphetamine-based drugs”, such as “special k”, which is “ketamine”. Hallucinogenic mushrooms in the form of drops or powder consumed with water or juice, cocaine (rarely, because of its cost) as well as sedatives such as “hypnoston” and “artan” are also consumed by certain adolescents. Hallucinogenic synthetic drugs, as reported characteristically by one club goer, are popular because of their informal promotion in

² “Comparative Youth Culture” by Hael Ake, p.53.

places where they circulate and are consumed. One club goer said about the LSD “trip” that “you feel you are vanishing, you feel the walls opening”.

As far as attitudes regarding synthetic drugs are concerned, certain respondents (users and not) said that some types of synthetic drugs, such as ecstasy, have a positive effect on human behaviour expressed in feelings of friendship and love. One trance scene club goer said that “having taken ecstasy, you feel light, in a pleasant mood and love the whole world”. Another user reported that drug use combined with the psychedelic trance music and the psychedelic decor of clubs, where this music is played, enhances his “images” evoked by the music.

Some times certain young groups of the trance scene manifest aggressive behaviour, or there are fights with other groups or between youngsters and dealers, and less frequently petty thefts. These types of behaviour are probably attributable to personal reasons, according to some respondents, and are not representative of the trance culture in general.

It should also be pointed out that trance music reaches out to a wider public of youngsters, who have not , however, adopted the stylistic appearance of trance dance music but sport it circumstantially, whenever, that is, they visit the clubs. Nor does this public follow the overall lifestyle of certain youth groups whose cultural identity is defined by the sub-cultural traits of trance music. Most of these youngsters enjoy also other types of international music as well as contemporary Greek dance music.

Youth involved with the house scene. House music addresses a rather wide young public, as it embraces a broader youth culture. The age of the house scene youngsters is around 19-20 and they stem from various segments of the middle class. They consume alcohol and cannabis and to a lesser extent ecstasy and cocaine. According to respondents, the house scene youth do not sport a distinctive style of appearance and are usually dressed in a modern way. (Artists and models often visit clubs playing house music.) They have adopted the values of the dominant youth culture and in their spare time follow the principles of pleasure and euphoria.

Youth involved with the hip-hop scene. Based on the information provided by three interviews, it was found that hip-hop music has influenced a certain public of youngsters. Hip-hop is considered one of the new types of music which dominate the dance scene. Young people, mostly adolescents, but also up to 23 years of age, listen to hip-hop, come from various middle class segments and have a distinct stylistic appearance. They wear wide shirts and trousers, hats and athletic shoes. Additionally, certain youth groups, mostly adolescents, do graffiti and others skate. They consume alcohol and some of them use cannabis and to a lesser extent ecstasy, LSD and tranquillisers. Sometimes they manifest aggressive behaviour.

Youth involved with the rock scene. The young people who prefer rock music cover a broad age spectrum ranging from 17 to 29 and come mostly from various segments of the middle class. Rock music culture evolved quite a few years ago, and for this reason its current fans reject to a large extent its stylistic appearance traits as being

overcommercialised. The lyrics of rock music are either “euphoric” or “anti-conformist” and may affect the values and lifestyle of the young people who listen to rock music. The rock scene youth consumes mostly alcohol and cannabis and to a lesser extent various types of synthetic drugs, cocaine and heroin.

Youth involved with the heavy metal scene. The age of this group ranges between 16 and 24. There are also some older fans who continue to listen to heavy metal, a habit carried on from adolescence. Many of these young people have adopted a special style of appearance. They have long hair and wear shirts decorated with pictures and names of heavy metal groups or “satanic” motifs. A significant trait of the heavy metal culture among youth is the dance called headbugging, during which young people shake their head and shoulders violently up and down. Certain youngsters of the heavy metal scene consume alcohol and cannabis and to a lesser degree some consume tranquillisers.

Youth involved with the contemporary Greek popular dance music. Our interviews provided little information about this group. People of almost all ages listen to this type of music, though mostly young people 19-26 years of age go to the clubs. Youngsters of this musical scene come from various segments of the middle class. They usually dress in a modern way and consume mainly alcohol and cannabis. Two club goers of the trance scene and one policeman maintain that youngsters of this group also consume synthetic drugs. Regarding their cultural choices, they don’t seem to differ from those of the house scene youth - a view reinforced by the fact that house music and Greek music are played in parallel in certain clubs.

RECENT CHANGES IN NIGHTLY ENTERTAINMENT PATTERNS

According to most of the respondents, there have been no significant changes during the past year in the patterns of entertainment at night in Athens. Some respondents reported individual views about certain changes in the patterns of entertainment at night.

The dominant trends in dance music are trance and house and the corresponding milieus where these types of music are played. More specifically, house music has become the mainstream during the past year. According to the views of four members of the trance scene, trance music is representative of the Athens rave scene. These respondents believe that about a year ago the mass media, based on exaggerated or false news reports, defamed the places, clubs or open spaces where young people listened to trance music, because there had been circumstantial police intervention to control trafficking and drug use. Furthermore, a radio station playing mostly trance music as well as other types of dance music was shut down. The above two events had a negative impact on the trance scene, which led to a reduction in the number of clubs and in the number of clients of the trance scene. One of the “key persons” of the trance scene who organises parties, observed changes in the style of the trance scene youth, such as the phosphorescent colours of clothes.

New types of dance music emerging during the past year are jungle, speed garage, hip-hop, drum n' bass and break dance. Trance music, which has adopted rock music elements, has been drawing older groups of young people belonging to the rock scene among its clientele during the past year.

There has been an increase in the number of young people who listen to contemporary Greek popular music and very few places offering this type of entertainment share the same roof with the dance scene music clubs. Most clubs playing Greek popular dance music include international dance music in their programme, mostly house and disco. Whenever young people change their places of entertainment, they choose entertainment milieus which suit them regarding the music and the type of clientele and are also in the vanguard.

PATTERNS OF CONSUMPTION DURING NIGHTLY ENTERTAINMENT. RECENT CHANGES. NEW DRUGS.

During their visits to the various places of entertainment, young people consume alcohol, juices and some of them cannabis or even synthetic drugs (amphetamine-based drugs and hallucinogens), depending on the substance that enhances their mood for entertainment.

More specifically, cannabis is consumed before synthetic or other drugs. Two “key persons”, who listen to trance music, maintain that synthetic drugs are consumed more often at parties than on other occasions.

“Key persons” from the police as well as “persons who work on the street” and also one club goer reported that “hypnotedon”, “stedon”, “vallium”, “tavor” and “artan” are the tranquillisers most consumed recently by certain youngsters or young multi-drug users; they are often used as an anticlimax to the frenzied activity induced by synthetic drugs. According to the view of one surveyor, however, tranquillisers do not relate to the dance scene, since their effect is sedative and not compatible with dancing and the entertainment activities in general of youth in clubs playing contemporary dance music.

Young people usually consume drugs before they visit the clubs. Use is made either in open spaces, squares, out of the way streets, or in indoor spaces, such as someone's house. Still, in some clubs there is use and trafficking of drugs. More specifically, drug use and mainly cannabis use has been observed in certain clubs playing dance music. This is also one of the reasons that some youngsters, who use drugs, select these clubs. Additionally, according to some respondents, at certain open air parties of a “private” character drug use is greater because the area is protected by the party organisers.

Young people who use synthetic drugs during their entertainment do not usually consume alcohol, because, as was observed and reported by many respondents, simultaneous consumption of synthetic drugs and alcohol produces physical problems.

Young people obtain the drugs from friends at clubs or at parties and to a lesser extent from people who work in the entertainment milieus. Police “key persons”

estimate that synthetic drugs are imported from Eastern and Central Europe, while some quantities of synthetic drugs are trafficked by tourists. It is also possible that individuals belonging to the groups organising the parties deal in synthetic drugs.

One client of the trance scene considers “trips” (LSD) and “magic mushrooms” as the most recently circulating drugs. A young person who belongs to the trance scene and organises parties also reported crystal meth, possibly a type of methamphetamine, as a new drug. A hip-hop scene member mentioned to “artakia” which belongs probably to pharmaceutical drugs.

OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL CONTROL OF ENTERTAINMENT AT NIGHT. RECENT CHANGES.

According to some respondents who work in clubs of the trance scene, control in clubs is carried out by individuals who have assumed this task, so as to prevent young people with obvious signs of drug use to enter the club as well as to prevent obvious drug trafficking inside the club. More specifically, the view of one respondent experienced in night life is that clubs have a so-called “checkman” who checks the clients and deals with those who use drugs in a manner which is not noticeable by unsuspecting clients.

Most respondents believe that the police intervene “selectively” in certain clubs. The criteria of selecting which clubs they will check are either because some club owners or managers within the sphere of professional competition “inform” the police that there is drug trafficking in certain clubs, or because certain police officers have “secret agreements” with club owners to protect their “businesses” , at a salary, from drug control. One amateur in charge of public relations in party organising believes that these types of transactions and agreements are made between the police and club owners with strong financial holdings. He also maintains that police control concerns mainly the people who use drugs.

The viewpoint of the police on this subject is that they carry out investigations at clubs following reports from parents or neighbours about drug use and trafficking in certain clubs. In regard to the municipal police of a specific area, a trance scene DJ believes that each time this police force intervenes, it is for financial reasons, that is, to impose fines and collect the money. According to the view of one respondent in charge of public relations in the pop scene, municipal police should play an advisory role and not an executive one.

PROBLEMS DURING NIGHT ENTERTAINMENT

In general LSD and ecstasy users behave in a mild manner and show no aggression during entertainment. However, according to “key persons” of the police, young users manifest collective aggression, i.e. fights or petty thefts, in order to obtain drugs. More specifically, two “key persons” (street corner worker and policeman) maintain that extensive use of benzodiazepines and alcohol by some young people makes them lose

their “internal control” and behave aggressively. Another street corner worker’s opinion is that drugs reinforce the existing psychological state of the user. In other words, drug use contributes to a certain extent to the manifestation of aggressive behaviour. Some clients of dance music believe that aggressive behaviour is also due to adolescence. Violent behaviour patterns may be observed whenever users consume synthetic drugs together with alcohol.

YOUNG PEOPLE’S ATTITUDES ON DRUG ABUSE

Opinions as to what extent young people are aware of the drug situation differ. However, most young people know about the probable side effects of synthetic drug use and yet use them nonetheless. Some other “key persons” believe that the few users of synthetic drugs are able to detach themselves from drugs and that quite a few users don’t take the necessary precautions. Many respondents report that the only precaution taken by some users of synthetic drugs is to avoid a combined consumption of alcohol and synthetic drugs.

3.2.2. Berlin

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Berlin is a large city with more than 3.5 millions inhabitants, which means night - life is not easy to localise. Every district in the city has different bars, clubs and discos where young people can meet and enjoy themselves. While in the suburbs night-life is restricted to week-ends (Friday & Saturday night), in the city centre most of the places are open six or seven nights a week. Most discos and life-music clubs are open until 4.00 in the morning during the week and until six or seven in the morning at the weekend. Techno-clubs are open until 8.00 in the morning.

In fact, Berlin is a city full of tourists. These young visitors usually go to discos or life-music clubs near Kurfürstendamms or similar places in the city centre. However, native teenagers and young people prefer districts such as Kreuzberg, Prenzlauer Berg and Friedrichshain.

STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY SCENE

The following description will only focus on the structure, locations and visitors of the party scene, where young people meet each other and dance. We state the differences among party scenes according to the music played at these locations. We assume that visitors of discos, dancing clubs and bars have specific priorities when they decide where to go, and that everybody knows the kind of music and the audience they are going to find in the different places.

According to the information given by our interviewees, clubs offer all kinds of music. The most popular ones are:

- House
- Techno
- Drum 'n Bass
- Hip-Hop
- Disco (traditional, "mainstream", disco music)
- Electro (Break-beat without Break-beats)
- Goa / Trance (classical Techno with 303 Loops and melodic plain passages)
- Big Beat (sequence of TripHop, mixture of HipHop, Drum 'n Bass, Electro)

According to specific kinds of music, party scenes can be gathered in four different sub-scenes:

- Techno/house/Jungle
- Hip-Hop
- Jazz/Soul/Funk
- "Mainstream"

TECHNO/HOUSE/JUNGLE

Techno/house parties and their respective clubs & discos have become the favourite night-life places for young people during the last 5 years. In those places we find young people who have a preference for electronic rhythmical music and dancing. According to the size of the locations, between 50 and 3.000 people visit this kind of parties. The public who go to Techno/house gatherings during the week-end is completely different. Attractive and well-known clubs such as the Tresor are visited at the week-end by young people who do not belong to their scene. Nowadays, Techno-music is an extremely popular kind of music and many different people like it. During the week (from Monday to Thursday) a quite homogeneous group of young people visit these locations. They can be defined as Techno-fans.

There is not any specific clothing philosophy in order to differentiate this public from other discos visitors. However, we do find a specific drug use: the consumption of ecstasy and amphetamines is significantly more extended in this scene than in other young music scenes. Techno/house parties visitors have similar age, education and economical status to those who go to Hip-Hop gatherings.

HIP-HOP

Hip-hop music is exclusively played in very few locations, one or two nights a week at most. Some discos (Pearl Bar, Go-Go Bar) play Hip-Hop music or Techno/house music every other night.

Young people from the hip-hop scene have a general preference for "black music" such as Funk, Soul or Rap. In the places where Hip-Hop music is played, there are often

young people with a different colour of skin. We can also find Afro-Americans among their visitors. Synthetic drugs use is not important in this context. Nevertheless, cannabis use is quite common.

JAZZ/SOUL/FUNK

This third category summarises different “older” kinds of music coming from Jazz and Soul. While clubs such as the “Junction Bar” and the “Abraxas” are mere Jazz clubs, other places have a more varied musical program.

We usually find there an older public (25-35). All the clubs where this kind of music is played are often small and narrow and have a loyal clientele. The ticket price is cheaper than in Techno or Hip-Hop gatherings. We are talking about people who do not care about parties (as techno-parties visitors) and go there just because they love Jazz/Soul/Funk and like dancing this kind of music. It can not be established an specific clothing or drug use.

“MAINSTREAM”

The most important characteristic of the “mainstream” locations is their close connection with the popular music that can be listened to at the radio. Nevertheless, there are some differences among them: some places have a very strong chart orientation (Madow, Far Out), while others seem to be more sub-cultural (Knack Club, Boudoir).

The visitors of these traditional discos are generally between 16 and 36 years old and they can not be defined as representative of any social demographic trend. These kind of discos are mainly visited at week-ends and we do not find any particular scene involving this young people as we do in other young music scenes (Techno/house and Hip-Hop). The “mainstream” music milieu gathers quite normal people, who just go out from time to time in order to meet new friends and dance. There is no specific clothing or drug use.

PARTY SCENE IN BERLIN

In the wide range of clubs that can be found in Berlin night-life there is also a colourful party-scene. We can not say there are different parallel scenes, they rather interweave together producing a unique party-scene. The Berlin gay-scene is mostly to be found in clubs where house-music is played. Night-life public in Berlin is very heterogeneous and mixed. It gathers people with very different ages (from 12 to 50 years old) and social status. One interviewee said about them: “ from failures to students, everybody is mixed, scholars, lawyers, everyone who hangs about at night and feels like going out... from every social status and ages, from children (12 or 13 years old) to people in their forties, fifties or sixties”.

However, it has been observed that the people who go out at night is getting younger and younger, and there are more men than women. One of the interviewees has stated that the public we find during the night depends above all on the different kind of club. Therefore we can find an older group of people in House locations such as the WMF, while younger people prefer the Tresor.

Concerning to the “going-out-behaviour” it has been established that there are not any special discos, clubs or bars circuits. People spontaneously choose what they are going to do. A lot of friends of our interviewees begin their night going to a bar. The bars around “Goltzstasse”, Skalitzerstreet and or Bezirk Mitte, for example, have quite a great success. Finally they spend the night in their favourite clubs. Club-hopping is not usual, but spontaneous, although the central situation of the locations could offer a change.

Especial parties are often celebrated. They take place in different places and are advertised through specialised magazines like “Flyer”.

According to the information given at the interviews, there are not many problematic locations. Our key-informants reported that they have neither lived nor heard from a drugs-weep. Aggressive behaviour has seldom taken place at night-life. However some of them talked about certain fights that occasionally take place, mostly in “After-hour” clubs. Although this is a rare phenomenon in Berlin, it is quite common in other large cities such as Frankfurt and Main.

Concerning to fashions, it was reported by the interviewees that there is no longer a specific clothing philosophy. There are still the well-known Club, Techno and Street wear, but people generally dress simpler, neater and more classical clothes. Our key-informants said they often wear sober and respectable clothes when they go out.

CHANGES

During the last year clubs are continuously changing. “There is always something different.... New people come in and others disappear, and new clubs open every day, but they do not maintain their quality and deteriorate very fast.” Other key-informants answered that everything which is in close connection to techno is becoming extremely commercial. That could explain why the people who go to this kind of places is younger and younger.

The most important change, says an interviewee, is that “E-Werks” has closed, which has done good to Berlin night-life because it has given smaller clubs the opportunity to open their doors.

Another key-informant gives us an exact picture of the changes: “We are at the end of a decade and, in my opinion, the techno-phenomenon is at its end, because people do not wish any longer to go out and live new experiences. The euphoria at parties is falling back, it is out of fashion. Although it is true that many new pubs and discos have

appeared, people do not go there to dance for eight hours. Actually, there are no drugs in order to make someone do that. Not to me, anyway”.

DRUGS USE

When we asked them which substances were easy to get at night-life, our interviewees answered that every illegal drug could be easily found.

The most popular drugs are:

- Ecstasy
- Speed
- Cocaine
- Cannabis (not considered as a party drug).

Each one of our interviewees has had experiences with drugs. Most of them said they usually take drugs at week-ends. In these occasions they do not take just one kind of drug but a combination. The most popular combination is Ecstasy & cocaine & cannabis.

Problems related to drug use are not taken into account or even accepted when they get the drug. As a result they suffer from a bad mood the following day, which is described as an alcohol “hangover”. Some reports also talk about sleeping disorders and fast heartbeating, but most of the people believe all those problems are in close connection with drug use and have no importance at all.

Only one of the women we interviewed told us about a bad drug experience and made clear that since then she had given up its use. “ I have tried cocaine and ecstasy, and I must say they made me feel really bad. I also had slight depressions, just slight ones. I also realised that the night I took any drug I wanted more and more. I found it terrifying and every time I remember it I start shivering. And then I was so sick and nervous, and then extremely happy. All my body trembled. I was exhausted and the night was so long. I could not sleep because I was so confused and flustered. And I will never forget the continuous activity of my intestine, I was always running to the toilet, endless. It was really awful.”

According to the answers given by our interviewees, drug use has also changed in the last twelve months and its consume has obviously decrease. They say this phenomenon is due to the fact they are older and their longing for going out and taking drugs has disappeared. Cocaine has become the most popular drug. Someone answers that cocaine is a humdrum drug quite easy to get and not very expensive.

CONTROL

In our informants opinion, there is no attempt from managers or door-keepers to control the use of drugs inside their clubs or discos. The more and more unusual

checking of bags at the entrance is just done in order to find out any kind of weapon and guarantee the security.

One interviewee says about this subject: “Well, if we want to be honest, everybody knows night-life has always taken advantage of the fact that some substances which make a good climate are available. If there is enough alcohol at a party, it is a good party. If there are enough “dealers” at a party, it is also good. Of course, there must be some frisking, anyway. And it must be done by the police. I think they really have to do it. But I am not sure if it is of some use. Sincerely, they should do something more than just picking up drugs from people bags at the door. Because people buy them either in front of the door or somewhere else, or just gulp them at the entrance, in the car or anywhere. They have to try something different, perhaps explanations, information or something else”.

Another informant says about this subject: “Well, I think that managers should try to keep dealers outside their clubs. As we have seen it, when E-Werk closed, and there were Turkish and foreign dealers wandering round the area and approaching passers-by. Nevertheless, I also think every manager who runs a clean techno or house-disco knows that if he has not any dealer inside his club, he can lose some of his best clientele. In my opinion, they try to keep drugs outside, but always know a person who has drugs inside the club. Frisking takes sometimes place, but I think it has been forgotten”.

3.2.3. Coimbra

“Different from other cities, Coimbra has special characteristics due to the 20.000 students of its university” (Coimbra Viva, Tourist Catalogue, 1998).

Night-life in Coimbra has changed during the last four or five years and it has become a lively city similar to other modern metropolis.

“Night-life used to finish at two in the morning (four in the morning at most) and now that’s the time to begin” (Security Catalogue).

INTRODUCTION

This transformation is mostly due to the new generations, in permanent contact with the life and habits of different communities and foreign countries. The Spanish “movida”, for instance, had a great success among everyone who knew it and was finally imported here. The University of Coimbra, with 700 years of existence and nearly 20.000 students, started to change the life of the city following other European recreational patterns.

The “*Queima das Fitas*”, a seven days festival organised mainly by the university, has undoubtedly been responsible for this change. Some years ago, it was a week full

of cultural and social events that reached its climax the night of the “*fados*” when the celebrations started with the popular parade “*Da queima das fitas*”.

Nowadays, however, although everybody loves the night of the “*fados*” and the traditional parade, the “*noites do parque*” have become the most popular event in the festival. National and international rock bands and famous singers -even “*pimba*” singers- enliven these nights with their performances from midnight till five in the morning or even later. It’s quite usual to see groups of young people going back home at seven or eight hours in the morning, passing many individuals in their way to work. It has to be pointed out how the community accepts this behaviour during the festival.

Representatives elected by the students are in charge of organising the celebrations, but the beer industry has become an important sponsor and that has given a wider projection to the festival, quite popular now among young people from all around the country and even from Spain. During the festival week large groups of students from different universities and other visitors arrive in Coimbra. But this growth of popularity has involved a great change in the festival, moving it a great distance away from its origins. Besides the consumption of alcohol, the use of illegal drugs has become quite common among the people who takes part in the “*noites do parque*”. The huge amount of beer and other alcoholic beverages such as wine, champagne... drunk during the week has been remarked by the media and it has contributed to transform the night-life in the city.

Four years ago, Coimbra celebrated its first rave while the “*Queima das Fitas*”. It wasn’t a positive experience because of the chaos and confusion it produced in the city. Besides, several individuals had to be taken into hospital urgency services with symptoms of exhaustion and illegal substances abuse (amphetamines and other drugs). One rave was enough for the city and the experience has never been repeated.

During the last years we have witnessed the opening of many different places that enliven the nights of the city: discos, pubs, life music bars, as if trying to continue the “*Queima das Fitas*” festival.

“*It seems they want to extend the “Queima das Fitas” the whole year round*”- owner of a disco.

“*The Queima das Fitas is the mother of all festivals*”.

PLACES TO GO

“*As a rule different people go to different places*”- university teacher.

Coimbra can be divided into eight different areas, each of them with its night-life peculiarities. In a brief description, it can be said that the highest part of the city close to the University, including Sé Velha and Quebra-Costas, is an area full of bars and cafés frequented by people who want to “have a talk”, “take a drink” or “listen to some background music” says a student. It’s an area for small drinks here and there, without any haste...

In the Praça da República area, crossroad and meeting point of student life, there can be found some of the most popular cafés, bars and discos in Coimbra. It's also known as an area of illegal substances traffic and that's the reason why some people think it a bad area, while others continue considering it the heart of the University.

The lowest part of the city, the most commercial and typical area of Coimbra because of its location and architecture has many different cafés, bars and terraces very popular among tourists and inhabitants of the city, especially in spring and summer.

In a residential area of Coimbra, one of the most exclusive in the city, we find some famous cafés frequented by specific groups from the highest social circles. It's the area of the most fashionable discos, too. At the other side of the town, in the area crossed by the river Mondengo, there are several cafés and bars and one of the oldest and most famous discos: "Sctoch", which has survived to changes and fashions all through the years.

There are two well-known discos in the northern part of the city. The most famous of them is very popular among individuals between 30 and 50 years old. Besides dancing music played by an orchestra, it's a good place for social life.

Therefore we could state that visible night-life takes place mainly in cafés, bars and discos (twelve establishments).

Cafés: popular places frequented by all kinds of population, from morning till night. They allow Portuguese people to drink coffee and talk with friends, two things they really love doing. Especially during the summer, students like sitting round their tables and idly spend there the whole afternoon. Some people think cafés are places where young people learn bad habits such as drinking alcohol, smoking or doing nothing things that lead them to something even worse: drugs.

In the evenings they serve as a meeting point among different friends and start being lively at nine or half past nine. Besides coffee, people can have other beverages (like beer) at reasonable prices. Cafés are also popular at midnight and a few of them continue opened till 2 hours in the morning.

Each group (representative of a specific social class, political party, etc...) usually goes to the same café.

Bars: places where conversation plays an important role. Most of the people who go there just look forward to talking with their friends while having a drink and listening to background music. In some of them it is also possible to dance or enjoy "Life Music".

The most popular beverages are beer and cocktails. Their prices are higher than in cafés. In the evenings, bars are frequented by the less young who go there after spending some time at a café. They generally finish their night at two or three in the morning.

"Young people prefer discos. Individuals in their thirties or their forties prefer bars" - young student.

Discos: they are the most popular places to go in the evenings after the cafés. They usually open at midnight - most people arrive at 2 or 3 - and they close at 4 or 5 in the morning. Some discos continue opened if there is a lot of people dancing, though they close the doors because of the regulations established by the Civil Government in the area. *"People go out earlier than before and return home later and later"*- disc jockey.

The twelve discos in the city are not very big if we compare them with other discos in the country. Their capacity ranges between 300 and 700 people, although when crowded these numbers increase. Most of our discos have two dance floors and two or three bars. The balcony upstairs allows people to watch the ones dancing downstairs or to have a drink in a quieter place. Life shows are not unusual and several disco dancers warm up the atmosphere. The number of employees depends on the size. Most discos have at least two disc jockeys and a security system. The number of rest-rooms ranges between 1 (per sex) and 3.

Discos are frequented by people from 14 to 50 years old. Though the minimum age to go in is 16, the absence of a serious control allows the entrance of younger people. *"We have younger and younger people in the discos"*- security member.

Generally, night-life starts in a café, meeting point of different individuals who are going to spend the evening together. During the night there are different groups of people moving around the city with their specific rules and behaviours. They can be divided in four groups:

- 1) High School students from 14/15 to 18 years old.
- 2) University students from 18/19 to 25/26.
- 3) "Older" people between 30 and 40 years old.
- 4) *"da pesada"*: Punks, Fricks and other tribes (different music, clothes, body piercing...).

Although young people start going out sooner than before, the minimum age to enter a disco is 16 years old. It's also a fact there are more and more women going out alone in the evenings. *"The number of young girls going to discos by themselves or with a group of other girls is increasing"*- disco owner.

It has become quite common to see groups of young girls in their way to discos or other places in the evenings. This fact shows a great change of mentality in the Portuguese society, a new familiar, social, cultural and individual attitude. Our young women never went out alone. They had to be accompanied by one of their parents, a brother or a group of acquaintances.

Fridays and above all Saturdays are the days chosen by High School students to go out in the evenings, because most parents don't allow them to go out if they have school the following day.

The weekend is the moment chosen by all different groups to relax and forget the stress of the week. It's the time to go out and have fun with some friends. Cafés, bars and discos are crowded. It's not unusual to see a queue of people waiting for their turn to get into some place. Cars and motorbikes fill the streets.

During the week, university students and people between 30 and 50 are the groups most frequently seen in the evenings. It has to be pointed out that most of the university students that go out from Monday to Thursday just live in Coimbra during the week because of their studies. Most weekends they have to go back to their homes in other areas of the country, coming back to the city on Sunday evening or Monday morning. Their favourite days to go out are Mondays: *"I like meeting again my friends"*- university student. Or Thursdays: *"I go out to say good bye to my friends"*- university student.

From Monday to Thursday the number of individuals going to discos decreases. However, cafés and bars maintain the same affluence of people. *"We want to have a drink and talk with our friends"*. Groups of people between 30/50 years old are frequently seen in cafés and bars during the week.

CLOTHES, MUSIC AND IDEOLOGY

None of these items has a especial significance connected with night-life in Coimbra.

Clothes. Sometimes we find tight clothes as if following the fashion of the 60's, full of colour. It could be considered a particular sub-group but it seems to be closer to a fashion imported from other countries. The clothing philosophy of the moment is dress whatever you like and feel comfortable.

Music. With the exception of one or two discos (States and Via Latina) where the music is more specific (*techno*, for instance), different kinds of music are played everywhere (Brazilian music, Reggae, Dance-music, Rock, Pop, etc...). Many times the music is an answer to what customers request. Usually disc jockeys try to enliven the atmosphere with an easier and more commercial music, the big hits of the moment.

Ideology. It's a non-existent item among these groups. *"Ideology? What does this word mean?"*- high school student. *"Ideologies melt away with a good cold beer"*- university student.

CONSUMPTION OF SUBSTANCES

The choice of a particular place to go has nothing to do with drugs. Whenever we ask owners, customers, security members... about an hypothetical use of drugs in discos, we always get excuses or negative answers. Could it be possible that these vehement denials were trying to hide another situation...? *"To admit the existence of drugs and its consumption wasn't good for our establishments. It wasn't good for the business and it would complicate our relationship with the police"*- disco owner.

All the people who has been interviewed assume the augmentation of legal and illegal substances consumption, especially alcohol (above all beer). *"There are more and more young girls taking drugs, especially beer"*- O.N.G. social assistant.

Cannabis use is loosing importance due to a certain permissiveness in our society. It's often said that tobacco is worse than cannabis. *"There are more and more young people using alcohol and soft drugs"*- security member. Amphetamines and ecstasy are new active members of the night. Now these substances are easy to get and their price is reasonable. *"Using ecstasy in discos is in vogue"* - disc jockey and disco owner.

CHANGE OF A PATTERNS IN DRUG USE

It's obvious there has been a change of patterns in this matter. New substances appear (ecstasy and other designer drugs) and others return (LSD) or its use becomes more banal (cannabis). *"Every month new types of XTC appear and disappear"*- university student and O.N.G. social assistant. "Smart Drinks" and "Energisers" exist side by side with alcohol and their advertising campaigns are as competitive as alcohol campaigns. The message they send is that they don't cause any damage to the health and give enough energy for dancing the whole night through, which makes unnecessary the use of illegal substances.

"Shoots" and "Penalties" are extremely popular among the youngest. Alcoholic drinks (vodka, rum, tequila...) are served in very small glasses that have to be drunk at a gulp. It's a way of showing one is a man (a real "macho") and what really matters is not what you drink but the way you do it. Lately, probably as a habit imported from old colonies, some bars serve wine with coca-cola or with Sprite/Seven Up and call it "Catembe" (African word). It is also possible to find beer mixed with sweet drinks such as Porto wine and other liquors. However, beer is still the queen of the night.

PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH NIGHT LIFE

Night-life in Coimbra is generally calm and peaceful. The Civil Government and the City Council have established several regulations for the places that open their doors during the night. For instance, the protests against the noise formulated by some neighbours have forced the authorities to control the soundproofing of discos...

Everybody has to close at a certain hour, though most people who go out during the night are against this measure. Policemen patrol the most crowded and dangerous places. Every disco has a security system, better or worse, simpler (just a watchman inside or in the entrance) or more sophisticated (several watchmen with auricular receptors connected with a central service). *"It depends on the night and on the groups"*- student *"There are more hostility and use of drugs"*- O.N.G social assistant. *"Problems mainly arise from alcohol"*- disco watchman and disc jockey.

CHANGES DURING THE LAST YEAR

Everybody can see Coimbra is in full transformation. New recreational places are opening their doors to the public while the old ones try to adapt themselves to the demands of modern life. Bars and discos have entered into a war of marketing in order

to get more and more new customers. They are also diversifying their offers and products. For instance, some discos open Saturday and Sunday afternoons for the youngest (12/15 years old) and others open early for people over sixty, with the support of several social institutions. Different faculties, departments or high schools organise dancing nights: “The Teachers Night”, “The Psychology Night”, etc.... In order to get more customers, some discos organise competitions, parades, all kind of different parties: “The Champagne Night”, “The Froth Night”, “Miss Wet T-Shirt Election”, “The Night of the Masks”, etc...

THE “OTHER NIGHTS” IN COIMBRA

As in other towns, out of this official circuits there are other “clandestine”, “hidden”, “reserved”, “forbidden”, “exclusive”... mainly in the outskirts of the city, far from the indiscreet eyes of the society and the Security Forces: bars and discos for gays, erotic and pornographic shows, raves without licence from the Civil Government in open spaces or abandoned warehouses, private parties where the most common drug is cocaine, etc... “All this happens in quite unknown places. We could find there people we know, though we’ll never discover it”.

3.2.4. Manchester

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF NIGHT-LIFE

Many people who go out to pubs, bars and clubs, use the vast array of establishments in the city centre. Here there are a wide variety of places to suit the tastes of everyone. There are traditional style pubs which centre around selling good quality beers and ales. There are cafe-bars which centre around selling good coffee and things to eat. There are ‘trendy bars’ which focus on selling designer beers (i.e. bottled beers) and have a very distinguished clientele. There are also plenty of restaurants / bars which sell a wide range of foods. In Manchester you can eat Italian, Spanish, Indian, Chinese, American, Armenian, Thai etc. Increasingly, people in Manchester’s appear to go to bars and restaurants rather than clubs. This is partly because Manchester once thriving night-club industry has been plagued by violence and intimidation from gangs. The famous Hacienda night-club which had an international reputation has closed because of gang warfare related to the sale of drugs and weapons. There are still some clubs in the city centre, although these tend to be on a much smaller scale. For example, the Boardwalk which plays seventies disco and funk music holds only a few hundred people. There are a number of much larger scale parties organised at irregular intervals within the city centre. These tend to be at concert halls an arenas such as Nynex and G-mex and hold up to 10,000 people. These parties cater for all musical tastes and tend to attract a younger crowd. Many people also use the surrounding North West cities for night-clubs

and bars. These cities include Sheffield, Leeds and Liverpool, although people travel as far as Newcastle and Birmingham to enjoy particular club nights.

Recently, there have been a number of outdoor festivals in Manchester city centre. These have included D-percussion which is held on the date of the anniversary (15th June) of the IRA bomb in Manchester in 1996. This one day event hosted a range of musical styles at many participating bars within the city. Unfortunately, as with many such events in the North of England, it rained all weekend and many events were poorly attended. There has also been another one day festival in the Northern Quarter of the City. The Northern Quarter is a recently regenerated part of Manchester where new loft apartments, bars and businesses have opened. Other newly regenerated areas including the canal and quayside. Once used for industry, the now defunct canals have been cleaned up to make way for an impressive range of trendy bars frequented by fashionable young people. These include Barca (owned by Mick Hucknell, Dukes 92 and Quay bar). There has also recently been the Northern Jazz Festival held in and around bars throughout the city centre.

Other than those who frequent the city centre there are a variety of local areas within the boundaries of Greater Manchester where a range of pubs, bars and restaurants are. Sometimes these local areas even have their own clubs. Many people who live in these localities may start their night in a local pub or bar and then move into the city centre. They tend to be attracted by the later opening times in the centre. Bars in England usually have to close at 11pm. Those in the city centre often have weekend licenses until 12pm or 1am.

All of the establishments described above play a range of different music on different nights of the week. Although certain groups of people tend to go to certain sets of bars and clubs, it made sense for us to distinguish people on the basis of their musical preferences and then to track them in this way.

NIGHT-LIFE SCENES

Night-life in Manchester encompasses a wide variety of scenes, ranging from rock to indie to gay scenes. Those interviewed felt that Manchester is quite unique in its composition as it contains the largest student population in the country. This was considered to be an important factor in the trends and patterns of night-life in the city.

All key figures felt that Manchester has a lot to offer in terms of choice and variety in night-time pursuits “there is something for everyone - it’s second only to London...” The range of night-time venues is vast and the type of music or entertainment on offer ranges across the board. In the same way, the key figures interviewed felt that a wide variety of people could be found in any one venue from day to day and even on one night. Several different types of music can be found in Manchester. For example; techno/trance, hardcore, house/garage, drum and bass, jungle, chart dance, rock/punk, indie, 60’s/70’s/80’s, disco and funk.

It was felt that nightclubs would hold a range of events which would include one or more of the above types of music on the same night and all night-clubs were likely to put on a night which would cater for the different music types at some point in a week or month. For example, one night-club might play trance and techno on Friday night, House and Garage on a Saturday night and student nights or disco night during the week. This was usual for most clubs in the city and makes sense for the survival of a club. Such clubs are usually consistent with the types of music they play on which nights (e.g. disco night will always be on Thursday within one club). It was felt that this strategy helped clubs to survive by attracting a range of customers to the club.

Several key figures felt that the number of clubs in Manchester had decreased over the last few years. They described the Hacienda as being the key night-club in the city until its closure as part of a long history of gang related violence. Other popular clubs and nights have also seen a demise and it was felt that this had left the city feeling someone deflated, lacking some of its usual vibrancy.

It was considered that going to a night-club is now less important and less frequent occurrence, with many people tending to save themselves and their money for 'one big night out' every month or two. In conjunction with this trend, there has been rapid increase in the number of bars opened, many having extended license during the week as well as at the weekend. These bars have created more of a Mediterranean feel within the city. There are several such areas within the city centre (e.g. Castlefield and Deansgate) but also extending to outside the city centre in places such as Fallowfield and Didsbury (often places with a large population of students). People often visit a few of these bars instead of going to a night-club. Many of the bars have guest DJ's and play loud house music as they do in clubs.

All the interviewees felt that drugs were being consumed in all such bars, although dance music in particular was associated with the use of dance drugs (e.g. amphetamines, ecstasy). Cocaine is seen to be very popular again, especially amongst more affluent local people. LSD appears to be used to a lesser extent and more amongst young people. House, garage, big beat and funk nights were also associated with the use of ecstasy and amphetamines, though some felt that cocaine was becoming increasingly important in these scenes.

Drum'n bass or jungle nights were more likely to find people consuming vast amounts of cannabis and drugs such as cocaine. Ecstasy and amphetamines were also to be found in these clubs, but to a lesser extent. Some felt that if the rumors of people consuming crack cocaine or heroin whilst in clubs were true, this is where it was most likely (many panelists still refute these claims).

It was felt that the remaining types of music were likely to find people who had used a wide range of drugs, but were less likely to use them than the dance music followers. Here, the most important drug would be alcohol.

Several main sub-groups were also identified, though there may be obvious overlap in the categories: students, manch/locals, gays and lesbians, oldheads, hippies and

crusties. As mentioned earlier, Manchester is unique in the fact that it has the largest student population in the country and students can be found at every night-club in the city. The night-life in Manchester is thought to die off during the summer months when the students are away on holidays. The student population of Manchester have the most energy and free time to indulge in drug use and were therefore more likely to go out in the week.

Each of these 'scenes' involves around musical genres and therefore we have decided to categorise our groups in terms of the music they follow. These categories will therefore include a range of people from the groups listed above.

DESCRIPTION OF FOUR GROUPS

As already described, all the groups are very fluid in nature, and people are likely to belong to more than one group. This is not intended to be a rigid guide, nor a comprehensive description of all the people involved in the different scenes, however, below are some outline characteristics of the types of people and places associated with each of the four groups we have chosen.

HOUSE/GARAGE

The age range for all groups spans right across the age range from 16 upwards, and this is a characteristic of all the groups, however, the majority of people in this group would be 18-30. The music can be broken down into several sub-groups: e.g. house, garage, hard house, chart house, but all are variations on the same theme. As a result of this the scene can be quite varied, with the garage and deep house followers considering themselves to be different from the chart house followers and vice versa. It is difficult to pinpoint zones of the town which may be dedicated to a particular type of music or a particular type of person, however, concentrations of bars often exist. For example, areas such as Oldham St. in Manchester have seen a development of 'posh' bars (for example, Dry Bar) over the last few years, and some areas have a concentration of these bars and similar styled nightclubs (for example, Majestyk, Pleasure Rooms, Nato, Art Wimpennys', All Bar One in Leeds).

The night will often start with several bars and then go on to a club. These clubs or bars do not necessarily have to be in the local area where a person lives, as many people will travel to another city or county to visit a club, e.g. Cream in Liverpool attracts clubbers from around the country. The prices of entry and particularly the drinks are quite high in these bars and clubs, from £10-£20 entry to a club, and once inside than drinks can be priced from £2.50 and upwards for a bottled lager. As a comparison, pubs often charge much lower prices at £1.80 and upwards for a bottled lager. These prices are often similar in the bars associated with the same scene. Considering these factors, this group will often have plenty of disposable income, as a night on the town can cost from £20-£30 before they have even bought any illegal drugs. The majority, therefore, would be working full or part-time and/or come from backgrounds which are

financially comfortable. Fashion plays a big part in this scene, and the clothes often worn in these bars/clubs are also often quite expensive, with designer labels playing an important part in the whole look and character of the scene. This is reflected in the dress codes often imposed at many of the nightclubs i.e. smart dress - no jeans or trainers, and this is reaching out into the bars, where there is an increasing number of establishments employing doormen/security who vet anyone who wishes to enter.

Premises can vary widely, however, the majority will be comfortable with very modern in decor. Some venues can consist of several rooms with different DJs playing in each room, while other venues may be made up of one main room where all the DJs play. These venues also often play different styles of music either in different rooms or at different times of the night. Many of the people in this group will go out frequently; usually most weekends to a bar, and at least once a month to a club. The bars are often open from lunch time through to normal closing time or many now have extended licenses to 2am. Clubs usually open around 9pm and close either at 2am or between 4-6am if they have a longer license. There are also some after hours clubs e.g. Casa Loco in Leeds, which open at 12am and close sometime the next day. The drugs most often associated with this scene are the stimulants (cocaine, ecstasy and amphetamine), however, probably the most popular and fashionable drug is alcohol. Cannabis would also be used by many in this group.

TECHNO/HARDCORE

Again, the age of people in this group can vary widely, however, the majority are slightly younger than the *house/garage* group i.e. 14-25. This group can also be broken up into several sub-groups: e.g. happy hardcore, techno, trance, old school hardcore, gabba, each with their own separate characteristics but an underlying common base. The dress style is very casual, with both males and females usually wearing jeans/track-suit bottoms, sweatshirts, T-shirts and trainers, however, females can also often be seen in dresses and lycra. Fashion and labels also play a part in the dress of this group, but not in the high-street sense. Clothes are often made by and tailored for the musical genre, with many companies who put on the events also selling clothes, bags, hats, and music. For example, ESP Promotions would be involved in putting on events such as Dreamscape as well as designing and selling the merchandise and music tapes or records. Trends which were popular in the late 80s/early 90s such as wearing white gloves, whistles and dancing with glow-sticks are still quite popular in some venues, perhaps linked to the more psychedelic nature of much of the music. Face-painting is also still popular at some events.

This scene is not often based in any zone of the town/city, however, some concentration of nights and venues catering for this scene do occur in the student areas of Manchester. Most often, clubs or bars will have a night of the week or month where this music may be the predominant theme of the night rather than playing it all the time. There are also several large venues around the country used on a regular basis holding from 1-10,000 people e.g. Denbeigh Leisure Ctr (Milton Keynes), Stevenage Ice Bowl

(Stevenage), Bath & Avon Show ground, Bowlers (Manchester), some smaller clubs still exist - e.g. Angels (Burnley) . This music style is also very likely to be played at outdoor festivals/raves during the summer months and people will often travel very long distances for the larger events and will do this on a regular basis - every 4-8 weeks. When going on a night out, people will most often meet at the venue or at a friends house and travel there together. If the club is local, it is much more likely that the group would meet at a bar or pub first.

The economic status of this group is perhaps much more ambiguous but they may be less likely to have a large disposable income and are more likely to be students. As already iterated, distinctions of this nature are very difficult to make given the fluid nature of each of the scenes. Less alcohol is used in this group, however, there is still quite heavy stimulant use, most often amphetamines and ecstasy with some cocaine being used. Cannabis is also used, and psychedelic drugs are more likely to be used. Illegal drugs may be used in larger quantities than in other groups, but less often as the larger events are less frequent - around once every 4-8 weeks, however, alcohol is used as much as any other group when going to a pub or a bar as opposed to a club.

Prices for entry can vary widely from £5-£30 depending on the venue and the entertainment on offer. Larger events often have many DJs who are considered in the scene to be top names, as well as fairground rides and other entertainment, so are priced at the higher end of the scale at between £15-£30. Drinks prices are often high at £2.50-3.00 for cans of alcohol, £1-2 for a 500ml bottle of water, however, many venues/clubs now have free drinking water in the toilets. Most events will have extensive security, however, conditions for entry usually do not specify a dress code, though some places have specified no white gloves/whistles/hats. Otherwise the security fulfill the same role as any other establishment in that they must not appear to be very drunk or heavily under the influence of drugs. Searches are usually thorough at these venues. Large events usually open between 8-9pm, sometimes as early as 1pm in summer, and stay open to 6-8am. Other venues use the usual opening hours for most pubs/clubs.

DRUM&BASS/JUNGLE

Though generally less popular than the above groups, the age span is similar and the majority would again fall in the 16-30 age group. Again, there are many different sub-groups: jungle, drum & bass, hardstep etc. all based around the same music type. The scene is often thought of as mainly a black scene, however this is not strictly the case. Many clubs and events now have drum & bass/jungle DJs in their line up and this style of music features quite heavily in chart based music. Again, there are no real zones of the town where this music is predominant, instead, many clubs/bars will have a night with a drum & bass/jungle theme, or a room or a few DJs in a night which play this music.

The stereotypical attendant of a drum & bass/jungle night would fall under the 'rude boy' heading, and this is certainly the case in some clubs. However, a wide range of

people enjoy this music, from many backgrounds. There is an 'image' associated with this scene: casual style dress - jeans and trainers - however, there are particular designers which people from this group will favour, such as Tommy Hilfiger. This group also have their own slang language often associated with the music.

Similar comments as for the other groups can be made about the venues featuring this type of music. Bars, clubs and large events may all feature drum & bass/jungle in some way. The large events/raves often have a room/section devoted to this scene. In this, the prices for entrance and drinks are similar to the other groups. Cannabis use is heavily associated with this scene, with other drugs such as amphetamines and cocaine also used. There has also been speculation that this scene of all the four groups may have some use of other drugs such as heroin and crack cocaine, but evidence to support this notion on a wide scale does not seem to back up this suggestion.

FUNK/DISCO

This scene has seen a growing popularity over the last few years, featuring more and more in the mainstream music charts. Many venues are now putting on nights devoted to this scene with great success. This type of music also often features heavily in student venues/nights. The music can vary from old 60s/70s to modern music based on the disco/funk theme. Nightclubs and bars often feature this type of music on week nights rather than weekends, or will hold a funk/disco night on one week of the month. Again, there are no set zones of the town, nor any specific clubs or bars which cater for this scene exclusively, instead, most venues popular with young people will play music of this type at some point in a week. The nights may also be slightly cheaper, as they are often classed as student nights, where entry is reduced with a student union card and drinks promotions are a common feature.

Dress is usually casual, however, many clubs host theme nights where dressing up in 60s or 70s clothes is popular. Illegal drug use is probably associated less with this group than any of the others, as alcohol plays an important role, however, stimulants such as amphetamines and ecstasy may be consumed. These nights are usually subject to the standard club and bar opening times i.e. clubs open from 9pm-2am and bars from lunch time to 12am or 2am with a late license. Conditions of entrance are usually minimal, with no dress codes, and security measures are for the safety and comfort of the customer, not in order to preserve an image.

PREVALENCE OF DRUG USE

All the panel members felt that drug taking amongst young people was very prevalent and that drugs were generally widely available. Most of the panel members indicated that the bulk of drug users that they came across would fall in the 17-25 age group, but also indicated that they felt that drugs were now taken by a wide range of people, with ages ranging from as young as 9 years old right up to 60 years plus. It was also felt that the range of drugs available for people to choose from was getting wider,

and that it was now probable that all young people would know of somebody who had access to a supply of some form of illegal drug.

Panel members also felt that drugs were now a 'normal' part of youth culture, and that drugs such as cannabis were now so normalised they were seen by young people as no different from smoking a cigarette. One panel member expressed the feeling that some drugs were now "...a normal part of life to the point where I think people would have difficulty trying to envisage going a week without alcohol or cannabis".

Although the extent of drug use was felt to be generally very high, all panel members made a distinction between 'recreational' drug users and 'dependent' or 'chaotic' drug users. 'Recreational' drug users were seen as those individuals who would often restrict their use to spare time and for the most part do not consider their use to be a problem. The drugs usually used in this 'scene' were alcohol, cannabis and the stimulants - ecstasy, amphetamine and, increasingly, cocaine powder. This population of drug takers would see themselves as exercising some form of 'control' over their drug taking habits and it was felt that they would often continue to function normally in their lives, upholding jobs, studies and relationships with a limited number of serious drug related problems. These users were considered to be more aware of the risks and consequences of their use, and by enlarge understand "...the social contract they make with that pharmacological agent and accept that they will feel shit tomorrow".

These people were also considered to be less likely to present to services or to the criminal justice system, and as a result were often difficult to target. Recreational drug users were generally seen as having some sort of stable income, i.e. not chronically unemployed, and more often than not took drugs as an aid to their enjoyment. One panel member described them as "... the socially included as opposed to the socially excluded.". It was also felt that drugs such as heroin and crack cocaine were seen as 'dirty' drugs, fit only for 'junkies' by many recreational drug users, and that the scene was by enlarge controlled by this idea of which drugs were suitable and which were unsuitable - "...the one thing that is critically important to the recreational drug scene is fashion and style...if a drug gets a reputation as being a 'scummy' drug for 'scummy' people, then they won't touch it no matter how curious they were".

Alternatively, the more 'dependent' or 'chaotic' drug users were those who were often addicted to and in many cases injecting drugs such as heroin, crack cocaine and amphetamine. These users were considered to be more problematic in terms of the likelihood they would run into difficulties either with their physical or mental health and the criminal justice system, so in terms of service provisions, this group of users were far more easily targeted.

Though some panel members found it difficult to give reasons for people using these kind of drugs in such a way (perhaps due to the fact that they worked very closely with these individuals in their job), some characteristics were consistently more likely to be found in this population. They were considered to primarily consist of people who were more socially dislocated and often suffering multiple deprivation - unemployed, marginalised, poorly educated with poor family and social relationships. The motivation

for taking drugs in this population was described as “..not to feel good, but in order not to feel bad”.

Although all the panel members felt that as a general trend all drugs were more widely available, they also felt that some drugs were more easily available than others, and that this would depend primarily on the user group. For example, heroin and crack cocaine were considered very easily obtained by panel members who worked with dependent, injecting drug users, but that these were considered to be less easily available to recreational users.

INTRODUCTION OF NEW DRUGS

The last 12 months have seen the introduction of a number of new drugs into the Dance scene. Drugs such as ketamine and G.H.B. are much more popular than before. Ketamine seemed to be less popular as a drug of choice, however there were concerns that it was often being passed off as Ecstasy, causing fears as to its effect on an unsuspecting user. G.H.B. was mentioned as a new drug on both the recreational and more dependent use scenes, creating a significant cause for concern in most panel members. Several members has heard stories of people running into difficulties with this drug, mainly arising out of a lack of knowledge of the drug and its effects. In particular was the concern that this drug has a very small dose range in which the desired effect occurs and there had been several reports of people in clubs unknowingly taking too high a dose. G.H.B. must also never be mixed with alcohol, and some panel members had heard of this occurring. Others expressed concerns at its' increased use in the injecting population.

During January there developed a scare around a drug called rohipnol. This drug is part of the benzodiazepine family of drugs and has been implicated in a number of 'date rape' cases in America. There was growing evidence that this drug may be becoming abused in England. This was a particular concern of the police who felt that in the wrong hands this drug could be used to force sexual advances on women. However, most panel members had not heard of anyone who had actually experienced a sexual assault or had been attacked as a result of being 'spiked' with this drug, however, some members had heard of it being abused. It will be interesting to see if the current scare around rohipnol is still relevant when we interview the panel members again later in the research.

COCAINE USE

All the panel members felt that cocaine presented a major concern for young people. England has seen a huge increase in the availability of cocaine powder over the last few years and the current price has dropped to between £30 and £45 per gramme. The combination of these factors has resulted in the increase in the use and abuse of cocaine powder. Cocaine was also described as a very mechanical drug, where the user would receive the desired stimulatory effect every time. In this sense, cocaine was described as an easy drug to 'learn', as little or no effort is required by the user in order to receive

the desired effect. It was also considered to be preferable to amphetamine, as the duration of its effects is only up to an hour, giving the user more control over their night.

Several panel members thought its popularity may also have been increased by the diminishing quality of Ecstasy tablets over the past few years. All the panel members stressed that the current use of cocaine was of major concern to them, and many expressed the view that increased cocaine use in clubs had the potential to ruin the dance scene. One night club owner commented “ if it continues at the current rate the Charlie (cocaine) will fuck it up for everyone”.

Some panel members felt the increase in availability of cocaine powder had arisen in conjunction with the rise in crack cocaine use, as more cocaine was being brought into the country to be turned into, more profitable, crack cocaine. This drug has also seen a rise in popularity in the last few years, particularly in heroin users, although this has not proved as yet to be as big a trend as was initially expected.

ECSTASY AND AMPHETAMINE USE

Although, as reported earlier, new drugs were becoming more prevalent throughout the dance scene, most panel members still saw large amounts of Ecstasy and Amphetamines being used. Amphetamine use was mostly restricted to younger people, being most popular with young males between the ages of 15 and 18 years of age. Some panel members believed amphetamines could be being used by young women as an aid to weight loss. Despite frequent reports of bad tablets, Ecstasy use was still very prevalent, especially within the dance scene, though panel members suggested that use had decreased from its peak a few years ago. It was also believed that the poor quality of Ecstasy tablets may have been a contributory factor to the increase in cocaine powder use within the dance scene.

It was interesting to note that panel members who had some knowledge of drug use patterns in ethnic minority groups felt that stimulants such as amphetamine and ecstasy were unpopular, with only very low levels of use in comparison to drugs such as cannabis and cocaine. It was felt that this trend had a lot to do with the image of these drugs as being “..a white man’s drug..”

Worries were also expressed by panel members as to the long term effects of prolonged ecstasy use which are largely uncertain at the present time. This was a concern that was also coming from the users themselves - “...there is a very real worry (about mental health problems) in a way that there isn’t a concern about mortality...in my experience they are more worried about the possibility of becoming mentally ill than they are about dying as they know the chances of dying are small”.

HEROIN AND CRACK COCAINE USE

Some panel members reported an increase in the use of heroin and crack cocaine, however there was little agreement about how far these drugs had penetrated the dance

scene. Any evidence of their use in clubs came from anecdotal reports and were felt to be largely unsubstantiated. As mentioned earlier, these drugs were seen to be unfashionable to the average club-goer, though some members did feel there may be some crossover into heroin and crack cocaine use, even if the individuals involved were unlikely to admit it to their friends. In the main, it was felt that the effects of these drugs did not lend themselves well to the club/dance scene, though some panel members had heard anecdotes of heroin being used in clubs, or as an aid to 'coming down' after a night out.

The prevalence of heroin and crack cocaine was of more concern to those professionals outside the dance scene, and was certainly of more concern than recreational drug use to those professionals in the law enforcement sector. All panel members felt there was a large list of problems which face users of heroin and crack cocaine. The most obvious dangers arose from injecting these drugs, a high risk activity which could lead to abscesses, deep vein thrombosis, vein damage and blood borne viruses to name but a few. Of particular concern to these panel members was the current lack of knowledge amongst the injecting population of the risk of hepatitis c infection, an infection which many panel members felt was more of an immediate threat to injecting drug users than HIV. Knowledge of the risks in catching HIV seems to be widespread in this population following campaigns in recent years, but it was felt that many injecting users did not know about the even higher risk of contracting hepatitis c, a virus which is far easier to pass on than the HIV virus. It was also felt that handing out clean needles was not enough, and that injecting drug users needed to be aware that they should not share any equipment with another person.

It was also felt by panel members that this group of drug users were far more likely to suffer social problems as a result of their drug use. Increasing social exclusion from family and friends may perpetuate their use, causing "...a vicious circle, the more you get into it, the more socially excluded you become". This accelerating drug use and increasing social exclusion can also lead to mental health problems in the long term.

Addiction was another major concern of panel members, as this leads to a whole host of associated problems. One panel member commented "...a drug like heroin is so addictive, it will always come first and can lead to prostitution, theft, anything to feed the habit...(it's) really damaging socially and mentally (in the) long term". This was of particular concern to those professionals in the law enforcement sector, as large quantities of money needed very quickly leads to an increase in crimes such as burglary and theft, presenting a very real concern for the communities they live in and the local police service.

There is also growing evidence that the use of these drugs was in the increase amongst young people from ethnic minority backgrounds, predominantly from South East Asia. This was of particular concern to some panel members, who felt that the exploding Asian youth population could fall into very real difficulties if this trend continues. One panel member expressed concerns as to the effects of these drugs on the women in Asian communities. Asian women often wear a lot of jewellery, making them

a vulnerable target for a user desperate for his next hit. The risk of HIV infection was also a concern expressed by the panel, as this population often do not attend services and have a low awareness of the risks involved in injecting drug use. In this they present a real threat to the community in the spread of HIV and other blood borne viruses to their wives and from there, to their children. It was felt that ways of targeting this group of users needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency.

CANNABIS

All the panel members agreed that cannabis use amongst young people was now the norm. Most panel members felt this was unproblematic and should be ignored by the authorities. Indeed the panel members from the law enforcement sector also understood how widespread the use of cannabis has become and stated that the government and the authorities were beginning to re-address their strategy for dealing with people caught in possession of this drug. Over the past few months a roadside test for cannabis has been developed following concerns over the number of people involved in fatal accidents testing positive for drugs. It was felt by many panel members that this was an inappropriate reaction to a perceived increase in the numbers of people driving whilst under the influence of drugs. Of particular concern was that traces of drugs such as cannabis can stay in the body for up to a month, at which time the user would undoubtedly be perfectly capable of driving. There were also doubts as to the extent of impairment in people driving under the influence of drugs and that this reaction was a product of this lack of knowledge of the effects of drugs on driving performance.

Heavy cannabis use was also described in African-Caribbean, Asian and black British communities and this was generally thought to be more widespread than in white British or white Europeans on a national level. Cannabis was also believed to be the primary drug of choice for this population and its use far outweighed that of all the other drugs. One panel member whose main interest was prevalence and patterns of drug use in Asian young people felt that this may be attributed to the Afro-Caribbean/black American culture many young Asians identified with. Cannabis use is also harder for parents and family to detect than alcohol, a drug which is heavily frowned upon in Asian culture.

ALCOHOL USE

Several panel members felt that alcohol is undergoing something of a revival in popularity, in particular in conjunction with other drugs such as cocaine. There has been a huge campaign on behalf of the breweries over the last few years to increase the status of alcohol in the clubbing fraternity. Alcohol saw a devastating demise during the late eighties and early nineties in conjunction with the increase in ecstasy use and the dance music scene. However, as young people have turned away from ecstasy to cocaine, so they have turned back towards alcohol. This was of major concern to those professionals involved in the dance music scene, who have seen an increase in violent behaviour over

the last few years. One panel member stated "...it's the Oasis combination - a very heady brew - were almost going back to the Ritzy times from the 80s".

It was also noted that alcohol is still very popular with the under 18s, however, panel members were in disagreement as to what extent this group had been affected by the invention of 'Alcopops'. These drinks have seen a considerable increase in price due to fears that they were becoming popular with children in their early teens. However, some panel members saw children preferred to drink strong lagers and ciders to these 'Alcopops', believing them to be for "... students and poseurs".

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE 'DRUG TZAR'

The appointment of the new anti-drugs supremo brought a mixed reaction from the panel members. Most welcomed the appointment but many were sceptical about whether he will be successful or not. Panel members felt that he may have a better chance at instrumenting change being a law-enforcement agent rather than if he was a services provider, but it was still felt that the strategies needed may be seen by the government as politically unsound.

All panel members felt that changes needed to be affected in the governments strategies to tackle the drugs issue. A move from law-enforcement to increased service provision was of primary importance to the panel, along with a greater focus on information and education throughout the life span. Several panel members felt that some form of formal education programme for schools was required, though there was some disagreement as to when and who should deliver these programmes. Peer education was considered to be an invaluable resource by all panel members and it was stressed that the "...power of the internal network..." should be utilised in this way.

Nearly all panel members suggested that the notion of a 'slippery slope' of drug use was untrue in virtually all drug users and that this should be recognised by the government in their future strategy planning. Instead, the view held was that the use of drugs certainly opens the doors to more options, but that this does not necessarily mean that anyone who smokes cannabis is eventually going to end up as an injecting heroin user. In conjunction with this, all panel members felt that the 'recreational' drug users and the 'dependent' 'chaotic' drug users required very different strategies in terms of service provision and that this difference needed to be addressed.

ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES TO YOUNG PEOPLE

Several venues were chosen for the questionnaire administration with teams of pollsters used at the different venues and two people appointed oversee the whole process. The events ranged from nightclubs to bars to festivals, each presenting it's own problems and some being more productive than others.

At most events a stall was set up displaying information and leaflets from Lifeline, and this helped to generate interest in the project. Generally, the questionnaires were

well received, people were interested in what we were doing and some approached us and requested a questionnaire. Response rates varied from event to event and through the course of the night.

The festival started in the early afternoon and carried on to 6am the next day, and this environment proved to be the most successful for questionnaire administration, achieving the highest response rate of all the events. Data collection began within the first hour of the events opening and we approached people as they queued to get in. Most people approached at the festival were happy to help, though the response rate declined rapidly as the evening progressed. On discussion with the teams, it was felt that this may be due to an increasing level of intoxication (drugs and/or alcohol) as the evening progressed. This idea was supported by the experiences of questionnaire administrators at clubs and bars, as the collection generally began after 9pm and response rates were much lower at these events. Further support also came from speaking to the respondents themselves, several of whom refused to respond or found the questionnaires difficult to complete due to intoxication.

Many respondents felt the questionnaire was too long, and many questionnaires had to be abandoned due to being incomplete. Respondents also expressed difficulty in gauging the extent of their drug use over the three periods of time, especially drug use in their lifetime.

3.2.5. Modena

INTRODUCCION

There are in town no specific urban areas characterised by different forms of, or places of entertainment. But independently of their location, it is possible to identify several places visited by particular groups of people mainly according to musical style, but also to drug consumption, socio-economic and cultural background, and the age and the power of attraction held by some PR who establish the trend of the moment, bringing together a certain type of people in a few places that change from one season to another.

The town and its surrounding areas offer a range of possibilities for entertainment: huge discotheques that hold thousands of people. Smaller discotheques (disco-pub) playing a certain type of music that attracts a certain kind of people. Pubs and American bars where people go for dinner or to drink something to the sound of their favourite music self-managed cultural circles that appeal to either politically active groups (e.g. anarchist groups) or to less engaged groups but opposed anyway to electronic sounds in favour of live music or pure musical genres.

Afterhours and aftertea sessions are organised in different places by DJ associations as the Syncopate. They are not frequently held in Modena due to the strong opposition

of the Authorities that give their consent only on few occasions. Therefore, the young people from Modena wishing to participate in these events have to go to the nearby cities of Bologna and Reggio Emilia.

Ravea, at least as massive and organised as are found in other countries are not frequently held in Italy. In Modena and its surrounding areas small-scale concentrations in the open air are identified as raves. People come together to dance and consume drugs without any control whatsoever (these are illegal raves) and without having to pay for the admission ticket. The main object being to “get high”, the musical styles vary a lot (not necessarily close to techno) and the public are often multiconsumers of drugs.

From a more in-depth analysis the outline of entertainment centres appear rather diversified and reflects not only the current tendencies but also the stratification of past fashions.

Megadiscos still standing are the same that came into fashion during the 70s when following the release of the film “Saturday Night fever” the disco dance phenomenon exploded all over the world: stroboscopic lights, mirrors and disco music make up the scene where thousands of people get mad at dancing, releasing the stress accumulated during the working week. But today, as before, they remain places of integration because people try to socialise during the dance breaks sitting comfortably in small sofas around the dance floor. Out of fashion nowadays, these spots propose commercial music and still attract middle-lower class public that make mass entertainment possible.

Alongside these huge discos that represent a relic of the past, smaller-sized clubs have come up putting on specific musical styles. Most of them have come to life with the arrival of techno music and are specialised in different versions of this style accompanied by multimedia environments, pounding rhythms and authentic rituals celebrated by the DJ and the vocalist. They are the result of a careful study prepared by the entertainment industry and are characterised by the steady proliferation of new professions (from vocalists to cubists, from art directors to PRs, from experts in the design of invitation cards to selectors) and the steady mutation of atmospheres in line with the new tendencies of the young people’s world.

In Modena, up to very recent times, it was the musical style and the scenery of the club which determined the level of attendance of the public: there were discos playing strictly techno, commercial disco, rock disco, etc. The type of music was often related to the level of drugs consumption inside the place and the type of substance. Beside “clean” discos where no drugs at all, or only in small quantities were circulating, mostly specialised in commercial music, there were techno disco with a higher or lower consumption of stimulating drugs (cocaine, acid, ecstasy) that were considered a kind of compulsory ritual to get the “feeling” of the progressive music. Finally there were the alternative disco, playing genres of pure music like rock, funk, rap, etc. where the use of substances was limited to cannabis and alcohol.

Nowadays a progressive contamination of expressions and styles with a minor specialisation of the places in relation to musical genre can be observed. This change is the result of important marketing strategies established to cope with the growing competition brought about by the increasing number of venues. The managers try to attract larger audiences by organising in the same place thematic evenings that present different musical genres to different people. In relation to past years, the same place is currently visited by very different groups during the various evenings of the week. The megadiscos still running, have also tried to meet the new market requirements by setting up various atmospheres with scenarios and musical styles altogether different that will appeal to a public of different age, different culture and different musical preferences.

In order to have the best possible realistic outlook of Modena's nightlife mention must be made of the "migration" phenomenon which has lately raised considerable social alarm due to the numerous road accidents ("the Saturday evening massacre") that occur early in the morning on return from the discos. The many discos located along the Riviera of Romagna represent an attractive spot for thousands of young people arriving from all parts of Italy. Right in the area between Rimini and Riccione are to be found trendy discos (Cocorico, Cellophane, Prince, Peter Pan, etc.) that establish and anticipate the fashion for the rest of Italian clubs. According to the survey, the prevailing sceneries of these discos, which are extremely attractive for the young people of Modena, especially in spring and summer, is that of techno music together with a high consumption of designer substances. Nevertheless, the emerging new age movements are gaining ground in some discotheques. Softer rhythms are played in some private clubs that offer natural sceneries, natural essences and oils, massages and oriental philosophies.

NEW TRENDS IN THE NIGHTLIFE WORLD

The nightlife panorama has changed a great deal over the last few years: up to two or three years ago, Modena counted with only discotheques and some disco pubs. Nowadays the market offers many options and those more trendy change from year to year according to fashion and to the attraction held by certain PR. The disco pub where you can dance as well as socialise, and the small discotheques are now the greatest hits. Some of them that had started as pub or even as restaurants have been transformed into very successful disco pubs, partly due to their lower cost. The traditional admission tickets have been replaced by consumption tickets that include eating, drinking, listening to music and dancing spending less. Generally, each season three to four trendy bars open that concentrate most of the young people. These places gather different kinds of public: some are mass bars while others have more selected clients older in age (from 25 and up) and of higher economic status.

In any case, music remains the main factor for the choice of a club: the youngest still go for techno music while the older prefer softer sounds. Nightlife trends evolve in a

steady and fast way even if the change involves in the first place the kind of amusement (the form) but not the incentives for which people go out (the essence).

Over the last few year changes have been observed in musical tendencies and, consequently, also in the look. If two years ago it was the boom of progressive music connected to a certain way of dressing and associated with or without reason to the use of designer drugs, now is the turn of house music, more quiet, more relaxing and less pounding. Underground music is another genre that goes very much; it is more melodic and meets the taste of older groups and not only of the youngest. Dress style changes still faster, not only every year but even every season. At present, in line with the house trend, the style looks less eccentric, very fine and elegant. Progressive music was associated with a more aggressive look: tight T-shirts, silvery cloths, high platforms, coloured hair, etc.

The groups are more and more amalgamated and it is more and more difficult to tell the difference: most people prefer less pounding music and to visit clubs where they can not only dance but also talk and be more relaxed. This year the preference is for disco pubs that have dance floors as well as many tables to dine or have a drink while chatting with friends. In these clubs, with outdoor premises during the summer, the level of integration is higher. The discotheques playing frantic dance music that were a great success four or five years ago are now dropping off. All clubs seem less specialised in a particular type of music and prefer to organise thematic evenings: there is the progressive music evening, the house evening, the latin music evening, etc.

ENTERTAINMENT HOURS

Young people usually go out at the weekend. Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights are the crowdest nights and the difference between them is given above all by the age range and the form of entertainment. Saturday night is the liveliest night because the craving for amusement is higher and it is the favourite night of the youngest public. On Friday night and still more on Sunday night people amuse themselves more quietly.

Most people go out twice in the course of the weekend, usually on Friday and Saturday: Friday is the crowdest night and Saturday the liveliest one. The public on Friday night is older than that of Saturday night. The young under 25 visit the discotheques even twice during the weekend. The rest of the week they either don't go out or visit only the pubs, except when the clubs of Modena organise parties during the week like happenings in the parks or in other outdoor sites. Young people of 24 and more usually visit discotheques only once a week.

Wednesday night is the liveliest one during the week. In general, people go to the discotheque rather late, between 24pm and 2am and remain up until closing time (around four o'clock). Some visit several clubs during the same night. Before going to the discotheque they usually meet in a pub or private club to have dinner or a drink. Leaving the disco, in the early hours of the morning, they pop into the bakeries to get hot pastries just out of the oven.

The disco managers usually point out that the discos are held unfairly responsible for the high consumption of alcohol whereas young people start drinking long before they enter in the discos where they cut down the consumption of spirits due to their higher cost.

NIGHTLIFE PUBLIC

A great number of the persons interviewed find it difficult to identify real groups and only distinguish between snobs, very elegant, wearing designer clothes and “alternatives” wearing trendy cloths, platform shoes, tight shirts and easily recognised by their look (red hair, piercing, etc.)

A more detailed picture of the different groups has been made through the interviewing of younger people that obviously have a great knowledge of the features that characterise the various groups:

“... we have the Piazza Mazzini band of middle economic level and rather older in age. They usually wear designer clothes and follow the fashion trends. They listen to commercial music. Regarding political ideology they have an indifferent attitude. The drugs consumed include “joints” (Cannabis) and “paste” (amphetamines and Ecstasy)... we have the “Pietra” band that strictly follow the dressing fashion, wearing only designer clothes. This is a very exclusive group nearly like a private club and being the high income the main requirement to join the group, their age span is rather wide, ranging from 15 to 27-28 years. Their favourite musical styles include commercial and techno music and anyway the most trendy styles. The drugs consumed include marijuana, hashish, the various trip (acids, LSD), amphetamines, ecstasy and opium. Although there is no evidence of a distinct ideology their political tendencies point prevalently to the right. But to be “rich” and to show it off is what really matters because affluence is an essential element to belong to the group. Lacking that, the aesthetic is the only other element that leaves the door open ... the “Cripta” is another band in the centre of Modena that is compressed of teenagers between 15 and 19 years who are considered “rockers”. Their musical styles are rock, punk, Ska, heavy metal, black metal, rap, funk, blues and acid jazz. The group includes “Skaters” and “rollers”. They wear mostly casual cloths and sometimes design cloths. The income is middle-low. Marijuana and hashish are the main drugs circulating... another group takes its name from a famous central shop called “Mr. Robby”. It is a rather heterogeneous group, between 16 to 20 years with a wide income range, dressed very trendily but not necessarily in designer clothes. Their musical preferences are commercial styles: hip-hop, trip-hop and electronic. It is not associated to any ideology. Another group is to be found close to one of the more famous ice-cream parlours of Modena. These young people’s income is middle-low. They don’t choose designer clothes but look for original styles following the rock fashion. They listen only to rock music and their ideology ranges between indifferent and anarchic attitudes. The only drugs consumed are hashish and marijuana in addition, of course, to floods of beer. All groups have a high consumption of alcohol”.

The nightlife workers underline that the various groups may be distinguished by the type of club they choose according generally to their different socio-economic status, culture, ideas, musical tastes, drug consumption, etc.

Many young people of different ages (sixteen to thirty years and over) visit night-clubs in order to meet people, listen to music and dance. They are not at all or scarcely involved in the use of drugs and love commercial music. The age of rock fans is rather varied and they go frequently to disco pubs, cultural circles or concerts. They wear comfortable cloths, sometimes designer clothes, refuse the techno movement and often regret the steady contamination worked up by electronic music in the various musical styles. They don't use stimulating drugs, but make a large use of marijuana, hashish and alcohol.

The younger teenagers (fourteen to twenty-four years) love techno music and visit trendy clubs that play progressive or underground music. They often willingly drive many miles away to reach the parties organised by their favourite DJ and strictly follow the rules concerning the look (boys wear sweaters over the shoulders, Levi's, latest hit trainers, green or black bombers: the girls all dressed in glossy garments, elephant leg trousers and bikini, high platforms, etc.) Their involvement in the consumption of ecstasy and other stimulating drugs often reaches various degrees.

Other more marginal groups are the "anarchists" that gather exclusively in cultural circles, the gay movements that meet at specific clubs and the multiconsumers of narcotic substances that in general don't visit the night clubs but meet at selfmanaged (selfsupported) circles or in the parks.

Afterhours and raves may be diversified in relation to the type of organisation, to the musical style and to the kind of control, but these gatherings attract generally a public involved in drug consumption.

PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE NIGHTLIFE WORLD

All the persons interviewed considered that drug consumption, aggressive attitudes and most of all road accidents are among the main problems related to the nightlife world.

Young people underline that in particular areas and places the risk of incurring in violent behaviours becomes greater. There are places with better possibilities of integration, where you go to talk and where the use of drugs is lower (in particular the disco pub) whereas there are other places where music is played at a deafening volume, people don't talk to each other and a fight may well start without any real motive, particularly among the youngest that drink a lot and take stimulating substances like amphetamines, acids, ecstasy and cocaine.

Young people usually relate road accidents and aggressive behaviour to the use of drugs and to the high consumption of alcohol that liberate latent personality problems or difficulties of adaptation and help to loosen stress and anxiety.

A 17-years-old interviewed says: "I know a lot of people that go to discotheques, "smoke" and drink with the only object of coming to blows... somebody gives you a

dirty look, you say -what are you looking at?...he answers -what's wrong?, the other goes on challenging -let's go out, and then you start a fight and that's all. There is not a real motive".

The nightlife workers show a much more ambivalent approach to the problems related to night entertainment. On the one hand they emphasise the positive aspects linked to a greater integration "the nightlife world helps people to liberate themselves and feel less shy and awkward than during the day and hence encourages them to socialise" and reject the prevailing stereotype that demonizes the discotheques setting an univocal relation between night entertainment, drugs consumption and violence. Says a DJ: "... I'm against the laws that force discotheques to close earlier because I don't believe road accidents are related to discotheques ... They are related to the use of alcohol and drugs, and would still occur even without discotheques ...". On the other hand they recognise that each discotheque takes different measures to face the problem of drug abuse: some places are basically clean, drug consumption is under control and mostly submersed, and aggressive behaviour is sporadic, whereas other places tolerate the use of drugs and, consequently, the violent attitudes become more frequent. The latter are in general trendy discotheques where the rhythm of techno music is bearable only under consumption of stimulating substances. Their public young teenagers that drink in great quantities, take Ecstasy and lately also cocaine.

DRUGS CONSUMPTION

Drug consumption is a transversal phenomenon that involves in different ways and levels all the young groups and hence all the spots of nightlife entertainment. The differences are related both to the level of diffusion of the substances and the choice of the kind of substance that varies according to the age, the economic status, the belonging to certain social strata and the ideology that implies not only religious and social beliefs but also musical preferences, life styles, etc.

Younger people use ecstasy and prefer listening to progressive music. The older ones, probably because of their higher economic possibilities prefer cocaine and their musical choice includes very different styles. The most diffused substances are however alcohol and marijuana that are consumed by all young people independently of their musical preferences and life styles, possibly due to their role of "transit ritual" in the confronting phase of adolescence. They are consumed in a rather unrestrained way also in a more advanced age probably due to a greater availability and a lower social control and awareness of risk.

Hard drugs, like heroine, play a marginal role in the nightlife world because their young consumers don't go generally to night clubs. They get together mostly in self-managed clubs, in the parks or in gatherings like the rave.

NEW TRENDS IN DRUGS CONSUMPTION

The interviews that have been carried out don't give evidence of real new drugs but rather of new forms of consumption, often induced by the market dealers.

All individuals interviewed have mentioned a new fact, emerging during last year, that concerns the higher consumption of cocaine even among teenagers. This expansion of cocaine is a new fact: until a short time ago its use was restricted to older people belonging to high economic status, but at present it has expanded to younger groups (even underage) and has become a less elitist phenomenon. People with better economic resources wishing to use stimulant stuffs seem to prefer cocaine to ecstasy because given its inherent characteristics, its reaction and side effects are much lighter.

With regard to the typology of drugs, nightlife workers agree that the Ecstasy phenomenon has gone rather into decline probably because the publicity campaigns giving evidence of the high risks involved. At present, the use of soft drugs seems to have expanded “it’s not a new drug, but we can say it has partially substituted the use of ecstasy”. This opinion seems to be in line with the comments of an underage person interviewed in relation to the new trends in the world of drugs: “...the use of heroine has decreased a lot among young people. I have heard about Popper, but I have actually discovered it is not a new drug at all. A blend of marijuana with other substances is smoked more than anything else today. It may happen that it is cut with methadone and you buy it like that. Just now it can be found easily in front of the communal swimming pools and the problem is that the stuff you smoke is not what you think because its effects are not those of simple marijuana. You may find it even mixed with bleach that provokes a kind of ‘acid’ effect, a little psychedelic. A friend of mine has smoked, unaware of its composition, a dope made of tobacco, hashish and marijuana soaked in Darchene. Sometimes they put in dioxin in a quality of hashish called *Pakistani*. You may find hashish mixed even with excrements of rats or horses. Sometimes they cut marijuana with machine or motor oil that colours your fingers blue when you crumble the stuff. They are all sorts of ways of increasing the weight of the stuff... and get more money : you pay by the weight of your lot, but the quality is worse. I have heard of some boys in the technical schools that make narcotics using isoamidic acid, tetrachloride and chlorine”.

Among the new drugs that are gradually turning up in the Italian market we can mention those called eco-drugs circulating among the alternative circles and the new-age environment. The consumers consider them natural substances and less dangerous than design drugs. The consumption of these substances (fungi and plants with hallucinogenic effects), used for the first time by the ex addicted and the rave followers is becoming a mass phenomenon by virtue of the cultural movements that emphasise their power of expanding the consciousness as opposed to pills used in the techno environment that would probably squeeze the brains.

FORMAL AND INFORMAL CONTROL OF THE NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENT

Control inside the clubs is the result of marketing strategies set up by the managers and is carried out by the security service. In order to select the clients, the managers make use in the first place of the admission ticket price and the musical style, often related to each other. The prices of a mass club playing commercial music are generally

very low , whereas those of the trendy discotheques that make a selection at the entrance are much higher.

Many managers prefer to exclude progressive music precisely because it attracts very young people more likely to raise problems related to the abuse of drugs and behaviour. Regarding drug consumption inside the clubs, the nightlife workers give contrasting opinions: some agree with the information campaigns addressed to reducing the use of drugs inside discotheques, others don't hesitate to admit that the only interest of the managers is to keep order, avoiding indoor trouble, but certainly not to prevent the use of drugs. In this respect, one of the managers interviewed has stated: "If any manager, owner or employee of a discotheque tells you that somebody inside does anything to stop others from taking drugs it is all rubbish. Nobody cares if people dope. What matters is to avoid indoor problems... all the campaigns held inside the discotheques, like parties against... are exclusively a matter of publicity. From time to time we encourage people not to exceed themselves, but anyway it is difficult to interfere and we don't consider it is our problem. We don't feel competent and anyway it is not our concern to carry out campaigns against the use of drugs. There are also market conditions that hinder us from printing such publicity on the tickets...". Security services have now become necessary in all discotheques and disco-pubs and its range depends on the size of the club and on the kind of public.

A good security service must pay attention to the marketing strategies of the club. It has to keep order and make a correct selection at the entrance according to the age, the outfit and, in general, to the personal look with regard to the regular public of the club. In this sense, the selective role of the security agent is becoming so important as to practically justify a new profession in itself.

Generally, it is usual to keep the same personnel in the same clubs so that the security agents get to know the public within a short time: they know the type of substances that everyone consumes ("the ecstasy implies movements, the cocaine gives a sense of omnipotence"), they recognise those who become troublesome and aggressive when they go to far with alcohol and/or drugs. In general, they are tolerated if they can spend, otherwise they are sent away.

A security agent interviewed in the course of the survey has stated: "...if a manager is not a bit careful he may get into trouble with the law enforcement agents. It depends also on his attitude. Whether the fellow encourages or just tolerates the drugs issue. There is a great difference between these two approaches...anyway it is important to have the appropriate relations among the police..." The opinions related to the level of control exerted by the police are rather contradictory.

All the young people interviewed describe the formal control as moderate, if not bland, in particular with relation to soft drugs (marijuana and hashish), but also to ecstasy. Sweeping controls to verify whether young people are in possession of drugs are not very frequent at all.

On the contrary, the nightlife workers (DJ, security agents, managers, etc.) consider that controls have increased a great deal within last year. Yet they admit that those carried out are specifically centred on preventing road accidents and quarrels associated with the growing use of drugs.

The managers complain on the occasional close- down of clubs and the banning of parties due to the use of drugs and alcohol. Nightlife workers consider this control out of place and inefficient in terms of prevention, being their principal object to calm down the public opinion that shows great concern in relation to road accidents (“... If road accidents are to be limited it is necessary to make people drink less. Discotheques have nothing to do with that. It is in the bars they visit before going into the discotheques that people drink large quantities of alcohol.

Law enforcement representatives state that street controls, specially through the ethylometer, and outside bars have been increased. Inside the discotheques controls are hardly carried out. They are left in charge of the security and vary from place to place. In general, the police enter into the discotheques when called by the security itself or in the course of operations to arrest dealers. The few controls made inside the clubs take place in discotheques where the circulation of drugs is higher and aggressive behaviour is frequent due to the indulgent attitude of the managers.

More frequent controls are carried out by the administrative police in order to check the compliance with the norms and to give authorisation for gatherings or parties.

Closing hour norms are generally observed (managers fear the sanctions involved), whereas those concerning the ban to sell alcohol to the underage and to consume drugs inside discotheques are not observed, even if they are specifically sanctioned.

From all the data collected and the information provided by the persons interviewed it may be asserted that formal controls to prevent or restrain the use of drugs inside the clubs are rather infrequent, whereas administrative controls and traffic controls aimed at persecuting the drunkdrivers or intoxicating conditions have increased.

INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS AND STRATEGIES TO REDUCE DAMAGE

The interviews reveal a good level of information concerning the risks involved in the use of drugs, in particular of designer drugs. Nevertheless the few precautions taken by the young consumers are centred mainly on the risks of driving and for younger teenagers on the need to elude the informal control exerted by parents (“early in the evening it is decided who is to remain sober to see the rest home. This made by turns...to conceal red eyes by smoke collyrium is applied, to disguise the breath gum is chewed...”).

Young people have mainly referred to problems associated with the bad quality of the substances (“...once it was easier to get dope of better quality, today it is much more difficult...”), to aggressive behaviour derived from the use of drugs and to road accidents. Problems related to health risks and formal control raise minor concern.

None of the persons interviewed, with the obvious exception of the street operators, have mentioned the prevention project currently operating in town (“Progetto Dune”). It is a prevention project enforced jointly by the Health Authorities and the services for addiction control based on the reduction-of damage strategies. The operators have prepared information material on the risk of designer drug consumption that is distributed inside the clubs and at the attention points (close to the parks, the cultural circles, the self-managed centres, etc.) where people may get information and ask for help. In order to attract attention they have written a leaflet illustrating a fruit pastry (“pasta” in Italian) on the cover, and emphasising inside the possibilities of enjoyment if you just eat this “pasta” on one side, and on the other side are listed all the possible precautions to take if you decide anyway to “eat” the tablets (in Italian pasta as well).

3.2.6. Nice

- *“What’s the night for you?”*
- *“Just life” - night lover*
- *“How do you spend the night?”*
- *“Juggling with bottles” - barman*

INTRODUCCION

Our first impression after the interviews is that night-life in Nice has become less exciting than in the 80’s, the most flourishing years, as if there had been a sort of regression or a night-life crisis. Some people think this phenomenon is due to a lack of creativity, in some way a drowsiness of spirit, cultural deficit or intellectual poverty, while others believe the economic crisis is the main cause of it. However, this is just the sceptical and pessimistic opinion of night-life organisers. When we carefully listen to their words and analyse the answers of the questionnaires, we realise there is a new situation they can not control, a night-market explosion, a loss of their monopoly, multifarious initiatives that modify night-life habits and clothing codes.

Beyond the irresistible springtime renaissance of the night, ephemeral phenomenon that follows April’s inactivity (in winter people organise parties at their friends’ houses and in summer they use to go to discos), the following pages try to facilitate a better comprehension of night-life in Nice.

Night-life in this city (516.740 inhabitants, 12% unemployment) is mainly concentrated in the old town and its pedestrian streets, near the sea and the harbour, the Baie des Anges and the Promenade des Anglais, the Castle Hill, the Flower Market, the Justice Palace and the Opera. The old Nice is lively and crowded during the first hours of the night and the Cours Saleya is its heart and soul, the place where everybody meets. This surface (300 m. long and 30 m. wide), a huge market in the mornings, is filled with

tables from different bars, “brasseries”, restaurants and pubs from six in the afternoon till half past two in the morning, closing time of the seven pubs established all along the avenue. The market stalls are used for advertising different discos and places to go during the week-end or showing the meeting point for a new free-party... Close to the Cours Saleya there are six other pubs, two private clubs and a disco.

The visible world of the night is found in pubs, disco-bars, discos, boites and private clubs.

PUBS

“In Old Nice there are at least ten pubs in every street”, “there is a pub every twenty metres”, “there is a new pub opening every month”, “there are more than fifty pubs in the old town”.... All these answers show us that pubs are the heart of the night. In fact, pubs and disco-bars, quite a new phenomenon, have changed night-life in Nice, compelling the most traditional establishments to adapt themselves to the new needs in order to complement their activities. “Undoubtedly, the night has experienced an economic transformation with the multiplication of disco-bars and pubs. During the flourishing 80’s, prices were high and stable, but pubs made prices go down”.

There are different kinds of pubs depending on its opening licence. Most of them are opened from six in the afternoon till half past two in the morning (average licence). The smallest ones have to close at midnight (small licence), but usually continue opened in the first hours of the morning because nobody seems to control them. Only one pub can open from noon till dawn (big licence). There are some pubs that open till four in the morning (fluctuations in the administrative decisions in spite of strict regulations). It seems quite difficult to get the best licence without any political connections.

Pubs satisfy the spirit of city inhabitants, quite élitist and hermetic: very few establishments (just three according to interviews) accept everybody (Maghrebiens and young individuals from the poorer quarters), but they have a stronger security service and the support and help of the “big brothers”. Pubs are mostly frequented by students, tourists (Anglo-Saxon and European dimension of the Côte d’Azur with its traditions, casinos, discos, festivals, millionaires, night parties...), and also by people connected with night-life because of their job and the usual and stable population of the night world. People go to a pub looking for a certain atmosphere and conviviality, more than looking for music or dancing. It is the place to meet friends and make plans for the night. “Going to a disco or a rave is not the same, but the place to meet and psychologically prepare ourselves for the night is always a pub”.

Pubs are also cheaper (10/15 francs per beer) than discos (100/125 francs for the entrance, about 50 francs per drink, bottles from 650 to 700 francs). Because of their drink offers, invitations, collective purchase of bottles for several days... everybody can go to a pub. On top of that, pubs are so numerous they allow people to go from one to another without a considerable expense (about ten beers for 100 francs). Besides, their

opening hours - from 18h to 24h. or 2h - are more suitable for students and people who work, and people can go there every day of the week..

DISCOS

There are thirty night discos, still called “boites de nuit”, more disseminated through the village than pubs. With or without a show they are opened till dawn. The largest disco in the area is “L’Actoria Studio” in Nice (with room for more than a thousand people). There are two other important discos in the city centre: “Le Blue Boy” and the “Ambassade”. Those three discos are the most exclusive and fashionable in the city and all of them cultivate “the club spirit”. However, there are more discos on the west side of the Var (Provençal river that historically separated the Earldom of Nice from the rest of France), in the interurban agglomeration Nice-Côte d’Azur: St Laurent du Var, Cagnes sur Mer, Antibes, Juan les Pins and above all Cannes, city of festivals- where life style is the most exclusive and “bourgeois”-, and Nice surroundings (fifteen discos on the west and just three or four on the east side of the city).

Social classes are more diversify and the middle-class is much more represented in Nice than in Cannes. This phenomenon explains the especialisation of the different establishments that admit people from different social status that never meet: foreigners and tourists, young people from the outskirts of the city, the gay community, young “bourgeois”... Most gay establishments are found in the old town. “The Blue Boy” symbolises the gay community evolution. Bars, restaurants, discos... are becoming places where everybody can go. At the same time, we observe discos are trying to win the gay population. In Nice, homosexuals seem to have the same clothing code and similar musical culture (this is not the case in other cities like Toulouse or Marseille), while we find more diversity among heterosexuals: “it is the music what defines the clothing code. The musical atmosphere of a place determines what kind of person you are and the way of amusing oneself is completely different, too”. There is a peculiar correspondence among music/public/place: variations hard-rock/ rock; salsa/ soul/ samba; techno/ dance/ modern/ rap.

In order to counteract pubs offensive, discos have organised among them a new strategy and offer different possibilities all through the night: disco-shows, “afters”... The techno music increasing popularity has made discos diversify their music in order to reach different publics: house, mellow, jungle or mixed....In a similar way, the great amount of night offers and diversity of places make necessary to form professional and commercial alliances with pubs (“before”) and other establishments accessible from 4h or 5h in the morning (“afters”...). It is an attempt to influence on night circuits in order to make people go earlier to discos, following a policy of reducing prices and giving invitations (for instance, pubs offer disco reductions when you drink a beer...). They have the instruction of not delivering these reductions or invitations to people who have drunk too much: “people arrive at discos later and later, after taking two or three drinks in a pub. Many people has one or two more drinks in the disco, which makes them exceed their own capacity of absorption”.

Several establishments are preparing a new reduction system taking into account the season and the increasing habit of going later to a disco. The arrival time is between 2h and 3h in the morning (“at 1h in the morning the disco is empty, at 2h30 there are a thousand individuals”), and people may leave in an hour or two and go to another place. What do they do before? Why do they arrive so late? Most people start the evening in a pub, but many have parties at home with their friends and like going to a disco afterwards. When the night is “finished”, some individuals continue their night circuit in “afters”, though most of them go back home together with their friends.

Young people go less to discos. Students prefer pubs and/or often organise private parties. Nevertheless, high school boys and girls (younger than 18 years old), and above all girls, are starting to frequent discos. It is a fact indirectly confirmed by someone who works in a disco and really knows what he is doing: “the most important is to make young girls feel good, then young boys will follow them and come”- he says.

Pubs and discos, with their different opening times, publicity, styles, fashions and publics, being somehow complementary, are perfectly adapted to Nice night-life: both of them have been following the same evolution for months and have finally become quite conventional and uniform.

THE WEEK-END FEVER

Fridays and Saturdays are the days when most people go out in the evening. Students also use to go out on Wednesdays and Thursdays. Sundays and Mondays are two special days for those who don't work on Mondays: “there are too many people on Saturdays and the ambience is different from Fridays. Older people is getting used to going out on Wednesdays, trying to avoid Saturdays”. Nevertheless, it could be said that people from Nice is not crazy about parties, discos and pubs, and seem to prefer staying peacefully at home, while Italians, on the contrary, are capable of driving many miles in order to arrive at a lively place. People do not go out as often as before because of the economic crisis: “They have not got any money left...”. According to organisers it would be necessary to spend a lot of time and money to make people from Nice go out on Wednesdays or Thursdays.

TECHNO MUSIC BANALISATION

Techno has lost some of its former success and has given place to other kinds of music, rather melodious, such as house music, house Latino The “dance” fashion is becoming more and more popular, and has increased the pseudo techno in the conventional circuit of pubs and discos. During the last months, we have observed the development of a new passion for tropical music: salsa, Cuban music, African-Brazilian music... The new trend is a commercial techno mixed with other fashionable musical styles (hardcore, garage, tribal, house), easy to get with the CD. Young people in general, students who are “technophiles”, listen to this new music but without following its particular look, spirit or techno culture.

The techno trance mainly interested people below 20 years old, while a sweeter techno -“more dance than trance”- could be the Dolly Party musical style: “In any case, we love techno because we love dancing, and we can not dance with hip hop or rap”. There are fewer and fewer places where rock lovers can go, if we except four or five pubs that have recently opened (Latin music, reggae, salsa...) with a great success.

It is the music what generally attracts a particular public: nowadays a group is mostly defined by its relationship with music (dance, techno, reggae...) instead of by its physical appearance or clothes (sky, skin, raven...) as it used to be.

DIFFERENT NIGHT POPULATIONS. “*AT NIGHT ALL THE CATS ARE BLACK*”

During the night there are different groups of people moving around the city. Tourists arrive in Nice all through the year (especially when they are on holidays) looking for a nice weather, good casinos (every week-end a large number of foreigners- above all Italians- frequent the ten casinos of the area), or other attractions: in summer the Côte d’Azur is somehow the beach of Europe and a place where numerous cultural festivals take place; in other seasons, the most important international events that attract foreigners are the Carnival in Nice, the disco and cinema festival in Cannes and the video and circus festival in Monaco. We can not forget some important sportive competitions such as the grand prix in Monaco, cycling tours, athletics championships, tennis tournaments ... Although tourists have to be considered as an important part of Nice night-life, they are not a permanent population but “foreigners” (a word often misused in this area) which overwhelms any cultural night-life outbreak.

Without considering the type of night population, we have observed that each group has a dominating behaviour perfectly established, easy to read because of its integration in the night consumption system, accessible to everybody and representative of “night society”, and a quite new way of functioning, far away from the night market, less visible and in the hands of a small group.

Some people just go out in the week-end, on Friday and Saturday nights, looking for fun and relax. They have different characteristics from the people who go out during the week. These individuals like amusing themselves the same day everyone goes out and are commonly found among the middle-class and the young people who live in the outskirts of the city. They are receptive to new activities organised in order to enliven their weekly escape, such as “Dolly Party”, “Kinky”, “Limelight”, presented as new night concepts, but seem to prefer more traditional and conventional ways of spending the night: disco-bars, pubs, “boites de nuit”.

During the week we find night lovers, “night people”, individuals who really live the night and could be called “night hedonists”. They are happy everywhere (pubs, clubs, discos, private parties...). “They work during the day and look for fun at night. They are not very young (30-50 years old) but many of them have not got any job”. They go out daily, except on Fridays and Saturdays, and seem to have a “club spirit”, feeling they belong to the night world. We can find them everywhere behaving as specific sub-

groups, but it is becoming more and more usual to find them in the exclusive world of private parties. They have their favourite places to go, private times and spaces, regular circuits... They are members of a night microcosm where everybody is known: "you can meet the same people in several places during the night and meet them again in the day".

However, these "pillars" of the night are not necessary individuals that like dancing and amusing themselves as most people do. Generally, they love drinking alcohol. It does not matter their social status, if they are employees, unemployed, managers, wealthy people... "Being richer does not mean they drink more. The "pillars" of the night can also be "locomotives", men and women that make their families, companions and friends... follow them.

Among the youngest, mainly going out in the week-ends, we can distinguish three different groups:

Students who frequent traditional night establishments on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. They don't use illegal drugs but drink alcohol (beer, whisky with coke...). They constitute a quite specific group and a public potential of 30.000 people that night organisers try to win. Though they are young and generally have little money, they are easy to attract with risk formulas and low prices: "drink all the alcohol you want just paying 50 francs for the entrance". That is the first demand students ask disco owners when renting their establishments for a night. The negotiation usually ends with an alcohol limitation and lower prices for the entrance (70 francs instead of 110 francs).

The techno community that leaves the discos in order to go to clandestine parties. It is representative of the new amusement tendencies, including drug use, but also of a cultural search - maybe in quest of identification with a sub-culture (at the same time oral tradition/ clandestine nights and hypermediatisation / MIDEM, Love Parade). This group is composed of individuals below 30 years old. There are more than 600 people from 16 to 22 years old in the area, hard core of techno music, organised in bands or tribes, going together just for the love of music and in quest of a psychedelic atmosphere.

This group is formed by an unqualified population and by students with small jobs, often living in their parents houses, taking benefits of a new quite precarious insertion formula established in France: Contract- Employment- Solidarity, occupying public places, sharing their love to hardcore, showing certain signs that make them easy to recognise (like punks did some years ago) and with an external appearance clearly trying to break established rules (tattoos, piercing...). Hallucinogen drugs users, every night they meet in the beaches or parks of the Old Nice in order to smoke or sniff. They go together to clandestine meetings, free parties, technivals, commercial raves or disco-techno parties organised by the best DJ. However, the techno clientele in discos has a good reputation and no money problems (gays, young "bourgeois"...). Disco owners know that in the occasional techno parties they organise many individuals take drugs, but they remark that even having two thousand people they have never had any problem

with this kind of population, whereas a hip hop party of two hundred people is often a chaos.

The Maghrebi population: young individuals from the most problematic districts, not very fond of alcohol and usually taking more cannabis than ecstasy (too expensive). Very few night establishments in the city let them go in. Their ethnic group is a problem: "As soon as we admit ten of them, problems start. Their aggressive behaviour is a risk because they kick up a row for nothing". They can not go into raves even being well dressed and having good manners because of their origin. It is all the same in discos: there is always a hyperselection. Pubs usually admit them if their number is not very large or they look more elegant than other customers. They have to go to the less fashionable and less exclusive places... in the outskirts of the city. They also frequent the beaches at night, always in groups. In a few words, they go out but are left aside. Owners want wealthy and reliable people in their establishments and the Maghrebians image is too negative: they accumulate poverty, drug use and violence.

SECURITY AND SELECTION PLANS AT THE ENTRANCE OF NIGHT ESTABLISHMENTS

Security is guaranteed by the security members of the different establishments. As their collaboration with the police is out of the question, they prefer to avoid problems. It is obvious a night establishment has nothing to do with the police: "it is not good for the disco and always brings down administrative complications".

Lately, many individuals carry arms (usually knives but sometimes firearms) even in the less problematic discos. Several controls at the entrances have corroborated this suspicion. Night establishments make great efforts in order to avoid problems. However, some owners think there are not enough policemen in Nice where the night "explodes". On the contrary, people is extremely pessimistic when talking about the evolution of the night in Cannes: "too much repression, too much control, too much competitiveness, too many preventive actions (aids, drugs...), too many rules... All those things are killing night-life".

For the last three years the police has carried out a preventive and dissuasive policy that has originated a progressive night-life decline in Nice. There are very few serious incidents (rows, traffic accidents, problems derived from alcohol or other drugs abuse...) during the night. Some discos organise the way back home if asked by clients.

Several establishments were closed in the last year because they had whitened money, admitted people under 16 years old, not complied with the closing time rules or bothered the neighbours with their noise. The police especially watch those places frequented by young people who drink alcohol, where they know there's some drug traffic (heroin...) and the Mafia is installed. Pubs would be more careful if they felt this control.

Policemen are doing their best, but there aren't enough night brigades. "They should be more in the streets as in the United States or even in Marseille. It would give more consistency to their job. They seem to wait until something happens instead of trying to

prevent incidents”. It is a police firmly persuaded of their lack of resources but resigned to accept the discussions about the local agents disarmament and the despenalization and banalisation of cannabis. A police that seem to prefer more profitable actions for the state (fines, taking away cars, road control...) than fighting against an eventual drug use. Although they insist this is a regressive phenomenon in pubs and discos, maybe they are just closing their eyes...

NIGHT PURSUIT AND ITINERARY

Finding someone to flirt with or meeting other people are the main motivations for going out. The relational dimension, the need for others, suggested or visible, is something that can be fully developed in the night and one of the main basis of night-life everywhere.

A night nomad profile could be the following: “he tries more than anything else to find a place where feels really good”. He can remain in the same place, he can choose two bars before midnight, he can wait till 3h in the morning in order to find the disco at its best, he can visit a friend’s house “pour s’explorer la tête” before going to a disco, or he can directly go from one disco to another. “Depending on the people we meet at a certain place, for instance Le Duke, we go to one place or another, to L’Ambassade or other establishment, and we take the decision just because someone suggests it”. Therefore, night itineraries depend more on the people you meet than on previous arrangements. We can find people who just go out during the week-end and do exactly the same.

Night circuits generally start from 9h in the evening. “We go from one pub to another or, after several pubs, we go to a disco, anywhere”. However, itineraries can be more specific and fashionable (boys band and spice girls...), more clandestine, depending on age, social and cultural status..., or even more fixed, such as the typical route around the Old Nice pubs. We find people from 20 to 40 years old, less students than employees. Generally, they seem to be more serious than younger people, but different reasons make many of them feel really confused about life (professional and affective problems, unemployment, divorce...): “lonely, around 35 years old on the average, having interesting careers, feeling like boats going adrift, trying to recover the time they’ve lost, without a north, immature, with no self-confidence and taking refuge in alcohol”.

Night circuits can also coincide with different establishments of the same owner or with a chain of establishments opened by an economic alliance.

Clandestine circuits are found in small places at a certain distance of the city and in private parties celebrated at home or in well-known places that close their doors to the public. Those are not necessarily parties for meeting friends: “we find there another night lover profile, around 30 years old, with an intermediate or high professional situation. What people want is to find new adventures and establish new ties. You are never alone in this kind of party, as you can be in pubs or discos”... “Someone

approaches you and that is the beginning of something new, you are looking for someone and the seduction game starts”. Drug use is more visible and important than in discos: shit, coke, ecstasy, popper...are sold there. But the way of using drugs is completely different from the people who go to a disco: here, individuals control their use because drugs are an important part of their daily life. Wednesdays and Mondays they go to the discos and live the night.

DRUG USE

Although it is true that the use of different substances has decreased in night establishments, the greater problems are still connected with the excess of alcohol, aggressive behaviours and violence risks, ecstasy and cocaine abuse (LSD on a minor scale, too), and motoring accidents. The use of cannabis, quite common and extended, does not seem to be a problem anymore. Interviews have helped us to make a distinction between the discourses of the establishment owners who organise the parties or the police and other institutions, and the discourse of the “night consumers”, who emphasise a generalisation in the use of cannabis and an intensification in the use of substances such as alcohol, ecstasy and coke: “ecstasy reaches everybody now, we can find it everywhere like cocaine. Heroin has become a quite unpopular drug associated with former generations and young people reject its use. Finally, it has to be pointed out the increasing use of acids (50 francs/dose) among a younger population (15-16 years old or even less).

If synthetic drugs nearly always go together with the techno movement (the estimated percentage of users in the techno parties of MIDEM in Cannes is the 61%), beer is mainly drunk in “live music” pubs. Some pubs prefer techno, house, acid jazz... Persons in charge of this kind of establishments remark they find nearly impossible to stop people using different substances that they have sometimes acquired before getting into the disco. In fact, as “night consumers” say, this clearly shows a great hypocrisy: “when you are in a private party you can directly choose the substance you want, but when you are in a disco you have to wait till someone comes and offers you the drug. It’s forbidden but authorities close their eyes”. “I’m against that in my establishment”, declares a disco owner while it’s obvious he’s taken ecstasy in order to carry on the whole night.

Nevertheless, as we have already remarked, the greatest problem in night-life is alcohol. There is too much alcohol: young people go out in order to drink and completely change their personality. Whiskey and beer are the kings of the night. However, there are many differences between students, culturally integrated, that prefer alcohol to other substances, and individuals who have started to work very young, earn their own money, are independent from their families, have the possibility of living in their own house and ran wild when they go out, provoking everybody they meet (hooligans in the World Championship, for example). We also ratify drug use depends on the kind of population, night activities, music, the effect the user is looking for... So, we find “reggae lovers” who start taking cannabis after breakfast at 8 h in the morning. and “swallow” the night in order to be receptive to this kind of music.

CLANDESTINE MEETINGS (FREE PARTIES, RAVES...)

Free parties take place out of the city in gymnasiums, club house tennis, abandoned buildings... or in the open air (for instance, in the highway). Their rhythm increases with the good weather (from Easter). They are mainly organised by DJ from the techno community who have left city discos and gone to the country. These techno amateurs assemble between 200 and 400 people. The main motivation: to loose one's head with the help of this music.

The use of drugs is an important part of social life: ecstasy ("cacheton", generic name for similar substances), LSD, cannabis (especially in raves, as popular as tobacco, people think it counteracts the effect of ecstasy), beer (90%), some heroine (not always), other hallucinogenic drugs in quest of new sensations ("micropointe", concentrated LSD, "candy" (shit + smashed ecstasy), nitrogen protoxide balloons that give a certain euphoria, ketamine (sniff or capsule), different compositions whose effects start to be dangerous several days after...

People getting drunk with beer is the main problem, but techno parties never bring about rows or other accidents. These meetings turn out to be friendly, peaceful and everybody seems to be at ease. They are also quite cheap, sometimes free, and you only have to pay the trip price (100 francs) and one or more drinks, which means a total expense of 100-150 francs.

Techno parties are somehow spoilt by repression and become more and more clandestine. For that reason they are getting wilder (free party) but continue opened to all social circles. Some years ago raves were quite exclusive, they had an elitist and marginal side which showed assistants belonged to the same tribe.

Nowadays, people go to raves as if they were discos. There is no one left who only goes to raves: "if you want to continue meeting your friends, you have to go everywhere in order to be with them". Raves have younger and younger people in and it is quite common to find young teenagers (13,14 years old): "it is a problem, they are too young and immature, they are not ready to face this rather violent and extremely aggressive atmosphere".

Free parties frequency depends on the seasons. There are very few in wintertime, because of the difficulty of finding a proper place, and quite a lot in summer (starting in May), generally once a week. They can be quite small, between two hundred and three hundred people, often big private parties (birthdays, anniversaries...) organised with friends of friends (this phenomenon has also been observed in pubs and discos), or huge raves with thousands of people.

PROBLEMS

Prevention is not easy. Young people (many of them between 16 and 18 years old) ignore, for instance, that ecstasy can be mixed with other substances. This group of population, especially the first times they go out in the week-end, and the new

populations of young individuals with insertion problems, go out in order to experience new substances, not because of the music: “they have an inclination to try everything, to mix different substances, medicines, ecstasy, alcohol, acids..., they do not make any difference among ecstasy, trip, acid”. Most of them are not aware of the drug effects: very few have tried MDMA.

Actually, few problems have been pointed out: 3 hospitalisations in 14 raves, slight comas/ loss of consciousness or excitations , mainly among young girls (16/17 years old) when taking without any precaution a substance for the first time ,or because of a bad trip after taking an acid.

There has never been violence problems in ordinary raves thanks to an expensive but effective security service that watches the entrance and prevents all excesses, incompatible with the show party, the feeling you belong to a sort of elite, clan, community.

Violence can arise in big gatherings, but always outside the entrance: they are confrontations among different bands of the city. People in charge of discos remark they have the same problem: it is very unusual to have a row inside the establishment because of the prevention system organised by security members and based in a serious selection. On the contrary, incidents often take place on the outside, generally due to young individuals from the suburbs who come in groups and try to force their admission.

Besides, places are not safer or more aggressive depending on drug use. “Drugs are everywhere, taking or not taking them depends on individuals and situations”- clients “People come here in order to have fun, meet friends and flirt, not to take drugs, even if they are an important part of the night”- disco owners.

CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE LAST YEAR

- Old Nice is the liveliest area and the most important phenomenon in the night: “everybody loves it!”.
- Night establishments change their names every six months, which shows the existence of a commercial war based on a shameless imitation of other establishments success. However, these transformations are only superficial.
- Techno parties and pubs have contributed to the discos transformation and disappearance.
- There will be many problems with synthetic drugs among teenagers (15-18 years old or even younger individuals) and this phenomenon will go together with the nearly official new popularity of the techno movement, consecrated thanks to its music success. As cannabis is allowed everywhere (8 students from 10 smoke it in their parties), ecstasy and acid are the “alarming” drugs.
- It has appeared a tendency to “luxury”, for people with a lot of money or, depending on the patterns, “bottle” clients. We can make the hypothesis that this

means a certain renaissance of the former Côte d'Azur and its casinos, in a context of foreign real-estate investments, mainly Italian. We find a clear example of this phenomenon in Nice, where a huge new disco is going to open in order to receive a clientele that can not be found in Nice or Cannes, but in Monaco and Italy. It will offer different services than a common disco (comfortable banquets, small sitting-rooms...), higher prices and more refined services (hostesses and stewards taking care of clients...).

- Clandestine raves are extremely controlled. They are often cancelled because the police arrive before ravers. They symbolise the need for private parties (less frequent than a year ago) that favour conviviality, allow people to meet more individuals than a disco and introduce people into a communication net, just opposite to disco clans: "as you are there, the others look at you".
- Ecstasy is there, but without any progression. However, stronger and stronger hallucinogenic substances are making their appearance. More than new tendencies, we find an evolution in the ways of using drugs, connected with the research of a new night formula symbolised by the current of private parties: ecstasy is smashed and mixed with a particular cocktail type "punch", the cocktail "X", easy to recognise for its blue colour, always the same: "It is the "chic" side of the night, it is not a deal, nobody offers it to you, everybody can have it, you just go and help yourself whenever you want. And the same happens with cannabis...".
- Private parties are presented as something new and, in a certain way, the origin of many of the transformations undergone by night-life: following a well-known pattern, some "actors" organise a gathering based on a new concept, they develop the idea, share it with other people, "commercialise" it... till "night parasites" occupy its space, recuperate, pervert and, therefore, "kill" it, as promoters say. Then, other kind of party is created elsewhere: l'Ambassade, gatherings style Marseille, people want "to be seen", "to show off"... , Le Bodecuita, new and successful place, very funny but in danger of invasion, the popular new Dolly Parties, the new concept "One off party", organised in different places every fortnight, compelled to develop more and more creativity and movement not to be captured by the system and considered as an emanation of private parties.
- While waiting for a new place, a new style, an innovation, a favourable context... home parties seem to answer this logic of change and movement that tend to experience another approach to night-life safe from "greedy consumers". But this parties have to developed and spread through the main night establishments where different people can be contacted.
- "X Parties" are increasing inside discos. They are more and more sophisticated, formalised (or normalised?) in "Kinky", cybersex, hardcore, "Dolly Party"... probably under the pressure of homosexual communities in quest of a social redefinition of sexes. Beyond economic positions and competitiveness with pubs, is this return of the "X" phenomenon a reaction against the environment and,

therefore, for the public a search of free parties? Or is it a reproduction of the sophisticated and uniform evolution of the “body cybernetisation” that contributes to a certain normalisation of the gatherings?

- New night-life concepts - Dolly Party (house atmosphere), Kinky, Limelight (techno style) and in a lower level SFR (techno), Happy Land, Outsider (house), Transillusion (dance) - are ways of transforming night-life, as night publicists say, with similar formulas and the same “ingredients”: the only difference would be the megalomania level of its creator. At the moment, “Dolly Parties” are the most successful gatherings and they seem to answer night-public expectations in quest of something different: a promoter offers a particular disco (generally with problems) a complete service: a group of fifteen people who change the place with their material, decoration, animation, consumption, music (generally house in order to avoid drugs and risk population), program, staff... “with the purpose of offering the public a unique party, somehow extreme”. The public, just homosexuals at the beginning and now 50% of heterosexuals, enjoy more and more this ephemeral and non repetitive parties and prefer them to traditional discos.

3.2.7. Palma

INTRODUCTION

Two factors which characterise social life have been taken into consideration in describing the city of Palma de Mallorca in terms of its recreational nightlife; the changes which it experiences in accordance with the season of the year, and the dynamic between different areas of the city, as well as between municipalities lying close to the city.

Its seasonal nature becomes a central characteristic of the leisure dynamic. During summer, the coastal areas also take on importance comparable with the city of Palma, which is the capital, as do other towns in the interior of the Island. The arrival of visitors from Mainland Spain and from other countries means several months of extensive work for large numbers of the local population. During the summer season, a large percentage of the population, both indigenous and visiting, prefer the bars with terraces close to the sea to the enclosed establishments more appropriate to winter. This is why, a description of Palma nightlife in summer and in winter shows significant differences. In this survey on Palma nightlife, field work was carried out during spring, it being considered the ideal season as the resident population is immersed in a more “normalised” pace of life. Its inhabitants have not yet begun their exodus to coastal areas, and there is not yet a massive presence of visitors.

The other aspect to be taken into consideration is that the boundaries of the survey include adjacent zones in the city of Palma because there are several municipalities in Bahía de Palma, which taken as a whole, acquire a sociodemographic significance which must be analysed as an integral whole. This is why we have included a zone, El Arenal, which we could define as a coastal area, and a typically tourist one, situated twelve kilometres from the city. At an early stage, we also considered including some towns in the interior of the Island which have developed important nuclei of leisure establishments associated with nightlife. Interest lay in evaluating the mobility of the population between zones. However, it was verified during field work that there was not much population movement between the interior towns and Bahía de Palma, in fact, it seems that there is a certain loyalty to the region where one lives, in such a way that the inhabitants of Manacor frequent the nightlife establishments in this area, and the same occurs with those in the Inca region.

REGULATION OF NIGHTLIFE. LEGAL ASPECTS.

Having defined the geographical area and the seasonal dynamic, it is important to mention other factors which shape Palma nightlife, among them the legislation which governs it. There have been regulations establishing the opening and closing hours of nocturnal establishments in accordance with their business activity since 1991. Bars have a licence to serve drinks and play ambiental music, dancing is not allowed inside, and they must close at 4 am. Cafe-theatres have the same rights as the bars with the difference that they can close at 6 am. Finally, there are the discos which are allowed to serve drinks, charge admission and organise dancing. Closing time for discos is between seven and half-past seven in the morning.

In theory at least, these regulations influence the configuration of Palma nightlife to the extent that they determine whether the population retires after four o'clock in the morning or goes in search of other bars which do remain open - the after-hours establishments. Throughout the night, and as establishments close, availability becomes less and less, in such a way that the same disco or café-theatre becomes a meeting place of heterogeneous people with different musical tastes, of disparate dress, of different ages, etc. which creates a very special environment, and one which is distinct from that which occurs in other European cities. "It seems to me that the unusual thing about Palma is that everybody is so very mixed... Here the alternative music people end up in the dancing music establishments— perhaps not to start with but, little by little, as there are less and less places to go." (Disco-goer). It must also be taken into account that the regulations governing activities and opening and closing times are not strictly enforced. It is quite common to hear comments and complaints on the inequality with which they are enforced. There are zones in which control is very strict, whereas in others a certain violation of the regulations is tolerated, in such a way that there are bars which ignore restrictions on hours or which operate as a disco with a bar licence, leading to situations of unfair competition.

In any case, it would seem that at the beginning of the night there is wider availability of establishments, people are distributed in a way which can be determined by their different musical tastes or choice of environment, whereas after 4 am, when many bars/pubs close, people with different tastes go to the same places.

Another important type of regulation in respect of night life is the one which regulates the age limits on admission to bars and discos. In bars, admission of those under 16 years of age is prohibited, and in discos those under eighteen, with the exception of the afternoon sessions which are activities organised by the discos, with admission of minors over sixteen years of age, up to eleven or twelve o'clock at night.

The result of this regulation should be that one would not come across youngsters under sixteen years of age after certain times, and there would be no minors under eighteen after four o'clock in the morning. However, in certain areas of Palma, particularly those frequented by the youngest groups, it is quite common to see minors queuing to enter the bars or the discos outside the permitted times.

According to one of those interviewed, "It's normal to turn a blind eye", except when there has been a recent visit by the police. As one informant says, "After a police raid which has cost them a fine of 450 thousand pesetas, the owner tells the doormen only to allow in those over eighteen years of age. But, when it's two o'clock in the morning, and there are only thirty people in the disco, the owner gets upset and goes out and lets everybody in." (Street educator). This view enables one to understand the pressures on the owners of these establishments whose main objective is to run a profitable business, which leads them to subvert the prevention methods and, at the same time, to satisfy the young population demanding their services.

Finally, and in reference to the regulations affecting nightlife, the prohibition on the use of drugs in a public place must be mentioned. According to Spanish legislation, illegal drug use is not permitted and users may be fined for doing so in a public place. Nevertheless, the population scarcely takes this prohibition into account and, in practice, it seems to be little enforced, in other words, it is frequent to find drug users, particularly using cannabis. As for compliance with the regulations by owners of nightlife establishments, they are, of course, concerned about it, insofar as if a user is found on their premises, they would have to pay a hefty fine (some 500 thousand pesetas). In spite of this, some informants consider that there is a great deal of permissiveness. All the owners do, is to try to disguise use so that it is not obvious and so it cannot compromise them. So much so, that the cloakrooms are generally the favourite place for use.

INEXISTENCE OF VERY DIFFERENTIATED URBAN GANGS AND/OR GROUPS

As in all other cities, there are population groups in Palma differentiated from each other by appearance, age, or affiliations to specific activities. In spite of this, there is a great overlapping between groups and a common way of life which makes it difficult to establish boundaries between groups. According to several informants in Palma, there are no urban gangs, the people are more or less the same. There are some differences in dress styles,

musical tastes, areas for going out, etc. but there is no very clear distinction, nor is there a name for the groups which could be used to define them. In this respect, one of our informants who was most active in the nightlife pointed out that here one could not talk of urban gangs in the sense of mods or punkies or people who dress or look very different. In fact, in Palma, there is no very clear demarcation of which group is which, "all are mixed" (Disc jockey). In the case of Palma, when considering different groups, the differences between people are measured in terms of age, socio-economic level and educational level. Some comments taken from interviews are very illustrative on this point:

"Generally, students and "normal" people go to La Lonja" (...) The more "in" bars are in the Paseo Marítimo and the people who go around here are generally 21 plus and generally handle quite a lot of money." (Police officer).

"The people, there, are very young, teenagers, the average age would be around sixteen and seventeen. Then there's La Lonja where there's people of all kinds or older ones (...) And then there's the Paseo Marítimo, perhaps the designer label crowd, the people with more cash".

According to the comments, the financial criterion is the principal differentiator of groups which, also, remain within determined areas. From this it can be deduced that musical tastes occupy a more secondary place as a differentiating factor, perhaps because, as one of those interviewed - the owner of a bar and referring to the bars in his area - said, "the musical styles are not special, except for two or three places which provide live music, there is no specialised music. There are six or seven records which are played everywhere, and then there's other places that put on something more but, in the end they, more or less, listen to the same music." (Bar owner).

Not even electronic music which covers many and varied styles, and which in other countries is the criterion used to distinguish different groups of people, has much significance in Palma. This was borne out in another interview with a disc jockey and, therefore, an expert on the subject: "There is very little of the electronic music culture here which is why people call everything 'bakalao'." According to him, it is difficult to find an establishment which plays good electronic music, which is something specialised, and which is outside the more commercial line of music.

Summing up, the establishments in Palma tend not to be very specialised although one musical style predominates in each of them. There are areas where one can find more establishments with a predominance of pop/rock, jazz or latin music, and others where there are more establishments playing electronic music. In general, there is no great musical specialisation and the music varies little from one establishment to another. In any case, it may be said that the biggest difference is to be found between bars and discos as the discos generally play more electronic music, be it bakalao or house, and the bars show a preference for latin music, pop and rock.

MAP OF PALMA NIGHTLIFE

In view of the information which has been obtained through the field work and from interviews with informants, we considered that Palma nightlife could be analysed on the

basis of temporal and spatial parameters, in other words, the opening times and areas, given that it is difficult to classify the people in respect of other variables.

Plaza Gomila. There are two very different types of environment in this area and its surrounding districts. On Friday nights, it is visited by the youngest population, from approximately seven o'clock in the evening to two o'clock in the morning. However, on Saturdays and Sundays, it is popular from six o'clock in the morning to twelve o'clock midday which is when the after-hours establishments are open.

This is an area which is not very far from the centre of the city. The nucleus centres around a Square where several rather narrow streets meet and which are full of traffic and pedestrians. The area has a decayed appearance with a certain mixture of buildings and colours; there are houses with gardens dating from the beginning of the century next to twenty year old buildings in a poor state of conservation and there are many shops and neon signs. In this area, the young are very evident in the street, particularly on Friday and Saturday evenings and nights. The street acts as a meeting point before going on to the various establishments. This group comprises middle and upper-middle class adolescents, dressed in the latest fashion, with platform shoes, bell-bottom trousers, mini-skirts, clothing in rather dark colours and other accessories which give them with a certain group identity. The youngsters join in the leisure life of the area in a way which is regulated by a certain degree of family control, "The youngsters arrive about eight or nine o'clock, after leaving college. Going out depends on the pattern of family life, in other words, they go out more on Fridays because on Saturdays, they go to their weekend place - beach or country house/cottage - with their families." They are allowed to stay out until two o'clock in the morning more or less, "as this is when the procession of parents coming to collect them begins - almost as if it were a second school run" (Police Officer).

The comments of some informants who are not connected to this area either by profession or as clients of the nightlife establishments give the impression that all the youngsters behave in a rather similar way, given that there is little variety between establishments and music. Nevertheless, on visiting the area it could be seen that there was a certain variety in the establishments and that it was even possible to classify the different musical styles. This observation coincides with an article published in a local newspaper in which it explained the change which had occurred in this area, "In the last few years, the Plaza Gomila has become the meeting place and in-scene for adolescents who have not yet come of age. The era of the district as a meeting place of the famous and the Madrid jet-set is long gone. Now, scooters, sports clothes, short skirts with high boots and the *botellón* reign. It is the puber night par excellence" (Diario de Mallorca Newspaper, 22.2.1998).

In spite of the difficulty in distinguishing between environments, certain distinctions may be established.

-The *bakalao* ambient which is to be found, most of all, in very large establishments, of the disco type with a capacity for more than 50 people. The music is *bakalao* and the people there are very young. The *bakalao* style of dress is prevalent; Boys;

short hair, with earing, sports clothes, plastic jackets (motoring designs of the Repsol, Malboro, Yamaha type are common). In footwear, very large trainer-type shoes with platform predominate. Girls; close-fitting clothes, tops and mini-skirts, knee-high boots in plastic with platform. The most common drugs are tablets and designer drugs. There is also considerable alcohol consumption, it being common to see inebriated adolescents.

-The hard or heavy rock environment is to be found in only one bar and the music is heavy rock The public in the bar are generally a little older than in the preceding environment, between seventeen and twenty-something. The dress is different - boys and girls in jeans or elastic trousers, big tee-shirts and long hair.

-The pop scene also has its own establishments, more like those in other areas of the city but, here, with younger people, between seventeen and twenty. The music is generally Spanish pop, and private school and university students predominate.

As a general rule, alcohol consumption is quite normal in these environments, mostly beer and *chupitos* (small quantities of aromatic spirits). According to law enforcement agents, alcohol abuse is frequent. "We have to go and are pick up girls of fifteen and sixteen in ethylic comas, every day." As for the use of other types of drugs, informants consider that the young people who frequent this area of Palma - which means almost all of them - take synthetic drugs and hashish. "Cannabis is the norm. Acids appear very sporadically in Gomila. They take tablets of all kinds, not only ecstasy but the derivatives of all types which have been appearing, metamphetamines of all types" (Police officer).

As we mentioned above, this area comes to life again as from six o'clock in the morning on Saturdays and Sundays when the after-hours establishments open. This is not the only area where this type of establishment is to be found but it is one of the most important.

In the beginning, it seems that the phenomenon of the after-hours establishments was linked to a very specific type of population associated with an entertainment culture in which drugs and music were present. According to a police officer the night never ends for this group of people, "normally, they haven't finished at seven in the morning, the night hasn't ended for them, they have started their sort of enjoyment and their sort of enjoyment is much broader (..) depending on what they take, they can go on longer and are in a state of euphoria and there is no way they can go to sleep." The informant is referring to electronic music fans who start the night by taking such drugs as ecstasy and who go on to this type of establishment as the others close and these open.

At the present time, however, the after-hours establishments are not only associated with electronic music but have branched out into other styles. In Palma, there are small bars where one can listen to rock or pop which follow the after-hours establishment times, in other words, they open from six in the morning until midday. The environments are distinct from that of the disco. Another type of user of the after-hours

establishments are the owners and staff of other bars or discos who, on finishing work, go out to have a drink before going home.

As for law enforcement on bars to ensure that they comply with the regulations on opening hours, noise, admission ages and drug use, it seems that Gomila is the least pressurised area. It is not unusual to enter a bar and see groups of young people rolling a joint or to find minors under sixteen queueing to enter bars and clubs.

La Lonja. This is a very popular area located in the historical centre of Palma and with plenty of movement by all population types. Those enjoying the night life are generally mostly university students and professional people. The age would, therefore, be between twenty and forty. On referring to this population type, some informants classify them as the “designer label crowd”, “more normal people”, and others as “much older people”. These are ways of stereotyping a population group with purchasing power who dress in an elegant way according to the established parameters, are in employment and who have a higher level of education.

The music which may be heard in the La Lonja bars is Spanish pop, jazz, rock, blues, and latin music. In some of these establishments, there is live music with local groups on most occasions. The bars and restaurants are located on the ground floors of restored old buildings. In the majority of them, people are standing or seated at the bar talking. In some, one may find people dancing although this is not the norm because dancing is supposed to be illegal, being reserved for the discos.

The most popular days are Fridays and Saturdays, the rest of the week like the other areas of the city, it is quiet. In the last few years, Thursdays have begun to see some life with students who make the most of the day to go out before they return to their village or town of origin with their family on Friday.

The bars begin to fill up about midnight. The business nature of these establishments, the great majority with a bar licence, means they must close at four o'clock in the morning. Only very few, those with a café-theatre licence, may remain open to 6 am. This forces those who want to go on enjoying themselves to move on to other places, generally located in the Paseo Marítimo, which we describe below.

As for drug use, and taking into account the comments of some informants, it seems that alcohol predominates and that illegal drugs appear less. Nevertheless, and from observation work, it could be appreciated that cannabis use is habitual and public. Cocaine - although to a lesser extent - is also used in the more elegant establishments and it is probable that there will be heroin users in the street.

Paseo Marítimo. This is an area which has been transformed. Six or seven years ago, it was the favourite area of an older population as well as couples going out to look for quiet areas with soft music where they could talk. There were several piano-bars and some “select” discos. In the last few years, other types of establishment, bars, clubs and discos have opened up, targeting a younger public which goes out in group to enjoy themselves and to dance, so that different types of people and scenes converge in this area. In the words of one informant, “ The Paseo Marítimo has changed a great deal,

there has been something like a displacement of people, four pubs have opened up and it has completely changed, there are places with salsa music and there are extra-young people which would have been unthinkable before” (Street educator).

According to some, the Paseo Marítimo is the place with the largest “designer label crowd” in Palma whereas for others, it is where the “supermarket check-out girls” go, a disparaging reference to people with a more vulgar taste, an average-to-low level of education but with a certain financial capacity. Whatever the case, throughout the night the Paseo Marítimo becomes the setting for all those Palma people who want to go on enjoying themselves after 4 am when the bars close. So that this area begins to fill up with people from 2.30 to 3 am and continues to provide action until approximately seven thirty when the discos close.

The environments in this area may be classified in two types although it should be pointed out that there are no clear definitions, and the same people are to be found in different bars. Even so, we can find bars similar to those of La Lonja which play Spanish pop music or rock and frequented by younger people - students for example. Other establishments provide a more Caribbean atmosphere, playing mainly salsa and Brazilian music: in these places, the people are somewhat older and better dressed. Finally, there are the discos where electronic music predominates, basically house although there are some where the music is more reminiscent of the seventies and eighties, prior to the electronic music boom. In the discos, there are people of all types and ages as these are the last places to close. As for drug use, the informants consider that the people who go to this area consume mainly alcohol, a great deal of cocaine and, in some establishments close to the quay, ecstasy.

It is an area with an acute problematic for the residents of the neighbourhood who are considerably affected by the intensive nightlife of the people, the noise from the establishments and the music. Nevertheless, the authorities and the police pay little attention to complaints. According to one police officer interviewed, their intervention in this area basically consists of picking up inebriated people and taking them home. He considers that there are no problems with the owners of the establishments as they comply with the current legislation on noise and opening hours. The residents of the area hold divergent views, considering this to be the most recreational area in Palma, visited by the upper class, where the owners of the establishments are involved in drug trafficking, have influence, and exert some control over the authorities. This was how a resident explained the fact that the numerous complaints made about the owners of establishments are lost in processing procedures. As far as the residents are concerned, the sale of drugs in certain establishments is a known fact and a regular occurrence which also shows the permissiveness of the authorities.

Other areas of the city. The three areas described above were mentioned by all those interviewed which is why we consider them as the most important within the city of Palma in respect of the recreational nightlife. They are also significant for the quantity of establishments and the number of people. However, there are other areas in the city which are active during the night.

The area in the centre of Palma acts more as a meeting place. This area holds the various bars and places to have a first beer and eat something before going on to the more active stage of the night, although there are also some people, those who retire earlier, who remain in this area. The bars and establishments may be classified as “quiet”. If there is music, it is soft and coffee is also served. These bars are open from six or seven in the evening and close around 4 am or even at 2 am, if there are not many people.

The Santa Creu and San Magin area attracts a minority of people, and can, perhaps, be characterised as being more alternative. Small bar-restaurants are frequent where it is also possible to eat something as well as have a drink. It is possible to find a bar to listen to techno music, somewhat more specialised and not so commercialised as in other places. As for drugs, alcohol is drunk more than anything, beer in the main, and something of ecstasy and speed. Cocaine is not frequent because the “people are not so posh”.

El Arenal and peripheral areas of the city. Outside the city but within the municipality, El Arenal is a coastal and tourist area located only a few kilometres from the city of Palma but in the same Bay. Here, the pace of life is radically transformed in summer with the arrival of tourists, particularly young, lower class English and Germans. Nevertheless, there is a recreational nightlife of sorts (discos and bars) which the Palma young from the area visit in both winter and summer. This area generally has a population more typical of the suburbs with less financial power and a lower educational standard. Some comments are examples of the image which El Arenal has acquired over the last few years: “El Arenal is terrifying, it is an environment of more marginal districts, where people go over the top on drugs”, “El Arenal is another class of people, there are mechanics and labourers. Those from a higher class go elsewhere in summer or look for other kinds of establishments”.

There are two types of entertainment in this area, afternoon sessions held in the big discos and targeting those between 16 and 18 years of age, and nighttime sessions in the same discos, bars and clubs for those over 18. In dress, the style we defined above as *bakalao* is prevalent with boys with very short hair, earrings, short sleeve close-fitting tee-shirts, wide trousers and boots. The girls have long hair, are well made up, wear miniskirts or tight fitting hipster trousers, platform shoes and piercing, although there are also people dressed in a more normal way.

The music is basically electronic and *bakalao*. Admission to the discos is cheap and generally includes one or two drinks so that consumption of alcohol is generally reasonable (in the area, we could see how drinks were served in glasses which could hold half a litre of beer or mixed drinks). As for drug use, it seems that the most frequent are cannabis and tablets.

MOVEMENT BETWEEN AREAS

The above mentioned recreational areas are not isolated one from the other. What is more, in some cases, they form part of a single circuit which people take throughout the night.

Normally the night begins in some restaurant or bar where they can eat and have their first drinks and later the peregrination begins to other bars in the same area. There are those who leave home later, after dinner, and others who meet up in some parking lot or open-air area. They move from one area to the other and change areas looking for an environment with entertainment to suit them. By the early morning, as the bars begin to close, they continue the search in the discos and after-hours establishments.

There is also the gay circuit. As the name indicates, it is not restricted to one single area but to a group of bars and clubs distributed in different areas and which make up the gay environment in the city. This circuit is also used by heterosexuals.

A new phenomenon has arisen in many parts of Spain in the last few years in connection with the early part of going out at night and which involves a meeting place and may be considered as the beginning of the night's entertainment. In Palma, it is known as the *botellón*. It is when the young people take their first dose of alcohol (and other substances) in a public but isolated place, in the open air, close to the bars and disco areas. The young arrive in cars, carrying drink bought from shops, petrol stations or supermarkets at a cheaper price. They play music on the car radio cassette and wait for one, another chatting, drinking and getting into training for the night ahead. They station themselves around the car with the doors open, to listen to the music and reach the drinks easily.

In Palma the *botellón* takes place mainly in the Port area, on the quay, in a zone which acts as a parking place for cars before going into the city. The place began to act as a meeting place quite spontaneously and started to attract followers. At the present time, it has become a meeting place for hundreds of young people and this creates a festive atmosphere, in the open-air, outside any formal setting. This area lies within the jurisdiction of the Port Authorities who generally do nothing and, therefore, all types of drugs may be used quite freely. This meeting lasts for an indeterminate time which could stretch to several hours. In addition to meeting up with each other, the young people are stimulated by the music and drugs so that they are in a festive mood before going on to the nightlife establishments and discos. In this way, their entertainment is cheaper.

CHANGES IN PALMA NIGHTLIFE DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS

The most significant changes in the last few years in the Island are related to tourism, a phenomenon which is transforming the social and cultural life of the Island. The establishment of the tourist industry in Palma has created a wide range of places providing entertainment. Although the majority operate basically in summer, a large number attempt to remain in operation during winter by promoting their activities and by making going out at night attractive. But above all, tourism is transmitting a recreational and entertainment culture which goes beyond the summer season to establish a recreational dynamic. In addition, tourism is providing access to

employment, particularly for the young, which enables them to save money in summer and depend less on the family in winter.

At a more specific level in respect of recreational life, the main changes are the increase in drug use and the appearance of the after-hours establishments. According to some comments by informants, they mention that “now there are after-hours places which were not there before. Drugs are used much more now, well, they were there before, but not like now because now anyone can take them. In a way it’s normal because it works out cheaper to take a tablet than a whisky” (Disc jockey). Equally, one of the owners of an establishment evaluates the massive use of drugs as one of the most noticeable phenomena, “I have the impression that there are more and more drugs, all the time. People have grasped at a culture or have had this culture imposed on them or they moan that the drug is essential for going out.” This same informant evaluated drug use as a negative action which conditioned people to go out only when they could use drugs, “during the week, Palma is dead and this can be blamed on drugs, because drugs are very expensive and people are getting into the habit of going out with drugs...” As this was said by the owner of an establishment in reference to illegal drugs only, it gives the impression of a certain discontent among those who make a business out of the recreational industry. For them, illegal drugs are substances whose market is uncontrolled at least in any formal way, and which may generate a consumer dynamic which does not favour them.

Another aspect related to the recreational dynamic and drug use is nighttime violence. The security agents highlight it as a growing phenomenon “a fight starts between groups of friends over the slightest stupidity. Injuries are generally slight, there’s no guns, nothing, just fights caused by their state of euphoria”. To a certain extent it is a logical consequence, taking into account the accumulation of many people interactivating in limited spaces. In addition to the fact that the consumption of alcohol and use of other drugs may favour a predisposition to enter into conflict.

The appearance of the after-hours establishments is another of the changes which were noted, enabling the night life to continue until the early morning. Therefore any individual over eighteen has the opportunity to keep on the go for more than twelve hours in establishments specifically available for this purposes. There are even those who say that it is possible to keep going the entire weekend - something which would have been impossible a few years ago.

NEW DRUGS

The more generalised opinion among the population which takes part in the nightlife is that drug use in recreational environments is rather extensive, particularly alcohol consumption. Cannabis is the second most habitual drug, hash by preference, because it is easily obtainable on the black market, while marihuana is only used by those who grow it or have some special means of access to it. Several of those interviewed

coincided in placing hash and marihuana as the more normalised illegal drugs as these are the drugs used by all types of people who are going out at night.

Synthetic drugs such as ecstasy, also known as “tablets” in everyday language, are no longer a novelty. It is a substance which has become popular in recreational life, particularly among the younger element and is easily accessible because of its reasonable cost. The subgroups which are most identified with it are those labelled as *bakaladeros* or *garrulillos* who frequent certain bars the Plaza Gomila area or El Arenal. But these youngsters are not the only ones who take ecstasy, there are also tablet users among the older people and who frequent other areas of the city. The population group which most frequents the after-hours establishments has the heaviest drug use, and ecstasy is one of them.

Although it is fairly well demonstrated that tablet users are multiusers and that they frequently combine them with alcohol, some of those interviewed still had the early stereotyped idea that the tablet user is instantly recognisable because he or she has a bottle of water in their hands. “The majority of the people who take tablets don’t drink alcohol, you normally see them with bottles of water which they fill from the tap” (Disc jockey). It is quite probable that this type of beliefs is being maintained as a way of legitimising ecstasy use, by giving the idea that it is less noxious than other substances.

Speed is also present in Palma nightlife, although it does not have many fans probably because what is available is of very poor quality. This is why the public favour tablets or cocaine. The latter is still in fashion. In the opinion of several informants it is the most common drug in circulation, and is to be found in any environment although it continues to be identified with the higher social strata. Less mentioned than the other drugs is acid, LSD or *tripis* as it is known in the street. But there is some kind of consumption associated with the *bakaladeros* and the younger people.

Little is said about heroin. Those who do talk about it do so to indicate that they know few cases. “I know very few people who take horse. People are rather afraid of the needle. The ones who do take it are those who are almost finished” (Nightlife client). Probably it is the least frequent drug in Palma recreational nightlife although it is possible that some people use it to counteract the effect of the stimulants and to be able to get to sleep. In this respect, an informant who worked in a syringe exchange programme said that at one point young couples came on motorbikes on Friday nights to exchange syringes. However that may be, it appears that the preferred drugs to compensate for the effects of the stimulant drugs are cannabis, tranquillisers and somnifacients.

The only new drug mentioned in the interviews is ketamina and although not one of them had tried it, they knew about it from the media or because someone had mentioned its existence to them. Of it they said, “it’s a tranquillizer for elephants.” “It leaves you shattered, it creates a lot of insecurity, you go round flying all the time”. “Special K is dynamite for kids”.

As for the attitude of users when it comes to buying and using drugs, the general opinion is that there is not much care taken in finding out what is being used, particularly with synthetic drugs, “they buy anything. If anyone were to come with vitamin tablets, they would make a small fortune in five minutes” (Police officer). It also appears that they are not too selective. “They consume what’s there, there’s no loyalty to one type of drug, like the junkies. When financial resources are low, they use anything. In addition the Dutch laboratories bring out a new tablet every three months. Many don’t know what they are taking” (Police officer).

PROBLEMATIC IN RESPECT OF THE NIGHTLIFE

As can be seen from other chapters, every informant has an opinion on the problematic which arises from the nightlife on the basis of his or her own subjective point of view. The bar owners highlight the main problems as those linked to the restrictions on opening hours or the problems with the neighbours because of noise. Both these aspects could involve them in legal problems or business restrictions. One of them complained that the closing times were not enforced equally in all areas but that there was more control in some and less in others which led to unfair competition. The local owners react to residents’ complaints on noise arguing that their establishments are soundproofed, thus passing on the problem on to their clients who are talking when they leave or even shouting in the streets.

Informants who were in the police force consider that drunkenness and fights are the most frequent of the problems associated with nightlife. Every night they have to intervene, to deal with cases of people in ethylic comas or to break up fights which are not normally too serious as they do not involve the use of arms.

The areas of greater intervention are those most frequented by the youngest population, “assaults are a result of the state of euphoria of the people. We know that we will have to go to the Plaza Gomila three, four or five times, to deal with assaults; bottle fights, cuts from broken glasses, etc. Perhaps in the Arenal area, the type of assaults is a little more delicate because of the class of people who go there.”

However, perhaps the most acute and growing problem is that of traffic accidents. According to the general opinion, this arises from the movement between separate areas and the return home, as the private car is the principal means used. The existence of nighttime public services (except taxis) is non-existent. Many people drive after having had a drink or having taken some kind of drug, still in a state of intoxication and euphoria, so that they are overconfident and it is easy for them to lose control of their vehicle.

A preventive measures recently adopted by the police in respect of alcohol consumption is to set up breathalyser tests along the more frequently used roads. Nevertheless, they are still no measures of control on drug use. At the present time, the knowledge of any relationship between driving and drug use comes from autopsies carried out on those who have died in road accidents. The police force argues that there

is still not enough social outcry which would oblige the introduction of intervention and control policies. In the words of one, "It seems to be socially acceptable that the weekend is for really living it up. You can find a bank executive going all out at the weekend or the professional man (...), I suppose that it's a way of release from all the stress which is created by daily life. Everybody takes it for granted that when you go out at the weekend you can get drunk and take drugs". These comments indicate how unpopular measures of control would be if they were to exist, among other reasons, because they would affect a social group with a considerable capacity for influence and reaction. Therefore, policies on drug use must take into consideration the differences in attitude and behaviour in the different social strata and are, therefore going to have very little consensual acceptance.

CONCLUSIONS

Drug use is an accepted fact of life in the Palma night life particularly at weekends (Friday, Saturday and Sunday). Certain areas of the city have been differentiated in an attempt to classify population groups by different styles of use. Although one of the principal characteristics of the nightlife is the population mix in the same places. The groups are differentiated basically by age and purchasing power and, although to a lesser degree, affiliation to a musical style and dress is also important. Although both legal and illegal drug use is common to all groups, they are differentiated by the mix of substances involved. The heaviest user group, multiconsumer it could be said, is the one to be found in the areas of Gomila and El Arenal. These are the youngest and the ones who frequent the after-hours establishments.

One of the most significant changes in the last few years has been the intensification of recreational life, giving rise to the appearance of the after-hours establishments which provide a way of prolonging nighttime activity and also increase drug use. The establishments which open in the early hours of the morning in Palma and which are devoted to providing continuity in entertainment are increasing. This phenomenon may be evaluated as a symptom that entertainment associated with drug use is established and is growing.

As a city which bases its economy on the tourist industry, Palma needs to develop recreational scenes and environments which are attractive and new for the visiting population. This creates a series of necessities in the recreational industry which conditions the dynamics of the city. In principle, there are different life styles in the city according to whether it is summer, the tourist season, or winter. Nevertheless, there is a continuum of activities between the two seasons favoured by the leisure industry which must stay in business, and by other socio-economic and cultural stimuli. All this explains, at least in part, that the residents of the city, the young most of all, assume that it is part of daily life and their right to be able to go out and enjoy themselves at weekends.

The establishment of the phenomenon of recreational life adopted by the youngest population creates a new social problematic which particularly affect social harmony.

In order to attempt to palliate the effects of the nightlife activity on the population which dedicates the night to sleeping, it has been necessary to draw up measures to regulate noise and control traffic. Nevertheless, compliance with these regulations is enforced in a very relaxed way which gives rise to complaints and controversies between sectors of the population. In addition, drug use has contributed to increasing the number of conflictive situations as a result of the increase in assaults between people and groups, but above all in traffic accidents.

In Spain the word *bakalao* is a popular way of describing machine or electronic music. It also has pejorative connotations when it refers to the most commercial version of techno music which is considered more adulterated and vulgar.

3.2.8. Utrecht

INTRODUCTION

Like the owner of the PLF, an underground *house* club, says: “It is back to the old days”. Thursday has for a long time been the most popular night to go out, especially for students, but now Saturday is taking over again. Then all people who go out during the week and those who go out in weekends, go into town. Fridays are more like a ‘hanging out’: it is the end of the week, the beginning of the weekend and everybody is tired and just wants to go to a bar. The amount of parties on Thursdays and Fridays is less than on Saturdays. New clubs sprang up like mushrooms, while only a few closed down.

There is also a matter of out-going routes, which nowadays more often start off in a bar or club instead of at a friends’ home and is followed by other bars and/or clubs during the evening. As the closing hours have been abolished since September 1st 1987, people do not go home at 3 or 4am, but move on to another club, an after party or to a nightbar, like Le Carafon or Het Pandje (The Small Building). For some folks Bolleke, a shoarma snackbar where alcohol is being served, is an option too. Bartenders go out themselves after working hours.

Compared to the past, people have become more individualistic and are more and more wandering around, they are no longer tied to one particular place. People go about everywhere and within this group there is a big diversity. Among them are students and young people with jobs, as well as people from outside the city and the youth which originates from Utrecht. They constitute a variety of people, who for instance like *house music*, or alternative music, or even both music styles.

This way it has become hard to draw the lines, to distinguish different scenes. We tried to do this anyway, taking a close look at the venues people go out to at night and defining the visitors these places attract according to criteria such as clothing, age and the music played by the DJ’s. This last factor can sometimes be a confusing one, since

DJ's have started to mix a lot of music styles, which was not the case before. They may, for example, alternate grunge music with dance music.

Finally we came to describe five scenes, from which the *house* scene is the most present one, because *house* music is taking over everything. The others are the *alternative* scene, the *students'* hang outs, the *squatters* and the *gay* scene. Unlike the opinions of some people we spoke to, we do not think that the productive part of Utrecht - people with jobs - can be defined as a separate scene. This is a group with a big diversity in age and style, you can find them in all kinds of places. However, most of them will go out mainly in weekends. Ethnic minorities mix with the rest of the public, although there are a few places in town where the majority of the visitors belong to this group.

A new trend, not related to scenes or styles, is the commercial policy of clubs, enlisting a new audience, with the objective to increase financial income. A lot of people who go out, visit a "70's & 80's party" once in a while. These parties became popular in 1997 and are organised in clubs that usually play music styles like *house* or pop. Other examples of owners who want to make more money are those transforming their 'grand cafés', which serve food during the day, into clubs with dance floors at night. In several clubs new activities are for instance showing movies. Clubs that used to close down during the summer holidays stay open nowadays.

THE HOUSE SCENE

About seven years ago *house* music began to gain more access to mainstream pop music. The big record companies adjusted underground *house* music in a way that it became suitable for the mainstream. The basics of this music have been maintained (like the rhythm), but a lot of elements such as a more distinct melody, the vocals (often performed by a female singer) and/or a rap (often carried out by a man), which turned out to be successful in the hitparades before, were included (Verhave & Ter Weijden 1991). In this way it became Top 40 music. The unadjusted *house* music, however, can still be labelled as 'underground *house*'.

Nowadays, an enormous diversity of music styles is part of the generic term '*house* music'. Roughly you can distinguish two variants, *mellow house* and *hard-core house*. Examples of the melodious *mellow house* are Acid, *Deephouse*, *Clubhouse*, Trance, Ambient and Jungle. The easy tune or all-in music is often counted among the *mellow house* too. *Hard-core house* is (deafening) loud, monotone music and features an large amount of beats per minute (bpm), with an average of 200. Oldstyle, Underground, Terror and Hard Trance are part of this *house* style. A mainstream variant is the Happy Hard-core.

The *house* scene of Utrecht lags behind bigger cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam. This has recently been confirmed in a special section of one of Netherlands' prominent newspapers (de Volkskrant, June 26th 1998) about Ten Years of *House*, in

which Utrecht is hardly being mentioned. Clubs and DJ's mentioned feature in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Those are the two main cities where 'it's all happening'.

The situation in Utrecht is worst for 'gabbers' (there is no good translation for this term), the people who like hard-core *house* the most. The gabber culture should be seen as a significant youth subculture with its own style of dress code and dancing. It has also certain rituals, its own jargon and a different attitude to life. A 'real' gabber shaves (parts of) his head, wears Australian sportswear or Chipie jeans and Nike air sport shoes. His female equivalent is called a 'gabberina' or 'gabberinnetje'; she refers to herself as a 'rave bitch' or 'Terror Tina' and wears the same type of clothing. Many of the people who attend hard-core parties, however, are people who like the music, but do not adopt the 'real' gabber style (Van de Wijngaart et al 1998). There is barely anything to enjoy for them in Utrecht. They can go to AXL, where they have different dance floors with *house* music. A small number of gabbers hang around the basement of Twist & Shout, a record shop. Most gabbers seem to escape Utrecht by going to one of the big raves (*house* parties) throughout the country.

The mellowers are, like their music, very diverse in age, clothing, lifestyle and night life patterns. Veldhuis (1993) distinguishes different groups among the people in the (mellow) *house* scene on the basis of three dimensions: originality, commitment and level of the culture within society. Originals versus hangers on; involved versus less involved; underground versus mainstream. She describes three categories: the subcultural variant *underground* (age about 25), the popular variant *mainstream* (somewhere about 20 years old) and the *omnivores* (the in between group of thirty-year-olds, who are less involved and not critical whether to go to a mainstream or an underground club). With those three dimensions in mind, she also looks at differences in the urge to differ from others, in clothing and in drug use. It seems all groups want to distinguish themselves from others. Perhaps this phenomenon occurs more often in the underground scene. As she takes a look at clothing, she finds out there are three different categories: the extravagants, the ones who dress themselves up but do not stand out and the people who dress 'casual'. In the underground scene all these types are spotted. In the mainstream circuit, on the other hand, she just saw the last two categories. There is hardly any drug use in the mainstream environment, while the majority in the underground scene, as well as among the omnivores, seem to take drugs or have used drugs in the past.

If we compare the results of Veldhuis' survey with the mellow *house* scene in the night life in Utrecht, there is a lot of resemblance. Let us take a look at the three types of *house* scenes in Utrecht, starting with the underground scene. Most of the respondents do agree about the PLF being the only real underground club. In the old days people could visit this club every day. Nowadays opening nights are limited to Thursdays (midnight till 4:30am), Fridays (midnight till 5:30am) and Saturdays (midnight till 6:30am). There are four resident DJ's in de PLF and their music is a mix of Jungle, *House*, Techno, Funk, and Drum 'n Bass. It is a small and cosy club with a good atmosphere. Most people who visit this club are aged 25 up to 30. They dress fashion-like, although without showing of. They usually wear one piece of clothing that

is very expensive (some kind of fancy brand), and combine it with other cheaper, sometimes second-hand, pieces. This way they create their own style and it makes fun to just sit and watch them. Different drugs are used, especially cannabis, XTC and coke.

Some of these people also visit De Winkel van Sinkel, a former department store which is now a fancy club. Its style is between underground and mainstream. During the days and evenings, it is a grand cafe and restaurant, but on Fridays and Saturdays from midnight till about 5am, people are welcome to dance on a variable assortment of Dub, Funk, Triphop, *House*, Breakbeats and Jungle on the main floor. In the basement however, the DJ plays Garage, Techno/Trance or Goa/Trance. On Fridays, 'Club Risk', the music is played by established DJ's, while at 'De Nachtwinkel' (The Nightshop) evening well-known DJ's are invited. On these nights the entrance fee is a bit more expensive than usual (7 ECU instead of 5 ECU). The visitors are aged 20 to 35 years old. It is a mixed public, both students and others. Among them are a few more men than women. Most of the men are 'casual' dressed, a pair of jeans and a shirt or blouse will have to do. Women worry more about their looks, but still they do not look that fancy. Some of them put on jeans with a very tight shirt, others try a sexy mini-skirt. More attention is paid to the details like silver tears glued underneath the eyes, sandals with high heels and polished nails or very short shirts with belly button piercings. Smoking cannabis is allowed and happens a lot. Other drugs used are cocaine, XTC and - to some extent - speed.

On Fridays and Saturdays most of the visitors of the PLF, De Winkel van Sinkel or both, meet earlier that evening in the Jazz Alley. The Jazz Alley is a bar where in general mellow *house* is played, varying from Jungle to ambient and more trip hop-like. Smoking cannabis is not allowed anymore and a small blackboard is paying your attention to this new regulation: "Blowen, dat doe je maar ergens anders!" ("Smoking pot, you better do that somewhere else!").

After closing hours, one either goes home or to a place which is called the Chin Chin Club (entrance 5-7 ECU). This club did not run so well in the beginning, but is now trying, by advertising with numerous colourful and eye-catching flyers, to get attention from the public. On Fridays people are welcome from 5am till 9:30am, which makes it something like an afterparty. On Saturdays different DJ's are playing and doors are open from 11pm till 8am. Except for the last Saturday of the month, because then the Chin Chin Club is going: "Back in time, with every month the best DJ's of 1988". Not everyone is welcome ("No caps, no sneakers"), open from 10pm. On Sundays they recently arrange "a new Chin Chin Club Sunday Night Creation", from 11pm till late. Several DJ's are playing: "NFSG F1" (Need For Speed Garage Formula one). It is a small club with a special atmosphere, that some describe as "too dopey".

Proceeding with the mainstream clubs, the two current ones are AXL and Scala. In both clubs the average age is a couple of years younger, that is about 20. The people look well-groomed and dressed up for an evening out, though 'casual'. These are clubs for the general public. Like one of the respondents, a freelance light technician, defines it: "I guess that the conservative people, the less open minded people, more often go to big clubs like Scala and AXL".

The AXL is open every Thursday (no fee), Friday and Saturday (early visitors free). On Fridays, “Good Times”, they play Funky Club Music, Speed Garage, Steps & Breaks and Drum ‘n Bass from 11pm till 4am. On Fridays there is a 70’s & 80’s party (11pm till 5am). *House* strikes the place again every Saturday from 11pm till 5am. On the main floor mellow or Speedgarage is played. In the ‘technocellar’, the smallest floor in the middle, there is Oldstyle and Techno. In the R&B Room the established DJ plays R&B, soul, rap, hip hop and bubbling. On this floor clothing is different, hip hop-like: wide trousers, loose shirts, caps and gold jewellery. Once a month there is a party with some extras, including a good line-up of well-known DJ’s, Ibiza GoGo Dancers, a Smartbar, a Candy girl, Special lights, sounds and decorations. At these parties there is a dress code: “No sportswear. Dress fancy. Dress *bob bayer*.” Usually only smoking cannabis is allowed, which happens a lot, but on these parties one can also buy balloons with laughing gas (nitrous oxide, used to anaesthetise a patient during operations) to be inhaled. Some people nowadays use this gas as a party drug (mostly on big dance parties called raves), which effect is described as “a shortcut as quick as lightning to another dimension” (Hellinga & Plomp 1996). Furthermore a lot of beer and soft drinks are consumed, but also long drinks. In Scala, there is a “XX-Long Party” on Saturdays from 10pm till 10am. The mainstream club *house* music is played by several established DJ’s and a lot of guest DJ’s.

For younger people, average age somewhere around 17 years old, there is the Get Down club. These kids look like if it is their first time going out and they want to make sure they make the best of it. Parents would probably not recognise their own children walking around in short tops with belly button piercings or dancing on top of the bar. This place comes close to a holiday camping disco.

Tivoli now organises “the Vibe”, every Saturday from 11pm till about 4am with alternate DJ’s. The music played is Jungle, Techno and Drum ‘n Bass. People from the alternative scene, who want to give dancing on *house* music a try, might go to Tivoli. There are a lot of young persons who do like *house* too. This results in a mixed public dressed in black and blue jeans, and tight and loose T-shirts, nothing special. On the occasion of the beginning of the summer holidays, Tivoli organised a party and even invited the English DJ Aphrodite. That night, the average age of the visitors was an estimated five years higher than usual. A lot of visitors came from outside Utrecht, just because of this DJ. In contrast to “the Vibe” evenings there was a lot of drug use like XTC, speed and coke, on top of the regular use of cannabis and alcohol. The atmosphere was quite special that evening.

THE ALTERNATIVE SCENE

The alternative scene is not what it once has been. The ground gained by *house* music had to be sacrificed by the alternative music styles. A major part of youth who were into punk and new wave, began to concentrate on *house* at the end of the 1980’s. A small section of the former alternative scene, however, formed another style: grunge. This is loud guitar music, which is melancholic at the same time. Well-known bands

from this movement are Sonic Youth, Soundgarden, Alice in Chains, Pearl Jam, Nirvana and Smashing Pumpkins. The related hard-core is performed by, for example, The Henry Rollins Band. Punk music, which is also an alternative music style, revived in 1994 thanks to bands like Offspring, NOFX and especially Green Day. Characteristics of heavy metal are the enormously loud volume of the music, the virtuosity of the guitar player and the lively gesticulations of the singer. Low tones in this music are being amplified in a way you can actually feel the sound. A heavy metal outfit of this predominantly male scene, consists of tight jeans, jeans jackets with cut off sleeves and black T-shirts with the names of metal bands like Megadeth, Iron Maiden, Slayer, AC/DC, Sepultura and Metallica printed on. This is complemented by runic characters and other symbols related to Germanic or Celtic myths (Ter Bogt 1997). They wear army footwear or motor boots. The rest of the alternatives dress nonchalant in sober and mostly dark-coloured tight trousers and loose T-shirts for men. Women may also wear dresses or skirts in all kinds of designs. Both sexes often wear army boots. Piercings and tattoos are a familiar phenomenon within this scene. Within this scene, alcohol (beer) and cannabis are the substances mainly used.

Just like the Jazz Alley bar is popular in (a part of) the *house* scene in Utrecht, Kafé België (Belgium Pub) is the meeting point for lots of alternative people. The music varies, but it contains much grunge. This bar is open every Sunday to Wednesday till 3am and Thursdays to Saturdays till 5am. From here people go to TAI or Tivoli, places nearby. On Friday there is a Rock Night in TAI from 11pm till 4am (2,50 ECU), with a mix of grunge, (neo)punk, Manchester, metal and more. Every last Saturday of the month (Cyberia Party) the DJ plays the *gothic* wave music from past times. In Tivoli they play less alternative music than there used to be. On Thursdays (11pm till 4am) there is "POP-O-MATIC" (2,50 ECU; students free) with a wide range of different styles, including grunge. Sometimes there are live-performances of grunge bands like in Tivoli or De Kikker (The Frog). The younger public, who wants to hear alternative music, goes to Ekko on Fridays (about 10pm till 4am). Besides the bars and the discos, you have the in-betweens, the bars with (small) dancing floors, like the Flitz and Stairway to Heaven. The Flitz is open every day from 8:30pm. "Cafe & Swingnights" are on Wednesdays till Saturdays. Ages from about eighteen up to thirty. The doors of Stairway to Heaven are wide open from 11am (Sundays 1pm), when they also serve lunch and dinner. Every Thursday till Saturday three regular DJ's are playing rock music or grunge like Nirvana, Metallica and Sepultura at "Dance on the Rocks". However, other music styles, hip hop for example, are played too. Doors remain open till 1am (Sundays to Wednesdays), 2am (every Thursday and Friday) or till 3am (Saturdays). There is a wide range of ages, twenty to late thirties. Visitors are diverse: young girls with tight trousers and T-shirts, but also 'real' heavy metal guys like the ones described earlier on.

THE STUDENT SCENE

Night life in Utrecht is dominated by the large number of students who are living here (an estimated 20% of all inhabitants are students). The wide variety of courses

Utrecht University and other colleges offer, attract a mixed student population. That is the reason why you meet students wherever you go out, in all the different scenes. Besides the possibility to integrate in current places of entertainment, students have also created their own scene. A lot of faculties and schools organise parties in 'discos' like Tivoli, Ekko and K-sjot. For example biology students arrange an UBV (Association of Biologists of Utrecht)-party every two months in Ekko. Sometimes several associations give a party together, like the Social Sciences do in Tivoli. These parties consist of a part of the students scene, but more dominant is the core of it: the students' unions. Students' unions are like small societies with their hierarchic structures, disputes and 'jaarclubs' (a small number of students who started together in the same year). If a member of such a students' union wants to be counted in, he or she has to adjust his or her lifestyle. This means being present at the clubhouse at least several nights a week, participating in all kinds of activities and festivities. There are also a lot of bars where this type of students, men dress in wide beige trousers with neat shoes and a blue chequered blouse on top, and women with a blouse or tight shirt, stretching trousers with neat shoes, go to. Clusters of bars are found at 't Wed and Janskerkhof neighbourhoods. If they want to go out for a dance, they might go to De Beurs (Bourse). The most prominent disco within this scene is the Woolloo mooloo, Woo for short (2 ECU). This is "the oldest and most pleasant student discobar in the centre of Utrecht", according to their advertisement. Its doors remain open 364 days a year from 11pm till late. People are only allowed to come in after showing their student identity card. Visitors are at the age of eighteen to twenty-six. Within this scene there is hardly any drug use. If you are caught doing this in the Woo, you are kicked out and never welcome anymore. On the other hand an enormous quantity of alcohol, in particular beer, is being consumed. The majority smokes here.

THE SQUATTERS SCENE

Another scene is composed of a small number of squatters living in Utrecht. Their age ranges somewhere between eighteen and forty. These people usually have a strong social awareness and an anarchist lifestyle. They often wear clothes in dark colours that they have cut off themselves, singlets, T-shirts, army trousers with anarchist badges or texts on their clothes. Squatters are very creative with hairstyles. For example, they shave their heads or cut it in *cockscombs* (a type of Mohican haircut), and dye their hair in all kinds of colours. They wear chains and leather collars around their neck and wrists. They love to have tattoos and the last few years one cannot leave piercings out of consideration either.

The only regular bar we have seen them visiting is Kafé België (Belgium Pub). Here the music varies from alternative music and rap to *house* and swingbeat, and everything in between. The kind of music played, depends on the bartender who is on duty at that moment. Besides, they meet their friends for a drink in buildings that are squatted and where music is played as well. Often this is 'live' music. For example the last time one of us visited De Vismarkt (The Fishmarket, entrance 2 ECU), a guitar player who

looked like a hippie sung with an almost moaning voice, while the bands that are performing in *Acu* make music with noisy guitars and have a tendency of the former punk music. For a little while there was also the possibility to visit a very large squatted building, named *Het Duitse Huis* (The German House), where several DJ's played different kinds of *house* music. From time to time squatters go to see a band in *De Kikker* (The Frog) or in *Ekko*, a cultural youth centre.

While going out, squatters drink a lot of alcohol. That is probably also a reason for picking out the sites named earlier on, because there they sell beer at the lowest prices, especially in places which are administered by squatters themselves. Furthermore they smoke cannabis and occasionally take drugs like mushrooms, XTC and speed. Coke is probably too expensive. On the one hand these squatters form a closed scene in which everyone seems to own each other, on the other hand outsiders are more than welcome, no matter how they look like. It is easier to fit in than it seems at first sight.

THE GAY SCENE

In recent years, the gay scene in Utrecht has grown smaller. Actually there is not much left of this scene. Most traded Utrecht in for the capitol, Amsterdam, where it all seems 'to happen'. The COC, the Dutch Association for Integration of Homosexuality, organises the so called *Pann* parties in Utrecht on regular basis, which take place in *Ekko* or sometimes in *Tivoli*. Furthermore there are some gay bars, which are mainly visited by homosexuals. The most well-known is *De Wolkenkrabber* (The Skyscraper), where nowadays heterosexuals mix with gay visitors.

In the basement of this bar, *De Roze Wolk* (The Pink Cloud; no fee, except on Fridays and Saturdays after midnight, 2,50 ECU) is established. This discotheque is open every Thursday, Friday and Saturday from 11pm to 4am. On Thursdays everyone is welcome, whether you are gay, heterosexual or bisexual. On Fridays the public is limited to lesbian women and Saturdays are only for gays. The music played by the DJ is mainstream *house*, familiar from radio and television.

According to the bouncer, one of our respondents, this place was open every day, seven or eight years ago. In recent years the number of visitors has decreased enormously. Nowadays it is just crowded on Saturday evenings. *De Roze Wolk* used to be visited by a lot of students, but not anymore. Regular visitors now have jobs and an average age of thirty. It is difficult to judge drug use among this group.

DRUG USE, POLICY AND PROBLEMS RELATED TO UTRECHT NIGHT LIFE

As one might have noticed reading the first part of this chapter, drug use is a well-known phenomenon in the night life of Utrecht. The consumption of drugs, both legal and illegal, differs from place to place, however, we may come to the conclusion that drug taking while going out, has increased. Illegal substances taken are predominantly cannabis, followed by XTC, speed and cocaine. Alcohol consumption is growing,

whether taken in combination with illegal drugs or not. New drugs such as mushrooms, laughing gas and 'smartdrugs' (mainly herbal energizers) emerge. Many people who take smartdrugs now, do this because they want to "know exactly what I am taking and how much I need for a night".

Keeping in mind that most people have a typical out-going route, employees in night life do agree that the biggest part of drug use takes place inside the clubs. Before visitors go there they might smoke some cannabis and drink alcohol, and maybe take some coke or speed. In the clubs that remain open till very late, eventually all there is left is the 'more dopey public'. In the early days, the latter group was absent, because all clubs closed at 3 or 4 am.

Drug use is eventually leading to some problems. The quality of XTC (MDMA) is deteriorating. The supply and demand of pure MDMA is no longer in balance. There is a lot of 'garbage' (look-a-likes, phonies) on the market. This is a reason for some people to return to the sniffing of cocaine, like in the 1980's. Speed is more often appearing in the scene too. There is a difference of opinion about the cause of occasional violence. Some people say things like: "Fights happen a lot, but I do not relate that to drug use other than the consumption of alcohol. Fighting is more related to people who are very drunk". Others claim that it has got more to do with drugs: "... and now, at once, there is a lot of coke and speed around, plus a lot of 'fucked up' guys, who just have another vibe; then it is not a party anymore, it is just creepy." Other causes of violence being mentioned are the combined use of (several) drugs and/or alcohol and the new possibilities of easily obtaining money during the night at cashpoints, which facilitates the access to more drugs.

It is the experience of a lot of club owners and door men that it is very hard to practise a strict door policy in relation to drugs, because it is sometimes very difficult to observe drug use. If they do observe unwanted drug use, they kick those people out. One of our respondents agrees it is tough and has "a theory" about that. "The less secretly a visitor acts in the club itself, the less it shows. If someone goes fiddling secretly in a 'seal' (small plastic bag with drugs) while standing in a corner, that is more suspicious. Nobody will notice you taking drugs while dancing." Doormen try to solve problems indoors by talking to people, which approach appears successful. As precautionary measures they do not allow large groups to enter, they search people and they sometimes wear bullet-proof vests. Many clubs have a metal detector.

Night life employees do agree that the biggest problems occur on the streets. A doorman explains: "The streets are the place where most people come and go. You can not control it, you throw annoying folk on the street". The police intends to establish a special unit, but people in general are not easily scared by the police anymore. Another form of precaution from the local politicians is the abolishing of closing hours since September the 1st 1987. This way troubles in the streets related to night life are spread. Other examples of prevention are the prohibition of alcohol in *koffieshops* (little bars or shops where one can buy cannabis), since January 1st 1997, and the recent cannabis prohibition in bars, because the authorities concluded that the combination of alcohol

and cannabis is a source of trouble in Utrecht. In contrast with the situation in Utrecht, in Amsterdam for instance, they do serve alcohol in *koffieshops*. In just two bars in Utrecht, the smoking of cannabis is still tolerated.

A doorman tells about the co-operation with the police. "We consult the police every two months. There is more checking and control by the police than before. In the past there was a bigger distance between the doormen and the police. Now the authorities realise that doormen are some sort of police." His colleague agrees: "In the early days there were many criminal bouncers. But now there is a training for doormen, a professional training, like the training for guards and city watchmen. The authorities try to make night life safer." Bouncers also get a training in first aid.

Not everybody thinks positive about the measures the police takes. A club owner thinks the politicians in Utrecht are "narrow-minded" and "hypocrites": "There is no real change in policy; the only change is abolishing the closing hours. Bars and clubs may be open until what hour they want to (...). In that respect they act the same as the rest of the world: let them figure it out themselves.(...) Night life is business, just making money, people have to make it into their own city, you see. If the city of Utrecht wants to have any airs than they have to allow some space to the people who live there to do the things they want to. Those politicians just sit in their ivory towers at an immense desk with lots of drawers in which there are all kinds of ideas, that are not going to happen. A growing number of people is convinced that by making *house* parties illegal and prosecuting drug use in clubs, the use of drugs will more and more take place in secret. In that way the police will gradually lose control".

A DJ has the opinion that the role of the police in Utrecht is not as big as in cities like Amsterdam, "where the police is closing down clubs because of drug use and dealing. In Utrecht drug dealing sometimes happens quite openly." Another DJ says: "There is much winking at things. Now and then the police takes care of a club.

METHODS

To prepare this study, popular literature has been studied and fieldwork (participant observation) has been done in places of entertainment in Utrecht. By observing visitors and talking to them, we tried to get a general idea of the place. Later on, reports have been written on the basis of a topic list, using the notes made during the night of observation. Respondents, such as club owners, doormen (bouncers), DJ's and visitors (guests), have been interviewed using half-structured questionnaires. Moreover, flyers and pamphlets have been collected.

All interviews developed well. Respondents were enthusiastic and wanted to contribute to the research. Information derived from the interviews turned out to be very useful. In the selection of the respondents we have searched for typical people going out in or working at various places of entertainment.

However, some people, such as social workers and people who work for the municipality or the police, who has been asked for information several times did not

want to participate or could not find the time. We realise that, because of this, the collected data might be biased, as all respondents connected to night life are in a certain way.

With respect to the gay scene the observations were not reliable, because on that specific night there were few visitors.

3.2.9. Vienna

INTRODUCCION

Nightlife in Vienna happens mainly right in the centre of the city. All different kinds of scenarios are found in a relatively small area. It is difficult to distinguish different scenes and groups of people in reference to certain clubs, or for example, in relation to a particular clothing style.

There are no special areas in the city with an offer of clubs, pubs, etc., which would be restricted to only a certain group of people. This is probably the reason why we could not find typical places for any particular scenario. Club-owners strategies reinforce this effect by offering a variety of entertainment at different days of the week. With these strategies they can attract different groups of people.

It is not unusual that a club plays all different kind of music like Jazz, Hip Hop, Techno or alternative Rock on different days of the week. This is the reason, why we can speak of event-specific visitors rather than of groups of people belonging to certain scenarios being restricted to specific clubs. It seems that the only distinction-criterion between different groups of people is their taste in music.

The following classification into different scenes is based on the descriptions of clothing-styles, patterns of behaviour or other factors. They are only typical characteristics – if we explicitly refer to it, other than that it should be only interpreted as a observed tendency according to each scenario. General tendencies according to drug consumption, risk behaviour and the role of the police will be mentioned at the end of this report.

DESCRIPTION OF DIFFERENTS SCENES

Upper-class-scene. There are a few small discos and bars which are frequented by people in the age group of 25 and upwards. These people generally have got a higher income and higher social status, they are willing to spend lots of money when they go out. The entrance-fees and prices of drinks are higher than in other places and there is a certain dress-code. It is important for them to present themselves. “To see and to be seen” is a very important motto and also reason for going out in this scene. The music played there is mixed. They play oldies from 50ies but also 70’s, 80’s music as well as

popular music from the 90ies. Well known chart-music is also very popular. New styles of music like Techno or Drum n´ Base are not popular at all at these clubs. In these locations, there is no distinctive illegal drug consumption behaviour recognisable . Popular days for going out to some of these small clubs as well as Cocktail-bars and American-Show-bars, are Friday and Saturday. Clubbings – associated to this scene – are often held on Wednesdays.

Tourism-scen. The tourism-scene is very similar to the upper-class-scene and also frequented by business people. A special tourist attraction during the summertime are the so called “Heurigen” which are places with a special wine-culture. These places are found at certain areas, mostly in the 19. district – which is known as a posh residential area.

Clubbing-scene. Clubbings are visited by all different groups of people. We can distinguish between weekday- and weekend clubbings. Events during the week are mostly frequented by people from 20 upwards and also have the character of a upper-class scenario. They usually play Dance-floor music. At weekend-clubbings, people are younger - from 16 upwards with all different kind of sociodemographic backgrounds. These events have more mainstream character – according to the customers, music and styling - than clubbings at weekdays. The music is a mixture of Techno and Dance-floor and is played alternately. For people attending these events, it is important to be as trendy and stylish as possible (piercing, tattoos, designer-clothes). Different kinds of styles are trendy, like sporty-, elegant- or X-large fashion as well as for example 60’s fashion. The most important factor is stylish appearance.

Events of this kind often take place at original, special locations like historic buildings like theatres, museums or old warehouses. Special entertainment is offered at these events, like animation-dancers, videos, fashion shows and well known DJs. At some locations up to 4000 people are able attend such an event. Ecstasy consumption in this scene has been spreading during the last 18 months. Even though, drugs like Cocaine and Cannabis are still very popular in the Clubbing-scene. Club-owners and event-promoters employ security-staff, which are present at all times to stop drug consumption on the premises. If guests are caught, using illegal drugs they are escorted from the premises at once. Problems in relation to the use of drugs and aggressive behaviour are rather seldom.

Hip-hop-scene Vienna’s nightlife has got a limited offer of clubs for this scenario. There are only a few places offering the kind of “black music” like Soul, Funk and Rap – which is preferred in this scene. Here again, people with all kinds of social backgrounds can be found. They are mostly in the age group of 20-25 and upwards. Because of the music, lots of African- and Afro-American people are visiting these clubs.

The most popular drug there is Cannabis. Very often music lyrics are referring to this drug with slogans like “legalise it”. This generally reflects young peoples attitude concerning the use of Cannabis. Also here, security members are present to stop drug use inside the places. There is no certain style of clothes in this scene. These places used

to be very popular during the week but now they are mostly frequented at weekends. We were told that aggressive behaviour mostly occurs in relation to jealousy.

Rockmusic-scene. The term “Rock music-scene” is used in at least two different ways. In one way it is used for a group of bikers, who ride heavy bikes, they are in the age group between 25 and 30. Their preferred music-style ranges from guitar rock to heavy-metal. But we don't have much information about this group. On the other hand we use this term for a group, which used to be associated with an underground subculture. Their favourite music ranges from guitar music to alternative-rock. This scene has established itself in the last couple of years. People in this scene like football and for that reason they favour Wednesday as a going out day, because very often games are shown on television. It is quite usual to watch these games in some music-pubs.

The clothing-style in these groups are similar – black leatherjackets, dark clothing and jeans are popular as well as bikerboots. The alcohol consumption – especially strong liquor and beer, is higher than in other scenes. The motive for aggressive behaviour is often jealousy, like in other scenes too, but this kind of behaviour happens more frequently and is more common than in other groups. The higher aggression-level and the consume of alcohol seems to be related. Ecstasy doesn't have any relevance. The use of illegal drugs, is mainly restricted to Cannabis.

Rave. Mass-events are very popular, but taking place only irregularly at weekends – about once a month – and are frequented by 2000 to 4000 people at once. People there, are in the age group between 14 and 18 and in the suburb areas up to 25. Not many clubs in Vienna are offering only Techno-Hardcore music – except on these special events, so we assume that underground parties are organised which are not known publicly. The locations and dates of these parties keep changing to stop the broad public coming there. Events in smaller clubs are organised on a regular basis, especially on weekends. The Rave-scene is known for very high drug consumption, especially Ecstasy and LSD. Referring to statements from Police and young people in the Rave scene we estimate 80-90% of the visitors of these events, consume Ecstasy. LSD seems to have a revival. Another drug mentioned was Rohipnol, which are sleeping-pills, often taken in combination with other substances. The youngsters are spending lots of money for drugs at these events – about 1.000,- ATS a night. Also the entrance fees are very high. Stealing money from parents and friends is a common way for financing drugs.

Generally there are only 3 well known places where Ravers can be found. They are usually staying out late and often till the following afternoon because they are visiting after hours and so called after after hours at different locations. These after - after hours often last till the following afternoon. Without consuming Ecstasy it would be nearly impossible to stay out so long. Often, Ecstasy is taken in combination with energy drinks, like Red Bull, Flash Power, etc. One problem related to the use of Ecstasy is, that people don't drink enough throughout the night while they are dancing. This can lead to circulatory disturbances, exhaustion, dehydration and unconsciousness. The

“kids” are playing down the risks of drug consumption and the consequences of it. They behave like drug consumption would be accepted by the public.

Junkie-scene. These people are taking hard drugs, like Heroin, Crack, etc.. They are usually not found in the night club-scene with exception of a few small clubs, which are very well known to the police. Every couple of months a police raid takes place, where usually only small amounts of drugs are found, which are carried for own use. Usually people in this scene are found at public places like main tube stations and parks at day and night-time. These youngsters are taken care of by different social organisations like Caritas or Aids-help, as well as streetworkers.

Gay-scene. The Gay-scene in Vienna is known as the most trendiest and stylish one. This scenario is very well organised with lots of places to go out. Lots of these events are not exclusively visited by gay-people but also generally open for heterosexual people. The outfits are very trendy and the more unusual and extreme - the better it is. A broad range of music is offered, from Soul to House, Drum n´ Base and even commercial music. Thursday is the favourite day for going out in this scene, especially because a well known night-club organises a “gay-night-event” every week that day. Very popular drugs are Ecstasy and “Poppers” – a legal gas, which is sniffed and has a short term intoxicating effect. The central motivation for taking Poppers is, to increase the intensity of the sexual climax.

Suburbs. There are some large discos in the suburb areas which are frequented by youngsters from the city as well as young people living in the suburbs of Vienna. Also people from neighbouring counties visit these clubs and often don´t mind travelling times up to two hours. Persons found there, mostly have a working-class background. These night-clubs are only visited on weekends – they are open from Thursday to Sunday – but most of the people go there on Fridays and Saturdays. The age of the visitors is from 16 years upwards to about 30. Sometimes even younger people can be found there, especially girls in the age of around 14. The boys are seldom younger than 16.

The music in these suburb discos has got mainstream character and changes between commercial Techno and Chart music. A new trend is, to listen to German Chart music – which has been “out“ for many years, but night clubs in the outskirts, as well as some trendy night clubs in the city centre, are picking up this trend.

Aggressive behaviour in these locations is more likely than in the city. People get more often into fights with each other mostly because of jealous behaviour. The reason for this might be the high alcohol consumption at these places. Referring to the use of drugs, no differences between the suburb areas and areas in the city centre can be found. The use of Ecstasy has been spreading during the last 2 years, like in other scenarios too.

People are forced to drive with their own cars, in order to get to these night-clubs, because no public transportation is offered. This is the reason why a higher risk behaviour, like driving under the influence of substances like alcohol or drugs, can be recognised there. It also happens, that there are too many people in the car or the youngsters are driving too fast and very often listen to extremely loud music while

driving. Sometimes the driver doesn't even have a drivers-license. The police told us, that very often even people over 30 show risky driving behaviour. But generally the tendency for this kind of behaviour is reducing, so we were told by the police.

Young people often meet at public places or at some friends apartments or even at youth-centres before they visit these clubs or discos. Here, the style of cloth is quite important, but the styling is not as fashionable like in the centre of the city. Bell-shaped pants or skate-pants, short and tight tops and plateau-shoes are popular there. Also piercing is a fashionable thing to do.

Student-scene Compared to other groups, students go out more often and usually during the week, but generally they don't stay out very late. Students prefer to visit pubs or clubs in their neighbourhood. A lot of studenthomes are very close to the city-centre (7;8;9. district). In those kind of student-pubs, dealing with drugs as well as abusing illegal drugs, is not a major problem and aggressive behaviour does not occur often. A large amount of students come from different counties and only live in student-homes in Vienna during the week. It is very common to go out on Thursdays, because a large number of students leave town on Fridays to go home and visit their parents for the weekend. In this scene the taste of music is not as important than in other scenes, the top reason for choosing a place is the nearby location to the living area. They mostly consume beer at these places and they spend about 100,- ATS a night. The main reason, students have for going out are, to relax and to meet friends.

SUMMERTIME

The club-scene and nightlife changes during the summertime, especially in July and August. Because of school-holidays, youngsters under 18 can be found more frequently at different clubs, especially during the week. Lots of students leave the city during the summer, because they go back home (to different counties, where they originally come from) to spend the holidays with their families. Consequently, people in the night-club-scene are generally younger during the summer. Places with gardens and the possibility to organise open air events, are very popular during that time. The „Danube-island“, an area by the river Danube, plays a major role in Vienna's nightlife during the summer. A broad offer of pubs, clubs and events for all different kind of scenarios, music-preferences and groups of youngsters can be found there. It is a very popular meeting-place during the summertime.

TRENDS

A new trend in the last few years is the establishment of Irish pubs. Even in the last few months some new pubs of that kind opened in Vienna. On Fridays and Saturdays, a lot of highschool kids between 16 and 18 spend their time at these places. These people very often come in groups of 10 to 15 persons at once into the pubs. They prefer different flavoured drinks, having raspberry or blackberry taste, containing only a little amount of alcohol (Hooch, Woody, etc.).

Another new trend is the increase of special entertainment for the guests, like Gogo-dancers, multimedia-acts, lasershowes, internet access, Karaoke, showbars, fashionshows, famous DJs, different event-motto or music-motto, etc. Only places that offer some kind of entertainment are so called IN-places. Club-owners and Event-promoters observed, that people nowadays are more demanding and more difficult to satisfy and therefore it's necessary to have a well organised concept to make events successful. This seems to be the reason why clubbings are so popular at the moment, because always some special kind of entertainment as well as special locations are offered.

Electronic music is one more new trend which a lot of pubs and clubs are offering at least once a week. A revival of breakdance or robotdance from the 80ies can be observed in connection with the trend to electronic music.

Also the interest in German chartmusic seems to be a new trend. It used to be "out" for many years but lately even some very trendy night-clubs are offering one night a week that kind of music. It seems to be very popular among students.

As already mentioned earlier in this report, clubs are offering different music-motto at different days of the week, so they are able to attract a broad range of audience. Conclusively people are not restricted to certain places but rather attracted by special music-motto or events at different days of the week.

DIFFERENT GOING OUT PATTERNS

People in different age groups have different motives for going out. Generally people under 18 are going out to meet friends and also drug consumption is a strong factor for going out. Persons over 23 often go out just to relax and listen to music and of course meeting friends is also in this age group an important factor. To find a partner seems to be more important for younger people.

TIMETABLE

Usually people with „9 to 5“ jobs are going out at weekends and people who are not restricted to any strict working hours (computer-business, creative jobs, students,..) tend to go out during the week. Generally we were able to observe, that people choose to attend certain events which are of some interest for them and it does not matter so much on which days they take place.

No special going out routes could be identified. Young people often meet their friends already at home and then they go out together, mostly to some discos. People in the age group of 20 and upwards often meet friends first in a restaurant and then later they go to some pubs and after that, they continue to some nightclubs - which usually open at around 9:00 p.m. - or to some clubbing events – which open at around 10:00 p.m. and reach their peak between 12:00 and 1:00.

In the city aggressive behaviour is not observed very often. It seems to be connected to alcohol consumption, which is higher at the suburban areas or at some distinctive scenes like mentioned earlier in this report. If aggressive behaviour occurs, it's mainly related to jealousy. Young people who mostly go out only at weekends, tend to show more aggressive behaviour than people who go out more often. This same patterns can be found when people gather in big groups for going out.

Police keeps driving through the city centre at nights even more at weekends, so this also might be a reason why aggressive behaviour does not occur on the streets. Club-owners and security members generally did not mention any major problems related to aggressive behaviour inside the places. If it does happen, most of the times the problem can be solved without any major disturbances and people who start a fight on the premises are escorted outside, by members of the security. Very rarely only, police needs to be called to take care of the problem.

Most of the popular places are located in the centre of the city and they can be easily reached with public transports. This is a reason, why driving under the influence of substances is not a significant problem. However it is a major problem in the suburban areas, because public transport is often not available there.

Allowed alcohol consumption in connection with driving, was reduced from 0,8 to 0,5 promille. In order of this new law, we were told that people consume more alcohol nowadays but at the same time, more people take a taxi to get home rather than drive themselves.

Other kind of risk behaviour like unsafe sex, daring, stealing etc. is more commonly seen in connection with alcohol- rather than abuse of drugs.

DRUGS

The general attitude of young people towards drugs seems to be changing. In the last 2 years, drugs seem to have lost the mysterious and secretive touch. To have knowledge about different kind of drugs is very common among youngsters these days. Also young people who don't take any drugs themselves, have a great knowledge about drugs and nobody minds talking freely about them. Many young people plead for the legalisation of Cannabis. This change of attitude results in playing down the risks of drug-abuse. On the other hand for some young people it loses the appeal of using drugs. This seems to be a phenomena which is not restricted to certain groups of youngsters but appears on a broad level.

A new trend concerning drugs is the use of legal intoxicating substances like different kinds of mushrooms. Also the private grow of hemp plants is increasing, because seed can be bought legally. Sniffing-substances like "Poppers" are very popular too and the use of it is flourishing. We were told by the police that the use of a substance called "Permittin" is spreading and it can be bought legally in Slovakia. But we have no further information about this substance.

Most of the “small dealers” are behaving, like the use of drugs would be legalised. Dealers generally show more aggressive behaviour towards their customers as well as towards the police. The police mainly observes events which are related to the drug-scene in order to get hints on “big dealers”. Also the number of “small dealers” at these events has increased. Club-owners employ security people to stop the dealing of drugs and -consumption on the premises. In some places the use of Cannabis is accepted by the Club-owners.

Police thinks that the best way of stopping the increase of drug abuse is long term education for parents, teachers and youngsters about the abuse of drugs and the consequences of it. Young people seem to be very open towards anonymous drug counselling-projects which take place in front of night-clubs and sometimes also inside the locations. At some events, especially Rave-events, a organisation – called “check it” is present. Streetworkers, Scientists, Youngsters and Vienna’s drug co-ordination-officials work on a voluntary basis for this organisation. Everybody can bring their Ecstasy pills there, and the composition of the pills can be tested. This all happens anonymous, the kids get a number after leaving a small piece of their pill, which gets photographed before, and after a short while they can read their number on a list, which tells them if the composition of the pill is okay or not. This organisation works in arrangement with police authorities.

THE ROL OF THE POLICE IN NIGHT LIFE

The police only plays a small role in the nightlife. There are no controls about the consume of alcohol for underage people. Police raids are seldom carried through. The way how the police deals with the problem of drug abuse in nightlife also supports the free behaviour of young people related to drug consumption.

We were told by streetworkers, that young people with a low level of education have a higher risk for abusing drugs. Youngsters with difficult life-events, like the divorce of their parents or the situation of unemployment also have a higher risk of getting into the drug-scene. This problems can lead to the loss of future perspective and goals. Comparing to other European cities, people generally think that the drug problem in Vienna is not a major issue.

PUBLICITY WORK

The distribution of flyers or leaflets all over the city is a very common way of advertising events. People also have the possibility to leave their name and addresses at some events or clubs in order to get monthly programs sent by post. These strategies are mostly used by clubs with a variety of entertainment and music-motto. Upper-class events hardly ever use these kind of publicity strategies. They mainly count on mouth to mouth propaganda which plays a key-role. Discos in the suburbs often use posters as a publicity strategy. A strategy used throughout all kinds of scenes is to hire a well known DJ to attract people and lift up the image of the place. Some places use the

internet to become known, where it is possible to listen to the music played at the club via computer. This is a very new thing and is mostly used to attract students who have free access to the internet. Publicity work is also done by sponsoring sport events like boxing or live-acts with Gogo-dancers at different exhibitions. A good concept seems to be the keyfactor to make an event successful.

The most important strategy for attracting a certain group of people is the music-program, only at upper-class events prices are used as a strategy. Security members are there to stop drug consumption and aggressive behaviour on the premises as well as stopping drunk people from getting into the places.

In the last few years the demand for special entertainment has increased. Successful clubs picked up this trend and started offering a broad range of entertainment. This off course is one of the most important strategies for attracting people at the moment.

3.3. NIGHTLIFE IN DIFFERENT EUROPEAN CITIES AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH RECREATIONAL POLYDRUG USE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter synthesizes and compares the information which emerges from the ethnographical reports made in nine European cities and which are presented below. The information was obtained by the members of each of the teams taking part in the SONAR Project. These members are experts in the different Social Science fields and have a lengthy experience in common of working on drug use. They all know their own cities well, and the recreational nightlife in particular. Through their personal and professional experience, the members of the team are knowledgeable on the way in which the nocturnal dynamic of their city has been changing in the last few years, as well as the effects of the appearance on the scene of generations of youngsters associated with a specific and very new recreational culture.

At this stage, the survey methodology required exploration of the nightlife in each city beyond the personal experience of the members of the teams which, although necessary, could have been insufficient. The objectives of the study comprises an approach to the use of drugs (legal and illegal), identifying new trends in drug use and exploring their relationship with recreational contexts. This required refinement of data collection techniques. The methodological challenge consisted of achieving the necessary distance which would allow description and analysis from the experience of the different people who take part in the nightlife, and being able to transmit such information to other teams in other cities in an operational way. Given their closeness to the facts, it is not always easy for the local teams to select the most specific elements of their environment.

The field work in the nightlife of each city was carried out by the relevant team during January and March 1998. In the first place, it was a matter of identifying the different groups or gangs of youngsters who are the protagonists of the nightlife. It was also necessary to identify the more recreational areas of the city, as well as the dynamic and the interrelationships which were established between them. The principal method employed to obtain information was by the semi-structured interview complemented by the observations of the informant. There was a minimum of ten semi-structured interviews in each city, with different individuals associated with the nightlife, and distributed as follows:

- Two owners of nightlife establishments or similar.
- One or two disc jockeys.
- Four disco-goers or clients of other nocturnal establishments (from different age groups, two of which had to be under 18 years of age).
- A private security service guard.
- A worker in public relations.
- A street worker (social worker, street educator...).
- A police officer or local government representative.

In no city was there any difficulty in reaching informants and varied information - complementary or contradictory at times - has been obtained from them all. This has enabled a dynamic and complex map to be made of each city. The information obtained through the interviews is the principal source of data which acted as a guide in drawing up the trends, habits, subgroups, spaces and conflicts which explain the recreational movement in each city.

THE CITIES

Athens, Berlin, Coimbra, Manchester, Modena, Nice, Palma de Mallorca, Utrecht and Vienna are the cities which acted as the settings for this survey. These are cities with a very deeply rooted personality or character which makes them very different settings. Some of these cities, such as Athens, Berlin and Manchester are megametropolises, housing millions of inhabitants, with districts and suburbs which are very different from each other. They are multicultural cities, some with significant immigrant populations, with a very important and varied recreational activities. Other cities such as Coimbra, Utrecht or Modena are small. These are rather quiet cities with a very significant student population. Their peculiarity lies in their student nature, and the fact that, the young people of the region have other nearby cities where they can go (Porto, Amsterdam, Bologna, for example) to enjoy themselves. Other cities such as Nice, Palma or Vienna, although intermediate in size, occupy a central position in their regions and act as catchment centres for the surrounding population. They are also cities where tourism is important within the dynamic of the city, which implies an abundance of recreational activities. In them all, it is their historical city centres where recreational life is more intensified throughout the entire week, although areas are also being created on the periphery which attract a large number of the population at weekends.

The significance of the type of establishment changes according to the city. The significance of the bars in cities more to the south, such as Nice, Palma, Athens, Coimbra or Modena, is that they perform a function which is similar to the pubs in Manchester or the cafes in Utrecht. In the majority of the cities, the after-hours establishments open in the early hours of the morning to cater those who want to go on when the other establishments close. However, in Athens, establishments which open at midnight are considered to be after-hours establishments. Similarly, the clubs play a different role in each city: in some they are the most populated places, as in Nice, and in other places they are more private. Perhaps it is the discos which perform a more similar function in all the cities but we have also noted that in some cities there is a lessening in the interest which they arouse in some young people.

WHO GOES OUT AT NIGHT?

One of the objectives of the field survey is to identify the different groups which best characterize the nightlife of each city. Their open-ended nature and the constant transformation of the groups or gangs makes it difficult to classify them according to very specific criteria such as musical tastes, dress or ideology. In a very general way, we can say that the youngsters are multivalent. They are interested in various musical styles, dress in a more or less standard way, change fashions with a certain ease, and move between more than one nightlife scene. Therefore, the principal characteristic is that the boundaries between groups are hazy. This does not mean that there are no specific groups which dress, act and use in a different way and which, in addition, recognize each other as being different, but they can also move within wider circles of people.

The most relevant criteria were established in each city on the specific nature of the four groups most characteristic of the recreational life in each one. The most recurrent criteria are age, student or non-student status, socio-economic level, musical affiliation, type of establishment frequented and/or dress.

Athens. In this city, music and age were the criteria for classifying those involved in the nightlife into four groups. According to those interviewed, there is a high degree of differentiation on the basis of music and, therefore, the age groups are differentiated according to musical preferences. Appearance is also an important factor for some of the groups identified, here, particularly with those who form part of the trance scene. This same group also glories in alternative values to the dominant culture which to them are fun, pleasure and leisure time. As nonconformists, they consider music and, more specifically drugs, as their allies. Their attitude runs parallel to their beliefs, as they are the group most using drugs. The young people identified with this scene adopt different degrees of radicalism, some are more loyal to their postulations, and other sectors, although they also join in this scene from preference for this musical style, are less loyal to the culture which envelopes it. This is the group linked to the rave parties which are organised in open-air areas, in suburbs to the south of the city.

Another group comprising those associated with house and hip hop music also have a distinctive appearance, with an informal style of dress and use several drugs, particularly alcohol and cannabis. The rockers and the heavy metal fans are also present in the city and are identified by their dress style; they are somewhat older and, although drug users, less so than the preceding groups.

A singular group in Athens is the one associated with local Greek music. It is a group which combines tradition and modernity. With its dress style, it is assimilated by other groups; they wear the latest styles, frequent the same establishments, also take drugs, although less so, but prefer local music, so much so, that trance and local music can be heard simultaneously in the same establishments.

Berlin. The criterion used to distinguish the Berlin groups was basically music. Insofar as dress style is concerned, those interviewed indicate that there is no longer a specific dress style. Although the techno appearance is still maintained, it seems there is a trend to dress in a more discrete and classic style. The youngest people prefer techno, house and jungle music. This has been the most popular music in the last few years. The establishments where they listen to this music attract very different types of people at weekends, and it is during the week when the type of people is more defined. Another group is linked to hip hop music which can be heard in fewer establishments. These two groups are notable for being the principal drug users. Another type of group, an older one, is associated with jazz and soul music and, finally, there are those associated with more commercial music favoured by the media.

Coimbra. The groups identified comprise university students, the younger students who are in secondary education, young adults and the alternatives. Dress style, music and ideology do not appear to be important to those interviewed in Coimbra in respect of nightlife. As far as appearance and dress are concerned, the philosophy seems to be that each one follows his or her own taste and that comfort is a priority. According to those interviewed, there is a low level of specialisation in the establishments and, with the exception of a couple of discos which play techno music, the rest play a variety of music - Brazilian music, reggae, dance-music, rock, pop and others. In Coimbra, the major recreational events (parties, concerts...) are very clearly determined by academic life. At the beginning and end of every academic year, there is a week of shows and entertainment in the city. There are also big festivals half-way through the academic year, known as the 'queima das fitas' where a good deal of alcohol - mostly beer- is consumed. During the rest of the year, recreational life is quiet which induces young people to go out to other cities such as Oporto and Lisbon.

As we mentioned above, age was the predominant criterion in classifying the groups. The alternatives group is notable as being the biggest drug users, and there is a greater presence of young men in the establishments. The members of this group tend to be lower class, are less involved in their studies, and a good number of them are employed, although in work which requires few qualifications. In spite of their being poorer, they spend more on entertainment. The university students have a very high

social prestige, are granted privileges by the population as a whole, and their high spirits are excused.

Manchester. Once again, music was the criterion when classifying the various groups of youngsters involved in the city's nightlife. But, as in the other countries, it must be said that there was difficulty in establishing differences and the boundaries of the groups, particularly in respect of students, as they are to be found in all the establishments.

The young people associated with house music are notable consumers - fashions, expensive establishments, designer drugs, alcohol and cannabis. The young associated with techno and hardcore dress in a more informal way although they also wear designer labels. This group participates more in the rave festivals during summer. The group linked to drum & bass and jungle music is a more minority one, the stereotype of the people in this group would come into the 'rude boy' category. This group have their own slang language, often associated with the music. Cannabis is the drug most associated with this group. The fourth group is the one associated with funk and disco music. They dress more 'normally' although there is a prevalence of fashions copying the sixties and seventies styles. Drug use in this group appears to be less.

Modena. The Modena groups have also been defined basically by musical style, although other aspects were taken into account such as drug use, socio-economic and cultural variables, and the power of attraction exercised over them by the public relations of the discos which follow the trends of a given moment. Age is common to all groups, it being possible to find young people from 16 years of age to close to thirty.

The first group is the one associated with rock music and rather opposed to techno music. This group follows a route of its establishments, and joins in concerts. In the main, they drink alcohol and use cannabis. A second group are disco-goers who visit the establishments which play the more commercial type of music. Another group comprises the young people associated with techno music, who dress in underground style, and are designer drug users. This is the group with the youngest people, many are adolescents between 14 and 15 years of age. The fourth group comprises those who take part in rave festivals where the ecstasy culture holds full sway. It is also the population group which most uses the after-hours establishments.

Nice. In this city the groups were classified in respect of the establishments they frequented. Other criteria were taken into account such as if they went out during the week or only at weekends, the favourite style of music, ethnic variables, etc. One of the characteristics of this city is that, in spite of it being a medium-size city, there is socio-economic inequality between different population segments, accentuated by unemployment and the presence of immigrants.

The first group selected is the population which frequents the pubs, they are upper middle class, many are students, and are generally between 18 and 30 years of age although younger people are also to be found in some clubs. The music in the pubs is very heterogeneous, rock and house or hip hop being played equally. Drug use is

considerable and the dominant one is alcohol. The second population group is the one which frequents the discos and prefers dance or house music. Among the discos there are those with a homosexual and transvestite environment although they are also used by heterogeneous people. The third group is the one which frequents the rave festivals. They are younger and are closely associated with house music. These festivals are closely linked to drug use and are generally underground ones. The final group is the one which is more closely associated with private parties which are held, on some occasions, in public areas and, on others, in private houses and which are organised by companies. This is a new phenomenon which attracts a more adult public, around 30 years of age. Cocaine is the star drug at these parties.

Palma. Recreational life occupies an important position in the city. Although the pace varies in accordance with the season of the year, in general, there is plenty of activity. The population is rather heterogeneous in respect of dress and musical affiliations. There are some differences in dress styles and musical preferences but there is no clear distinction nor is there any specific denomination for the different groups, as the same people change affiliations and dress styles depending on the day of the week. In Palma, definition of the groups was made mainly on the basis of the favourite area of recreational activity, age, educational level and social level. Music provided few clues for differentiating between groups and, in addition, the establishments are not particularly specialised. The first group to be classified comprises the youngest, from the middle and upper-middle classes, and is localised in a district close to the city centre. Another group, also comprises the youngest, but from the middle-lower class, and is localised in an area of suburbia close to the city. A third group is the one which remains in one area in the city centre, in smaller establishments. There is a prevalence of older, upper-middle class people, some university students and professionals. The last group comprises those who frequent the after-hours establishments or those locales which prolong nocturnal activity a few more hours. It is a heterogeneous population group in respect of dress, age and musical tastes. This is the group with the heaviest use of all types of drugs.

Utrecht. The criteria used to differentiate the groups in Utrecht was mainly musical but also age and socio-economic level. Drug use - alcohol in particular - is a common factor. The first group is mostly associated with the house scene and it is where the youngest predominate. Although students are present in all environments, they also have their own scene in faculty parties and student clubs. A third group comprises those who frequent the concerts. It has a population of all ages and they make up the alternative scene (grungies, heavy metal, punkies) where the squatters (with an anarchic life style). The fourth group comprises the old clubs generally frequented by an older population between 20 and 40 years of age, in this group there are people associated with the gay movement . This group has the highest use for all types of drugs.

Vienna. The city centre is the main area of the recreational life. For this reason, four scenes were differentiated to classify the population which participates in its nightlife. One group comprises club users, closely associated with house music and dancing. The

latest fashion is very important to them although they adopt a variety of styles. Another group comprises those who form part of the rave scene, young people between 14 and 25 years of age, for whom drug use is habitual. Another group consists of those who live in the suburbs, listens to techno and more commercial music, are working class and also uses drugs.. A fourth group comprises students who go out more during the week and prefer quieter environments. The music is less important to them.

If we take an overall look at this sample of the most representative and visible groups in the nightlife in each city, even though the group selection criteria were not similar, we can find certain aspects which are common to each one, or which differentiate them, on the basis of their description. As was to be expected, a common aspect is the significant presence of very young people in the recreational environments, although very often there is a mixture of ages. Another common factor is that house and techno music, in all their variations, are present in all the cities and are becoming majority styles particularly for the new generations. This technoculture, clashes at times, with a rock culture, comprising older people and, in general, lower illegal drug use. A common factor is that drugs are used in all the cities, although not with the same frequency by all the groups. Linked to this, and common to all the cities, is the appearance and establishment of the after-hours establishments which attract a population which goes out more at night and which is, generally, the one with the heaviest drug use. It is an important objective of this survey to establish differences in substance use in accordance with the type of group as this will enable us to make progress in understanding the relationship between different recreational environments and drug use. However, we will leave the utilisation of these data for a future work.

In addition, there are differentiating factors in the cities, such as the impact of the various musical styles and the specialisation, or otherwise, of the population group associated with each style. There are cities such as Manchester, Berlin and Utrecht where musical affinities clearly determine the affiliation to specific recreational scenes. In some cities, it was the rave parties which were the most notable differentiating factor in the groups, arising from the necessity of certain groups of young people to have their own scene. And now that the rave parties have been in some way institutionalised and are losing their informal nature, in some cities, such as Utrecht, they are also losing popularity. Gender differences in participation in the recreational life is another differentiating factor of the selected groups and of the cities. In all cities, there is a greater presence of males than females but the difference varies according to group and city. In Coimbra, it seems that the fact that young girls are to be found on their own in bars and discos is an indicator of social and cultural change; in some groups in Berlin, Athens and Utrecht where men are in the majority, the difference is also notable. Between the groups, as between cities, there are those which tend to go out more frequently and for a longer period of time. In general, these groups are associated with a higher use. It is also of interest that in some cities, a certain group is associated with traditional music (Athens, Berlin...), something which does not occur in the other cities.

SEASONALITY

Seasonality is understood to be the division of the year into the different periods or stages in which the social life of each city is structured. The pace of employment and the academic year are the main regulators of time in a modern city. The week is differentiated by working days and public holidays, the months by employment periods and holiday periods. In some cities, holidays imply an exodus of the population to other places, whereas other cities, particularly in the Mediterranean, experience an opposite effect as during the holiday period they receive and host a population of very diverse provenance. It is obvious that the different periods of the year influence the nightlife in the cities.

In the university cities such as Coimbra, Modena or Utrecht where the student population is a significant percentage in the city, the night revolves around student life and the leisure industry offers various recreational activities to meet the imagined requirements of students (student parties, Thursday is turned into an important night for those students who leave the city at the weekend...). In these cities, a large part of the population disappears from the scene, during the holiday months, to return to their places of origin. In other cities such as Vienna or Berlin, the arrival of summer also transforms the city and recreational habits, the nightlife changes areas and people favour establishments where they can be in the open-air. In Berlin, the summer "Love Parade" is a large musical event which has become an important occasion for the city. It attracts many young people and has a significant relationship with the use of recreational drugs.

WEEKEND

In the opinion of those interviewed, there is no doubt that the weekend is the time chosen by the majority of people to go out at night, usually on Friday and Saturday, although Thursday is of great significance in those cities with large student populations, and Sunday also has a certain presence. Saturday is the favourite everywhere.

In Vienna, the population with a working day which runs from 9 to 5, goes out more frequently at weekends but those who do not have an established timetable also go out during the week. In fact, people do go out during the week if there are events which interest them. This is also reflected in the results of the quantitative survey where we can see that 61.7% of those interviewed say they also go out during the week.

In Athens, going out on Saturday night is considered a social must. Friday is also a night to go out for the young. The remainder of the week is devoted to obligations. And in fact, in the quantitative results, only 29.7% say they go out during the week.

In Nice, the people who go out at the weekend and those who go out during the week have nothing in common. During the week, it is 'les gens de nuit' who go out, in other words the habitués of the night or the 'hédonistes de la nuit' who feel identified with the nightlife and make it their life style whereas, at the weekend, the people who go out are those seeking occasional entertainment, the majority from the middle class, and from the peripheral districts. These differences are also very pronounced in the quantitative data

by groups, where some 90.8% of the group associated with the rave parties - the young who are a part of a more alternative subculture, in other words - go out during the week, whereas only 6.7% of the group associated with private parties do so.

In Palma, they go out very little during the week and, when they do, it's to such entertainment as the cinema, theatre and concerts. The bars and discos area have clients only at weekends (Fridays and Saturdays and a few, generally students, on Thursdays). These data are reinforced by the quantitative results where they show that only 25.9% of people go out during the week. This situation is different during the summer months when the city is transformed by tourism and recreational life is intensified.

In Utrecht, a comment at the beginning of the report mentions "a return to the old days", and that now they only go out at weekends, specifically on Saturday which has recovered ground as the favourite night. Student life had made Thursday into almost a public holiday but it seems that this trend is disappearing. As for going out during the week, the quantitative data show that 50.% of the total group interviewed do so.

As for Berlin, Manchester and Modena, these are the cities which show the more extreme situations. In Berlin, and according to the quantitative data, some 76.4% of the population interviewed go out during the week. In Manchester only 15.7% and in Modena 19%.

And, according to the quantitative data, the percentages of young people who go out almost every weekend, and even go out more than one night at every weekend, are very high. The cities where these frequencies are highest are Nice, Palma, Utrecht and Vienna. Manchester is notable for being one with the lowest percentage. This figure is explained in the qualitative report which comments on the necessity of saving in order to be able to go out or to go to a party or disco one night a month. The high cost of going out at night in this town is an important explanatory factor to be taken into account.

HOURS

Generalisation of nightlife has led to a certain degree of tension among some sectors of the population, those who wish to rest at night and those who want to enjoy themselves. The municipal authorities in all the cities have passed municipal bye-laws regulating opening hours to be enforced by the police so that it can be said that there are restrictions on the opening hours of the establishments in all the cities. In spite of this, compliance with such regulation is very intermittent, and violations are frequent. The owners of the establishments tend to take advantage of every possible opportunity to do business by keeping their establishment open while there are clients who wish to remain there. This is the result of the increase in the number of people demanding longer opening hours. The appearance of the after-hours establishments and, in many cities, the rave parties, has allowed the nightlife to broaden, and it is even possible to go on the whole weekend without stopping. If we look at the results of the quantitative part of the Survey, the average length of time for a clubbing session is between 4.1 hours in the city of Modena, and 7.2 hours in the cities which are open longer (Berlin, Palma).

Obviously, those groups who frequent the after-hours establishments make the night last longer.

NOCTURNAL ROUTES

Movement between establishments and areas is a feature of the nightlife in all the cities. In the majority of them, the people generally start in a cafe, bar or open-air area which acts as a place to meet up with friends. In Palma de Mallorca and many other Spanish cities, certain public spaces such as car parks, the street or areas of waste ground have become the meeting points for young people before they set out on the establishments routes. During the time they remain at the meeting place, the young people listen to music from their own cars, drink and get ready for the night. This strategy enables them to drink alcohol for less money.

Night having started, the next step is to go on to a disco, bar or club where dancing/listening to music is the central activity. In the event that the environment is not adequate, individuals or groups of friends continue to move on until they find the place where they feel better but, on many occasions, the change of bar or disco is in response to the idea they have of the night. A third stage, now in the early hours of the morning, when certain establishments begin to close, is the time for some to go home to sleep and for others to go on in search of some after-hours establishment where they can continue until the morning. In general, it is more common to go to two or three after-hours establishments throughout the night. According to the quantitative data, those who tend to change establishments less are the Athenians where half confine themselves to visiting a single establishment during the night. Palma is located at the other extreme where more than half visit 4 or more places during the night.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NIGHTLIFE INDUSTRY

The recreational activities have led to an industry which revolves around the establishments, bars, fashion and, also drug use, both legal and illegal. Going out at night is expensive for young people and a significant percentage of their budget goes on smoking, drinking and taking drugs. It is normal to either pay to enter the establishments, or obligatory to have a drink. Throughout the night, physical activity and sociability obligations encourage drinking to continue. At the end of the weekend, the financial cost of their enjoyment has been high. More than half the young people obtain this money mainly from working, and a third from their parents. Therefore, the young people form a social group which invests an important quantity of its own and its family resources in a drug use associated with entertainment where such drug use occupies an important position.

The recreational industry has discovered a seam of gold in nightlife, and it has become a very active sector in creating a new demand and promoting its products. In almost all the cities, publicity marketing has created many means of diffusion such as newspapers, posters or flyers which can be easily obtained and are gratis. Through the

publicity material, it can be seen that the range is very diverse and it is presented in a very attractive way so that this publicity material itself becomes a cultural product which gives a group of young people its identity. The events are concentrated into the weekends, although there is a certain emphasis on targeting those young people who do not go out without a specific reason for doing so.

It is now some years since the birth of a certain alternative movement which took shape as underground and sporadic parties. The name which was given to this type of party was “rave”, an English word which is similar in meaning to delirium, enthusiasm. Its frequency, its diffusion to various countries and, most of all, the important participation of young people has made the raves into a veritable social movement. The parties began on the fringes of the commercial circuits, in the outskirts of the city, in empty spaces and old establishments, attracting a large number of fans who danced to the sound of techno and house music. The use of drugs, particularly designer drugs, and alcohol seems to have also become a central feature of these kinds of parties. The recreational industry was quick to see that it would be in its financial interest to play a part in events which were attracting so many people.

Some countries have adopted a repressive policy against this movement which has contributed to maintaining it as an alternative which has not been incorporated into the industry. The case of France is an example. In this country, repression has forced the ravers and others associated with the techno movement to organise underground parties and has limited the nightlife industry from assimilating this movement for commercial purposes. By way of anecdote, this is illustrated by a member of a techno association who thanked a police officer in Paris for implementing a repressive policy as, in this way, his movement retained its authenticity more than in any other country. Conversely, the institutionalization of these rave parties in Utrecht has led to a loss of interest in them by many young people who have returned to their traditional establishments.

In some cities, there is mention of a parallel circuit to the most habitually used public establishments. In Coimbra, informants maintain that unauthorised rave parties and private parties are organised in private houses where it seems that drug use is habitual and where the most used drug is cocaine. In Nice, the illegal rave parties are given the name of “free parties”. They are generally organised by disc jockeys who forsake the urban discos and move to the country. Up to 400 people may be gathered together, and these parties are held more frequently in summer. It would seem that in spite of being underground events, they are generally not very conflictive as they are not close to the city, and do not generate violence.

CHANGES IN THE LAST FEW YEARS

The nightlife industry is growing and diversifying. It is the principal phenomenon associated with leisure life. In the last few years, the nightlife industry has grown in all the cities which took part in this survey, and may be considered as very well established. We give some of the characteristic features of this industry below.

There is a constant flux of opening and closing establishments as the population is nomadic and changes establishments in search of the newest environments with the latest sensations. Another - rather exceptional - reason for closing is confrontations with the authorities for ignoring the regulations on closing hours, noise or drug taking on the premises.

Perhaps one of the most obvious new features has been the trend to prolong the night with the opening of the after-hours establishments.

Increased competition has led to the development of different strategies to capture clients; in some cities such as Manchester, Athens, Modena and Palma, the same bar offers different environments during the week to attract a diverse public which would not otherwise go out during the week. Young people are encouraged to enter the establishments by rock-bottom prices and special offers (cheaper admission prices when arriving before peak hour, several drinks included in the admission price, etc.). and the attraction of the most 'in' disc jockeys, go-go girls, drag queens or live music concerts. Flyers are the most usual means of spreading the information.

The case of French companies which organise *à la carte* fiestas in establishments (normally discos or spaces prepared for the event) is an interesting example of how the nightlife industry has diversified and specialised. So that, for example, dolly parties are held in France. This type of party is held in different establishments and organised almost entirely by a company which supplies all the material and human resources. In this way, it is satisfying the "demand" for original events by the public or those looking for nightlife. Some clubs base their strategy on techno music considering it to be more select than the commercial music of the large discos.

The type of establishment preferred by young people also continues to evolve and, in this way, the typical macro-discos of a year ago are in decline as the people return to bars and places where, in addition, to listening to music and being able to dance, they can also chat and eat. In Modena for example, disco-pubs have become popular (pubs where one can dine, drink and dance). In Vienna, Irish pubs have also appeared on the scene, although the discos continue to be the favourites and the raves parties are growing in popularity. In Nice, the pubs are providing serious competition for the discos. In Berlin, it is said that the closure of a large disco has favoured the opening of smaller sized clubs, and that people no longer go out to dance all night but also to have a drink and talk. In Manchester, the clubs and the private discos are also experiencing a difficult time because of outbreaks of violence and drug trafficking problems, whereas bars are becoming the in-places, and are recreating a more Mediterranean atmosphere. In Utrecht, there is a return to the more formal establishments like the clubs, there are also clubs or bars who attract a divers public, some times the public differs several times in one day: in the afternoon a kids are invited for a theatre, in the evening one can have dinner and in the night the establishment transforms in a dancinghall. Although a minority are looking for new, less organised smaller places which shun commercialisation. The discos, however, continue to have an important weight, except in Athens where there is a clear preference for cafés and clubs.

The rave parties and after-hours establishments are where the night is more prolonged. This is probably the principal novelty on the nightlife scene in many cities. These are frequented by those who enjoy their entertainment in a more radical way. Because of its characteristics, these types of places are in a minority although attracting a by no means negligible percentage of the population, since 20.9% go to after-hours establishments and 21.6% to raves, if we consider the total of the European sample in our Survey. Manchester is the city which shows a higher percentage of those frequenting rave events, followed by Vienna. At the other end of the scale, the number of those going to raves is dropping in Utrecht, where it seems that young people consider that they have become too commercialised and they opt for the clubs and bars although others are looking for new scenes outside the commercial circuits. In Manchester, they go frequently to the after-hours establishments and even more so in Palma and Vienna. In Athens, they also go frequently to the after-hours establishments and raves but it has to be pointed out that the establishments they call by these names which reassemble the European ones in name are not, in fact, the same. The after-hours establishments in Athens, for example, open at midnight.

THE MUSIC

In Europe, the recreational movement of these last few years has developed in close association with house music and dancing. Electronic music is the keystone of the house and techno movement. These styles have continued to branch out, generating a wide diversity of styles (See the chapter on musical styles). An enormous spectrum of musical styles has appeared over these last few years: jungle, hardcore, trance, progressive, mellow, hardcore-house, deep house, deep garage, trip hop, hip hop, ambient, etc.

As house and techno music continued to grow it was also assimilated to a large extent by the nightlife industry and adapted to suit the commercial circuits where the latest music is to be found. Now, at the end of the nineties, for a large number of the general public, in such cities as Athens, Berlin and Utrecht, house music is already part of the popchart music scene, - commercial music, in other words. Although, according to the Dutch, there is still a type of house music which is 'independent' of the commercial circuit, at the present time, and which is known as 'underground' house.

And also, perhaps, as a result of this disintegration of styles and, of course, because of the commercialisation of the music and the nightlife, it would seem that the impetus of the techno movement has lost part of the significance, enthusiasm and spontaneity which identified it, in the beginning. At the present time, it has become a style comprising an enormous range of musical possibilities. This change generates a certain nostalgia which can be seen in such comments as 'we are going back to the old times' (Utrecht), 'the euphoria at parties is falling off, it is out' (Berlin). However, we are not seeing a phenomenon in crisis, what we are seeing is a constant dying and renaissance of different styles, an accelerated dynamic of renewal, remakes, old styles and mergers of various styles. In several cities, it is notable that, at the present time, the music of the eighties is experiencing a 'come-back'. In some establishments, one of the nights has already been labelled as 'music of the eighties night'.

In some cities, traditional styles are being retained as are those from other traditions. Caribbean music made a strong entrance on the scene in the last few years in such cities as Nice and Palma. In Palma, specifically, there is a great deal of enthusiasm for Cuban and Brazilian music, and there is even a certain enthusiasm in taking lessons in these types of dancing. The same thing happens in other cities. In Coimbra, salsa or reggae also have their followers, probably as a result of the influence of ex-colonials and African students who live in the city. In Athens, contemporary music associated to tradition is very popular.

DRUG USE PATTERNS IN THE LAST FEW YEARS AND NEW DRUGS

On the basis of the opinions of informants, almost all the European cities which take part in the SONAR Project show an increase in drug use in the recreational nightlife sphere. Berlin is the exception, according to local informants, as there seems to have been a decrease in use in the last twelve months. One of those interviewed explained it by saying that with age - in reference to those who began the house movement - they can not go on any longer, use drugs as much or keep up the pace of going out. We must remember, however, that according to the quantitative data, and the information on the groups selected in each city, Berlin is one of the cities with the highest use.

In general, we can say that alcohol is the most used drug, the one which is most liked, and most abused, in practically all the cities. In some cities such as Utrecht and Manchester, its can be seen to have increased in popularity. Alcohol enables a wide variety of combinations and forms of use. Each city has a culture associated with alcohol. There are local names for the favourite drinks such as the *alcopops* of Manchester, the *chupitos* of Palma or those prepared from alcohol which are being marketed in Nice and which are sold in cans.

The next most popular drug is cannabis which in some cities is even as normalised as alcohol and tobacco among some groups of young people. It is used in public and quite openly, as if it were merely a cigarette. Several reports mention the existence of a climate of social permissiveness in respect of cannabis. In several reports, its use is allowed by the owners of the nightlife establishments. In Utrecht, on the contrary, less cannabis is used and it is even starting to be looked at askance socially and there are the beginnings of a certain movement against illegal drug use. In some establishments, the owners ask for it not to be used on the premises. On the other hand, in other cities, the cannabis legalisation movement has been growing. In Spain, the movement publishes several magazines defending its position, and the marihuana leaf has become a common symbol and decorative motif on articles of clothing. In Athens, there is also mention of said movements.

Ecstasy has already gone on to be just one more drug on the market. It is a drug which is no longer new, although a wide variety of tablets with different names and designs still continue to appear on the market. According to some, this loss of attraction seems to be a result of the supposed adulteration of the tablets. In Modena, they

comment that probably the recent preventive campaigns had got across their message on the dangers, and that this had reduced ecstasy use. In Vienna, the preventive campaigns are also said to be why the drug no longer exerts so much fascination on the young, who, users or non-users have access to more information. From informants in some cities such as Athens and Palma, it can be seen that the mistaken belief that ecstasy users do not mix it with alcohol still continues to exist.

But quantitative data received through the young people in this same Survey seem to contradict this impression that the situation is improving. Now, it is not only the fact that young people continue taking these tablets without worrying themselves too much about the contents of the tablet but that, in addition, in all the cities, informants were unanimous in saying that ecstasy use is still increasing. Of the those surveyed, the figure range from 72% in Vienna to 38.9% in Berlin who believe that ecstasy use is increasing or from only 2% in Coimbra to 25.9% in Berlin who believe that it is dropping.

Contrary to what they believe has happened with ecstasy, cocaine has experienced a significant increase in popularity. In Modena and Palma, it is said that it is no longer an elitist drug but that its use has spread to other less well-to-do social levels. In other cities such as Berlin and Manchester, they consider that the use of cocaine has risen because its price has dropped on the market. The Dutch consider that its popularity has grown as a result of the bad quality of ecstasy. In Manchester, too, reference is made to the same reason with the addition that its effect is always as desired and that it is easier to control than ecstasy. In Palma, one of those interviewed explained that he and his friends generally save up money together to be able to buy cocaine, as they liked it better. In Berlin, it is said that cocaine has become the most popular drug. Whatever the case, the argument for the prestige of cocaine in comparison with ecstasy or other recreational drugs may be an interesting trend for future research.

The use of hallucinogens also seems to have increased, magic mushrooms and LSD most of all. In Athens, it is said that these are the drugs which are most in circulation, at present, in the rave ambience. In Manchester, it seems that use among the population in general has decreased although it has increased among young people.

The questionnaire included a question which asked the informant for the names of the two most popular drugs in his or her environment. The results showed the winners to be alcohol, cannabis and ecstasy. Alcohol appears as the most popular drug in Berlin, Nice, Utrecht (by a big difference here) and Vienna. In Coimbra, it appears in second place. In other cities it has lesser importance. Cannabis is the most popular drug in Athens, Coimbra and Modena. Utrecht is the city where it is less popular. In other cities, ecstasy and cocaine are more popular than cannabis. Ecstasy continues to have a very significant presence as an in-drug although it only occupies first place in Manchester and Palma. Cocaine also occupies a leading position, particularly in Manchester. By contrasting use habits with the perceptions of which drugs are popular, the most general future trends can be envisaged, such as a loss of prestige by cannabis in certain cities such as Utrecht, the permanence of ecstasy and alcohol, and the growing presence of cocaine.

As for new drugs, there do not seem to be too many. More than new substances, what does exist, as has already been mentioned, are new styles of use, and combinations of already existing substances. It is appropriate to highlight the 'eco-drugs' use in Utrecht and which is also spreading into other cities such as Modena, in the new age and alternative environments. The eco-drugs have been labelled as less dangerous than the synthetics for they are made from natural substances and thus appear to have a better image. They contain ephedrine, caffeine and benzoate. It seems that the group that uses them refuse to use the synthetic drugs which have become popular in the last few years. In Spain, it is known as vegetable ecstasy. Although it a drug of recent appearance in Europe, it is widespread in the United States.

It seems that use of the popper is spreading in Vienna, and in Modena, it is mentioned as a drug which is beginning to appear on the nightlife scene. In fact, in the interviews, a considerable percentage of the sample considers it to be a new drug on the market. Nevertheless, the popper may be considered as an already classic substance of restricted use. For some time, it was used more in male homosexual circles for its effects on sexual relationships and, subsequently, has begun to be used by other sectors of the population.

Other new drugs mentioned in Palma and Athens are ketamina or Special K, GHB and laughing gas. Some information on Ketamina and GHB has appeared in the media. GHB is an anaesthetic depressant which has also been employed as medication in certain countries, and is known as 'liquid ecstasy' or 'smart drug' as it appears to heighten mental capacity. It was used in the eighties by sportsmen to develop growth hormones. GHB may produce hallucinations, delirium, euphoria and anaesthetic effects. It seems that this drug is much cheaper than ecstasy. In its natural state, it has no colour, no taste, no smell and is marketed in the form of a blue or red gel.

Ketamina has analgesic and anaesthetic properties which is why it is used occasionally in medicine. Ketamina provokes effects of disassociation from surroundings. It is a white crystalline powder, and is sold in the form of white capsules with an engraved bird.

As for laughing gas, it seems to be popular in certain sectors of the house environments, specifically among the mellowers and mainstream and at the French raves. Laughing gas is nitrogen protoxide, used as a hospital anaesthetic. Its main effect is to produce euphoria, verbosity and loss of stability. It is sold for use, diluted in air, inside balloons.

The energy drinks are also very new, at least in Coimbra, where they seem to be very well accepted. Other new drugs which are mentioned but about which we have no information.

CONTROL POLICIES

In the majority of the cities, there is a notable lack of control by the local authorities on nightlife. The police take action basically on matters concerning opening hours and noise abatement, although in some cities regulations are enforced in a very relaxed way. Control is more accentuated in road safety. At the present time, control policies to deal

with alcoholism, have been established in many cities. In Vienna and Manchester, public transport has been supplied to reach the centre of the city, the main nightlife area. This, however, does not solve the problem when the entertainment establishments are not in the centre itself.

Probably, increasing the means of control would be an unpopular action which would affect an important and influential population sector and the nightlife business world. This is why the authorities stand back. Only traffic accidents have produced a social outcry and measures have begun to be taken. Utrecht is the only city which mentions an increase in police presence and, in addition, other measures have been implemented such as prohibiting the sale of alcohol in Coffee Shops as these places permit the use of cannabis, and it is considered risky to combine these two substances.

A further reason for police presence being minimal is that the managers of the establishments prefer not to have to call in the police, possibly because they fear it could cause problems which would be detrimental to. Instead of public security, they are opting for private security which is why private security has an important presence in the nightlife in all the cities. A significant number of the nightlife establishments have security guards to maintain order inside and, in some cases, to act as filter of admissions, and to select those who are entering the establishment. In Utrecht there is cooperation between the police force and security guards but this is an exceptional situation. The tendency is to resolve conflicts “privately”.

The majority of the owners of establishments interviewed stated that drug use does not benefit nightlife. Clients in the bars consider it preferable for drugs to be used outside the establishments, although there is a certain permissiveness and, in any case, the owners take care to ensure that use is discreet, in order to avoid problems with the police.

The importance of private security should lead to some reflection on the necessity of adequate training for these guards. At the present time, their principal asset is their physical ability to be able to cope with disruptive clients. Nevertheless, they could take a much more active and effective role in matters of safety such as administering first-aid as happens in Utrecht. In Manchester, and in the northwest of England, interesting proposals have emerged from the University directed at creating measures which achieve a more healthy recreational ambient and effectiveness in the prevention of accidents and situations of violence.

In the majority of the cities, the informants who enjoy the nightlife consider that there are no serious problems during the night and that the cities are peaceful. When conflict does exist, it seems that the protagonists are the younger element and, it is said to be connected with alcohol consumption and use of other substances. Other informants, such as the police who consider that their intervention has increased, give a more critical version of the night. Other informants, residents of the areas where there is more recreational activity consider themselves to be very affected by it. In the data from this work, little information has been obtained on this matter, and it should be considered as a line of further research.

4. YOUTH AND RECREATIVE DRUG USE IN EUROPE

The social organisation of time and space structures the pace which governs the basic activities of social life. During the night, the majority of people remain in their houses, sleeping. However there is a population group, to which many young people belong, who choose the night-time to enjoy themselves, to join in a meeting ritual which may be with friends or even with those people with whom they most identify or can share the activities appropriate to that moment in time. The places where the young people go are generally public spaces distributed through the city. In each, an ambient is created for specific activities. The objectives of the young are to enjoy themselves, to meet their friends, dance, listen to music and carry out other associated activities.

On the one hand, the young are a very heterogeneous social group, with gender and age marking important difference but, in addition, the young are affiliated to different dress styles, activities and life styles. But in spite of this, it is essential to take into account both the uniting factors as well as the diversifying ones.

In effect, very significant differences are to be seen in the present survey but there are also common aspects and trends in behaviour which transcend the frontiers between countries. The importance given to music as a vehicle of communication, the search for entertainment as one of the principal objectives of their existence, the value placed on friendship and the necessity of being associated with a peer group. All these experiences, which are also those of other generations, are being reworked by the young to acquire a specific present-day significance which gives them a generational identity. Probably, the young are the most socially active group in creating a European identity, in elaborating cultural elements designed to be shared by people in other countries. The spread of the English language, musical styles and the Internet communication system has played a central part in this.

In any case, in spite of transnational cultural similarities, the material, social and cultural conditions in each city give the young a distinctive potential in which to develop their activities. And, in each city, the young themselves are divided into subgroups which differ from each other, according to age, musical affiliations, socio-economic level, educational standard, the activities enjoyed, etc. The data which are being presented take into account some of these differences, those considered most significant to analyse the use the young make of drugs and the relationship between this use and other aspects of recreational life.

4.1. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

We would remind you that the data which follows must always be interpreted by bearing in mind the methodological limitations discussed previously, in respect of the selection methods of the samples in each city. The sociodemographic characteristics of the group of young people interviewed in each city (**Table 1**), show us the type of person who frequents the venues of night-time entertainment during weekends. The first factor to consider is *the gender*; the majority group (57,6%) is male. Berlin is the city where there is less difference in sexes and, therefore, it may presumably be interpreted that as many men as women participate, in more or less equal numbers in this kind of activity. Athens and Nice, however, is where there is the greatest difference in the distribution of sexes. The explanation for these differences between cities can not be deduced on the basis of data from this survey. It could be that these differences depend on reasons such as there is still greater family control of women in going out at night or that the women themselves feel less attracted to these activities and prefer to spend their time doing other things.

TABLE 1. Demographic characteristics by cities

	Europe	Athens	Berlin	Coimbra	Manchester	Modena	Nice	Palma	Utrecht	Vienna
Gender										
Male	57,6	63,8	50,8	55,7	55,1	51,7	63,1	60,3	60,3	55,5
Female	42,4	36,2	49,2	44,3	44,3	48,3	36,9	39,7	39,7	44,5
Age (Media)	21,8	20,8	24,7	21,3	21,3	22,0	23,1	19,8	22,4	20,4
Civil Status										
Single	86,0	94,1	79,6	88,2	80,3	91,0	86,4	96,3	82,8	72,9
Married	2,0	1,6	1,6	5,9	2,1	1,3	1,3	0,6	2,3	0,7
Divorced/separated	2,0	1,0	3,2	2,6	1,8	1,0	4,0	1,3	0,7	2,0
Living with a partner	10,0	3,3	15,2	3,3	15,8	6,3	8,3	1,6	13,6	24,4
Widow (er)	0,2	-	0,4	-	-	0,3	-	0,3	0,6	-
Sample (n)	2.662	305	250	305	284	300	301	320	302	299

The *average age* of the young people is 21.8 years, with fluctuations between the 19.8 years of Palma where, therefore, the average age is lower, and the other extreme of 24.7 years in Berlin. Perhaps these age differences could assist in explaining other characteristics of the population studied, such as the fact that Berliners use their own car more or have more disposable income for leisure activities as a result of having stable employment or they may even be one of the heaviest user groups. Although, in respect of this latter subject, in Palma the youngest sample is the one which also shows a high use.

Marital status is also one of the characteristic which homogenises the various cities. The majority are unmarried (86%). Notable are the cities where a certain significant

percentage live together in couples, such as Vienna (24.4%), Manchester (15.8%), Berlin (15.2%) and Utrecht (13.6%). This could be explained in principle by the specific selection of groups in each city, but it seems curious to us that all these cities are Central European and that there is not one from Southern Europe among them. This is why we are inclined to think that this is linked to the fact that family dependence is prolonged in the South. Coimbra (5.9%) is notable for being the city with the highest percentage of married people, whereas, the percentage is very low in the remainder of the cities. Consequently, there are few divorcees and, of course, the widowed are practically non-existent.

The *educational level* of the sampled population (**Table 2**) shows that it is a population type with a considerable educational baggage. The majority have finished or are involved in secondary education (42.4%) and university (49.4%). Only 8.3% are at the primary level. But there are important differences between cities. In some, the university population is rather less such as Modena (22.3%), Palma (27.9%) and Vienna (34.1%), whereas others, such as Athens (43.4%) and Coimbra (45.2%) are also below the average. But against this, there is obviously, more population at secondary level in these cities and, in the case of Vienna (29.1%) and Palma (19.7%), there is also an important percentage in primary education. These latter data are partially explained as concerning samples of younger juveniles. Utrecht (85.9%) nevertheless, is remarkable for its high percentage of young university students, followed by Manchester with 76.8%, Berlin with 60% and Nice with 54.5%. Beyond these differences between cities, what is confirmed is that the young people who participate in the recreational nightlife have, in general, a high standard of education.

TABLE 2. Level of studies and Self evaluation as student by cities

	Europe	Athens	Berlin	Coimbra	Manchester	Modena	Nice	Palma	Utrecht	Vienna
Level of studies										
Primary education	8,3	4,3	3,6	0,3	4,9	8,3	3,1	19,7	-	29,1
Secondary education	42,4	52,3	36,4	54,4	18,4	69,3	42,5	52,4	14,1	36,8
College/university	49,4	43,4	60,0	45,2	76,8	22,3	54,5	27,9	85,9	34,1
Self evaluation										
Very good student	9,5	14,8	12,8	3,0	16,4	6,0	5,7	5,0	13,2	9,7
Good student	32,0	34,5	44,0	25,0	35,2	29,0	26,8	27,9	40,1	27,9
Average student	46,6	37,5	35,2	64,1	37,7	45,0	54,5	46,7	42,4	53,0
Bad student	7,8	6,3	6,4	5,9	5,0	10,7	9,0	14,1	3,6	8,4
Very bad student	4,1	6,9	1,6	2,0	5,7	9,0	4,0	6,3	0,7	1,0
Total %	100%									
	(N= 2.670)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The second part of the Table shows the self-evaluation which the young make of their *standing as students*. It is interesting to record that in those cities where there is a

higher proportion of young university students such as Berlin, Manchester and Utrecht, this is also where they self-evaluate themselves as better students. If we look at the overall sample we can see that the majority (46.6%) consider themselves to be average students, but a relatively notable percentage consider themselves to be good students (32%) particularly, as we said earlier, in the three university cities already mentioned. Consequently, there is only a small percentage of young people who devalue themselves as students so that only 11.9% consider themselves to be bad or very bad students but, in some cities, such as Palma (20.4%), Modena (19.7%), Athens (13.2%) and Nice (13%), this percentage is higher. As we have already said, in these cities the percentage of university students is much lower. And logically, the older the group, the higher level of education and, in the population of 19 years of age or more, approximately 60% are studying at university or have university qualifications.

The *main occupation* of the young people is also very diverse according to cities (**Table 3**). If we look at the total sample, we see that largest group of young people (34.5%) have permanent employment, 31.5% are studying, 7.9% have temporary work and 19.3% are studying and working at the same time. Therefore, it can be said that a large majority of young people who participate in recreational life either study or work and only a minority may be considered as unemployed (3%) or during military service (1.5%). In some cities, the proportion of young people that studies only and, therefore, does not work, increases notably. The main one is Coimbra with 58.7%, followed by Palma (43.9%) and Athens (33.4%). In Utrecht, those who combine studies with work account for 33.4% of the population but in Modena it is only 10.7%. In other cities, around one half of the young are already inserted in the employment world, in work of a permanent nature. Manchester is where the percentage is highest with 55.4%, followed by Modena (47.0%), Nice (45.5%), Berlin (42.0%) and Vienna (37.6%). In general, those with temporary work are in a minority, Palma de Mallorca being the city where this is more prevalent (16%).

TABLE 3. Current occupation by cities

Occupation	Europe	Athens	Berlin	Coimbra	Manchester	Modena	Nice	Palma	Utrecht	Vienna
Student	31,5	33,4	22,8	58,7	12,3	29,3	20,9	43,9	23,6	34,9
Studying and working	19,3	19,3	16,0	15,7	19,3	10,7	20,3	20,1	36,4	15,1
Temporary job	7,9	7,9	10,4	5,9	7,0	6,3	5,0	16,0	7,9	4,4
Permanent job	34,5	29,2	42,0	16,1	55,4	47,0	45,5	15,4	26,9	37,6
Unemployed	3,0	5,6	2,8	3,0	1,4	3,7	4,0	1,3	1,0	4,4
Military service	1,5	3,6	-	-	1,4	1,0	1,3	1,9	0,7	3,7
Other	2,3	1,0	6,0	0,7	3,2	2,0	3,0	1,6	3,6	-
Total %	100%									
	(N= 2,670)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In all, it may be said that the young in this survey are, in the main, integrated people. There are few without any activity - studying or working - or looking for work. The low

proportion of unemployed can also be explained by the fact that enjoying the recreational night life requires a certain purchasing power and, therefore, the unemployed do not frequent these places. Athens is the sample which has the highest percentage of unemployed (5.6%). The nightlife and, therefore, recreational multi-use, is linked to a certain financial capacity (family or employment), and to a certain degree of social integration, in other words, we are not looking at pockets of marginality. This opinion is backed by the information in the following table (**Table 4**) on the family financial situation.

4.2. FAMILY DEPENDENCE

Table 4 shows, first of all, *the socio-economic level of the family* to which the young people belong. This has been evaluated on the basis of the subjective opinion on the social class to which an informant belonged, and the subjective view which may be held of a determined social group may be different in each city and country, with a certain independence of more or less objective levels of wealth. The majority believe that they belong to the middle/middle class (52.7%), followed by the middle-upper class (27%) and to a lesser extent the middle-lower class (11.9%). Coimbra is where the percentage of young people who consider themselves middle-middle class is greater at 66.9%, and Utrecht is where there is least, 30.8%. The first are most numerous in all the cities -with the exception of Utrecht- Berlin (44.9%) being the city where most consider themselves in this category, followed by Vienna (40.5%) and Palma (37.6%). Utrecht leads in the middle/lower class and lower class with 40.4%, followed by Nice with 24.3%. In the other cities, the percentage of middle/lower or lower classes is around 10%. In short, in the majority of the cities, the young people consider themselves to be mainly middle class and also upper class.

Socio-economic status	Europe	Athens	Berlin	Coimbra	Manchester	Modena	Nice	Palma	Utrecht	Vienna
High	4,5	1,6	8,4	1,0	1,4	2,3	10,3	5,0	7,0	4,7
Medium/high	27,0	23,0	36,5	20,7	30,2	21,7	22,3	32,6	21,9	35,8
Medium/medium	52,7	63,3	46,2	66,9	55,1	63,0	43,2	52,0	30,8	52,5
Medium/low	11,9	10,5	7,2	10,5	10,2	11,3	15,3	10,0	25,2	6,4
Low	3,8	1,6	1,6	1,0	3,2	1,7	9,0	0,3	15,2	0,7
Total %	100%									
	(N= 2,670)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The subject of *with whom the young people live* (**Table 5**) opens up a wide range of possibilities between the various cities. Living with the family is the option of the

TABLE 5. Cohabitation by cities

Cohabitation	Europe	Athens	Berlin	Coimbra	Manchester	Modena	Nice	Palma	Utrecht	Vienna
Relatives	54,6	78,7	14,5	61,6	45,3	83,3	44,7	80,9	23,9	48,8
Partner	10,4	4,9	22,1	10,2	17,2	4,0	11,7	2,8	14,1	9,7
Friends	8,7	3,3	16,9	10,8	16,1	6,0	7,7	5,0	6,2	8,7
Students residence	8,0	0,7	1,6	7,9	9,5	-	7,7	0,3	36,4	6,7
Alone	15,6	10,5	43,0	7,2	7,0	5,3	26,0	9,7	15,7	20,7
Other	2,8	2,0	2,0	2,3	4,9	1,3	2,3	1,3	3,6	5,4
Total %	100%									
	(N= 2,665)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

majority (54%) although not in all cities. In Berlin (14.5%) and Utrecht (23.9%), the young who live with their families are less in number than those who are living together or in student residences. The percentage of those who live with their family varies considerably from city to city: in Modena, where the percentage is the highest, it is 83.3%, followed by Palma (80.9%) and Athens (78.7%). In Manchester, however, the percentage drops to 45%, followed by Berlin and Utrecht with the percentages given above.

Living together is the second leading choice in cities such as Berlin (22.1%) and Manchester (17.2%), although in Utrecht (14.1%), it is also a choice to be taken into account. Sharing with friends is frequent, particularly in Berlin (16.9%) and Manchester (16.1%). Living in a student residence is a minor choice with the notable exception of Utrecht (36.4%) which, as in other sociodemographic parameters as we have mentioned, clearly marks a differential characteristic for the sample in this city. Living alone is even more of a minority trend. Berlin (43%) is the city where the highest number live alone, so much so that it is the first choice for this city. Nice (26%) and Vienna (20.7%) are other cities whose samples show a certain significant percentage of young people living on their own.

So there are, therefore, very different patterns, undoubtedly closely linked to the different conditions existing in Central and Southern Europe with the examples of Modena, Palma and Athens where living with the family is the everyday reality or Berlin or Utrecht, at the other extreme, where living with the family is very much a minority choice.

4.3. YOUNG PEOPLES FINANCES

Table 6 shows *where the money comes from that the young spend at weekends*. There are clearly three principal sources - the family, permanent employment and temporary work. Respondents who received money from several sources were given the

TABLE 6. Source of the money spent going out the weekends by cities

Source	Europe	Athens	Berlin	Coimbra	Manchester	Modena	Nice	Palma	Utrecht	Vienna
From family	35,6	47,7	23,2	70,7	12,5	43,8	25,9	50,3	8,2	34,6
Permanent job	41,5	36,5	48,8	20,3	68,6	47,2	55,5	20,4	43,3	36,2
Temporary job	14,8	13,5	17,2	5,0	11,8	6,7	9,3	25,8	26,2	16,8
Scholarship	3,7	0,7	2,0	2,3	1,4	-	3,7	0,6	16,7	5,4
Security benefits	1,1	-	2,4	0,3	1,7	1,0	2,3	-	1,0	1,3
Others	3,4	1,6	6,4	1,3	3,8	1,3	3,3	2,8	4,6	5,7
Total %	100%									
	(N=2670)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

opportunity in this question of giving two sources, the major and secondary sources. With reference to the first choice of response, we find that *the family* is the leading source of the money spent by young people in some cities: Coimbra 70.7%, Palma 50.3% and Athens 47.7%. Permanent employment is the principal source in Manchester (68.6%), Nice (55.5%), Berlin (48.8%), Modena (47.2%), Utrecht (43.3%) and Vienna (36.2%). Temporary work predominates as the second source of money to spend on leisure; probably it supplements assistance from the family. It is likely that, being students, many young people are financially dependent on their family and contribute to their personal expenditure from temporary work. Palma is notable for being the city where more young people obtain their money from temporary work, both in the first and second options.¹

Only in some cities are student scholarships and grants an important source of income for the young. This option clearly differentiates the cities in countries with more generous social policies and where the Welfare State is well consolidated. Utrecht is very much such a city, where students are paid to study and this becomes a very important source of income for the young and from which they obtain the money to go out and have a good time.

To summarise, the young obtain the money they spend on nightlife basically from the family or from their own work. This divides them into two large groups, those more dependent on the family and those who have made more progress in financial independence from the family. This marks notable differences between cities. In Athens, Coimbra and Palma, the young are more dependent on their family, whereas in Manchester, Nice and Berlin, there is a large proportion of young people who depend on their own work. It would be interesting to make further research into how money is managed according to whether it comes from the family or from work and its relationship with substance use and abuse.

¹ M. Antonia Carbonero pointed out the Balearic Community as one of those that comprising more families with more members in employment. The young accede very early to the employment world without becoming independent of their family (Carbonero 1998).

Analysing the level of *family control* (**Table 7**) exercised over young people and their recreational activities, is certainly of importance from the preventive point of view. Family supervision of nights out, friendships, time allowed out, etc. has been considered a protection factor (Hawkins 1992, Calafat, Amengual, 1997) and it would be interesting to see to what extent such influence is reflected in the present survey, although there is no unanimity in the studies carried out up to the present on the subject. In fact, a recent review of 58 longitudinal studies (Petraitis 1998) found that some surveys support the effectiveness of parental control on drug use but other surveys do not show it to be so effective, unlike the review made by Hawkins (1992). But family supervision is a complex matter and one single question in a questionnaire is obviously insufficient to provide information on all the implications of family control. On the other hand, there is no certainty that there was no confusion when answering the question among those young people who were still living with their family and those who were not. Obviously it is difficult to exercise family control over those who are already emancipated, but one we would like to explore, either the present situation of control in those cases where the family is still present or which make a reference to the level of family control in the past, when they were still living at home. But, we repeat, the formation of the question lent itself to creating confusion and we believe that the instructions given to the interviewers were unable to correct this ambiguity.

TABLE 7. Family control over going out habits by cities

Perceived level of control	Europe	Athens	Berlin	Coimbra	Manchester	Modena	Nice	Palma	Utrecht	Vienna
None	42,8	40,7	37,8	25,3	70,1	22,3	51,8	24,1	63,3	51,9
Little	36,0	45,9	42,6	47,0	24,3	26,3	33,9	42,5	29,8	31,8
Quite a lot	18,4	10,5	16,9	24,0	4,9	47,0	11,3	29,1	5,9	14,4
Too much	2,8	3,0	2,8	3,6	0,7	4,3	2,7	4,4	1,0	2,7
Total %	100%									
	(N=2.670)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

It has to be said in the beginning that, with the exception of Modena, the perception of the family control exercised over those interviewed is, frankly, low. The cities where the young said they were under no type of supervision are Manchester (70.1%), Utrecht (63.3%), Vienna (51.9%) and Nice (51.8%), precisely those cities where the young are less financially dependent on their families (see **Table 6**), particularly Manchester and Utrecht where the young also live less with their families (see **Table 5**). Logically, in cities such as Modena (47%), Palma (29.1%) and Coimbra (24.1%), where they live most with their families and there is a clear financial dependence, a certain percentage have the feeling that there is ‘rather a lot of control’. But this rule also has its exceptions in the case of Athens where only 10.5% are aware of ‘rather a lot of control’.

On general lines, the supervision of adults is a gentle one and increases, as we have seen, the closer the cohabitation with the family and the more the young depend on the

family money to be able to go out and have a good time. We could hypothesize that the family does not exercise a similar role in the different countries in the survey. It is possible that a distinction could be made between Southern and Central European countries, in the sense that in the first mentioned, the time children remain at home with their parents is likely to be longer while the Central Europeans look for an earlier emancipation, be it because their own culture impels them to do so or because of better social and economic opportunities (scholarships and study grants, better opportunities for work...). Nevertheless, this greater family presence among the young in the South must not be automatically interpreted as the existence of a greater family control over them. There are indications that prolonging living at home, at least in some countries in the south, has been possible, largely because of the increase in permissiveness in families which has eliminated a large part of the inter-generational tension so frequent in the past. It is possible that this pacific and non-interventionist form of cohabitation has some socialising influence on the young but not, of course, in the sense of traditional supervision.

4.4. PATTERNS OF GOING OUT CLUBBING ON WEEKENDS

The young go out for a good time, mainly at weekends. It is important to bear in mind that the concept of the weekend has been acquiring its present significance in the last few decades. It is, therefore, a relatively new phenomena. One of the majority options chosen by young people at the weekend is to go out for a drink, to listen to music or to dance, two activities positively related to drug use.

According to the data, more than half the young (56.9%) go out three to four weekends every month to enjoy the nightlife (**Table 8**), which signifies that there is a certain fidelity in doing something in this activity. Manchester is the exception, the frequency is more spread out. The majority 44.3% go out between one and two weekends a month and 26.8% less than once a month. But, in general, the young people go out three to four times a month; Palma (75%), Nice (68.2%), Vienna (67.6%), Utrecht (61.5%), etc. without our being able to establish north-south differences of those linked to use. It is a fact that the young in our study go out almost every weekend.

The number of nights at the weekend that they are used to going out, also confirms the high participation in night life. The majority go out two nights per weekend (46.1%), although a good number only go out on one night (38.5%). Utrecht is notable for being the city having a majority (57.7%) in conjunction with Modena (48.7%), where the young go out for a single night. It should be borne in mind that the young who go out on three nights during the weekend, although in the minority, do represent a significant percentage (15.3%). The cities which have the highest percentages are Vienna (22.4%), Nice (21.9%), Manchester (21.3%) and Athens (12%) where more than 20% of the young people go out on three nights. Therefore in Manchester, although

TABLE 8. Going out clubbing at weekends, Number of nights each weekend, Going out clubbing from Monday to Thursday and Duration of a clubbing session by cities

	Europe	Athens	Berlin	Coimbra	Manchester	Modena	Nice	Palma	Utrecht	Vienna
Less than once a month	11,2	17,4	5,6	10,5	26,8	21,3	5,6	2,8	5,9	5,4
1-2 weekends per month	31,9	25,6	38,4	40,7	44,3	32,0	26,2	22,2	32,6	27,1
3-4 weekend per month	56,9	57,0	56,0	48,9	28,9	46,7	68,1	75,0	61,5	67,6
Number of nights each weekend										
One night	38,6	31,8	36,0	40,7	34,1	48,7	33,2	30,2	57,7	34,8
Two nights	46,1	47,2	53,2	45,6	44,6	42,0	44,9	56,9	38,3	42,8
Three nights	15,3	21,0	10,8	13,8	21,3	9,3	21,9	12,9	4,0	22,4
From Monday to Thursday										
Yes	40,0	29,7	76,4	34,2	15,7	19,0	53,0	25,9	50,3	61,7
Nights during the week										
One or two	68,2	60,0	74,6	62,2	-	-	56,9	79,0	75,1	71,0
Three or four	31,2	40,0	25,4	37,9	-	-	43,2	20,9	24,9	29,0
Duration of a clubbing session (hours)										
	6,1	4,0	7,2	6,4	6,6	4,1	6,6	7,2	6,0	6,6
Total (N)	(N=2.670)	305	250	305	287	300	301	320	306	299

they go out less weekends a month, they compensate by going out more nights at weekends.

The uniformity in going out at weekends is broken when looking at the trend to go out during the week, from Monday to Friday. 40% of the young go out during the week, of which 68.2% are used to going out one or two nights and 31.1% three to four. There are cities such as Berlin with a high percentage of young people who go out during the week, 76.4% and others such as Manchester with only 15.7%. This is also a differential characteristic of this city in respect of the others, a particularity which deserves being understood as it is one of the samples whose use of various drugs is one of the highest in comparison with the others in the survey. The majority of those who go out during the week do so on one or two nights, although the number of people who go out between three or four nights per week is not a negligible one, Nice (43.2%), Athens (40%) and Coimbra (37.9%) and we do not know whether to attribute it to specific student customs or some Mediterranean custom, although, if this were the case, Palma is not included.

Similarly, the number of hours spent going out on each occasion is considerable, which implies that when they do go out, they spend a large part of the night in an active state. The European average is 6.1 hours². The most extreme times spent on going out are the 7.2 hours of Palma and Berlin and the 4.1 hours of Modena and the 4 hours of Athens.

² The average is calculated according to Hampel's M-Estimator.

Therefore, and evaluating the different variables (number of weekends going out per month, number of nights going out each weekend, nights going out during the working week and length of going out) which have been taken into account in the survey, we see that the sample most active at night is Palma closely followed by Nice with the particularity that in this city they go out on more nights during the week and also on more nights at the weekend. Berlin has an intensity of going out similar to the two preceding cities and adds to an elevated frequency in going out at weekends the fact that it is the city in which, with quite some difference, they go out more during the week. It also shares with Palma the record of 7.2 hours on average for the time spent going out per night. Possibly we could then position Vienna, Manchester and Athens. Manchester has the peculiarity that a portion of those interviewed do not go out every weekend, but when they do go out, they go out on three successive days. The samples of cities with less nocturnal habits are Coimbra, Utrecht and finally Modena. In Utrecht, they go out more weekends per month than Coimbra, but in the latter they go out more nights per weekend. In Utrecht, they go out quite a lot during the week but in Coimbra going out at night at weekends lasts a little longer and they go out more nights at the weekend. The habits of Modena are the quietest as, on average, they do not go out so many weekends per month, they go out less nights per weekend, they do not go out much during the week and, finally, the time spent going out is the lowest, shared with Athens.

All this information leads us to interpret that those who participate in nightlife do so assiduously, are loyal to this activity and very probably devote the majority of their leisure time to nighttime entertainment. Therefore this is not a sporadic activity, practised by some few young people but the very opposite.

In addition to fidelity in participating in recreational life, the young people tend to be gregarious and share affinities with friends. For them, the weekend takes on a very special significance, for the opportunity of being with their friends and probably the recreational environments are the nearest option where they can create ambients of their own, far from the eyes of the adults. More than half the young people in all the cities say that their friends, all of them (stated by 17%) or the majority of them (according to 48.2%) often go out for fun. Those who say that only half of their friends (18.7%) or a few (14.5%) go out for fun are also an important group, although in the minority, and they are probably the young people who move in different social venues and the recreational life is just more of these. Only 1.6% participate in recreational life without sharing it with their friends.

The practice of visiting several place in the same night (**Table 9**) is rather universal. The majority of young people generally go to two or three places during the night (65%), only 19.9% remain in one single place, and the remainder, more than 14% go to more than four places. This section attempts to make a first approach to the subject of the nocturnal travel and the routes which are followed during the night. It is an aspect which has much to do with the recreational culture in each city. Nevertheless, it is important to evaluate the possible dangers implied if mobility is associated with the use of the car and with factors such as, for example, tiredness and drug use. Nocturnal

TABLE 9. Bars/Clubs visited per night by cities

Number of places	Europe	Athens	Berlin	Coimbra	Manchester	Modena	Nice	Palma	Utrecht	Vienna
Only one	19,9%	47,1	26,2	12,2	13,2	24,7	12,3	3,9	22,6	18,7
Two or three	65,3%	50,7	67,7	81,1	61,5	65,7	73,7	40,9	72,6	74,6
Four or five	11,0%	1,7	5,2	6,4	17,6	7,0	11,3	37,1	4,4	5,6
Six or seven	2,4%	-	0,4	-	3,7	1,7	1,0	13,5	0,3	0,3
Eight and more	1,4%	0,3	0,4	0,3	4,1	1,0	1,6	4,4	-	0,7
Total (N)	2670	305	250	305	287	300	301	320	306	299

movement in the different cities is remodelling the geographical and social significance which different zones acquire. It would seem that the most traditional trend in certain cities, of spending leisure time in the old area and spending part of the time in the street, outside the entertainment establishments, is still being maintained but is losing ground and giving way to the modern alcohol and drug routes which are located on the peripheries of the cities and where the public remains inside the venues.

As for combining these variables (number of weekends per month spent going out, number of nights going out during each weekend, number of hours spent each time when going out) we have drawn up a ranking which is as follows: a first group formed by Palma, Nice and Berlin, followed by another group with Vienna, Manchester and Athens and, finally, the group of quieter cities such as Coimbra, Utrecht and Modena. This latter group of cities explains their more peaceful existence among other things on the ground of its smaller size and the existence of more important cities close by which obviously have a greater attraction for young people.

The means of transport used when going out (**Table 10**) is important information taking into account the increase in traffic accidents which occurs at weekends. Policies on road safety are placing a special emphasis on the application of preventive measures in the face of the growth of alcohol and other substance related traffic accidents among young people at the weekends. The use of private transport is frequently associated with going out at weekends. In all the cities, with the exception of Utrecht, young people use their own car (35.9%) or a friend's car (28.8%) to move from one place to another. Nice (61.1%), Modena (59.5%), Berlin (49.6%) and Vienna (35.8%) is where the majority use their own car. In Coimbra the car too plays a leading part but mostly, it is a friend's car which is used (50.3%). In general, this option gives more independence of movement but, most of all the car is a symbol of prestige and membership of the adult world.

Public transport (used by 10.6%) and taxis (by 7.1%) are options utilised by very few, perhaps because of lack of adequate services or the dependency on specific routes and timetables in the case of the buses or the greater cost in the case of taxis. The cities which most use these options are Manchester (40.7%), Vienna (25.7%) and Utrecht (21.7%). It is equally notable that almost half of these users of public transport in Manchester use taxis. Athens (17.9%) is also notable for its extremely high percentage

TABLE 10. Transport modalities to get to the Bars, Clubs and Discos

Transport modality	Europe	Athens	Berlin	Coimbra	Manchester	Modena	Nice	Palma	Utrecht	Vienna
My car	35,9	21,5	49,6	28,6	28,8	59,7	61,1	31,9	9,2	35,8
My friend's car	28,8	28,1	34,8	50,3	25,6	29,3	28,9	28,1	9,5	25,8
Public transport	10,6	13,2	6,0	4,3	21,8	1,3	2,3	5,7	17,4	23,7
Taxi	7,1	17,9	4,4	4,9	18,9	0,3	0,7	9,4	4,3	2,0
Motorbike	5,8	17,2	1,6	1,6	-	6,3	3,0	16,1	0,7	4,0
Bike	6,6	0,3	2,4	0,7	-	0,7	0,7	0,6	47,9	4,7
Others	5,3	1,7	1,2	9,5	4,9	-	3,3	8,2	11,1	4,0
Total % (N= 2670)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

of taxi users. Over and above any other form or consideration, it is interesting to emphasise that the use of public transport to reach the recreational areas may reduce the problems arising from accidents and may be a sign of awareness of the problems involved in the use of substances and the increase in accidents.

The scooter is a minority option but there are two cities where its use is frequent among the young in a very different way from the other cities, Athens (17.2%) and Palma (16%). In spite of it having the advantage that it is easy to park, there is also a greater risk in the event of an accident.

The bicycle is the most minority option in all cities except in Utrecht where almost half the young people going out to enjoy themselves, 47.9%, use it. As might be expected, this is a result of the full cultural insertion of the bicycle in the daily life of the Dutch population.

4.5. DRUG USE IN RECREATIONAL LIFE

The use of addiction generating substances is the centre of this present research. One of the objectives of the analysis is to ascertain the existing associations between life style (going out at night at weekends, etc.) and drug use. In the first place, the frequencies of use of different substances in the recreational environments in the group of nine European cities are presented. For the present survey, the most known substances have been taken into account. Perhaps because drug use is part of a subculture which is developed in an informal environment and its objective is to keep away from institutional control, this has led to an enormous variety of names for each substance which, in addition, logically are different in each of the cities.

An attempt was made to discover which other substances not on the proposed list were used and known. The objective was to ascertain which new substances were appearing on

the market. Curiously, the majority of the substances mentioned referred to substances on the list but with different names. For example those mentioned as new drugs were designer drugs, tablets, eve, BNG, 25th, when all these names refer to ecstasy; also considered as new drugs were speed, ice or centramine when these are all amphetamines. The same occurred with hash, grass, kifi, marihuana all of which describe cannabis. This lack of connection which impedes relating the formal name to the slang name shows a substantial lack of knowledge of the substances which are being used.

Table 11 gives a list of substances and different use frequencies. *Alcohol* is, with tobacco, one of the drugs most integrated in daily life and in the partying and fun culture. In spite of the restrictions on age, in reality there are no barriers on its use. These are substances with enormous symbolic use in the development of relational links among those who share it. In fact, drinking may become a social obligation in that in the recreational environments, it may even generate mistrust or surprise that a person does not drink. Having a drink together is a way of closing a deal, or of reaffirming a friendship, or simply of enjoying oneself and dancing. Its method of consumption is simple and practically all the night-time entertainment establishments base their business on the sale of drinks in general and on alcoholic drinks to a great extent. For the youngest, initiation into drinking alcohol is a way of entering into the space of the adults and they have learned to drink in their own homes.

Alcohol is the most used substance by all the young people in the sample and at very high frequencies. The majority drink alcohol once (19.2%) or several times (52.8%) a week, and there is even an important group (8.3%) which drinks every day. This daily

TABLE 11. Frequency of drugs use in Europe by substances

Frequency	Alcohol	Tobacco	Cannabis	Ecstasy	Cocaine	LSD	Ampheta- mines	Magic Mushrooms	Tranqui- llisers	Sleep Tablets	Heroin Opiates
Never	3,6	15,2	32,8	65,6	71,6	75,5	76,4	82,1	86,4	88,1	92,9
I took it, but not any more	4,9	13,6	17,8	10,0	9,8	13,2	10,0	9,0	8,0	6,6	4,7
Less than 12 times/year	4,7	2,3	10,5	9,5	8,4	6,8	6,1	7,2	2,8	3,1	1,5
Once a month	5,2	1,6	4,7	4,8	3,6	1,6	2,8	0,8	0,9	0,6	0,3
Several times a month	11,3	1,8	7,4	5,3	3,3	1,4	2,2	0,4	0,5	0,6	0,1
Once a week	19,2	1,6	5,4	3,1	1,9	0,7	1,5	0,2	0,1	0,2	0,1
Several times a week	42,8	8,8	11,3	1,4	1,2	0,5	0,6	0,1	0,5	0,3	0,3
Every day	8,3	55,0	10,0	0,3	0,3	0,2	0,3	0,2	0,7	0,5	0,2
Total (n) %	(2.624) 100%	(2.309) 100%	(2.617) 100%	(2.605) 100%	(2.604) 100%	(2.605) 100%	(2.604) 100%	(2.599) 100%	(2.605) 100%	(2.604) 100%	(2.598) 100%

consumption is appearing very strongly among the young, and contrary to the reigning stereotype, in non-Mediterranean countries. The significance, the evolution and the negative repercussions of this form of use are still to be determined.

The second most used substance is *tobacco* but, in this case the daily frequency (55%) is very high in accordance with the high addictive level of this substance. *Cannabis* is the next most frequently used substance. According to the Annual Report of the Lisbon observatory (EMCDDA 1998), cannabis use would have stabilised after its use had continued to increase from the beginning of the nineties particularly in those with already high levels of use but that there would still be increases in others. Among those who use it, there is a certain tendency to do so in high frequencies several times a week (11.3%) and daily (10%), and there are also more sporadic users.

Ecstasy is an amphetaminic substance, the most important member of the so-called designer drugs. And the one which has continued to occupy a very prominent position in recreational life during the last decade. In agreement with the Annual Report of the Lisbon Observatory (EMCDDA, 1998) a certain stabilisation in use would have been reached, particularly in those countries where it had previously appeared or which already had high levels of prevalence, but it would still increase in the rest of the European countries. As may be appreciated from our survey, 35% of the young people in recreational environments have used it at sometime in their life. Its presumed stimulant effects, which also increase sensitivity and lack of inhibition, and the fact that it enables a better interpersonal connection, has made it one of the stars of the recreational experience. According to recent studies, it seems that its effects vary according to the context in which it is used, which is why the use of ecstasy is very localised in recreational environments where the music, the lights and appropriate aesthetics assist in reaching the desired effects. Therefore, the experience which results from ecstasy use has a lot to do with the expectations and the environment. Sporadic use of less than twelve times a year (9.5%) is relatively frequent, while the number of most frequent users drops progressively to the 0.3% who use it daily. It has to be pointed out that 4.5% use it one or more times per week.

Cocaine is a very powerful stimulant which permits greater activity and overcomes tiredness, which is why it is so appropriate for nighttime entertainment. Although for years it was associated with young people of a more mature age and of high executive power, it has been making a slow but constant eruption in the nightlife environments the last few years. Its lower prices and the fame of the drug problematic which ecstasy has acquired, in combination with a shorter duration of its effects so that it is more controllable than ecstasy, has favoured its expansion. In this survey, 28% of the sample has used it some time during their life. 10.5% use it one or more times a month, and one third of these use it one or more times a week.

Around one quarter of the sample (23.6%) have tried *amphetamines* at some time. The Lisbon Observatory, in its above mentioned Report, warns of their continual increase and even suggests that in the near future they could be a more significant drug than ecstasy, as has occurred in the USA. Those who use it (13.5%) do so in a rather

sporadic way, but 6.9% use it one or more times a month and, of these, more than one third do so with a frequency of one or more times a week. The same occurs with LSD which has been tried by 11.2%, and basically sporadically, but 4.4% do use it one or more times a month. As we know, this substance is a powerful hallucinogen and was particularly problematic in the sixties and seventies, and it has once again found its place in nighttime entertainment.

Mushrooms, also used in a sporadic way, are psychotropic substances which have had a traditional use in certain cultures. In respect of modern western society, it had a certain peak in the sixties only to experience a drop in popularity. At the present time, in the hands of certain ecological ideologies, its use is once again experiencing a certain growth although its use is rather sporadic, undoubtedly determined by the seasonal nature of its harvesting and the fact that there is no real distribution market. It has to be said that in certain cities such as Manchester, Berlin and Utrecht mushrooms are used more than in the other cities, and with quite a difference.

Tranquillisers and sleeping tablets used in recreational environments is rather minor and always difficult to measure in the interviews since, many times, it is not easy to determine when use is not a result of a medical prescription and for enjoyment. Only 10% have tried these substances and we do not know if their use is linked to a combination with other substances or to neutralise the undesirable effects produced by the other substances such as the insomnia or anxiety which may arise from amphetamines and ecstasy.

Heroin is the drug least used in recreational environments. Nevertheless 7.1% have tried it and the majority sporadically. The negative image gained by this substance has enabled it to be relegated to a marginal place but the latest report from the Lisbon Observatory warns of the increase in its use in European countries among synthetic drug users and other youth populations which up to now have not had any contact with the substance.

In short, we have a panorama dominated by alcohol, tobacco and cannabis where ecstasy, cocaine, LSD and the amphetamines have a place, with rather high monthly and weekly frequencies of use.

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It is frequent among the young for them to simultaneously or at different times of the night, use such substances as alcohol, cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine, etc. We are now far from the myth that ecstasy users avoided use of other drugs, alcohol in particular. Quite the contrary; it has become a certainty. Ecstasy users are much more multi-users than a control group as was shown in the results of a recent survey made by IREFREA among European users (Calafat, 1998). One this year's objectives is to go on exploring further this subject taking advantage of a new much broader and representative sample of young Europeans associated with recreational environments. We once again asked the young to describe to us the most habitual combinations among different drugs when

they go out at night. Unfortunately, the difficulties in answering an open question in addition to the conditions in which the interview - rather long in itself - takes place, at the entrances to the recreational venues in the early hours have led to a lack of professional zeal of some researchers. Added to other circumstances, this is why we only have information on 938 individuals which is 36.3% of the total sample. The remainder either do not combine drugs at the time of use, have not replied well or have not answered the question.

Of those young people who did answer, what are the drugs that they do combine? Certain combinations - the most minority ones - have been eliminated. It appears that alcohol and cannabis are the drugs most frequently present in all combinations (see **Table 12**). Alcohol, for example, is practically omnipresent. It is not found in only 8.4% of the combinations. Cannabis, on the other hand, is not present in only 11.9% of the combinations. In fact the most frequent combination with a notable difference over the others is that of just alcohol and cannabis (50.6%), followed by alcohol and ecstasy (11.1%) and alcohol, cannabis and ecstasy (10.4%). Cannabis and ecstasy is an unusual combination which represents 8.4% and one which is generally not talked of much. In any case, it is interesting because it is the only one in which alcohol is not present. A rather better known combination is that of alcohol and cocaine which is used by 7.8% of the population which is the same percentage of population which takes all the drugs together.

TABLE 12. Drug combinations used in the same night

1. Alcohol + cannabis	50,6%
2. Alcohol + ecstasy	11,1%
3. Alcohol + cannabis + ecstasy	10,4%
4. Cannabis + ecstasy	8,4%
5. Alcohol + cocaine	7,8%
6. Alcohol + cannabis + ecstasy + cocaine.....	7,8%
7. Alcohol + cannabis + cocaine.....	2 %

AGE OF FIRST USE

Young people are initiated in to drug use in a gradual way. Knowledge of the age of initiation into the use of different substances leads to the understanding that there are substances which have an introductory role in drug use habits in general and that, therefore, they generally precede the others. These are alcohol and tobacco. These are legal drugs and those which are first used. Earlier surveys have shown that if there is a descent in the age at which use of these substances starts, it generally signifies a greater use of other substances and a higher level of addiction. Therefore initiation at an early stage into the use of a substance is a clear risk factor in the use and abuse not only of this substance but of others. Initiation (**Table 13**) starts with the legal drugs, alcohol

and tobacco, at an age when the young are prohibited from acquiring and using these substances. In almost all the cities, around fourteen years is the key moment of initiation into alcohol consumption except in Manchester where it begins at 13.3 years. The first use of tobacco runs in parallel with initiation into alcohol although normally it is initiated some months later, with the exception of Nice where initiation takes place at 15.1 years on average which is below the 15.9 at which they are initiated into alcohol. In Athens, on the contrary, the average age for initiation into tobacco is 16 years although this does not stop this sample being one where this substance is used most. We do not have a figure on first use of tobacco for the Modena sample.

TABLE 13. First age to began to consume substances by cities*

Substances	Europa	Athens	Berlin	Coimbra	Manchester	Modena	Nice	Palma	Utrecht	Vienna
Alcohol	14,6	14,9	14,3	14,6	13,3	14,9	15,9	14,8	14,0	14,2
Tobacco	14,8	16,0	14,8	14,9	14,1	-	15,1	14,9	14,9	14,2
Cannabis	16,0	16,8	17,1	16,6	15,2	15,9	16,3	15,8	15,5	15,8
Amphetamines	17,7	16,5	19,2	18,7	16,8	17,7	18,6	17,2	18,6	16,2
LSD	17,7	17,2	18,8	20,6	16,3	17,8	18,8	16,6	18,7	16,9
Tranquillisers	18,2	16,2	19,4	19,5	17,2	18,7	19,5	17,4	20,2	16,4
Sleeping Tablets	18,3	16,2	18,7	20,8	17,5	18,9	19,4	17,8	18,31	17,5
Ecstasy	18,4	18,1	19,9	19,5	17,7	18,9	18,9	17,1	18,9	16,5
Mushrooms	19,1	20,6	20,6	21,4	16,4	20,3	19,5	17,1	20,2	17,3
Cocaine	19,3	18,1	20,7	19,2	19,7	19,5	19,4	17,7	19,7	17,9
Heroin/opiates	19,4	17,8	21,1	19,2	18,8	18,7	19,5	18,1	20,6	18,1

* Hampel M-estimator

After alcohol and tobacco, the use of other substances is not late in coming. Cannabis use starts around 16 years of age. Amphetamines continue between 16 and 19 years according to the city, with a European average of 17.7 years and then the amphetamines a few months afterwards, and later LSD between 17 and 20 years. Ecstasy (18.4) and cocaine (19.3) are somewhat later and therefore, in spite of their growing popularity, still do not occupy first places on the scale of use. Among other more minority substances, we have the tranquillisers and hypnotics which are begun at 18.2 and 18.3 years respectively and the psychedelic mushrooms at 19.1. Heroin occupies the final rung with an average age of 19.4 years.

It has to be taken into account that these figures are retrospective ones, since the young people were asked at what age they started to use the different substances. Therefore it is a figure related to what they remember, with the information from their memory and which does not have to coincide with the reality, although it is probably close enough for us to be able to accept that we are looking at trends which approximate to reality.

The deeply rooted social and family tolerance of alcohol and tobacco use may be the principal reason in explaining the early age at which use begins. But there are also others of a more cultural and symbolic order. These substances are associated with

adult life, they are a symbol of independence, of informality, of fun, of friendly exchanges, etc. and this entire symbolism is well used in advertising to incite its use. Evaluation of programmes indicate that for certain forms of prevention to be effective, they must be begun prior to commencement of the use of the drug whose prevention is desired (Ellickson P L, Bell R M (1990).

DRUNKENNESS

Drunkness has become one of the differentiating signs of the present patterns of alcohol use by the young during weekends. Very often, an individual only tries to reach that point of euphoria and lack of inhibition provided by alcohol but, on occasions the desired state borders on drunkenness and without being aware of it, he slips into it. For some young people, drunkenness is an undesirable accident caused by an error in calculated the alcohol ingested, but for others it has become a goal in itself. For the latter it is not the drinking which is important but having been drunk. Drunkenness stops being fortuitous and become a means of achieving things or to feel a special way.

As we can verify from simple observation, drunkenness has become a frequent experience among the young, a subject which we have seen backed by the data collected. This information arose from the question, *How many times have you been drunk in the last month?* (Table 14). Taking this into account 60.8% have been drunk at some time during the preceding month, almost 25% have been so on one or more occasions a week and 1% are drunk every day. Although we are certainly looking at a behaviour which each individual is defining for himself and not at a strict evaluation of what should be understood as drunkenness, this does not lessen the alarm on reading these data, on account of dangerous behaviours associated with drunkenness and excessive drinking as for instance the use of other substances, driving vehicles, violent actions, sexual behaviours without taking due precautions, etc.

TABLE 14. Age groups by frequency of drunkenness last month

Frequency	total	Age groups			
		Up to 18	From 19 to 22	From 23 to 25	26 or more
Every day	1,0	1,2	1,3	0,2	1,0
A few times a week	12,7	11,6	13,4	14,5	11,1
Once a week	10,8	11,4	10,9	9,4	11,3
A few times a month	17,3	16,4	16,3	19,0	18,2
Once a month	19,0	16,6	18,9	20,7	19,9
Not at all	39,2	42,9	39,2	36,2	38,3
Total % (N)	100% (2.633)	100% (580)	100% (950)	100% (511)	100% (592)

$\chi^2 = 17,096$ (p 0,313) Minimum expected frequency 5,05

Looking at the differences according to age groups in the same table, it can be seen that the youngest get drunk less often, in fact 42.9% had not been drunk during the preceding month. Probably the youngest are being initiated into the use of alcohol, and family supervision, restrictions on access to alcohol in public places, together with more reduced budgets would make these drunkenness frequencies lower, but notwithstanding, equally disturbing. It is the 23 to 25 years age group which gets drunk more and in the frequency of several times a week. Anyway these differences are not significant.

Nevertheless, this question of drunkenness in respect of age deserves to be studied in greater depth to reach a better understanding of the mechanisms which govern their progress, stabilisation or descent and may intervene preventively. Possibly there are different progression patterns according to countries. For example, in a survey with a Spanish population, we find that as from 18 years of age the frequency of drunkenness generally reduces progressively among some young people, possibly because they have learned from experience and the individual has a better control than before on the effects of drinking. This is so, in spite of the absolute amount drunk and, therefore, the number of high or excessive drinkers continues to increase without stopping, and in a significant way, from 14 years of age until it reaches its peak in the 24 to 34 years age group (Junta de Andalucia, 1997). There is a marked growth in particular among the 15 to 16 years age group whereas after this point growth is slower.

INFLUENCE OF GENDER

Difference in gender continues to be very significant in all orders of social life and this can also be seen in recreational life and specifically in a different drug use. **Table 15** shows the relevant differences according to gender and use patterns. Both the women and the men drink alcohol, but do so with different frequencies. There are more women (32%) than men (21.2%) among those who drink alcohol occasionally and, on the contrary, those who drink alcohol in the highest frequencies, weekly (64% men and 59.6% women) and every day (11.5% men and 3.8% women) are men. On looking at drunkenness, the differences are even more precise, women also get drunk but do so less often than men. 39% have never been drunk compared with 28.2% men. Among those who have been drunk, they have been so less often in all the frequencies than men. 52.5% women have been drunk in the once a month frequency up to the various times a week frequency compared with 65.3% men. In the most extreme situation of daily drunkenness, women are only 0.5% compared with 1.4% men. The same phenomenon can be seen in cannabis and ecstasy use, the women show lower user patterns. Among those who have never used cannabis 28.2% are men and 39% are women. Among those who have tried cannabis at some time but no longer use it, the women are a somewhat higher percentage (18.1% compared with 17.6%). The women who do use cannabis do so at a lower frequency (27.5% occasionally) and less with a high frequency (15.5%) whereas the men tend to consume more ecstasy and in all the frequencies (27.5% occasionally and 25.6% fairly often). The same occurs with ecstasy, 61.2% of men do not use it compared with 71.5% of the women. The men use more in all frequencies. Among those who use it occasionally

TABLE 15. Drug use by gender

Gender	Total (n)	Substances and frequencies %			
		Alcohol			
		Never	Sometimes	weekly	Every day
Male	(1.489)	3,4	21,2	64,0	11,5
female	(1.110)	3,8	32,8	59,6	3,8
Drunkenness					
		Not at all	Once or more times a month		Every day
Male	(1.507)	33,3	65,3		1,4
female	(1.109)	46,9	52,5		0,5
Cannabis					
		Never	Tasted but not taken anymore	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly-daily)
Male	(1.488)	28,2	17,6	28,6	25,6
female	(1.106)	39,0	18,1	27,5	15,5
Ecstasy					
		Never	Tasted but not taken anymore	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly-daily)
Male	(1.480)	61,2	10,3	22,7	5,8
female	(1.103)	71,5	9,3	15,7	3,4

the men are 22.7% compared with 15.7% of the women and among those who use it with a higher frequency, 5.8% are men and 3.4% women.

It is undeniable that there has been a very significant inclusion of women in places which have traditionally been masculine with a clear effect on use styles and this is very obvious in the young population; women are present in all spheres and in all use frequencies. However the women are still more prevalent in the lowest frequencies. Probably socialisation and supervision differences continue to have a differentiating effect between the sexes.

4.6. ENTERTAINMENT AND USE ENVIRONMENTS

Recreational life is one of the principal spaces where young people socialise. It is a space in which they get together with peers, form part of a group of friends with whom they establish exchange relationships, act according to an order or system of values created by the group and which is different from that in the formal or family sphere. When the young meet together to enjoy the nightlife, they choose those areas which are adaptable to their aesthetic expectations and their habits. Every place allows and suggests a number of activities or a style of entertainment and, in this sense, we consider

it significant to discover the relationship there may be between the places which the young frequent often and very often with the use of the most popular substances such as alcohol, cannabis and ecstasy. The relationship between these places and drunkenness frequencies has also been evaluated.

Seven types of different venues have been taken into account which we consider the most important and most frequented by young people in their nightlife at the weekend. These places are: *bars, cafés, discos, pubs, clubs, rave parties, after hour establishment and others (Table 16)*. It is undeniable that the young participate in redefining and giving significance to cities on the basis of their affiliation to a district, a street or an area. The nighttime entertainment routes give a specific identity to certain areas of the city. The young create a dialectic relationship with the territory, they give it identity with their presence and the reverse occurs, equally, with the venues located in areas of the city dominated by a juvenile subculture, they adopt an aesthetics, musical style and habits adapted to the demands of their clients.

Most notable in the survey are the big differences in behaviour when frequenting one or other venue according to each city. *Probably the cultural differences grant a differential significance to these places, in such a way that the young people who are looking for a place to meet with friends and to talk go to a bar in the case of Coimbra, to a café in Utrecht or a pub in Manchester.* The same may occur and have the same significance in the case of the places visited to listen to a certain type of music. In spite of this, the places most frequented are the bars (59.9%), cafés (57.7%) and discos (52%). Those in the minority are the after hours establishments (20.9%) and the rave parties (21.6%).

The bars are the places where there is a greater homogeneity, in the sense that, in all the cities, almost half or the majority of young people frequent them. Although there are big differences between cities, from cities such as Vienna where only 40.3% of young people frequent the bars, to cities like Coimbra where frequency rises to 87.8%. Equally, the cafés are rather well frequented in almost all the cities. It is in Modena (13.8%) and Manchester (18.8%) where, with a big difference, they frequent cafés less, probably in the English case because the pubs fulfil the same function. In fact, in Manchester, the pubs are the most frequented places with 78.9%.

Another group of places include those where the music and dancing occupy a central place. These are the clubs, discos, after hour establishments and the rave parties, although in some cities, it is also possible to listen to music and dance in some bars although not normally until very late.

The discos are frequented in a very variable way according to the cities. The poles are in Athens where only 14.2% of the young people go to discos, while in Coimbra, 74.7% do so. In Berlin (42.7%) and Manchester (29.8%), it is not even half the population that goes to discos. We find the remainder of the cities in more intermediate positions, Modena (61%), Nice (63.8%), Palma (57.4%), Utrecht (64%) and Vienna (53.5%). There is no doubt that these large differences are explained by problems of

TABLE 16. Places attended by people often or very often in different European towns

Places	Europe	Athens	Berlin	Coimbra	Manchester	Modena	Nice	Palma	Utrecht	Vienna
Bars	59,9	48,3	59,5	87,8	67,6	45,0	58,9	58,3	72,3	40,3
Café	57,7	83,8	79,2	96,4	18,8	13,8	69,8	36,0	79,3	50,7
Discos	52,0	14,2	42,7	74,7	29,8	61,0	63,8	57,4	64,0	53,5
Pubs	46,1	21,2	10,8	55,1	78,9	52,5	62,4	45,8	-	35,7
Clubs	40,0	73,7	69,6	-	70,0	8,1	-	8,4	19,5	37,5
Raves	21,6	26,1	24,6	11,9	38,8	11,6	20,7	14,6	14,8	32,1
Afters	20,9	42,4	17,8	15,7	33,6	9,7	17,4	22,7	8,7	21,0
Others	39,6	59,2	33,9	48,7	35,5	28,8	41,2	28,3	8,4	28,2
Total (N)	(2.670)	(305)	(250)	(305)	(287)	(300)	(301)	(320)	(306)	(299)

nomenclature. Clearly in Athens, Berlin and Manchester, the clubs cover the same function as the discos in the other cities.

Within these differences between the cities it is surely the clubs that cause greatest confusion. There are cities such as Coimbra and Nice where they are not present. In others such as Palma and Modena they are not very frequented. The reverse is true in Athens (73.7%), Manchester (70%) and Berlin (68.6%) where they are frequented a great deal. As we have said, the clubs in these cities cover a similar spectrum to the discos in other cities.

The *after hours* establishment are a type of venue which differ from the rest as a result of their opening hours. As their name indicates, these are places for ‘afterwards’, for when the rest of the places such as pubs, bars, clubs or discos must close, generally in the small hours of the morning. It is then that the after hours establishments begin to function, for people who have spent several hours taking part in the nightlife and who intend to continue for a few hours more, generally until mid-morning. Perhaps because they complement the nightlife enabling entertainment to be continued further, the people who use them are in a minority. In any case, it is a very significant minority which shows a more radical conduct in respect of drug use, as can be seen from the following data. The city where apparently the highest number of people participate in the after hours establishments is Athens, 42%, but the explanation for this high response is that in this city, those clubs and discos which open at midnight are known as after hours establishment, which also helps to explain why Athenians would have chosen such a low frequency in the discos option. Of the other cities, Manchester with 33.6%, Palma with 22.7% and Vienna with 21% are the cities with the highest participation in the after hours establishments. The remainder of the cities do not reach 20%, Utrecht being the one with the least participation at 8.7%.

The rave parties enjoy the support of the young in Vienna (32.1%) and Manchester (38.8%). Athens is once again a false positive because although 26.1% choose this option, it would appear that there is too broad an interpretation of a rave party and they chose this option for any event in a club which is connected to house or trance music.

It is possible that this confusion or a similar one exists in other cities. In Coimbra (11.9%) and Modena (11.6%), there is less participation in these events which have been so closely related with the use of ecstasy.

The data which are given below provides information on the relationship between venues and alcohol consumption, cannabis and ecstasy use, the substances which, as we have seen, are the most used in recreational life. As will be seen, all the venues are visited by users and non-users but, whereas some places are neutral areas, where there is a tendency to be there irrespective of substance use, other places have a social function very closely related to use, and these places are visited more by those who use some substance with greater frequency.

Starting with **Table 17**, it shows regularity in visiting recreational places according to the different frequencies of alcohol use. In general the higher the frequency of alcohol the more the different places are visited. The discos are an exception. As they are the meeting places for everybody, they are a visited a little more by those who do not drink or drink little than those who drink with more frequency. The bars, cafés and discos are the places most visited by everybody and, therefore, where there are high percentages of all types of young people. As is obvious, those who drink alcohol everyday must have a higher frequency for going to bars (78.6%) and cafés (59%).

TABLE 17. Alcohol use frequencies according to places visited often and very often by youngsters in Europe

Places	Total	Frequency Alcohol use			
		Never	Sometimes	weekly	Every day
Bars	59,7	41,9	46,7	63,7	78,6
Café	56,7	40,8	52,9	58,9	59,0
Discos	51,2	51,6	55,7	50,0	46,0
Pubs	40,1	22,5	35,2	42,4	46,0
Clubs	29,7	16,1	20,2	33,6	34,4
Raves	20,8	23,7	22,1	18,9	29,8
Afters	20,1	17,2	20,1	19,7	33,0
Total (N)	(2591)	(93)	(676)	(1.607)	(215)

Bars χ^2 164,400 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 9,48. Café χ^2 37,956 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 13,70.
Discos χ^2 35,749 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 14,84. Pubs χ^2 102,016 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 16,03.
Clubs χ^2 51,658 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 9,30. Afters χ^2 86,479 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 7,21.
Raves χ^2 64,548 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 8,05.

Table 18 gives us complementary information to the above on the frequency of alcohol consumption, but in a more radical situation, *the frequencies of drunkenness during the preceding month*. We are not going to refer to the 27 individuals who say they get drunk daily as clearly, these are, undoubtedly, pathological cases which go beyond the objective of this survey. All the places are visited with greater frequency by those who get drunk one or more times per month (which includes deducting those who also get drunk weekly or several times a week) than by those who do not get drunk. As

in the preceding Table, the disco is, once again, a fairly neutral place, and those who get drunk visit the cafés rather less than those who do not get drunk.

TABLE 18. Drunkenness frequencies according to places visited often and very often by youngsters in Europe.

Places	Total	Frequency to been drunk		
		Not at all	One or more times a month	Every day
Bars	59,8	50,3	65,9	66,6
Café	57,8	60,0	54,2	63,0
Discos	52,1	51,1	51,8	33,3
Pubs	46,2	32,0	45,3	59,3
Clubs	39,9	24,4	33,0	48,1
Raves	21,4	18,1	22,7	40,7
Afters	20,9	16,0	22,6	44,4
Total (N)	(2.608)	(1.019)	(1.564)	(27)

Bars χ^2 115,037 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 2,73. Café χ^2 9,379 ($p = 0,153$) Minimum expected frequency 3,83. Discos χ^2 11,260 ($p = 0,081$) Minimum expected frequency 3,98. Pubs χ^2 101,505 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 4,78. Clubs χ^2 14,567 ($p = 0,024$) Minimum expected frequency 3,07. Afters χ^2 72,042 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 2,06. Raves χ^2 63,918 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 2,21.

Table 19 shows the *different regularity in visiting recreational places by people related to the different frequencies of cannabis use*. As occurs with alcohol, the frequency of visits to the venues has a direct relationship with use frequency and once again, in this case the discos and the cafés must be considered the exception as they are more neutral sites or meeting places for everybody. In any case, it should not be lost from sight that in these two places the percentage of cannabis users that visits them is considerable (42.6% and 45.9%). The other places, the bars, pubs, clubs, after hours establishments and rave parties are places where there is a higher presence of cannabis smokers, a frequency which increases in line with the increase in frequency of use. The real jump is produced between the frequency of those who use cannabis occasionally and those who use it with a greater frequency. In the clubs, after hours establishments and raves, the increase in regularity of visits among those who are the highest users is conclusive.

Table 20 lists the *places most visited by people with different frequencies of ecstasy use*. The information in this Table is also very conclusive. All sorts of people visit the bars, pubs and cafés, as they are the meeting places, but in all of them there is a predominance of those who are non-users or have low use frequencies. Unlike the clubs, after hours establishments and raves, ecstasy users are the most assiduous in visiting these places and, therefore, these venues do play an obvious role in relation to ecstasy use. The discos have to be added to this list as, in this case, they are preferred by ecstasy users, something which does not occur with alcohol and cannabis, in respect of non-users.

TABLE 19. Cannabis use frequencies according to places visited often and very often by youngsters in Europe.

Places	Total	Frequency Cannabis use			
		Never	Tasted but not taken anymore	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly-daily)
Bars	59,8	57,7	57,9	60,6	64,5
Café	56,6	63,9	58,7	54,8	45,9
Discos	51,5	53,8	54,6	52,9	42,6
Pubs	40,3	19,7	38,0	40,7	42,8
Clubs	29,6	24,7	23,9	31,5	39,5
Raves	21,0	12,7	15,2	20,3	39,7
Afters	20,1	13,5	15,7	18,5	35,9
Total (N)	(2580)	(849)	(458)	(724)	(549)

Bars χ^2 32,195 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 46,69. **Café** χ^2 48,436 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 67,38. **Discos** χ^2 31,072 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 72,00. **Pubs** χ^2 27,960 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 69,15. **Clubs** χ^2 37,783 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 51,15. **Afters** χ^2 222,078 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 34,90. **Raves** χ^2 296,729 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 40,33.

TABLE 20. Ecstasy use frequencies according to places visited often and very often by youngsters in Europe.

Places	Total	Frequency Ecstasy use			
		Never	Tasted but not taken anymore	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly-daily)
Bars	59,7	57,3	65,3	63,2	52,4
Café	56,6	61,4	57,1	44,9	37,9
Discos	51,8	50,3	57,4	50,2	58,1
Pubs	40,2	41,9	37,8	37,7	33,9
Clubs	29,5	23,4	35,0	42,5	45,2
Raves	20,7	11,7	25,2	39,7	55,6
Afters	29,9	13,0	20,1	32,8	62,1
Total (N)	(2.572)	(1.688)	(254)	(506)	(124)

Bars χ^2 32,195 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 46,69. **Café** χ^2 48,436 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 67,38. **Discos** χ^2 31,072 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 72,00. **Pubs** χ^2 27,960 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 69,15. **Clubs** χ^2 37,783 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 51,15. **Afters** χ^2 222,078 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 34,90. **Raves** χ^2 296,729 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 40,33.

It seems that the environment, the surroundings, music, beat, lights and dancing induce a certain degree of specialisation in drug use. The data show the interrelationship between the venue and use, which implies that those who use different substances prefer some places more than others. And even more clearly, in general,

those who use drugs generally visit the places more. Some places are declared to be more neutral, in other words they are meeting places where everybody goes, particularly the bars, cafés and also, curiously, the discos (although this is not true for ecstasy) in the same way that the raves and after hours establishments are places where in an exaggerated way they ‘stimulate’ the presence of young users.

4.7. MUSIC

Recreational life is closely linked to music. One of the characteristics which differentiate the different night-time venues is the type of music for dancing to or listening to. There is a notable diversity in styles and each of these can be subdivided further into various substyles. This musical diversity is linked, to a larger or smaller extent, depending on the city, to the diversity of the groups of young people differentiated by behaviour styles in respect of fashion, the type of place habitually visited and the drugs used. Music is one of the components used by the young to create distinction and show the identity of the group to which they belong.

The Tables which are given below, provide information on the relationship between musical affiliations and alcohol consumption and cannabis and ecstasy use. The main conclusion is that there is a direct relationship between the musical style most liked and the use of determined drugs and this inter-relationship is another of the defining characteristics of juvenile subcultures.

Some musical styles are grouped together because they are derivatives of or influenced by each other. The predominance of house music is most notable, 39.1% consider it to be their favourite style of music³. From earlier studies, we know that it is the youngest who are mainly associated with this style. The second preference, with 17.7%, is rock and heavy metal, grouped together because heavy metal is a derivative of rock music although the people affiliated to heavy music are probably younger. Pop and melodic music is liked by 12.3% of the young. Jungle, drum & bass and funky beats are liked by 7.9%. These are different musical styles connected by derivation and influence. The other styles, punk, salsa and reggae are minority choices. The ‘others’ category basically includes local and traditional music which, as we can see, enjoys a significant popularity, in certain European cities above all.

Table 21 shows the relationship between musical affiliation and frequency of alcohol consumption. Drinkers of alcohol are associated with house, rock, jungle and reggae and, in addition, it can be seen that the percentage of people linked to these styles increases in step with the increase in alcohol consumption. On the other hand, those linked to pop, rap, salsa and ‘others’ have a negative relationship with alcohol in comparison with the average, in other words, the percentage increases as the frequency of consumption decreases.

³ House music includes other sub-styles such as hardcore and speed garage.

TABLE 21. Frequency Alcohol use by music styles

Music styles	Total %	Frequency Alcohol use			
		Never	Sometimes	Weekly	Every day
House	39,1	32,3	39,0	38,8	44,7
Rock / Heavy metal	17,7	7,5	14,7	19,4	18,4
Pop / Melodic	12,3	25,8	15,7	10,8	6,5
Jungle / Drum&bass Funky beats	7,9	4,3	6,7	8,6	8,3
Rap / Hip-hop	5,4	8,6	5,8	5,2	4,6
Reggae	2,8	1,1	2,0	2,9	4,6
Punk	2,3	1,1	2,2	2,3	2,8
Salsa	2,3	7,5	2,6	2,0	1,8
Others	10,2	11,8	11,2	9,9	8,3
Total % (n)	100% (2.617)	100% (93)	100% (587)	100% (1.620)	100% (217)

χ^2 70,242 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 2,13.

When we explore the relationship between these musical styles and drunkenness (see **Table 22**) considered as a more radical or abusive consumption of alcohol, some of the anterior trends are confirmed. Among the fans of house, rock and reggae music, we find greater frequencies of drunkenness. Those linked to pop music and ‘others’ tend to drink less.

TABLE 22. Frequency of drunkenness last month by music styles

Music styles	Total	Frequency drunkenness	
		One or more times a month	Not at all
House	39,3	42,7	34,2
Rock / Heavy metal	17,6	18,4	16,4
Pop / Melodic	12,2	10,1	15,2
Jungle / Drum&bass / Funky beats	7,9	8,7	6,6
Rap / Hip-hop	5,4	5,4	5,5
Punk	2,3	2,6	2,0
Salsa	2,3	1,4	3,7
Reggae	2,7	2,8	2,6
Others	10,1	7,9	13,6
Total % (n=)	100% (2.643)	100% (1.578)	100% (1.038)

χ^2 66,759 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 23,96

What is the relationship between cannabis and music? (see **Table 23**) Clearly there is a link between the young associated with house music and cannabis use. We find 30.9% of house fans among those who have never used cannabis, a percentage which rises to 51.5% among those who use it very often. The same trend occurs with jungle, reggae and punk. Nevertheless, those linked to rock, pop, salsa and ‘others’, the traditional most of all, tend to be lower users of cannabis. Rap/hip hop which is a minority style which interests 5.4% of those interviewed, has a certain balance between those who smoke and those who do not.

TABLE 23. Frequency Cannabis use by music styles

Music styles	Total %	Frequency Cannabis use			
		Never	Tasted but not taken anymore	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly-daily)
House	39,2	30,9	35,1	42,0	51,5
Rock / Heavy metal	17,7	18,4	19,4	19,2	13,2
Pop / Melodic	12,2	19,8	13,3	9,1	3,6
Jungle / Drum&bass / Funky beats	7,9	5,8	8,0	9,0	9,7
Rap / Hip-hop	5,4	5,3	5,8	5,9	4,9
Reggae	2,7	2,2	2,2	1,8	5,2
Punk	2,3	1,6	2,4	2,6	2,7
Salsa	2,3	4,1	3,0	1,0	0,9
Others	10,2	11,8	11,0	1,4	8,3
Total % (n)	100% (2.610)	100% (857)	100% (465)	100% (733)	100% (555)

χ^2 184,601 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 10,51

The relationship between music and ecstasy use (**Table 24**) maintains the trend of the preceding Tables. People linked to house and jungle tend to use more. The very close relationship between house music and ecstasy use is most notable, going from 30.6% of those who never use it to 69.4% for those who use it very often (every week to every day). With the remaining styles, the trend is the reverse, the percentage of those linked to these styles increases as use decreases.

In conclusion a clear recreational culture related to the use of drugs is being mapped out. Those associated with house, jungle, drum & bass and funky beats are those who tend to use more of every type of substance whereas those linked to other styles such as pop, melodic music, salsa and ‘others’ are minority groups but with a lower tendency towards use. At the same time, people linked to such styles as rock and reggae tend to consume alcohol and use cannabis, but not ecstasy. Therefore, it appears that there is a certain relationship between preferred musical style and style of drug use.

TABLE 24. Frequency Ecstasy use by music styles

Music styles	Total %	Frequency Ecstasy use			
		Never	Tasted but not taken anymore	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly-daily)
House	39,2	30,6	48,3	56,0	69,4
Rock / Heavy metal	17,8	21,8	13,8	8,8	8,1
Pop / Melodic	12,2	15,8	6,9	5,7	-
Jungle / Drum&bass / Funky beats	7,8	6,2	10,7	11,0	11,3
Rap / Hip-hop	5,4	5,7	5,0	4,9	4,0
Punk	2,3	3,0	1,5	0,6	0,8
Salsa	2,3	3,2	2,3	0,2	-
Reggae	2,8	3,0	1,1	3,1	1,6
Others	10,2	10,7	10,3	9,6	4,8
Total % (n)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(2.601)	(1.707)	(261)	(509)	(124)

χ^2 184,601 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 10,51

4.8. REASONS FOR GOING OUT

Unlike more tangible aspects such as places and music, on attempting to discover the reasons which the young give for going out at night, we find ourselves penetrating an aspect more linked more to interests. The different reasons which they are given to choose were selected for being those which they themselves used when the qualitative research was being carried out. As can be seen, the reasons why they go out at night for entertainment also have a relation with the use which is made of certain substances, particularly ecstasy.

In the first place, it is notable that many of the choices are highly evaluated (**Table 25**) which is a good indication of the wideness of the interests which motivate them when it comes to going out. The reasons most alleged are *to meet friends* (90.1%), *listen to music* (89.2%) and *escape the daily routine* (73.5%). For many young people, the night is the time for networking socially with their contemporaries, the music being the backbone element of the socialisation. *Dancing* is another important reason (66.6%). *Sex* (27.8%) and *looking for a partner* (28.9%) are slightly less important reasons. *Taking drugs* is the least cited reason but crucial in the context of this survey. When 18.7% state that the objective of going out is to use drugs, it is worrying because, for them, the drug is not a mediator object in the achievement of other objectives but the object itself of going out.

TABLE 25. Reasons for going out clubbing according to Alcohol use frequencies

Reasons for going out clubbing	Total	Alcohol frequency use			
		Never	Sometimes	Weekly	Every day
To meet friends	90,1	90,2	88,9	90,9	88,2
To listen to music	89,2	87,0	90,9	89,4	83,6
To escape daily routine	73,5	70,8	74,5	74,1	66,8
Dancing	66,6	76,1	69,6	65,8	59,2
To look for a partner	28,9	35,2	26,0	29,7	29,5
To look for sex	27,8	26,9	21,8	29,4	35,6
To take drugs	18,7	7,6	13,0	20,4	28,6
Total (n)	(2.550)	(92)	(683)	(1.617)	(213)

Dancing, χ^2 12,150 (p= 0,007) Minimum expected frequency 30,7. **To meet friends**, χ^2 3,060 (p= 0,382) Minimum expected frequency 9,09. **To look for sex**, χ^2 20,445 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 25,85. **To look for a partner**, χ^2 5,040 (p< 0,169) Minimum expected frequency 26,29. **To escape daily routine**, χ^2 5,752 (p< 0,124) Minimum expected frequency 23,58. **To take drugs**, χ^2 37,941 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 17,19. **To listen music**, χ^2 9,640 (p< 0,022) Minimum expected frequency 9,90.

Being with friends, looking for entertainment through music and dancing or the search for sex or a partner are reasons which can be evaluated in a positive sense and are, therefore, more understandable. They are also the traditional reasons why young people have always gone out from home to join in the festive ambients. Therefore these reasons in themselves require little comment. In any case, what has to be evaluated or researched is what presence drug use is acquiring at the present time in achieving these objectives.

Escape the daily routine is another important reason and one which most attracts attention. In order to understand it, one has to ascertain the reason why young people want to escape from the daily routine. What are the aspects of their own reality that they do not like and what contribution can be made to changing them? This type of response does not appear in the data. We can only state that young people feel the necessity to break away from a normativized life which is imposed by the majority of the activities which they carry out during the day and throughout the week. Some experts have explained this contrast between daily life and the weekend as a way of producing a certain rebellion against the routine imposed on life. The nightlife enables them to produce the fiction that they are free agents, acting with greater lack of preoccupation and forgetting their obligations and daily formalities. (Gil Calvo 1996).

The connection between the reasons for going out for entertainment and the frequency of alcohol consumption (see **Table 25**) are *search for sex* and- it could be no other way - *the intention to use drugs*. In both cases, non-consumers are identified less with these reasons for going out for fun, whereas as use frequency increases there is a parallel increase in the interest of those motivated by these reasons. It seems logical that those who go out from home with the intention of using drugs are more representative among those who effectively consume alcohol with more frequency (going from 7.6%

of those who never drink to 28.6% of those who drink alcohol every day). The relationship between alcohol use and the search for sexual relations may be explained , among other things by the uninhibiting ability of this substance.

It is also interesting to verify that, as opposed to the stereotypes, those who never drink (76.1%) and those who drink occasionally (69.6%) have more *interest in dancing* than those who consume more alcohol. However, *listening to music*, on the contrary, interests an above average number of occasional consumers of alcohol (90.9%) and a below average number of those who never drink (87%) and the daily drinkers (83.9%) although we can see from the high percentages that this is a choice which interests them all. *Going out to meet friends* is also a majority choice and, in fact, there are few variations among the different groups being considered. *Escape from the daily routine* is a motivation for going out for all occasional and frequent drinkers, but less for the abstemious and, surprisingly, for the daily drinkers, anyway in this case differences are not significant.

On looking at the abusive consumption of alcohol to reach drunkenness, it complements the preceding information (**Table 26**). Once again, those *looking for sex* and those who *go out to use drugs* are those who get drunk more as the frequencies increase. Those who *try to escape from everyday reality* have not significant differences. *Looking for a partner* is, on the contrary, more of a motivation for those who do not get drunk. The other reasons for going out are less explanatory.

TABLE 26. Reasons for going out clubbing according to Drunkenness frequencies last month

Reasons for going out	Total	Frequency drunkenness		
		Not at all	One or more times a month	Every day
To meet friends	90,1	90,3	90,3	63,1
To listen music	89,4	89,8	89,1	74,1
To escape daily routine	73,5	71,9	74,4	52,0
Dancing	66,9	66,3	67,3	46,2
To look for a partner	29,0	29,8	28,2	80,0
To look for sex	27,9	21,3	31,8	37,5
To take drugs	18,7	9,9	24,1	88,9
Total (n)	(2.627)	(1.027)	(1.573)	(27)

Dancing, χ^2 0,478 (p=0,788) Minimum expected frequency 8,94. **To meet friends**, χ^2 7,910 (p=0,019) Minimum expected frequency 2,66. **To look for sex**, χ^2 40,891 (p<0,001) Minimum expected frequency 6,97. **To look for a partner**, χ^2 4,577 (p=0,101) Minimum expected frequency 7,54. **To escape daily routine**, χ^2 2,571 (p=0,277) Minimum expected frequency 6,63. **To take drugs**, χ^2 87,518 (p<0,001) Minimum expected frequency 4,48. **To listen music**, χ^2 0,299 (p=0,861) Minimum expected frequency 2,87.

Cannabis use (**Table 27**) follows patterns similar to those of alcohol consumption in respect of *looking for sex* (going from 24.1% to 35.3% as frequency increases), *going out to use drugs* (from 2.4% to 50.9%), and *dancing* (from 65.9% among non-users to 71.2% among those who use it with a high frequency). *Listening to music* (from 89% among non-users to 92.1% among frequent users) becomes most important as the frequency of cannabis use increases and the intention of *looking for a partner* is,

TABLE 27. Reasons for going out clubbing according to Cannabis use frequencies

Reasons for going out clubbing	Total	Cannabis frequency use			
		Never	Tasted but not taken anymore	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly-daily)
To meet friend	90,1	90,4	89,1	91,0	89,5
To listen to music	89,3	89,0	87,0	88,9	92,1
Dancing	66,7	65,9	62,1	67,3	71,2
To escape daily routine	73,5	73,8	70,4	73,8	75,3
To look for a partner	29,1	32,0	27,2	27,5	28,1
To look for sex	27,9	24,1	27,0	27,1	35,3
To take drugs	18,6	2,4	9,9	18,5	50,9
Total (n)	2.595	851	462	730	552

Dancing, χ^2 9,723 (p= 0,021) Minimum expected frequency 153,64. **To meet friends**, χ^2 1,511 (p= 0,680) Minimum expected frequency 45,13. **To look for sex**, χ^2 21,562 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 172,02. **To look for a partner**, χ^2 5,270 (p= 0,153) Minimum expected frequency 131,36. **To escape daily routine**, χ^2 3,229 (p= 0,358) Minimum expected frequency 120,73. **To take drugs**, χ^2 548,375 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 84,73. **To listen music**, χ^2 7,134 (p= 0,068) Minimum expected frequency 49,63.

on the contrary, a more clear motivation for those who have never tried cannabis, but in these cases the differences are not significative.

The use of ecstasy (**Table 28**), follows the general lines marked out by the use of other drugs, above all in respect of looking for dancing sex and drugs, it establishes differences in respect of all other motivations given although some are more accentuated than others. For those who use ecstasy, it goes from 63% among non users to 80.6% among users with greater frequency among those who state that *dancing* is an important reason. For those who consider that *listening to music* is important in going out at night, it goes from 88.2% among non-users to 95.2% among those users with a greater frequency. The *search for sex* is also a reason which makes the use of ecstasy rise (from 25.3% to 46.3%) but, above all, it is *taking drugs* which is the main reason going from 5.5% to 78.2%. *Finding partner* loses interest as ecstasy use rises. For the rest of reasons for going out there are not significant differences in relationship to cannabis use.

There are three or four very important reasons for young people when it comes to going out. These are wanting to meet up with friends (90.1%), listen to music (89.2%), escape from daily routine (73.5%) and to be able to dance (66.6%). Meeting friends on being such a general motivation is little discriminatory and, only among people that get drunk do we find that as the frequency increases there is a loss of interest in meeting friends. Interest in listening to music generally increases when use frequency rises among alcohol and ecstasy users. Escaping from the daily routine is not discriminatory for any drug. Being able to dance is unexpectedly interesting for the abstemious and more expectedly interesting for cannabis and ecstasy users. Nevertheless, the two motivations most linked to drug use are going out to look for sex and going out to be able to use drugs.

TABLE 28. Reasons for going out clubbing according to Ecstasy use frequencies

Reasons for going out	Total	Ecstasy frequency use			
		Never	Tasted but not taken anymore	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly-daily)
To meet friends	90,1	90,5	90,3	89,1	88,6
To listen music	89,2	88,2	89,5	90,9	95,2
Dancing	66,6	63,0	71,0	73,1	80,6
To escape daily routine	73,5	72,6	75,7	73,3	82,9
To look for a partner	29,0	31,4	22,7	25,0	26,1
To look for sex	27,9	25,3	31,0	30,6	46,3
To take drugs	18,5	5,5	20,9	45,7	78,2
Total (n=)	2.584	1.695	255	510	124

Dancing, χ^2 32,839 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 41,37. **To meet friends**, χ^2 1,117 ($p = 0,773$) Minimum expected frequency 12,17. **To look for sex**, χ^2 29,181 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 33,71. **To look for a partner**, χ^2 13,875 ($p = 0,003$) Minimum expected frequency 34,51. **To escape daily routine**, χ^2 6,939 ($p = 0,074$) Minimum expected frequency 32,54. **To take drugs**, χ^2 727,941 ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 22,95. **To listen music**, χ^2 8,074 ($p = 0,045$) Minimum expected frequency 13,43.

4.9. INFLUENCE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL AND SCHOLASTIC PERFORMANCE ON USE

The subject of studies and self-evaluation which the young themselves make of their ability as a student has already been mentioned when referring to sociodemographic data (see **Table 2**). With the data which are given below it is possible to evaluate the effect of use on the self-evaluation which the young make of themselves. It was considered that self-evaluation as a student was the best option for getting to know how they considered themselves in respect of an activity which is central to their lives. Although some had already finished studying, the academic experience is still a close one.

Table 29 self-evaluation is related to the different frequencies of alcohol consumption. We must point out that we have proceeded to regroup use frequencies to facilitate comparison and that, as a result, they will not appear in the same way as in Table 8. We would remind you that the great majority are alcohol consumers so that only 3% never drink, 22.2% drink it occasionally, 62% drink alcohol every week and 8.2% every day. As for studies, the majority group is in the middle ($n = 1,220$ individuals), among those who consider themselves average, neither good nor bad students. The second option is that of good students ($n = 837$), followed by that of very good ($n = 241$). Those who consider themselves bad or very bad students are in the minority ($n = 314$ in total). If we relate both variables, we find that among those who drink alcohol every day, there is a greater percentage of bad and very bad students and, surprisingly, of very good students as well. With weekly consumption, we find difficult to explain relationship where the good

students and the bad and the very bad are most represented. On the other hand, the average students are very much more numerous among those who drink alcohol occasionally. Interpretation of these data is not easy as there are, or so it would appear, contradictory figures. It would be necessary to research more diverse questions such as if daily drinking of alcohol has the same significance and follows similar patterns between good and bad students. In any case, the following Table on the relationship between drunkenness and capacity for studying, assists a little in putting things into place.

TABLE 29. Self-evaluation level by frequency of Alcohol use

Frequency of Alcohol use	Total	Self-evaluation Level				
		Very good student	Good student	Average student	Poor student	Very poor student
Never	3,6	3,3	3,2	3,9	1,9	7,5
Sometimes	26,2	26,6	24,4	29,3	20,3	15,9
Weekly	62,0	58,9	66,4	60,1	64,3	52,3
Everyday	8,2	11,2	6,0	6,7	13,5	24,3
Total % (n)	100% (2.6129)	100% (241)	100% (837)	100% (1.220)	100% (207)	100% (107)

χ^2 77,174 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 3,85.

In effect, among those who have never been drunk during the preceding month (see **Table 30**), there is a greater representation of very good students (41.4%) or good students (41.9%) than bad (25.9%) or very bad students (28.7%). In order to compensate, there obviously exists an increase in the percentage among those who consider themselves bad and very bad students (72.2% and 66.7%) among those who have been drunk one or more times during the month with respect to the good and very good students (55.6% and 57.6%). Of those who get drunk daily, although it is a minority group - comprising 27 individuals (1% of the whole sample) - the percentages also follow the same line; there is a great majority of those who consider themselves to

TABLE 30. Self-evaluation level by frequency of drunkenness last month

Frequency of drunkenness	Total	Self-evaluation Level				
		Very good student	Good student	Average student	Poor student	Very poor student
Not at all	39,1	41,4	41,9	39,2	25,9	28,7
One or more times a month	59,6	56,6	57,6	59,3	72,2	66,7
Every day	1,0	2,0	0,5	0,7	2,0	4,6
Total % (n)	100% (2.639)	100% (251)	100% (845)	100% (1.230)	100% (205)	100% (108)

χ^2 42,947 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 1,10.

be very bad students(4.6%). In short, in reference to alcohol, we can say that the bad students show more abuse behaviour (drunkenness) although, at times, the good students may also have high consumption frequencies. All this is without forgetting that both use and the abuse are widespread in the entire population that goes out at night.

Cannabis use (see **Table 31**) maintains a clear negative relationship with being a good student. Among those who have never used cannabis (32.8%) there is an increase in the percentage of those who consider themselves to be better students, and this also occurs among those who have tried it some time but do not use it (17.9%). Among those who do use it (28% with low frequency and 21.4% with great frequency), on the contrary, there is an extremely clear and significant trend to consider themselves bad students, particularly among those who use it occasionally or quite often. Those who consider themselves to be very bad students are particularly represented among those who use cannabis with greater frequency.

TABLE 31. Self-evaluation level by frequency of Cannabis use

Frequency of Cannabis use	Total	Self-evaluation level				
		Very good student	Good student	Average student	Poor student	Very poor student
Never	32,8	35,4	34,4	33,7	21,5	26,4
Tasted but not taken anymore	17,9	19,8	18,0	17,8	17,6	13,2
From seldom to often	28,0	27,2	28,8	27,5	30,2	23,6
Very often (weekly-daily)	21,4	17,7	18,8	20,9	30,7	36,8
Total % (n)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	2.604	243	832	1.218	205	106

χ^2 38,622 (p<0,001) Minimum expected frequency 18,93

Consumers of ecstasy (see **Table 32**) follow the same pattern, but it is more noticeable still that as use increases so self evaluation decreases. Those who never use it (65.7%) tend to consider themselves better students. Among those who have tried it once but do not use it (10%) the percentage rises in line with the worsening of the evaluation. Among those who use it occasionally (19.6%) and those who use it frequently, (4.8%) the tendency to very negative self-evaluation is a very marked one.

Increase in the frequency of drinking alcohol, drunkenness and the use of cannabis and ecstasy is clearly related to a self-evaluation as a bad or very bad student. Even if this is clearly in agreement with our figures, we must not forget that this is a relative question since the good and the very good students also use and abuse alcohol, since no less than 56.6% of very good students and 57.6 % of good students admit to having been drunk one or more times during the month preceding the interview.

TABLE 32. Self-evaluation level by frequency of Ecstasy use

Frequency of Ecstasy use	Total	Self-evaluation level				
		Very good student	Good student	Average student	Poor student	Very poor student
Never	65,7	73,7	65,9	66,8	58,5	46,2
Tasted but not taken anymore	10,0	8,2	10,1	9,7	11,7	12,3
From seldom to often	19,6	17,7	20,7	18,1	23,9	24,5
Very often (weekly-daily)	4,8	0,4	3,3	5,4	6,3	17,2
Total % (n)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	2.596	243	830	1.212	205	106

χ^2 66,291 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 5,06

SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL

The social position to which the young belong has been considered in some studies as a very significant variable for its relationship with drug use. As already mentioned in **Table 4**, the majority of the population which goes to the recreational environments studied, belong to middle class and upper middle class families. This information means it can be said that the population which forms part of the survey may be considered ‘normalised’, in other words this is not a marginalised group but entirely the contrary. Undoubtedly, we are studying the entertainment habits of society in general, with a large representation of the sector with the highest purchasing power. The information which is given below shows that there is a differential in use, but surprisingly, the differences are not linear but marked by the central group, the population with a middle class level, whereas the extremes, the population from a lower and higher level tend to be similar to each other.

In **Table 33**, there is information on the frequencies of alcohol consumption in respect of the five socio-economic levels in which we distributed the sample. It is notable that there are rather similar patterns in all the social levels. The predominant frequency of alcohol consumption in more than half the population is weekly although a little less in the upper level (53.4%). The second frequency in order of importance concerns drinking alcohol sometimes, in which there is hardly any variation according to social levels (fluctuating between 28.8% in the highest level group to 20.8% in the lowest level group. Among those who never drink alcohol there are few differences, and it also fluctuates from 5.9% in the highest level to 3.0% in the lowest level. The most significant difference may be between those who drink alcohol every day, which goes from 11.9% in the highest level to 15.8% in the lowest. We do not know if these daily consumption have a significance, intensity and patterns between the highest and lowest levels, and this is a subject which deserves to be explored for the implications it may have on health and behaviour.

TABLE 33. Socioeconomic status by Alcohol use

Frequency of Alcohol use	Total	Socioeconomic ascription				
		High	Medium high	Medium	Medium low	Low
Never	3,6	5,9	3,0	4,0	2,5	3,0
Sometimes	26,2	28,8	25,8	27,3	23,2	20,8
Weekly	62,0	53,4	64,0	61,5	63,4	60,4
Everyday	8,2	11,9	7,2	7,3	10,8	15,8
Total % (n)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(.628)	(118)	(698)	(1.387)	(314)	(101)

χ^2 23,325 (p= 0,025) Minimum expected frequency 3,63

The study of drunkenness contributes to rounding off the situation in reference to the relationship between alcohol consumption and social class. In **Table 34** the data show a surprising consumption as the middle level group is where the relatively low levels of drunkenness are to be found, whereas in the highest and lowest levels drunkenness increases. The highest level is where there is a greater frequency of daily drunkenness (2.5%) - although it is a statistical figure of little account as we are referring to a reduced number of people - and in the lowest level where there is a frequency of one or more times a month (64.4%), but these differences are not significant.

TABLE 34. Socioeconomic status by frequency of drunkenness last month

Frequency of drunkenness	Total	Socioeconomic ascription				
		High	Medium high	Medium	Medium low	Low
Not at all	39,2	37,5	36,4	41,6	37,7	33,7
One or more times a month	59,8	60,0	62,6	57,6	61,4	64,4
Every day	1,0	2,5	1,0	0,9	0,9	2,0
Total % (n)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(2.642)	(120)	(714)	(1.391)	(316)	(101)

χ^2 10,860 (p= 0,210) Minimum expected frequency 3,63.

The use of cannabis (see **Table 35**) also marks certain differences in use styles but not significant. In general terms, it may be said that it is in the middle level where there are relatively more reduced frequencies of use or even of people who have never used it (34.6%). It is in the lowest level where the highest percentage is to be found of those who have tried cannabis but no longer use it (25.7%). The middle-high levels (28.7%) and high (32.8%) are the ones which are most represented among those who use it rarely to sometimes, whereas the lower levels are those who use it in the highest frequencies.

A similar thing occurs with ecstasy, but again differences are not significant. The middle levels show a relative moderation in use while the behaviour of the highest level tends to be similar to that of the lowest with higher uses (**Table 36**). It is at the two

TABLE 35. Socioeconomic status by Cannabis use

Frequency of Cannabis use	Total	Socioeconomic ascription				
		High	Medium high	Medium	Medium Low	Low
Never	32,9	30,3	32,6	34,6	29,1	25,7
Tasted but not taken anymore	17,9	16,8	17,5	17,4	18,8	25,7
From seldom to often	27,9	32,8	28,7	27,7	27,5	21,8
Very often (weekly-daily)	21,3	20,2	21,2	20,3	24,6	26,7
Total % (n)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(2.610)	(119)	(597)	(1.384)	(309)	(101)

χ^2 14,603 (p=< 0,264) Minimum expected frequency 18,07.

TABLE 36. Socioeconomic status by Ecstasy use

Frequency of Ecstasy use	Total	Socioeconomic ascription				
		High	Medium high	Medium	Medium Low	Low
Never	65,7	60,5	64,7	67,2	64,3	61,6
Tasted but not taken anymore	10,0	14,3	8,5	9,8	10,9	14,1
From seldom to often	19,6	21,8	21,3	18,3	20,6	20,2
Very often (weekly-daily)	4,8	3,4	5,6	4,7	4,2	4,0
Total % (n)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(2.601)	(119)	(696)	(1.376)	(311)	(99)

χ^2 11,781 (p=< 0,463) Minimum expected frequency 4,72.

extremes where there are more people who have tried ecstasy (60.5%) and (61.6%) whereas it is in the middle class that there is a higher percentage of those who have never used ecstasy (67.2%). Also in the two extremes, at the highest and lowest levels, there are more people who have tried ecstasy at some time but no longer use it (14%). Among those who do use it, the highest group tend to consume more at an intermediate frequency whereas in the lowest level group there is more use with greater frequency.

It may be concluded that the differences of socio-economic level are important since they are related to different use styles. The highest and lowest level populations have, surprisingly, much closer behaviours in respect of use although the level of use is still higher among the lower levels. In any case, this must not distract us from the fact that, in spite of the above mentioned difference, there is a generalisation of use at all social levels.

4.10. FAVOURITE DRUGS: THOSE WHICH ARE LIKED MOST AND THOSE WHICH ARE IN FASHION

Information on *which drugs are considered to be more fashionable, the substance most liked by the young and the one which would be the most difficult to give up* assist

in completing the panorama of use since beyond the use figures there is the entire subjective evaluation to be made of those substances in the night market. In general, the evaluation which is made of these substances has something to do with the use which is made and perceived, but it also has something to do with idealised desires which cannot always be put into practice and with subjective criteria of what individuals think others like best. Therefore, this type of data not only contributes practical information on what is most liked but also enables a prognosis on future use trends.

Table 37 shows data on the *substances which are most liked* by the young, chosen from those they use. Alcohol is the most liked (38.1%), followed by cannabis (21.1%), These are the majority substances, those which are liked most and also those which are used most. In the ranking, there is a second group liked by a significant percentage and this is ecstasy (11%), cocaine (10%) and tobacco (9.2%). The other substances are in the minority - LSD (4.7%), amphetamines (2.4%), mushrooms (1.2%), heroin (0.5%) and tranquillisers or sleeping tablets (0.2%). Only 0.3% of the young who answered this question, say they do not use any substance.

TABLE 37. Substances like the best by age group

Substances that like the best	Total	Age group			
		Up to 18	From 19 to 22	From 23 to 25	26 or more
I don't take drugs	0,3	0,2	0,1	0,9	0,9
Alcohol	38,2	37,4	39,3	39,1	36,7
Cannabis	21,2	24,2	20,8	20,3	19,7
Ecstasy	11,0	12,3	12,0	9,5	9,5
Cocaine	10,0	4,7	8,2	12,0	15,3
Tobacco	9,3	8,9	9,9	9,0	8,8
LSD	4,7	9,4	3,9	2,7	3,1
Amphetamines	2,4	1,8	3,0	2,4	2,0
Magic mushrooms	1,2	-	1,1	2,2	1,8
Others	1,4	0,9	1,1	2,0	2,0
Total % (n)	100% (2.011)	100% (448)	100% (699)	100% (409)	100% (455)

χ^2 107,225 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 0,20

These preferences undergo changes depending on the age of the young people. In the case of alcohol, the age group of those who like it most (39.2%) is from 19 to 22 years, interest diminishing after this age. As for cannabis, which is the second preferred drug, it generally appeals most to those under 18 years of age (24.1%) to then drop down before rising again. Ecstasy is most enjoyed by the youngest, both those under 18 years (12.3%) and those in the 19 to 22 age group (12%). Cocaine is clearly a drug liked by the 23 to 25 years (15.1%). Among the youngest, the liking for this drug is really less but it also must be remembered that it is a late initiation drug (see **Table 13**) and therefore many people did not try it when they were young. But a drug which

enjoys a clear favour among those under 18 years is LSD which is liked by no less than 9.4% when the average is 4.7%. Amphetamines are generally liked by the 19 to 22 age group with 3.7%.

Therefore, in addition to saying that alcohol, cannabis, ecstasy and cocaine are the most liked drugs, it should be added that the age groups which most clearly show their liking for the drugs under consideration are those under 19 and those in the 19 to 22 age group.

WHICH DRUGS ARE MORE IN FASHION?

Another subject to explore is that of fashions. *Which drugs are most in fashion among the young in Europe?* The drug which occupies the most notable position in the ranking (see **Table 38**) is *cannabis* 28.4%, closely followed by alcohol (26.7%) and ecstasy (25.1%) and a little further below is cocaine (9.9%). The other substances seem to be in the minority.

TABLE 38. Fashionable drug by age group

Substances	Total	Age group			
		Up to 18	From 19 to 22	From 23 to 25	26 or more
Cannabis	28,4	32,7	30,1	26,9	22,5
Alcohol	26,7	19,5	24,2	29,5	36,0
Ecstasy	25,1	27,4	29,1	22,0	18,6
Cocaine	9,9	5,1	7,6	13,4	15,6
LSD	3,9	7,4	3,5	2,9	1,6
Amphetamines	2,5	4,1	0,8	0,4	0,6
Tobacco	1,8	2,1	1,1	2,2	2,4
Heroin/ opiates	1,0	1,3	1,0	0,7	1,2
Others	2,2				
Total % (n)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(2.304)	(529)	(827)	(454)	(494)

χ^2 158,621 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 0,20

Looking at age groups, it seems that a reverse trend is maintained with cannabis and alcohol. *Cannabis* is more fashionable among the youngest (going from 32.7% among those under 18 years to 22.5% among those over 26 years), whereas *alcohol* is more fashionable as age increases (going from 19.5% among those under 18 years to 36% among those over 26 years). *Ecstasy* is also more fashionable among the youngest, particularly among those between 19 and 22 years, followed by those under 18 years. It can be seen that as age increases enthusiasm for this drug decreases. *Cocaine*, on the contrary, follows an inverse process, in other words its popularity increases as age increases. At the same time, it is clearly not among the majority drugs in respect of its fame as is the case of the three previous ones. Although the uses and prevalence of the

people who have tried it are not far from those of ecstasy, it appears to be a more silent drug. In any case, 5.1% of those under 18 years consider that cocaine is the most fashionable substance, and this rises to 15.6% among the oldest who consider it fashionable. *LSD* and the *amphetamines* are also substances in the minority in the ranking, but it is worrying that it is the youngest who find them popular which must have an influence in that both drugs are used and growing in use among the youngest. The remainder of the drugs do not enjoy great popularity among the young population. In short, among the youngest cannabis, ecstasy, LSD and amphetamines are popular and among the less young it is alcohol and cocaine.

As for the influence of the financial level (**Table 39**), in some respects the high and low level populations have similar patterns which are different from those of the middle level. In view of the liking for *cannabis* as the drug considered to be most popular, both those in the high class (24,4%) and those in the low class (25,3%) are less of this opinion, whereas the middle class (31.5%) is the most enthusiastic. The same occurs with ecstasy. In both the high class (24,6%) and the low class (22,6%), the percentage with this opinion is lower, whereas the middle class (26.1%) is where it is considered most fashionable. For alcohol, on the contrary, it is the inverse. Where it appears to be most fashionable is in the low class (36,1%) and above all in the high class (27,2%), it being much less popular with the middle class (23.6%). Appreciation of cocaine is very conditioned by social class, the higher it is, the more it is appreciated. It is in the upper class (12,9%) where it is considered to be most fashionable, this opinion dropping as the level of class drops (7,3% in the lowest class). And with LSD, once again, this is a substance considered most fashionable by the upper class (4,2%) and lowest class (3,8%). The opposite to the amphetamines which are fashionable among the middle classes (2,7). Tobacco is a substance of less class differentiation, it is considerably more fashionable among the upper class (2.1%).

TABLE 39. Fashionable drugs by socioeconomic status

Substances	Total	Socioeconomic status		
		Medium high and high	Medium	Medium low and low
Cannabis	28,3	24,4	31,5	25,3
Alcohol	26,7	27,2	23,6	36,1
Ecstasy	25,1	24,6	26,1	22,6
Cocaine	10,0	12,9	9,1	7,3
LSD	3,9	4,2	3,7	3,8
Amphetamines	2,5	1,0	2,7	1,1
Tobacco	1,8	2,1	1,7	1,6
Heroin/ opiates	1,0	0,7	1,1	1,3
Others	2,2	3,2	2,1	1,3
Total % (n)	100% (2.310)	100% (714)	100% (1.225)	100% (371)

χ^2 46,854 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 2,4

It may be concluded that there is a shared style of appreciation of the different substances among the population at a high and low level which is different from the population at a middle level. Alcohol and LSD are notable for being two of the substances most appreciated at these two extremes, whereas cannabis, ecstasy and the amphetamines are liked more by the middle classes. Cocaine, LSD and tobacco are more appreciated by the high class. We would like to remind that similarities were already established in respect of the frequencies of use in the high and low classes in respect of alcohol, cannabis and ecstasy (see Tables 33, 35 and 36).

MOST DIFFICULT TO GIVE UP SUBSTANCE

They were asked which of the substances they were taking would be the most difficult to give up. In a certain sense, we are asking which drug do you depend on more? There was 26% between missing and persons who either were not taking drugs or considered that there was no drug that would be difficult for them to give up. The percentage of those who answered this question was obtained from the number of individuals using each substance. The result is that the substance which a significant majority said they would find most difficult to give up is tobacco (40.1%), followed by alcohol (30.1%) and then cannabis (24.2%). Even further away is heroin (15.6%), ecstasy (9.2%), cocaine (8.6%) and LSD (8.8%) and the remainder of the drugs. We see that it is always tobacco, alcohol and cannabis which occupy the foremost position. It has to be taken into account that, although tobacco is not relevant as a drug which is most in fashion, it does have a high addictive potential which is being reflected in this percentage.

4.11. ECSTASY USERS

From the mid eighties and particularly in the decade of the nineties, we find ourselves faced with a flourishing expansion of ecstasy and other synthetic drugs in recreational life. Although it is not the most used drug, it is the one whose use has grown more quickly in almost all the cities and it is one of the illegal drugs most imbricated in the recreational environment and, as has been seen, it is one of those which are most in fashion. The information which is given below concerns the group of young people who have used ecstasy on some occasion or 24.4% of the sample. Through the information which they contributed, it is possible to ascertain some of the habits related to use. In other parts of this section, there is further information relating to the use of ecstasy and this must be consulted to complete the picture.

Given that the market where ecstasy is distributed is a clandestine one, it is difficult to know the composition of the tablets and to acquire them if you are not within some distribution network. Therefore, in order to obtain something of a guarantee and safety,

young people generally acquire ecstasy through a friend (61.5%) or from a dealer (20.9%) and a few from an unknown person (6.6%). The average tablets bought on each occasion is 1.9. It is probable that some young people participate in the market where ecstasy is being distributed as intermediaries obtaining small amounts among friends. The relationship of confidence which is established between buyers and sellers is important, as it is the only one which guarantees a certain quality of merchandise.

The young use ecstasy at weekends (82.5%) and some every day (16.7%). The number of tablets which are taken on each occasions varies. The most frequent amounts are one or two tablets although some take half a tablet and others may go up to three or four or more.

TABLE 40. Number of pills taken on each occasion

pill	3,1
pill	17,4
One pill	33,0
Two pills	29,3
Three or four	13,0
More than four	4,2
Total (N) %	(754) 100

Ecstasy is a social drug and, therefore, the company and the environment are very important. It is taken among friends and it is a component of group relationships which promotes the link of belonging to a group and it plays a substantial role in the rites which take place in recreational life, therefore 86.6% of the young take it with their friends, 12.3% sometimes with friends and sometimes alone, and only 1.1% exclusively on their own. The preferred places for use are very diverse and almost all are characterised by being public places where the young go to enjoy themselves. In order of preference, they are the rave parties (81.3%), the discos (74.8%), the after hours establishments (70.8%), the clubs (57.9%) and a friend's house (47.6%). Other places, such as their own home, the bars or the street are also taken into account but are in the minority. The type of place chosen reinforces the image of ecstasy closely linked to a party in a closed and public place with a determined ambient and music.

The evolution of ecstasy use is an important subject so that an attempt was made to ascertain if the young using ecstasy keep a certain constancy in the amount of ecstasy they use over the passage of time. 36% consider that they do keep a certain degree of constancy, 42% say that it is variable, so that at times they use more and at others less, 10.7% tend to increase the amount and 10.4% tend to decrease it.

The possibility of giving up ecstasy use is considered by 53.8% of young users which demonstrates that there is a certain uneasiness or worry about being a user. In spite of this they continue to take it. It is very probable that it would not be very easy to make changes in habits without transforming other aspects which are part of the scene.

After some years of presence, it appears that ecstasy may no longer be considered a new drug. However, not only is it one of the most influential drugs on the recreational scene, in addition, and according to the opinion of the young who took part in the survey, 61.7% believe that ecstasy use is increasing and 28.7% believe that it has stabilised. Only 9.7% of the young in the sample believe that ecstasy use is decreasing which opinion clashes with the information given in the latest report from the Lisbon Observatory (EMCDDA, 1998) in the sense that, on the basis of the information provided by member States, the spread of ecstasy use was reaching a ceiling, above all in the areas where it has been used for some time and which have already reached high use figures. We believe that it is worthwhile to be on one's guard on this point, as it is surprising that there should be such a unanimous opinion among the young that use is still rising.

4.12. PERCEPTION OF HARM AND RISK BEHAVIOUR

Drug use is a health problem in itself, but things get worse if, under the effects of drug use or due to the effect of said use, people also behave in a way which is harmful to themselves and others. This section explores subjects relating to driving vehicles but other behaviours also exist which could be considered harmful and which are related to the use of substances such as abusive use, the mixture of several substances, access to sexual relationships without control, acts of violence or criminal acts, accepting lifts when the driver is under the effects of drugs, etc.

As could be seen in the previous Tables, alcohol consumption is fundamental in recreational life. In fact it is the most used substance, the most liked and, in addition, the one which is most in fashion. Its moderate or rational consumption does not involve serious risk. Nevertheless, a consumption which leads to drunkenness may be dangerous, and particularly when it occurs frequently and if it predisposes a person towards an aggressive emotional state or an inability to properly evaluate his or her capabilities. We have already seen the worryingly high frequency of drunkenness among the young people in this survey (see **Table 14**). 60.8% have been drunk at least once during the month preceding the interview!

Another aspect to take into consideration is that the nightlife involves movement in one's own or another's vehicle. 35.7% of the European youths in our survey said they had to go long distances when going out. These distances obviously vary from city to city, since there are small and large cities, the distribution of the places of entertainment may change... In this sense we find that only 10% of the young people in Coimbra say they have to travel long distances compared with 68% in Berlin. In the section on going out at weekends patterns (see **Table 9**), we can verify that the young go from one place to another, thus increasing the likelihood of drinking, driving and drinking and of having accidents.

In effect, we have seen how one of the common behaviours, and one with dangerous consequences for alcohol drinkers (see **Table 41**), is *driving under the influence of alcohol*. This is an extensive and habitual fact among the population which takes part in recreational life. In fact, *43% have driven at some time under the influence of alcohol*, a rather alarming percentage in itself. Among those who consume alcohol, use cannabis and ecstasy, the possibility of driving under the effects of alcohol increases in line with the increase in the frequency of use of any of the substances. In other words, if we take the example of alcohol, those who take alcohol every day have driven with a higher frequency under the effects of alcohol (64.1%) than those who drink occasionally (27.9%). In the case of cannabis, 57.9% of the weekly or daily users have driven under the effects of alcohol and, among users of ecstasy with similar frequencies, it is a similar percentage (60.5%). Other interesting data is that 30% of the young in this sample admitted having driven under the effects of some drug which was not alcohol which also has its dangers, particularly if there is a mixture of different substances. There are studies at least on the influence of marihuana on driving.

TABLE 41. To drive under effects of Alcohol according frequencies of use Alcohol, Cannabis and Ecstasy

Substances and frequencies		Have driven under the influence of Alcohol %
Total (N 2.609)		43,1
Alcohol	Sometimes	27,9
	Weekly	48,8
	Everyday	64,1
Cannabis	Never	26,3
	Tasted but not taken anymore	47,3
	From seldom to often	48,6
	Very often (weekly-daily)	57,9
Ecstasy	Never	35,4
	Tasted but not taken anymore	54,8
	From seldom to often	58,4
	Very often (weekly-daily)	60,5

Alcohol $\chi^2= 176,108$ ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency 40,48. **Cannabis** $\chi^2= 159,707$ ($p < 0,001$) Minimum expected frequency

Beyond our fears founded on the fact that driving under the influence of alcohol must be dangerous, we could ask this 43% what problems they has had in driving. As, effectively, their driving had led them into problems then we are not looking at a philosophical problem but one with serious real consequences. *13.7% have been fined in respect of their condition, alcohol controls, etc., 13.4% have had traffic accidents and 6% have been detained*. This is a small sample of the consequences of inappropriate use of substances at night.

There is a logical tendency to undervalue the dangers associated with entertainment. It seems that those who go out only do so to enjoy themselves and nobody wants to complicate life unnecessarily. Some attempt to persuade themselves that although it is true that drugs are used - and this is the excuse they give - it is only a means to enjoy themselves and not to abuse or complicate life. Those who abuse are the exception. We made an earlier analysis of this problem of driving under the influence of alcohol, which in itself should act to demythify any view that it tended to undervalue the dangers of the night. To further explore the subject of abuse, we asked the young people in the sample *if they had continued to use any drug in spite of having problems with it*. 29.3% admitted that such was their situation, that they continued taking a substance knowing that it could have caused problems. On asking which drug was the one which caused the problems the result was: 36.9% of this group admitted having problems with alcohol, followed by cannabis (19,9%) and slightly behind came ecstasy (14%) Other lower frequencies followed; LSD (7.1%), tobacco (6.2%), cocaine (5.9%), amphetamines (3.5%), heroin (2.1%)... In short, a significant percentage admitted to having problems but did not want to or could not, stop using the substance.

Therefore, drug use in recreational environments is problematic but, are young people aware of the dangers associated with this use? In the preceding IREFREA Survey of last year (Calafat,1998) with a European sample of ecstasy users and a control group, it was already quite obvious that ecstasy users has a social representation of ecstasy that was radically different from that of the control group (help in getting through the night, facilitating relationship with music, etc.), and did not see the dangers inherent in its use. In another part of the survey, it was shown that they were less interested in preventive aspects. Obviously, non-users were in direct opposition to this view, in other words, they did not positively evaluate the effects of ecstasy, they saw the dangers in its use and were more interested in preventive aspects. What doubt can there be that someone who positively evaluates a behaviour and does not see any problem in assuming it, is more likely adopt it than someone who makes the opposite evaluation? This may seem obvious and it is backed by the research. Seven out of eight longitudinal studies show very convincingly that the lack of fear of the consequences derived from the use of a substance are predictors of a subsequent use (Petraitis 1998).

Having cleared up this matter, it will not surprise us to find that among the young who go out at night that firstly, faced with different use patterns, there is a low perception of harm and, secondly, that the low perception of harm drops even lower as use increases. **Table 42** analyses the perceived harm in the different examples of patterns of use of some substances in respect of different frequencies of *alcohol consumption*. We begin by exploring the reaction to *smoking a packet of cigarettes a day* which is considered a dangerous use by 68.9% of the total sample but it could be seen how this percentage decreased, even that not in a significant way, as the frequency of alcohol consumption increased. The second substance, *smoking marihuana regularly* which 56% consider dangerous in principle but this percentage changes dramatically among those who do not drink alcohol and those who drink with high frequency (going from 80.9% to 36.9%). Using *ecstasy every week* follows the same pattern, 89.5%

consider it dangerous but this percentage decreases as the frequency of alcohol consumption increases. *Taking LSD once a month* is considered dangerous by a large majority (84.8%) of the sample but, once again, this percentage drops in line with an increase in alcohol consumption. Having *two alcoholic drinks a day* is considered highly harmful by only 43.7% - which indicates the high tolerance level of this substance by the population but, of course, among alcohol drinkers this perception reduces until it reaches only 17.8% of those who drink alcohol every day. The same thing happens again with *having four alcoholic drinks on one occasion*, where half the population (50,8%) consider it dangerous but, when we study the answer in respect of the non-consumer frequencies we find that 84% of those who do not drink find it dangerous as against 26.9% of those who drink every day. It is worth mentioning that after having four drinks, one is well over the alcohol levels permitted in European countries. It is, therefore, clearly demonstrated that the more the alcohol consumed, the lower the perception of the harm involved in different user patterns.

TABLE 42. Alcohol use by high perception of danger in relation to some patterns of substance use.

Several use behaviour	Total %	Alcohol frequency			
		Never	Sometimes	Weekly	Every day
A/ One packet of cigarette a day	68,9	74,5	69,9	69,1	61,9
B/ Marijuana regularly	56,0	80,9	66,1	52,8	36,9
C/ Ecstasy every week	89,5	93,6	94,4	81,1	81,8
D/ LSD once a month	84,8	89,1	89,7	84,6	68,8
E/ Two Alcoholic drinks per day	43,7	62,4	58,6	39,9	17,8
F/ Four Alcoholic drinks in one occasion	50,8	84,0	71,0	43,6	26,9
Total (n)	(2.601)	(94)	(680)	(1.611)	(216)

A/ χ^2 6,673 (p= 0,083) Minimum expected frequency 29,24. B/ χ^2 90,157 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 41,37. C/ χ^2 35,922 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 9,92. D/ χ^2 55,455 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 13,99. E/ χ^2 142,778 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 40,68. F/ χ^2 236,110 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 46,22.

Table 43 confirms this same trend among those who generally get drunk. The perception of harm reduces among those who get drunk sometimes but reduces even more among those who get drunk every day.

The same process is repeated among cannabis smokers (see **Table 44**). The greater the frequency of use the lower the harm perception. Faced with the different patterns of use, there is a high perception of harm among non-users and a gradual loss of this perception in line with the increase in frequency of use. **Table 45** can be analysed following the same criterion. Ecstasy users have a lower awareness of the harm implied in using different substances with an abusive frequency. It is interesting however, to point out that ecstasy use is perceived as dangerous, in general, which could have had some influence on the certain stagnation in ecstasy use in European countries (EMCDDA, 1998). Nevertheless, although we believe in dissuasive effect of a

TABLE 43. Drunkenness by high perception of danger in relation to some patterns of substance use.

Several use behaviour	Total %	Drunkenness frequency		
		Not at all	One more times a month	Every day
A/ One packet of cigarette a day	68,9	68,9	65,3	63,0
B/ Marijuana regularly	55,9	55,9	45,9	22,2
C/ Ecstasy every week	89,5	89,5	86,2	76,9
D/ LSD once a month	84,6	84,6	81,1	63,0
E/ Two Alcoholic drinks per day	43,7	43,7	36,2	18,5
F/ Four Alcoholic drinks in one occasion	50,5	50,5	39,4	22,2
Total (n)	(2632)	(2632)	(1537)	(27)

A/ χ^2 25,194 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 8,40. B/ χ^2 185,998 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 11,90. C/ χ^2 50,811 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 2,74. D/ χ^2 51,675 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 4,15. E/ χ^2 104,001 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 11,80. F/ χ^2 214,881 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 13,37.

TABLE 44. Cannabis use by high perception of danger in relation to some patterns of substance use.

Several use behaviour	Total %	Cannabis frequency			
		Never	Tasted but not taken anymore	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly-daily)
A/ One packet of cigarette a day	68,8	70,4	68,2	68,0	67,8
B/ Marijuana regularly	56,0	80,6	63,1	45,9	25,9
C/ Ecstasy every week	89,5	96,8	90,9	87,5	79,4
D/ LSD once a month	84,7	92,2	89,3	84,7	69,6
E/ Two Alcoholic drinks per day	43,7	49,5	45,5	42,4	34,9
F/ Four Alcoholic drinks in one occasion	50,7	63,7	49,5	44,3	39,9
Total (n)	(2.595)	(850)	(466)	(726)	(553)

A/ χ^2 1,467 (p= 0,690) Minimum expected frequency 145,46. B/ χ^2 450,422 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 205,01. C/ χ^2 110,664 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 48,78. D/ χ^2 139,937 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 69,88. E/ χ^2 30,186 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 203,65. F/ χ^2 95,642 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 229,36.

perception of a danger, it is no less certain that there are also quite a few young people who, in spite of acknowledging the dangers of different types of substances, continue using these substances. Without a doubt, these aspects require greater research.

Other behaviour closely related to the management of harm concerns the attitude to what is taken prior to the use of tablets and the knowledge of their composition by those who have used ecstasy at some time. We explored this subject in the recent research into ecstasy (Calafat, 1998) and results similar to those presented here were also reached. We remind you (see the section on ecstasy users in this chapter) that 35.6% of the population has used ecstasy. These ecstasy users were presented with three statements which explored their attitude to lack of knowledge of the contents of the tablets. 21.7%

TABLE 45. Ecstasy use by high perception of danger in relation to some patterns of substance use.

Several use behaviour	Total %	Ecstasy frequency			
		Never	Tasted but not taken anymore	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly-daily)
A/ One packet of cigarette a day	68,9	70,0	68,5	69,2	54,8
B/ Marijuana regularly	56,2	69,0	38,5	30,6	22,8
C/ Ecstasy every week	89,4	95,9	89,2	77,1	51,2
D/ LSD once a month	84,7	91,4	80,9	71,1	57,4
E/ Two Alcoholic drinks per day	43,8	46,6	44,6	35,6	36,6
F/ Four Alcoholic drinks in one occasion	43,8	46,6	44,6	35,6	36,6
Total (n)	(2.588)	(1.695)	(260)	(509)	(124)

A/ χ^2 12,393 (p= 0,006) Minimum expected frequency 38,52. B/ χ^2 337,111 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 53,90. C/ χ^2 345,619 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 13,01. D/ χ^2 202,200 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 18,66. E/ χ^2 22,216 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 53,83. F/ χ^2 72,825 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 60,87.

agree with first statement that the *composition of the tablets is not important*. This is obviously the choice most closely linked to a high risk behaviour and shows a great scorn of any preventive possibility. The second statement, *I would prefer to know what I am using* was chosen by the majority and this is the way 56.3% of the sample think and act. This statement must be understood in the context that in spite of not knowing the contents of the tablets, young people still take them, but they are interested in knowing what they contain. This is therefore a more positive attitude although not free from harm.

The third statement, the one most in line with a preventive attitude - apart from the fact that it would obviously be better not to use any substance - is *if I am not sure about the contents, I don't use it*. This posture is taken by 21.9% of ecstasy users.

In short, it is obvious - at least among ecstasy users - that there is attitude defying the danger. The composition of the tablets does not matter too much, as if this, at least for a significant proportion of these users, is just one ingredient more in the adventure. Among Spanish users, it is frequent to call all ecstasy and other derivatives by the generic name of 'tablets', showing in this way the lack of interest in the specific composition of the substance which is to be used.

4.13. SENSATION SEEKING AND SOCIAL DEVIATION

Different personality traits have been studied as risk factors in the use of drugs. Several reviews on risk factors (Hawkins J, 1992, Petraitis J, 1998) find a wide empirical basis on which the possession of socially not very conventional values were related to

use. They refer to rebellion, alienation from the dominant values of society, not very religious, high tolerance of delinquency, strong necessity for independence, antisocial behaviour, search for sensations... In the IREFREA survey on ecstasy users in Europe (Calafat, 1998), the close relationship between searching for sensations and social delinquency was quite obvious and this is a subject which we have re-approached in this survey with a different sample.

In order to evaluate the search for sensations, the complete Zuckerman Scale of 40 items was used, whereas in this present survey, we used a scale with three questions prepared and evaluated by the Hawkins and Catalano team (Arthur, 1997). The questions are:

1. Have you done what feels good, no matter what?
2. Have you done something dangerous because someone dared you?
3. Have you done crazy things even if they are a little dangerous?

Table 46 shows how the value on the sensation seeking scale increases in accordance with the extent of use in each of the three substances, particularly ecstasy.

Substances	Total	Frequencies			
Alcohol	2,6	Never	Sometimes	Weekly	Every day
		2,0	2,4	2,7	3,0
Cannabis		Never	Tasted but not taken anymore	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly-daily)
	2,6	2,3	2,4	2,8	3,2
Ecstasy	2,6	Never	Tasted but not taken anymore	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly-daily)
		2,4	2,8	3,1	3,7

Alcohol, F= 30,186 (p<0,001). Cannabis, F= 96,413 (p<0,001). Ecstasy, F= 91,645 (p<0,001)

Another approach which was carried out to evaluate the effect of drugs on behaviour was in respect of a series of antisocial behaviours. The young were asked to reply to the following questions:

1. Have you ever driven a car on a public road without a licence?
2. Have you ever deliberately damaged property?
3. Have you ever taken things from a shop without paying?
4. Have you ever been involved in a physical fight (outside the family)?

Each question was asked in respect of two time periods, those who had committed any of the acts since they were fifteen years old, and those who had committed them during the preceding year. We can state that there was a clear relationship between use of the three substances being analysed - alcohol, cannabis and ecstasy - and involvement in the antisocial behaviours being examined.

Table 47 shows the replies in accordance with the frequencies of alcohol consumption. It is interesting to observe how more than half the total sample have committed one of these antisocial acts at least once since they were fifteen years old, a frequency which obviously drops to less than half when looking at behaviour during the preceding year. Specifically, after 15 years, the most frequent behaviour is that of taking things from a shop without paying (61.2%), followed by having driven in a public area without a driving licence (55.6%), having damaged property(53.1%), and having been involved in physical fights (52.7%). Taking into account those actions which have occurred during the preceding year, being involved in physical fights (28%) takes precedence, followed by driving without a licence (22.9%), taking things from a shop (18.1%) and damaging property (17%). There is no doubt that all these behaviours are socially reprehensible but, it is the significance of the physical fights which particularly attracts attention, as this the behaviour which is least affected with the passage of the years.

TABLE 47. Antisocial actions have been done by Frequency Alcohol use

Actions	Total % (n)	Done since age 15				Done in last 12 month				
		Never	Some-times	weekly	Every day	Total % (n)	Never	Some-times	weekly	Every day
A/ Have you ever driven a car on a public road without a licence	55,8 (1.078)	31,7	43,5	61,2	65,8	22,9 (1.078)	24,4	23,5	21,7	27,4
B/ Have you ever deliberately damage property	53,1 (882)	37,1	35,8	58,5	67,0	17,0 (882)	8,6	13,2	18,5	20,4
C/ Have you ever taken things from shops without paying	61,2 (1.200)	34,2	53,1	65,6	64,8	18,1 (1.200)	15,8	14,4	18,9	23,4
D/ Have you ever been involved in a physical fight (outside family)	52,7 (1.184)	35,7	45,5	56,1	57,7	28,0 (1.184)	21,4	23,2	28,9	36,9

A/ χ^2 64,345 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 8,75. B/ χ^2 81,486 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 5,95. C/ χ^2 67,290 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 6,88. D/ χ^2 70,415 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 8,12.

The relationship between these antisocial behaviours and drug use is quite clear in all the Tables (**Tables 47 to 50**) although, on occasion, there are some inconsistencies, explicable, no doubt in part, because the use frequencies have to be weighed up by age, since - to give an example - as the age increases there is a greater likelihood of being in possession of a driving licence. Equally certainly, the expression of antisocial behaviours or tendencies must inevitably vary with the age. In the case of alcohol, and taking into account those who have committed these actions since they were fifteen

years old, notable differences are established between those who do not drink, or do so sporadically, and those who drink with a weekly or daily frequency. Among those who have committed the above mentioned acts in the preceding year, the higher consumption has more affect on the fights and damaging property and it also affects, but less markedly, driving without a licence and stealing from shops. In the case of having been drunk in the preceding month (**Table 48**), there is an unmistakable and rather marked trend to having participated in one of these illicit acts.

TABLE 48. Antisocial actions have been done by drunkenness last month

Actions	Total % (n)	Done in last 12 month		Total % (n)	Done in last 12 month	
		Not at all	Once or more times a month		Not at all	Once or more times a month
A/Have you ever driven a car on a public road without a licence	55,8 (1.078)	45,9	61,6	22,9 (1.078)	20,7	24,4
B/Have you ever deliberately damage property	53,1 (882)	38,3	61,2	17,0 (882)	11,8	20,4
C/Have you ever taken things from shops without paying	61,2 (1.200)	53,6	65,3	18,1 (1.200)	12,7	21,4
D/Have you ever been involved in a physical fight (outside family)	52,7 (1.184)	46,5	56,4	28,0 (1.184)	21,2	31,8

A/ χ^2 58,672 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 4,02. B/ χ^2 95,613 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 2,78. C/ χ^2 75,367 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 4,02. D/ χ^2 81,137 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 14,40.

In the case of cannabis (**Table 49**), the trend is also clear, above all, when we explore the antisocial acts committed after 15 years of age. The percentage of those who commit illegal actions increases in line with the increase in alcohol consumption. When we consider those who have committed antisocial acts in the preceding year, the most obvious difference is established between those who use or have used cannabis and those who do not. Among those who use it, those who rob and fight tend to be those with higher use frequencies. Among those who drive without a licence or damage property, the relationships with use frequencies are more erratic but certainly this is due to the fact that daily users of cannabis are older and, therefore, are more likely to have a driving licence and, similarly, more money, so that there is not the same need to rob a shop for something they want.

The relationship between ecstasy use and antisocial behaviour is more difficult to interpret (**Table 50**), since it shows some exceptions to the higher the use frequency the closer the relationship with antisocial behaviours, but there are clear differences among those who have never taken ecstasy and those who have.

TABLE 49. Antisocial actions have been done by Frequency Cannabis use

Action	Total % (n)	Done since age 15				Done in last 12 month				
		Never	Tasted but not taken any more	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly -daily)	Never	Tasted but not taken any more	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly -daily)	
A/ Have you ever driven a car on a public road without a licence	55,8 (1.078)	41,6	58,3	60,6	70,0	22,9 (1.078)	20,4	23,3	26,7	21,9
B/ Have you ever deliberately damage property	53,1 (882)	32,7	53,8	58,7	73,3	17,0 (882)	13,4	20,3	19,1	18,1
C/ Have you ever taken things from shops without paying	61,2 (1.200)	40,5	64,0	67,4	74,1	18,1 (1.200)	16,3	17,3	18,5	20,8
D/ Have you ever been involved in a physical fight (outside family)	52,7 (1.184)	39,6	58,3	55,7	63,4	28,0 (1.184)	24,0	28,1	29,1	31,7

A/ χ^2 104,283 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 38,42. B/ χ^2 135,618 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 24,58.
 C/ χ^2 165,448 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 36,04. D/ χ^2 120,545 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 38,39.

TABLE 50. Antisocial actions have been done by Frequency Ecstasy use

Action	Total % (n)	Done since age 15				Done in last 12 month				
		Never	Tasted but not taken any more	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly -daily)	Never	Tasted but not taken any more	From seldom to often	Very often (weekly -daily)	
A/ Have you ever driven a car on a public road without a licence	55,8 (1.078)	48,8	71,1	65,8	72,7	22,9 (1.078)	20,2	26,0	24,2	22,8
B/ Have you ever deliberately damage property	53,1 (882)	41,1	73,8	73,3	70,6	17,0 (882)	16,7	15,5	15,4	25,5
C/ Have you ever taken things from shops without paying	61,2 (1.200)	53,6	72,1	70,6	75,6	18,1 (1.200)	15,8	21,3	21,7	21,8
D/ Have you ever been involved in a physical fight (outside family)	52,7 (1.184)	48,2	58,8	63,4	52,7	28,0 (1.184)	24,8	35,1	29,6	43,2

A/ χ^2 104,283 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 38,42. B/ χ^2 135,618 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 24,58.
 C/ χ^2 165,448 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 36,04. D/ χ^2 120,545 (p< 0,001) Minimum expected frequency 38,39.

4.14. SUMMARY

The quantitative data of the research create a wide descriptive and referential spectrum on the use of drugs in the recreational sphere. It also attempts to focus on certain relationships on which to develop the analysis and, at the same time, to open up new questions which make way for new lines of research.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE YOUNGSTER

The sociodemographic characteristics of the young in the 9 cities participating in the survey show that they are socially well integrated individuals, belonging in the main to the middle or middle-upper class, the great majority work or study - with a high level of studies in general - with a slightly higher proportion of men (57.6%). In addition, 86% are unmarried and the majority live with their families which is even more apparent in the cities in the south of Europe where emancipation occurs later. The average age of the sample is 21.8 years, with fluctuations between cities from the 19.8 years of Palma to the 24.7 years of the Berlin sample. In short, the habitual public in the recreational environments at weekend is not a marginal group by any means and is, in fact, quite the contrary.

GOING OUT CLUBBING

Going out at weekends to enjoy oneself at night has become a consolidated habit which is practised with high frequency and enjoyed by a considerable percentage of young Europeans. Among the young who formed the sample *more than half (56.9%) go out three and four weekends every month* and 44.3% go out one or two weekends. There is a majority of young people who, when they do go out, do so on two nights (46.1%) on each weekend although others only go out on one night (38.5%). *The time devoted to going out on each occasion is 6.1 hours on average* but with a difference according to the cities - 7.2 hours in Palma and Berlin and 4 hours in Modena and Athens.

There is a first group of cities comprising Palma, Nice and Berlin with a greater tendency for the young to go out at weekends. The second group with Vienna, Manchester and Athens is where the young go out with a significant frequency but less than the cities already mentioned. Manchester is an atypical city, which should surely be with the first group for the majority of its recreational characteristics, however, the young go out on fewer weekends per month, undoubtedly because of the high cost involved. There is a final group of cities which we could describe as quieter and these are Coimbra, Utrecht and Modena. The more relaxed activity of these cities can no doubt be explained by their smaller size and the fact that there are other more important cities close by which clearly have greater attraction for young people.

The young move around following nocturnal routes from one place to another, frequently changing establishments. *The majority (65%) generally go to two or three*

places during the night and 14% visit more than four places. To travel around, they use their own car (35.9%) or a friend's car (28.8%) with the exception of the city of Utrecht where the use of the bicycle is generalised. Public transport is used by a minority (10.6%), whereas 7.1% use taxis. The long distances travelled and the frequent changes of establishment in combination with alcohol consumption and other drug use is one of the problems in prevention.

The young obtain the money they spend on night-time recreation basically from the family or their own work. In Athens, Coimbra and Palma, the young are more dependent on their family, whereas in Manchester, Nice and Berlin, there is a greater proportion of young people who depend on their own work. Family supervision on their young going out at nights, is, in general, gentle, even when, as in the Mediterranean countries, living at home is prolonged.

USE PATTERNS

The fact that drug use is an important ingredient in recreational life is more than well-known fact! Nevertheless, this survey endeavours to contribute up-to-date descriptive data of this fact, attempting in addition, to find which aspects have greater relevance in respect of drug use and, secondly, to contribute information on the harmful behaviours associated with drug use in these environments.

The data show that legal substances, alcohol and tobacco are very present in these environment. *Alcohol* is clearly the star of the night, embracing occasional use to situations of abuse such as drunkenness. The high frequencies of alcohol are habitual as *the majority (72%) drink alcohol one or several times a week*, and there is a significant group (8.3%) which drinks every day. This daily consumption is making a strong appearance among the young and, contrary to the reigning stereotype, in non-Mediterranean countries. The significance, the evolution and the negative repercussions of this daily consumption are still to be determined.

Frequent drunkenness has become one of the key characteristics in the manner of juvenile consumption. It cannot fail to attract attention that *only 39.2% of our sample say they have not been drunk during the preceding month*. Almost 25% of the sample have been drunk one or more times a week and 1% get drunk every day. The youngest get drunk somewhat less, as 42.9% have not been drunk during the preceding month but, as we can see, the difference in comparison with the average is minimal and we cannot avoid seeing it as an important matter of public health, particularly if we take into account that some of them are young people who, in theory, have a restricted access to alcohol. The age group which gets drunk most frequently is from 23 to 25 years.

The second most used substance is *tobacco*, it being notable that its most frequent use is daily (55%) as would be the case with a substance with a high addictive level. *Cannabis* is the most generalised illegal substance and although there are quite a few occasional users, it is also used in high frequencies of several times a week (11.3%) and daily (10%). *Cocaine* and *ecstasy* are also drugs closely linked to entertainment, undoubtedly facilitated for their stimulant effect. Ecstasy has been used by 35% of the

respondents at some time in their life. 4.5% use it weekly. 28% of the sample have tried cocaine at some time and 10.5% use it one or more times a month, and, of these, one third use it one or more times a week. The remainder of the substances are used less but have a real presence in recreational environments. The most notable are *LSD* and the *amphetamines* whose presence is notable particularly in some cities and among the very youngest. Substances such as hallucinogenic mushrooms only have some presence in very specific cities (Manchester, Berlin and Utrecht).

The differences in sex show a different form of use between men and women. *Women use drugs a little less and they generally do so with lower frequencies than men.*

It is frequent for young people to take more than one substance in the same night. Alcohol forms part of 91.6% of these combinations. Another substance we find, which is also very present, is cannabis in 88.1% of cases. In fact the *combination of alcohol and cannabis adds up to half the combinations (50.6%)*. The remainder of the combinations generally include mainly ecstasy and cocaine.

Initiation into the use of the various substances occurs, as we know, in a series of stages. In almost all the cities, the first substance to be consumed is *alcohol* at an average age fourteen years and six months. The first use of *tobacco* (14.8 years) is almost in parallel with the first use of alcohol. These substances are followed by cannabis, around 16 years of age. This is followed by the amphetamines (17.7 years) and LSD at the same age and ecstasy (18.4 years). In spite of its growing popularity, cocaine (19.3 years) occupies a later position on the initiation scale.

The social function of drugs is very complex and dynamic as has been shown from the swift eruption of ecstasy in the use habits of the young. This arouses fears for the introduction of new drugs of the same or different style as ecstasy. But, in view of the Prevalences and the knowledge of other drugs, it seems that we are not at a situation in which many changes are being produced.

In fact, *the drugs which are most in fashion among these young people are - and in this order cannabis, alcohol, ecstasy and cocaine*. If we take into account the age groups, it seems that the most fashionable drugs among the youngest are cannabis, ecstasy, LSD and amphetamines, and among the less young, alcohol and cocaine.

It is also interesting to know which is the drug they think it would be most difficult to give up. As would seem logical, we find *tobacco in the first place (40.1%) as the most difficult to give up by those using this substance, followed by alcohol (30.1%) and cannabis (24.2%)*. Following, at some distance, are ecstasy (9.2%), cocaine (8.8%), LSD (8.8%) and heroin (15.6%). We remind you that these percentages refer not to the total sample but to the sample of reference formed for each substance by those who use that substance occasionally or with greater frequency.

ECSTASY

The characteristics of ecstasy users in Europe were analysed in greater depth in a recent research by IREFREA (Calafat, 1998) but here the sample being used includes

more cities. 24.4% of the young people in this sample have used ecstasy. Taking into account some of the habits related to its use, we know that the young generally acquire ecstasy through a friend (61.5%) or a dealer (20.9%). The average tablets bought on each occasion is 1.9. The young take ecstasy, at weekends by choice, (82.5%) and some every day (16.7%). Normally they use one or two tablets a night. 36% generally use the same amount, whereas 42% state that the amount changes, sometimes they take more, other times less, and 10.7% tend to increase the amount and a similar percentage (10.4%) tend to take less. It is used mainly among friends (86.6%) and the possibility of giving up its use is considered by 53.8% of its users. 61.7% believe, according to their perception, that ecstasy use is increasing and 28,7% believe it has stabilised. This perception contradicts the information given in the latest report from the Lisbon Observatory (EMCDDA, 1998) where it is said that ecstasy use has stopped growing in the majority of European countries.

RECREATIONAL CULTURE AND USE

There are different recreational cultures or entertainment styles in all the European cities, as has been shown already in the qualitative description of the cities, where there are diverse subgroups of young people affiliated to different musical styles and different forms of drug use. A more detailed analysis of these subgroups and cultures will be the central nucleus of the next report. The data which are collected here are basically descriptive, although they have been placed in relation to drug use, as far as possible.

The young go frequently at weekends to such venues as *bars, cafés, discos, pubs, clubs, rave parties and after hours establishments*. Some of these have a more neutral function in respect of use, in other word they are meeting places visited by everybody, both those who use drugs and those who do not. These venues are the bars, cafés and -surprisingly - the discos to a certain extent. Users of any of the more habitual drugs (alcohol, cannabis or ecstasy) generally go to more places in general. At the same time, it is true that the *raves and after hours establishment are the places which 'attract' the presence of young users*.

In respect of music, the majority of the young consider their preferred style of music to be *house* (39.1%), followed by *rock* and *heavy metal* (17.7%) and *pop and melodic music* (12.3%); the remaining musical styles, *jungle, drum & bass* and *funky beats* (7.9%), and *punk, salsa* and *reggae* are in the minority. *Those associated with house, jungle, drum & bass and funky beats are those who tend to be higher users of all types of substances*. Whereas the young associated with other styles such as pop, melodic music or salsa tend to have less of a relationship with drugs. At the same time, the young associated with styles such as rock and reggae tend to use alcohol and cannabis, and ecstasy to a lesser extent. An in-depth research in to these relationships between musical culture and drug use merits the highest consideration.

The idea of entertainment revolves around the reasons the young give for going out. These reasons, those which motivate the young to go out to take part in recreational life,

are - being with friends (90.1%), listen to music (89.2%), escape from the daily routine (73.5%) and to be able to dance (66.6%). Meeting up with friends is a not very discriminatory reason and, it is only among ecstasy users that we find that as use increases there is a slight loss of interest in meeting up with friends. Interest in listening to music generally increases when use frequency increases. Escaping from daily routine is discriminatory for alcohol and ecstasy favouring the use of these substances. Being able to dance is expectedly interesting for ecstasy users. *The two motivations for going out at weekends most heavily linked to drug use, although they are not in the majority, is going out looking for sex and going out to take drugs.*

As we have already said the level of studies in general is high in our sample. In relation to the studies we explored the relationship existing between drug use and their self-evaluation of their worth as students. *There is a trend that self-evaluation of a student drops in line with a rise in the use levels of different substances.* But we are looking at a relative subject, as with the good and the very good students, in spite of their getting drunk less, 56.6% of very good students and 57.6% of good students admit to having been drunk one or more times in the month preceding the survey.

PERCEPTION AND HARMFUL BEHAVIOURS

The use of drugs may be dangerous for the person involved but, in addition, it can influence an individual to adopt behaviours which also contribute risks, such as driving under the influence of alcohol or other drugs. *It has been shown that a high percentage of the sample (43%) have driven under the influence of alcohol and 30% have done so under the influence of other drugs.* And, as is to be expected, this behaviour has led to a series of problems as, of these young people who have driven under the influence of alcohol, *13.7% have been fined for driving offences, 13.4% have had car accidents and 6% have been detained.*

To continue with the subject of the problems linked to drug use, we see that *29.3% have continued to take a specific drug in spite of having had problems with it*, such problems involving alcohol above all (36.9%), followed by cannabis (19.9%) and ecstasy (14%), Others followed with lower frequencies - LSD (7.1%), tobacco (6.2%), cocaine (5.9%), amphetamines (3.5%), heroin (2.1%). Although we do not know what these problems are, we can however say, however, that this high percentage opens our eyes to a clearly problematic situation of drug use among the young who habitually go out for nighttime entertainment. It would be particularly interesting to explore further the above mentioned problems with cannabis.

But the young who use drugs are not only in a situation more likely to lead to harmful behaviour but also have a greater difficulty in evaluating the harm. And, there is indeed a difficulty among the young in evaluating the harm implicit in certain patterns of behaviour and we have verified how this perception is even more reduced in line with an increase in the use of different substances. This is an aspect which should be thoroughly examined in respect of prevention as there is a demonstrated relationship

in several surveys between harm perception and use. But there should also be further study of the psychological and learning mechanisms which allow so many young people to perceive the danger and, notwithstanding, continue with use.

Another aspect related to management of harm appears when the young are asked on their attitude to the contents of the ecstasy tablets. As has been mentioned, 35.6% of the young people who participated in the survey had taken ecstasy. *Only 21.9% of the ecstasy users consider that if they were unsure of the contents of the tablets they were offered that they would not take them.* The remainder are either not bothered at all about the composition or, if they are worried, it does not prevent them from taking the tablets just the same. In short, it is obvious - at least for ecstasy users - that there is an attitude of exposure to risk and defiance of the danger.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

RESEARCH AND RECREATIONAL DRUG USE IN EUROPE

A social phenomenon of serious importance has been occurring in the last few decades and is still continuing today. It involves a progressive implication of the young in legal and illegal drug use which has brought with it, at the same time, a sociological process of 'normalisation' of its use, particularly in certain environments. In this sense, the young users of the various legal and illegal drugs do not see themselves as people with a drug problem. This phenomenon has occurred in association with other changes in the social and cultural order which are having a substantial effect on the system of values and life style. Changes which must be ascertained and treated adequately for an improved understanding of the context in which drugs are used and where their consequences are experienced. It is very important to transform the traditional image attached to drug use as a component of marginal environments, underground or alternative venues or of people who have been excluded or have excluded themselves from the formal areas. This image which has remained more or less the same for years, does not now contribute to an understanding of the phenomenon in Europe at the end of the XXth century.

Diverse surveys and analyses have accented the importance which drug use acquires in recreational life and particularly at weekends. Some of these surveys endeavour to shed light on the links between the cultural aspects of entertainment and the significance acquired by drug or multi-drug use as well as the growth in the use of ecstasy. Gamella and his research team in anthropology (Gamella 1977) has highlighted this connection within the Spanish context. Shapiro (1999), focusing on the present day situation in England, analyses the substantial change in the role which drug use must be given in social life. According to the author, and based on surveys carried out in the seventies, drugs have stopped being an element which contributed to escaping from ordinary life and, in addition to this, have now become one more part of daily life. This change is intrinsic in the growing importance of recreational life, the club culture, and in the new environments created with rave parties where an important section of youth is developing a new entertainment culture.

In England, Germany and Holland - perhaps because they are pioneers in musical and entertainment styles which have spread to the European countries and been adapted by them in the last few decades - surveys have been drawn up with different approaches to the association between young people, recreational life and drug use (Klee 1998,

South 1999, Tossmann 1996, 1997). A longitudinal survey produced in Manchester (Measham, et al. 1998) presents the importance of drug use in the transition from adolescence to youth concluding that's wider youth culture that reflects an acceptance of drug use both by users and non-users as part of young people's leisure', identifying this situation as a normalisation process of recreational drugs,

In general, and taking into account the group of surveys which have appeared, it seems pertinent to accept the label 'recreational drugs' as a concept which describes a sphere in which drugs play a relevant role. The surveys also coincide in the growth of this type of use throughout the nineties. Nevertheless, the various surveys also present controversial and debatable aspects by introducing different points of view on the consequences of drug use. In this sense, Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998), in a survey also undertaken in England, defend the view that in certain aspects which are linked to drug use in recreational life, such as the connection between drugs and criminal behaviour, it is untrue in most cases that it leads to addiction and that most adolescents are pressured into drugs. The different points of view have given way to a greater scientific interest in creating quality information that could explain the complexity of the subject and shed light on its controversies.

There are many surveys in this sphere, similar to those already mentioned and it is not our objective to present them all here. Our only intention is to show the relevance of the researches into the use of recreational drugs have been acquiring in the scientific sphere and also the institutional preoccupation in creating preventive criteria. One of the characteristics of the different surveys is in that they are confined to the local and national sphere. Nevertheless, the fluidity and interconnection between the different European countries, as well as the intensity of cultural diffusion require wider studies which show the communal and diverse aspects of the social life of drugs among young Europeans.

In accordance with these criteria, IREFREA presented a survey on *The Characteristics and Social Representations of Ecstasy in Europe* (Calafat et al, 1998) which, in addition to the consolidation of a multidisciplinary team, allowed it to create the analytical and methodological to develop a broad and complex research in five cities. An important result which is obtained from the empirical survey is the reality of multi-use, of the mixture of different substances in a single night or a single occasion when going out. More specifically, ecstasy users are great multi-users, much more so than other people who also go out at night. This affirmation, based on data on the real situation, has enabled confrontation of the myth attached to ecstasy as a means of legitimising its use which stated that those who use ecstasy do not use other substances.

Three patterns of ecstasy use which would correspond to different cities or countries emerged from this survey: 1. The emerging model corresponding to those countries where the initiation of this phase has just begun and where the characteristics of use are close to the stereotypes in the use of this substance - not mixing it with alcohol, for example - since it has certainly not yet had occasion to spread to wider population groups. 2. The poly-consumer model where ecstasy use has practically the same recreational

patterns as any other legal or illegal drug, and 3. The culturally sensitive multi-consumer model where there is also multiple drug use but where belonging to one subgroup subculture or another influences the preferred combination of drugs in some way.

Taking into account this preceding survey as well as others which have been appearing on a European scale, IREFREA has designed a new line of research which enables an in-depth follow-up of the most relevant aspects of recreational drugs. As already mentioned, one of the central features of interest has been to explain the European dynamic in order to be able to grasp common and diverse aspects as the basis of a comparison between cities. To do so, the team was comprised of experts from the nine countries where the research took place (Germany, France, Greece, Holland, Italy, England, Spain, Portugal and Austria). Another of the basic objectives was to achieve a research methodology which would permit multi-disciplinary, multi-cultural and multi- language exchange.

The methods used to obtain data are a methodological continuation of the previous survey and which was followed using a combination of quantitative questionnaires and qualitative semi-structured interviews with key people. This type of methodology has shown itself to be useful in obtaining complementary and comparative data, but even more so having to juggle with such different situations as those which arise in the nine cities which form part of the survey. The qualitative research which was developed on the basis of observation by participants and semi-structured interviews (90 interviews of key people in the nightlife), has provided a description of the recreational life in the nine cities, specifications of the key subjects to be considered, identification of groups of young people and captured culture aspects of each individual group. The quantitative research which involved interviewing 2,700 young people (300 in each city) supplied plentiful information directly from the 'users of the night' themselves. Only part of the data is presented in this publication. The complexity and volume of the data permit an in-depth analysis, as it is possible to compare not only the nine cities but also the subgroups which were identified in each city. This requires greater analysis which still remains to be done, as well as a second publication to present the results.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND YOUTH

The young people of today have been socialised within the parameters of a welfare state where the experience of leisure is conceived as a necessity and almost as a basic right of the individual. Social life is divided between the formal space and time devoted to work, studying, and their family and their own space and time devoted to friends, the tribe they belong to and the search for recreational activities (Aguinaga 1997, Bagozzi 1996). This division also structures the temporal order which enables the two experiences to be complementary through out the day or during the week.

For many young people, entertainment and leisure is their time for meeting their own group of friends and for enjoying activities associated with music and dancing. The European cities experience juvenile movement during the night and particularly

weekend nights. In all the cities, night life has been dynamized with very diverse establishments and leisure environments which are visited by different groups of young people. At night, the cities are transformed, becoming a mosaic of settings where the rituals of entertainment take place and there is an intense movement of people who constantly change from one place to another. Certain differences in the dynamics between the cities can be appreciated from their individual reports. The social area occupied by a city within a wider geographical area is very important. There are cities which receive populations proceeding from other places in the region as occurs with Athens, Berlin, Nice, Manchester, Palma and Vienna whereas, in other cities, the young tend to travel to places where the nightlife is more intense, as happens in Utrecht, Coimbra and Modena. Obviously, there are more drug use problems in the cities where there is more recreational life.

Diversity and homogeneity are the two complementary concepts on analysing European leisure life. The cultural differences in respect of entertainment, according to the city, continue to be very important, but so is the trend towards a common dynamic among young people. In the present parameters cultural influence and diffusion between countries acquires an enormous significance in recreational life. Indeed, it may even be said that Europe, as an entity, is acquiring a certain unity in this sphere, assisted by different circumstances such as tourism or the diffusion of music. A good example of this Europe without frontiers is the influence of Anglo-Saxon music which has spread to the other countries which have appropriated and transformed it. All this contributes to creating a common language, aesthetics and culture among the young in different countries.

But diversity is also a structural aspect of the recreational life in each city. The young associate with certain groups and each group adopts a style, a behaviour and identity patterns of its own. They are open plural and changing groups where there is a constant mixture of styles, food and shows. Some authors define these groups as 'tribes' on the basis of their dynamicism, for being groups founded on relationships of solidarity and with a significance based on the relational link of the members which form them. The principal function of the tribe is to create a scene where its members experience interconnection with others and where they can play the role which corresponds to the identity adopted by the group. The elements which define the tribal identity are interconnected with recreational life and are music, the type of dance, dress, aesthetics and a series of habits closely related to the use of psychoactive substances.

In each city there are groups of young people which are different one from the other. The differences or the singularities of each group vary and, in some cases, it is musical interests, in others, age or differences in leisure activities. In still others, it is the areas where they generally enjoy themselves. The socio-economic level or the education level also has an influence in such cities as Coimbra and Utrecht where the university students have a significant presence. All these elements are used to mark differences between the groups or tribes but the most common in all the cities is to find, areas,

places or establishments where there is a convergence of all the groups which form a conglomeration of tribes.

It is important to define the typology of the young people who have taken part in the survey. As is explained more extensively in the chapter on methodology, four of the groups most representative of the nightlife were chosen in each of the nine cities and subsequently, the young people who were going to a series of establishments, chosen for being the most associated with each of the subgroups, were randomly sampled. Therefore, we believe we are in a position to consider the sample to be representative of the population which participates with a certain frequency in the nightlife in each city. The first notable feature of the population is that it comprises very socially integrated individuals belonging, in the main, to the middle or middle-upper class and a great majority of them work or study. There is a slightly larger proportion of males (57.6%), with small variations in respect of the function of the city. 86% of the sample are unmarried and the majority live with their families, which is even more apparent in the cities in South Europe where emancipation is later. The average age is 21.8 years, with fluctuations between cities which run from the 19.8 years on average in Palma to the 24.7 years of the Berlin sample.

ADOLESCENTS AND ADULTS

It seems to be an obvious deduction from our survey that young people are of the opinion that they have rather little parental supervision. Parental control, in combination with many other family topics, has been a frequent object of study in research, given that it has been considered one of the key factors of risk or protection by the specialist literature. The review made by Hawkins (1992) on this subject finds evidence that 'the lack of parental discipline or its inconsistency, difficulty in establishing limits... is related to a greater use of drugs'. In agreement with another review, although only of longitudinal researches in this case, (Petraitis, 1998), there is some evidence, albeit inconsistent, that adolescents are more likely to use illicit drugs if their parents treat them permissively and do not exercise control over them at an earlier age. By contrast, in the same review, they found a more consistent relationship between illicit drug use and having parents who are non-supportive or abusive.

One way or another, it is obvious that big changes are being produced in the socialisations systems of young Europeans. Parental supervision, school and other institutions have changed a great deal and it remains to be seen in what way they will come to meet the educational requirements of the young. It is obvious that these matters do not have the same expression nor the same significance in the different European countries. Whatever the circumstances that surround this climate of tolerance generated around the young, the result is that the youth of today can express themselves and join in the entertainment and this is something which has no comparison with earlier times when moral values condemned many of the present practices relating to nightlife.

In certain European countries, when not in all, the transformation of social values is an element which acquires enormous significance in the inter-generational relationship. On some occasions it is the parents themselves - and the adult population, in general - who stimulate the young towards adopting a lifestyle conducive to escape, and an entertainment style which favours drug use. At the same time, paternal and maternal authority is losing ground, in both the positive sense of orientating their children, and in the negative one of exercising an oppressive control. Although it is difficult to generalise, it would appear that one effect of changing values is that the fathers and mothers are no longer role models for their children.

In respect of recreational life, some authors consider that present day youth is a project made reality by the imagination of the adult population (Comas, 1995, 1996). The attitude of adults does not remain one of tolerant passivity. Indeed, they are even the driving force behind entertainment. The young are pushed to go out, to pursue an idea of freedom which consists of being spontaneous and taking risks, even to being disobedient. They are excused responsibilities, they are incited to use drugs and, on the appearance of symptoms of a narcissistic behaviour, it is justified on the grounds of being appropriate to their age. Present adults, both fathers and mothers, and the media have contributed to producing and elaborating and transmitting a concept of what it means to be young which is very consistent with the present recreational phenomenon. Naturally, the attitude of the parents is directed towards a positive and ideal end, one where drug use was not envisaged, and which has emerged as a perverse consequence. In this sense, entertainment may be seen as an obligatory practice, as a social duty imposed on the young by adults (Gil Calvo 1996).

Nevertheless, the importance of the family and the family context continues to be crucial in explaining the attitude adopted by the young to drugs.

ENTERTAINMENT AND ITS COMPONENTS

In the recreational environments, the use of drugs or addictive substances has been established for some time. This use is linked to the idea of entertainment and is developed around the establishments and venues where music, house music in particular, and dancing play leading roles. It would seem that the young want to intensify and prolong entertainment by using drugs in order to be able to escape from their daily life, feel themselves free and achieve a sensitivity which enables them to interact with others. Drugs act as stimulate which permit them to be active for longer. According to the data, the reasons most given for going out, in order of preference are - meet friends (90.1%), listen to music (89.2%), escape from the daily routine (73.5%), dance (66.6%), sex (27.8%) and, meeting a member of the opposite sex (28.9%). These are all traditional reasons for different generations visiting places of entertainment. And in this, there is a certain continuity of significances to be seen in what is considered as enjoyment. Another reason appears in the data, that of taking drugs which, although it is the most minority reason, is crucial in the context of this survey. 18.7% state that the

objective of going out is to use drugs, in other words, for them the drug is not a mediator object to stimulate other objectives but the object itself of going out.

The concept of entertainment seems crucial in order to understand the use being made of drugs. It may be said that, for some, the idea of entertainment has become a dogma, a kind of new transcendental experience and they channel their ideals in that direction and it legitimises them. As with other human ideals, such as love and happiness, enjoyment is a state of mind which requires a number of conditions so that an individual is not always in a position to experience it. Nevertheless, many young people go out every weekend in search of it, in a peregrination around the city and its entertainment venues, trying to find a connection with the environments and trying to ignite the spark that is going to take them from a normal state to another euphoric and enjoyable one. It is necessary to bear in mind that the young have been socialised in drug use as a method of satisfying their needs, which is the explanation for their trying to reach this state of enjoyment by using different components such as dancing, music, sophisticated settings and drugs. The desired objective is to be able to immerse themselves in fun, in a frenzy, and also to ensure that the experience lasts as long as possible, with the subsequent expectation of being able to repeat the same situation and experience the following weekend.

Continuing with the concept of entertainment, and in the interest of explaining the data of the survey, there is a possible explanation -a slightly daring suggestion - and one which would need to be backed by research, but which could be helpful in understanding the juvenile recreational dynamic. Perhaps, we should think of a hypothetical division of the young into two entertainment models. Those who experience entertainment in a dogmatic way, in other words as the focal point of their lives, a dominant necessity and one which excludes other experiences and which, for them, justifies all the means used to reach it. The young who experience recreational enjoyment in this way are those who, we may presume, have tendency towards abusive drug use. The other model of experiencing enjoyment is the eclectic one where there would be young people who also enjoy themselves going out for fun at night, but for whom there are other areas of interest in their lives. The young enjoying eclectic entertainment do not continually search to the point of exhaustion for opportunities for enjoyment, from which we could presuppose that this group does not have the same necessity as the previous group in having to resort to abusive substance use.

The industry created around recreational life is potent, dynamic and an important source of economic growth. This has been shown in all the cities, in some more than others. In those where there is a strong impact from tourism such as Athens, Berlin, Nice, Palma or Vienna, the recreational industry is central as an economic sector. There is a constant creation of new venues and new products as well as a growth in publicity and messages in the media orientated at stimulating the young to participate in recreational environments. One part of the nocturnal attraction is to go out in search of different environments throughout the night. This characteristic of nightlife means that in all the cities there is a circuit of venues and areas which are visited during the night.

In some cities such as Palma, the major trend is to visit up to four different venues in one night but a not insignificant number visit rather more. The venues constantly adapt to meet the supposed needs of the young in such a way that there are venues with the capacity to provide different settings or environments to entertain different sectors of the public, depending on the time of night or the day of the week. The after hours venues also proliferate, contributing a new style of entertainment. As the young insist on stretching out their enjoyment over a longer time period, with the intention of imitating the Mediterranean night, other venues are appearing which open in the early hours of the morning providing an opportunity for a significant group of young people to stretch out their fun until the following day or even to fill the whole weekend.

The major trend in going out patterns is focussed on the weekend. More than half the sample go out three to four weekends every month and, when they go out, they do so on one night (38.5%) or two nights (46.1%) every weekend. Each occasion lasts for an average of six hours although it differs from city to city - in Palma and Berlin the average is more than seven hours and in Modena and Athens, at the other extreme, the average is four hours. In all the cities, there is also a part of the population which goes out during the week and this different pattern of going out also marks a distinction between the types of public, as can be seen in the city of Nice where the population type that goes out during the week is different from the one which goes out at weekends. There are cities such as Palma, Nice and Berlin with a higher tendency for the young to go out at weekends, other cities such as Vienna, Manchester and Athens where they go out with a significant but lower frequency, and there are quieter cities such as Coimbra, Utrecht and Modena. These differences in the pace and intensity of going out have, we believe, a great deal to do with the location of the city in the region - on whether it is a receiving centre of a population which participates in recreational life or, on the contrary, is a satellite of another near-by city where recreational activity is greater, as occurs with Utrecht in respect of Amsterdam or with Coimbra in respect of Oporto or Modena in respect of Bologna. It is obvious that, a few years ago, young people did not go out so often and the time spent going out did not last so long, and it would appear that there is a relationship, which is logical moreover, between going out and drug use. Who are the ones who should be thinking about these times? Should it be the family of the young themselves, the local authorities, the owners of the venues? Must some sort of solution be found on these matters?

Going out and venue patterns are elements which enable a differentiation to be made between different levels of population. There are groups which experience entertainment in a more radical way as occurs with the habitués of the after hour establishments. Also during the nineties, one of the newest and most extreme forms of enjoyment was the rave parties, organised by the young themselves in an almost spontaneous way, outside the commercial circuits, on disused ground, abandoned factories or on the beach (Measham 1998, Lenton 1997, Lles 1998). In some countries there was considerable repression of the raves as in the case of France and the United Kingdom and its clandestine or underground nature has, on occasions, made it more popular. At the same time, countries such as the United Kingdom, Holland, Germany and France have experienced a greater

boom than other countries in the south such as Spain and Portugal, possibly because this kind of house culture has not penetrated into these countries, but also, and particularly in the case of Spain, because of its wide range of establishments and which, in addition, normally stay open until the early hours of the morning. In spite of this, at the end of the nineties it seems that the rave parties are past their peak, and young people are looking for entertainment within the normalised circuits, and these are now more numerous and have diversified their products.

These two scenarios, the rave parties and the after hours establishments are directly related, in both our survey and in others, with a higher use of both legal and illegal drugs. These are the two environments which are linked with more than a few young people who feel more forcibly attracted to experience a more closed entertainment or, as we mentioned above, a more dogmatic one. For these young people, drug use is probably more important because it helps them to increase the possibilities inherent in experiencing their enjoyment in some unique and complete sense: in spite of the fact that the consequences of this use has an effect on their health and on their ability to devote themselves to other activities which are also part of their lives.

DRUG USE

Recreational life may be seen as a large market where the young are offered the opportunity to use various drugs. They have the choice of using them or not. The pressure on using them is high as each of the substances has a very powerful symbolic component which ensures enjoyment, the ability to make friends, flirt, reach specific emotional or sensorial states and forget the daily problems, without taking into account other variables such as peer pressure. This availability of choice, an action which, in principle, is prohibited by adults, an availability of choice which is moreover shared with other friends, acquires an enormous value and an implication of some kind of rite of passage for them, from adolescence to the adult world, giving them the feeling of being free and in command of their own lives.

An important aspect of the rites of passage among the young is therefore to be initiated into drug use. Using drugs is not the result of a single decision nor is it an isolated one. They set off on this path at different speeds but always on the basis of small decisions which may prepare the way for others. Obviously there are many who will not go the whole way along this path, but on this road all the drugs have their importance, beginning with alcohol and tobacco. As we have seen from the ages of the first uses of the different substances, the initiation into each of them is a graduated one. In our survey and, therefore, in respect of Europe, in almost all the cities the first substance to be used is alcohol at an average age of 14.6 years and tobacco (14.8 years). After these substances comes cannabis, around 16 years, followed by the amphetamines at 17.7 years, and LSD at the same age. Ecstasy comes later, at 18.4 years and cocaine at 19.3 years.

Alcohol is the favourite at night, consumed by more than 80% of the population in the sample. High alcohol consumption frequencies are habitual. Through key

informants, the qualitative part of the survey also contributes the same information as do Manchester and Utrecht which emphasise the increase in popularity of alcohol during the last few years. Frequent drunkenness has become one of the key characteristics of the manner of juvenile consumption. It is in the context of drunkenness, more than in moderate consumption, where this rite of initiation we were speaking about has to be placed. It cannot fail to attract attention that 60% of the sample say they have been drunk within the preceding month. Almost 25% have been drunk one or more times a week and 1% get drunk every day.

The second most used substance is tobacco, with the difference from the others that its most frequent form of use is daily (55%) as would correspond to a substance with a high addictive capacity. Although there is a great awareness in society of the effects of this substance on health, we must nevertheless emphasise its role in the learning chain of the other recreational drugs, and tobacco itself must be considered a recreational drug in its own right. Cannabis is the most generalised illegal substance, being consumed by half the population of the sample and by some with high frequencies of several times a week (11.3%) and daily (10%). It is notable and rather interesting that in Utrecht this substance has stopped being fashionable - and, in fact, its use is very much lower in comparison with other cities in the survey, being replaced by the high prestige and consequent use of alcohol. This is not due so much to the pressure from the police against users but is more the result of a pressure exercised by people themselves. In other cities, on the contrary, a vindication movement has been created around cannabis with the capacity to create elements and material of diffusion such as magazines, organisations, meetings...

Cocaine and ecstasy are also drugs which are closely linked to entertainment no doubt as a result of their stimulating effects. Ecstasy has been used by 35% of the young, once in their lifetime. Cocaine has been tried by 28% of the sample. The remainder of the substances, although used less, have a real presence in recreational environments. The most notable are LSD and the amphetamines.

Poly-use is undeniable among many young people at weekends, as we have seen in this survey and as we have described in the IREFREA survey on ecstasy users carried out in 1997. There is little doubt that the young take various substances in a single night, and this is still continuing, together with the tendency of a large number of them to abuse as can be seen in the significant proportion which gets drunk.

In spite of the irrefutable data on this situation and the current use trends provided by these and other surveys, some authors (Fromberg 1998), still maintains an idealised vision of ecstasy users as people capable of self-control, enveloped in the values of the sixties and who do not drink alcohol when under the effects of ecstasy. For some time, some English authors were describing a situation differentiating between ecstasy users and ravers on the one hand and the alcohol consumers and disco-goers on the other, but it would appear that this distinction is no longer maintained. On the basis of the replies of more than 4,000 young English people to a questionnaire carried out by a juvenile magazine, 97% of them described themselves as regular clubbers, and 81% as current

users of ecstasy. Their most typical form of use is a combination of various drugs rather than large amounts of ecstasy. The majority of these young people said they took a maximum of two ecstasy tablets a night which they usually combined with amphetamines (78%), cannabis (75%) and tobacco (63%) (Petridis, 1996).

In the European sample in this survey, alcohol is practically omnipresent. In fact we do not find it present in only 8.4% of the combinations. Cannabis for its part is not present in only 11.9% of the combinations. In fact the most frequent combination with notable differences by comparison with the others is that of simply alcohol and cannabis (50.6%), followed by alcohol and ecstasy (11.1%) and alcohol, cannabis and ecstasy (10.4%). Cannabis and ecstasy is a curious combination which represents 8.4% and which is not much talked about in general. In any case, it is interesting because it is the only one which is not combined with alcohol. A rather more well known combination is that of cocaine and alcohol, used by 7.8% of the population which is the same percentage of the population which combines all the major drugs together. Therefore, the majority of the combinations comprise few drugs. In the qualitative study it was shown that in some cities such as Athens and Palma, there is still the myth in a sector of the population that ecstasy users do not use other drugs which, as we have shown, contradicts all the empirical evidence.

On asking the young in our survey about the drugs they consider to be most fashionable, the answer put cannabis in the lead, closely followed by alcohol and ecstasy and a little further back was cocaine. In addition, they were asked for those drugs which they liked best among the ones they were taking and the order of preference is alcohol (38.1%), followed by cannabis (21.1%), ecstasy (11%), cocaine (10%) and tobacco (9.2%). It seems therefore, that the most used drugs are also those which are most liked and those which are most fashionable, which leads us to think of a certain stability in the market. However, if we look at age groups, there is a tendency for the youngest to show a preference for amphetamines and LSD which could be an indication of some growth in these substances in the next few years. This has been noted in other surveys (Klee 1998) although a longitudinal study made of the young in England (Measham 1998) found that the same individuals go on changing their preferred drug according to age, and he attributes this, in part to the cost of the substance.

There are other new substances which are trying to establish themselves in the market but, in accordance with the data from this survey, they are very much in the minority, such as ketamina, GHB or liquid ecstasy, laughing gas or tablets labelled 'ecological'. It does not seem that we are witnessing an accelerated entry of new drugs to replace or be added to ecstasy.

VENUES, MUSIC AND DRUGS

Both the qualitative and the quantitative analyses show an inter-relationship between different musical styles, fashions, venues and drug use. The culture in each city bestows a differentiating significance on the venues in such a way that the same concept acquires

different significances as happens with those venues known as pubs, clubs and after hours establishments. In Manchester, for example, the pubs acquire a social significance similar to the bars in southern cities. The same occurs with the clubs, which in some cities have more protagonism than in others and where they have an identity which in other cities is given to the discos or the pubs. But, in addition, the dynamism of the recreational venues is constantly changing in response to the demand for innovation. A common aspect and one which is maintained in the recreational sphere is music and dancing as the elements which most define the environment. One of the trends in certain cities, Vienna, Utrecht, Nice and Manchester, is that the macro discos, so typical of a few years ago, are in decline in favour of bars, pubs and clubs, smaller more intimate places in which it is possible to dance and listen to music. There is also a tendency, although a minority one, certainly, of looking for new environments outside the commercial circuits.

The new styles and musical environments have become a very important cultural capital linked to the young and the rave and with a great richness in symbols, codes, images, messages, etc. It is developing an extensive culture of dance and music which may be defined as a social movement or 'dance revolution', as some Anglo-Saxon writers have labelled it¹. High technology is instrumental in hearing, synthesizing, recording and mixing pieces of music so that young people with the alliance of this technology are significantly transforming the concept of music. Mixing pieces of music has become quite an art and the DJs have become the protagonists of the night. The function of the DJ consists of creating a mix of different and heterogenous pieces of music, producing an exclusive but ephemeral, unique and unrepeatable environment. Each DJ develops a style of different mixes, of a hybrid type, and one which is eclectic to a certain extent. One of the most important dynamics which is being produced in this area is the spread of musical styles, dances and mixes between countries (Lles 1998).

Music is inseparable from the environment and the style of entertainment, in other words, the fashion, dance and type of venue, the nocturnal routes, the tribal identity and even drug use. The predominant musical style, the one most liked by those going out at night, is *house* (39.2%) if we integrate all its associated substyles (*techno, trance, mellow, hardcore, speed garage*, etc.). Other favourite styles are *rock* (17.2%) and *pop* and melodic music (12.2%). Other musical styles are in the minority. Musical affiliations also vary from city to city. In Manchester, Berlin, Utrecht and Vienna, *house music, jungle, drum'n bass* and *funky* beats reign supreme and may be associated with the expansion of the rave parties. In other cities such as Palma, *rock* still has a very important real presence, and in cities such as Athens, traditional or indigenous music also has a significant following.

In the survey, special attention has been paid to the relationship between environments, venues and music and the use of drugs. The purpose was to detect the cultural aspects of

¹ There is extensive literature in social sciences which interprets and analyses the new juvenile movements. The following works have been taken into account Carles Feixa (Feixa 1998), Michael Maffesoli (1990) and Nigel South (1999).

use. In the data, it is shown that those who take part in the nightlife, in venues such as clubs, rave parties and the after hours establishments are the type of population which most uses drugs. The venues such as the discos and the cafes are more neutral places and are places visited by all type, of young people both users and non-users.

As for the music, those who like house, jungle, drum'n bass and funky beats also tend to be those who most use all types of substances and most particularly ecstasy. Other styles, on the contrary, such as pop, melodic music and salsa are more minority styles and they comprise a population which least uses the different substances. On the other hand, the young who enjoy rock and reggae tend to be alcohol and cannabis users but do not use ecstasy so much.

In short, certain venues, areas or styles continue to mould distinct subcultures, one of whose components is, of course, the diverse drugs. What we do know is that the environments promote different styles of entertainment which attracts young people with specific expectations. The social influence of the context and friends is of great importance for the youngest, contributing to a great extent in structuring their images and beliefs on drug use.

As has already been mentioned, the after hours establishments and rave parties are the environments which have most proliferated in the last decade occupying a very important place in recreational life. A certain type of public is to be found in the two environments, and is one which experiences recreation to the full, and these are the places where most drugs are consumed most. The popularity of the rave parties has led to numerous surveys in Europe (Measham 1998) which coincided in pointing out the prevalence of house music among the young associated with the development of a dance culture, of a specific fashion, and where drug use, ecstasy in particular, acquires an important presence. This present survey also confirms this relationship between drug use and house music and affiliation to raves and after hours establishments.

Nevertheless, it is important to take into account the current dynamicism of the musical culture. House music has diversified into substyles which are continually subdividing and creating new trends, In some European cities, such as Coimbra, house music is still considered a novelty which is revolutionizing the musical scene and breaking trends. In other cities, on the contrary, pioneers in the development of this style, house is not only the most popular it has also become mainstream. This harnessing of house music by the recreational industry may transform its significance. It is also giving way to innovative groups which provoke an accelerated appearance of new styles, and mergers between new and classical styles which enlarge the range of music and the scenarios affiliated to them, to extremes difficult to recognise and identify by the non-expert population. Therefore, the music culture and the dance culture are in the process of enormous expansion and diversification.

ECSTASY USE

The survey mentioned above (Petridis 1996) of 4,000 young people who replied to a questionnaire in a juvenile magazine provides relevant information, and on an aspect

not much written of until now, in reference to the fact that experimentation with ecstasy is not limited to a more or less short period of life but tends to become a relatively stable habit. This survey also points out that 81% of these young people were current consumers of ecstasy.

In our present survey, 34% of the young people have used ecstasy at some time and 24.4% are current users. Ecstasy is a drug which has already stabilised in the market and is no longer a novelty. The young evaluate ecstasy very positively as a substance which enables them to have fun, to enjoy the night and feel good. This evaluation, in fact, contributes to confirming the hypothesis which has already been noted in the preceding IREFREA survey underlying the fact that ecstasy has a high symbolic and positive component in respect of entertainment for young people and this is a most powerful component which could contribute to maintaining its use by a significant group. In any case, 53% of ecstasy users consider the possibility of giving up use, a high percentage which we also found in the earlier IREFREA survey on ecstasy use, without this matter having received any preventive response in practice. In fact, many of the preventive campaigns affecting this user group are aimed at achieving harm reduction.

We would remind you of some of the conclusions of the IREFREA survey (Calafat 1998) on ecstasy users. These results were achieved on the basis of the use of a control group in order to be able to give greater validity to the conclusions.

Ecstasy users:

- Tend to be greater multiusers.
- Tend to be more abusive in their uses (eg. they get drunk more frequently).
- Are not marginalised people, quite the contrary, but they do show certain differentiating traits in respect of the control group, such as greater social delinquency, or show the personality trait of being greater searchers of sensation.
- Tend to see less danger in the use of ecstasy and to evaluate its effects more positively.
- Are less interested in preventative aspects.
- Are more interested in *house* culture.

In the present study, there has been an attempt to verify some of the more ordinary aspects associated with ecstasy use in order to learn more about the practices of these young users. Thus, we know that when the young buy tablets, they do so in small quantities, for immediate use, and do not generally accumulate a reserve. The average number of tablets bought on a single occasion is 1.9 and the amount used, although it varies, is between one and two tablets, although a significant percentage 13% take between three and four, and 4.2% take more than four. The constancy of the amount used is variable, only 36% generally take the same amount whereas 42% say it changes so that at times they use more and at others less, 10.7% tend to increase the amount and a similar percentage 10.4% tend to take less. Ecstasy is used from choice at weekends (82.5%) and every day (16.7%). It has a lot to do with the fact that it is basically used

with friends (86.6%), in public venues with the friend in their group and with the interconnection between dancing and music.

The fact that the composition of the tablets is unknown does not seem to worry them too much nor to impede them from using them. Almost 81% of those who use ecstasy in this survey do so without knowing the composition of the tablets they are taking, a figure which agrees with that found in the earlier IREFREA survey on ecstasy users. Nevertheless, among young European, the idea exists that ecstasy may be harmful and, in fact, some informants, in Manchester for example, say that concern for this leading young people to use less ecstasy and go on to using cocaine which is perceived as a safer drug and a less stigmatised one. However, as far as the young in this survey are concerned, there are no indications of a reduction in use as this possibility is only contemplated by 9.6% of those interviewed. This impression contradicts the information compiled in the latest report from the Lisbon Observatory (EMCDDA, 1998) where it is suggested that ecstasy use has stopped growing in the majority of the European countries.

DRUGS AND SCHOLASTIC PERFORMANCE

One of the principle focuses of different surveys has been on the relationship existing between drugs and problems in the educational sphere. Elliot et al (1985) suggested that adolescents are at risk of illicit substance use when their academic aspirations are being frustrated by limits on their educational opportunities. This author also considers that young adolescents who felt their schooling was inadequate were at greater risk for subsequent marijuana use. Other authors found that young adolescents who felt rejected by teachers were more likely to use marijuana by middle adolescence (Kaplan et al., 1984, 1986). In general the data in different surveys (Hawkins, 1992) point in this direction and so do the data from this survey point towards a relationship between low scholastic performance (information received on the basis of a self-evaluation made by each respondent) and the level of use of the different substances. The increase in the frequency of alcohol consumption, drunkenness and the use of cannabis and ecstasy is clearly related with a self-evaluation as a bad or very bad student. Even if this relationship is certain, it does not mean that we can ignore the fact that the problems are also high between those who say they are good students, since no less than 56.6% of the very good students and 57.6% of the good students admit to having been drunk one or more times during the month preceding the survey.

It seems pertinent to comment on the conclusions of a survey which drew attention to the problems of use among good students (Evans 1992). It begins with the reminder that there is drug use at every level of school performance so that caution must be shown in wanting to see a use relationship between low scholastic performance only. In practice, brilliant students manage, at least in the short term, to mitigate the problems of the use of substances due to such factors as having high educational aspirations, parental educational level, or a greater emotional control This would have diverse practical consequences, in so far as both they themselves and the rest would not be so

aware of the problems which use can generate and, secondly, the preventive problem which is generated when their fellow students how they are capable of making drug use and studying 'compatible'. This latter matter is complicated even more as brilliant students are rather more inclined to take part in extracurricular activities more so even than those who do not use drugs and this puts them into the position of social models.

RISK BEHAVIOUR

The most relevant fact is that there is little awareness among the young of the risks involved in drug use, particularly alcohol which, being a legal drug, with a high level of acceptance, its negative effects tend to be minimised and situations of abuse tend not to be detected (Luce 1995). Alcohol and other drugs are implicated in traffic accidents (NIAAA 1996), in risky sexual practices (Strunin 1992) and in producing violence to others (Windle 1994). This lack of awareness is evident in the research. On being asked if there is a danger in the use of certain substances and frequencies, a significant percentage of young people answered in a manner which showed tolerance of use. The tolerance level by substance follows an order parallel to the level of use. The young are most tolerant of alcohol, followed by tobacco but less tolerant of cannabis and even less of ecstasy. It is most notable that, in spite of the fact that a good proportion do perceive the danger of an abusive use of these substances, they continue to use them.

One of the consequences of a bad management of use is driving under the influence of alcohol and other drugs. Nevertheless, as would seem logical, given the high percentage of young people who get drunk every month, we find that a high proportion of individuals in the sample do drive under the influence of alcohol and other drugs (43% have driven under the influence of alcohol and 30% have done so under the influence of other drugs). This behaviour has led to a number of problems, 13.7% of those driving under the influence of alcohol have been fined in respect of their driving in this condition, 13.4% have had traffic accidents and 6% have been detained. In another survey of almost 8,000 drivers in the USA, aged between 15 and 20, who have been involved in mortal traffic accidents, 20% had indications of alcohol in the blood (NIAAA 1996). In spite of this, and the instigation of control measure by the police, the phenomenon persists and new formulas must be found to halt the trend. It would be important to ensure, above and beyond the repressive methods which are certainly inevitable, that when the young get drunk, they are capable of acting without putting their own lives and that of others at risk.

It is a fact that drug use in recreational environments is not an activity which is exempt from problems. A high percentage (29.3%) of the young people in our survey consider that drug use has caused problems for them but that this has not prevented them from continuing to use them. In this survey, we have not carried out any in-depth study of the type of problems referred to. These problems could be diverse in range, although the most immediate would have something to do with physical and psychic malaise, but could also refer to problems with the law or with the family. Being young, being a population with a good financial status, not having too many problems could

lead to their not taking seriously those problems derived from the use of drugs. The problem lies in the fact that this lack of selfprotection and a lack of interest in preventive measures may complicate the conditions of their future life.

This survey has also evaluated the relationship, between drug use and the search for sensations. The results show a positive trend between level of use and a propensity to search for sensations. It has also evaluated the use frequencies in respect of antisocial behaviours such as driving without a licence, taking things from a shop without paying, damaging property or being involved in physical fights. The data show that there is a tendency to increase participation in such acts in line with a rising frequency of alcohol consumption, cannabis and ecstasy use. These data present one of the most negative aspects which could be influenced by drugs and which must be taken into special consideration.

The risk situation in which some young people find themselves as a result of their attitude to both legal and illegal drugs is their responsibility, of course, but also of society as a whole. The dynamic in which they act, and the conditions which drive them to do so, have something to do with very complex factors of global society and therefore, cannot be treated as in isolation which does not question the social values of the dominant society.

SAFETY AND SOCIETY

The generalisation of recreational life and its intensity has led to changes in the social order. A good proportion of the population which still lives by the more traditional order, in other words it sleeps and rests at night, is resentful of some of the effects of the others who are enjoying themselves, particularly disturbance, noise nuisances caused by the music, the groups of young people and the traffic. Another aspect is the violence in the streets and venues (see the considerable number of young people who admit to having taken part in fights during the last year) which leads to intervention by different professionals such as police, security agents and health professionals. In some cities and countries, there are surveys which evaluate the extent of the conflicts and suggest solutions (Kilfoyle, Bellis 1998, Newcombe 1992). That situation is converting the weekends into a period of latent social conflict which has already led to social and normative policies in certain cities, regions or countries which are attempting to regulate the situation.

In any case, it has been shown that in the majority of the cities there is little control of nightlife on the part of the local authorities. The police act basically on matters such as non-compliance with opening hours, and noise limitation although in some cities the regulations are applied in a more relaxed way and, in general, there is an intervention, only when there is an open conflict of interests. Where control is most enforced is in road safety. At the present time, control policies on alcohol consumption have been introduced in many cities, and some countries have been lowering the legal limit on the

level of alcohol allowed those who drive. Tolerance by some authorities is found mostly in those cities where tourism related activities have a significant presence.

One dominating aspect in all cities is the choice of private security arrangements in the venues instead of public security so that private security has an important presence in the nightlife. A good proportion of nocturnal venues have security guards to maintain order inside and in certain cases, to act as a filter on admission and select the people who visit the venue. In some cities or countries there has been a move to offer training to the personnel who work in the venues (Kilfoyle, Bellis 1998) or a collaboration between local authorities and private industry.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- To continue to concentrate future research and preventive policies on recreational life. This is an area which has acquired a high value in the definition of social wellbeing and quality of life. But it is the young people in particular who have most appropriated the recreational environment and are constantly redefining it. This is where they express their life style and create new significances and social values. Therefore, it is necessary to pay sufficient attention to the environments where the young are looking for entertainment, to get to know their experiences and evaluate in depth the role played by drug use in these environments.
- The recreational leisure and entertainment environments must be evaluated positively without falling into the error of discrediting them merely on the grounds that drugs are also used in these environments. The young join in entertainment in search for distinct objectives and many of them are not even users. If the recreational environment is discredited, this would probably reinforce the positive association between drug use and entertainment.
- Promote the creation of a concept of broad eclectic entertainment which includes a diversity of vital experiences and where the recreational experience is just one more experience in communication between the two.
- Social policies must be orientated to achieving a normative which contributes to creating healthy and preventive conditions. Nevertheless, more work must be done on collecting data which back these preventive policies, which must also be evaluated. It is not possible to continue to promote preventive policies inspired by preventive modes which have no scientific basis.
- More attention must be paid to the legal drugs of alcohol and tobacco. Their noxious effects are minimised and, therefore, the risk involved in them is not taken into account. But, in addition, they are key elements in the learning chain towards other drugs. Alcohol, in particular, is a central element in the recreational game and its abusive use by so many young people is disquieting.
- The boom in the recreational industry should not be overlooked nor its ability to create cultural patterns through music, fashion and graphic materials such as

brochures and poster distributed without charge. The young can involve themselves in this environment, creating their own messages themselves, providing information on the dangers involved in drug use.

- The low level of perception of the risks associated with drug use is also disquieting. It is a good idea for those who use drugs to be provided with information so that they do not indulge in risky behaviour but, obviously, there is a previous stage- which does not have to be a contradiction of the earlier one - and this is where there should be an increase in the information on the problems which can be caused by drugs before young people are involved in their use.

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ANNEX 1

NIGHT - LIFE GUIDE DESCRIPTION

1. NIGHT-LIFE DESCRIPTION

Instruments for this description:

- A) *A semi-structured interview to key informants*
- B) *The observation and description of typical places frequented by young people*
(the guide for this description will be soon delivered to you).

A) This document is a guide to carry out the semi-structured interview to night-life key informants in order to get information about the relationship between night-life and drug consumption, laying a special emphasis on the consumption of designer drugs and new trends of drug use.

This information will also help us to choose the sample for the questionnaire. It will allow us to identify the different (if they exist) types of population that take ecstasy in each town and to describe them. It is so urgent to do this part of the study, because it is necessary to make a similar sample distribution in every town. We need to identify different groups of people and describe their characteristics, such as night-life (context), patterns of drug use and new consumption trends. *You are kindly requested to send this information as soon as possible* in order to define the sample.

The semi-structured interviews will allow us to know “who” is more likely to consume ecstasy and “where”, look for similar groups in different countries (according to age, music preferences, etc...; it all depends on the results of this first part) and make a decision about the sample.

Therefore, the objectives of the semi-structured interviews are:

- Drawing a night-life map of the town and the “out-going circuits”, even if they include sites outside the town; identifying and describing different groups of people according to age, musical preferences, clothes, drug patterns consumption, times of going out..., and every other characteristic you think could be interesting to describe them.
- Identifying patterns of legal and illegal drug use, laying special emphasis on designer drugs and possible new trends in drug consumption.

–Getting information about “where” and “who” are more likely to use ecstasy in order to make decisions about the sample.

This is not an exclusive study of raves and the “house movement”, but a general description of recreational night-life in different towns, emphasising its connection with drug use.

2. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

KEY INFORMANTS

We propose to interview about ten key-figures, but the number should be increased according to each town complexity, which can be settled by the dimensions of the town (i.e. it is not the same Berlin or a smaller town) or by other circumstances (existence of many circuits or special groups).

- two club or disco owners (or similar).
- one or two disc-jockeys
- four club or disco visitors (one about 18-20, another about 25-30 and two under 18 years).
- a security member of a disco, club...
- a ‘public relations’ of a disco, club...
- a social worker
- an official from the police-department or a local authority with some responsibility in the matter.

In the selection, especially when there is more than one person in the same category, we must try to find individuals who attend different night scenes and have a certain descriptive ability. We are interested in their own experiences, but above all we need their knowledge of the overall night-life situation.

INTERVIEW CHARACTERISTICS:

- Semi-structured
- In order to get the information we recommend to tape it and, at the same time, to write down quotes of important statements (qualitative method, see chapter 2 of the Dutch study)
- It is important that the interviewer introduce him/herself as an investigator of night-life or recreational patterns. The drug subject does not have to appear as the

main point of the study, otherwise people can reject the interview or answer it in a defensive way. Of course we have to guarantee the anonymity.

SEMI-STRUCTURED GUIDE:

The first part contains the general questions you should ask everybody. The second part includes more specific questions for each key-figures categories.

FIRST PART

- I. Social-demographic data of the key-figure**, such as: age, gender, profession, involvement in different scenes, experience in this field, actual job...
- II. City description according to recreational night-life**. Ask them everything they know about night-life:
 - Which are the most popular days to go out? Do different people go out depending on the day of the week, for example Fridays or Saturdays)?. How is night-life during the weekdays? How many times a week do individuals go out?
 - Different town areas to go out (kinds of people, clubs, timetable, musical connections, etc...). They should also describe if there are any particular night circuits (some groups usually meet and drink in one place and then go to a disco, etc), habits and consumption in different places...
 - Groups or places according to clothes, music preferences, favourite places, ideology, drug use... Do they give a specific name to these groups?
 - Positive and negative evaluation of the town night-life (i.e. absence or presence of aggressive behaviour, drug abuse behaviour, risk behaviour when driving, marginal areas, places that integrate different people, ...).
- III. Night-life changes during the last year**: music, clothes, people, timetable, different places or circuits...
- IV. Drug use patterns and changes during the last year**: in night-life and in the drug market (trying especially to find out the most popular patterns, the most deviant and recent ones). Which is their vision of this problem in relation to night-life?. Problems associated with drug use (violence, marginality, drugs traffic, problems with the police, health problems...)
- V. Opinion about the local formal and informal policy in order to control night-life and description of recent changes**.
- VI. Which are the most popular places according to different groups** (describe why they are so popular and the kind of people or subculture they are connected to).
- VII. Which are the most problematic places in the night-life** (describe reasons, kind of clientele, etc)

SECOND PART

As it has already been mentioned, this second part includes new questions that have to be asked according to the interviewees. People should answer them in a generic way. They can describe their personal experience, but what really interests us is their knowledge of the general situation.

I. Club-owners/security members/disc-jockeys/public relations.

- Have you seen during the last months different visitors or going out patterns in comparison to last year?. How would you describe these differences?
- What kind of strategies do disco managers plan in order to attract or avoid certain type of clients? music, prices, advertisements, security?
- What sort of problems -and how frequently- do they usually have with clients? fights, drunkenness, other drug effects?.
- Do the discos/clubs/etc owners manage to stop people from taking illegal drugs inside? Is it an ordinary problem? Do they have problems with the police because of this subject?

II. People who go out (It is important that we choose people who go out very often and have a lot of information about night-life. However, not everybody who goes out is a key-informant. They have to be able to describe night-life in a general sense, not only their own scene).

- How much money do people usually spend in one night? How do they spend it?
- Do people always go to the same places or do they prefer to change?.
- What do people mainly look for when going out (meeting friends, dancing, getting high, having sex...).
- Do people have problems to enter into certain places? Why?
- Are there any places where you don't like to go? Why?
- Which is for you the most fashionable area, circuit or club nowadays?
- Which are the most popular drugs among people around you? And among other people and places?
- Do people usually take drugs inside discos/clubs/etc...? Do they have any problem to consume drugs in those places?.
- Can you see any problem concerning drug use when you go out at night?
- To what extent are people aware of the problems related to drugs (health, violence...)? Do they take any precautions?.
- Have you ever had any problem at night? Why?.

III. Policeman or similar.

- Which are the main night-life problems in your opinion?
- Are the closing time regulations observed to a large extent? Are the laws that forbid the entrance of people under legal age or selling alcohol to minors observed?
- In what measure are the regulations that forbid taking drugs into the discos or clubs observed?
- What should be done to solve these problems?
- Can the police control night-life problems in your town?

IV. Street educators (social workers who cope with young people in the streets).

- Which are the risk-groups you focus on according to drug use? Which other risk groups do you know in relation to night-life and drug use? Could you describe the risky behaviour connected with this drug consumption?
- Which are the main problems in your opinion?
- Do the problems related to night-life and drug use find any solution in your town?. What should be done in your opinion? Who should take the responsibility?
- Are young people aware of the problems originated by drug consumption? Do you think they adopt any preventive measures? Which ones do you think they should adopt?

HOW TO REGISTER INTERVIEWS.

Interviews have to be taped. It is also convenient that the interviewer take notes about the interviewee attitude, atmosphere (relaxed, aggressive, etc.), and supposed degree of sincerity found in the interviewee.

The transcription of interviews would be the ideal, but it is too much work and cannot be paid. We suggest listening to the taped interviews and writing down the important things in order to describe people and night-life.

It will be possibly better if just a few persons get involved in interviewing people. It will make easier to get a complete picture of what is going on in town.

3. DESCRIPTION OF THE NIGHT-LIFE TEXT

This text is going to be part of a chapter in a book. It will collect information and results from the “night-life description” phase of the study. The chapter will have three

parts: an introduction, every country “report” and a conclusion including a comparison among cities.

This text has to be written in a literary style, which means it has to be attractive and comprehensible. It is not really a report and that is why there won't be a very strict guide. The report will consist of a synthesis made with the answers given by the key informants to our questions (see the night-life description guide):

Here you have a summary of the questions about the night-life description guide. As you will remember, this guide is very complete and should be used.

- I. Night-life map of the town/city.
 - Different areas-scenes to go out
 - Location (areas, circuits...)
 - Music (different kinds of music that can be listened to and that define different scenes, if this is the case)
 - Timetable (week days/weekend ; from what hour to what hour)
 - Visitors (groups, subgroups)
 - Age
 - Social-economic background
 - Clothes style
 - Ideology
 - Drugs
- II. Last year changes in night-life.
- III. Last year patterns and changes in the consumption of drugs. New drugs.
- IV. Opinion on the local formal and informal policy and their control of night-life. Description of recent changes.
- V Problems related to night-life (drug consumption, violence...)
- VI. In what extent regulations in connection with night-life and drug consumption are observed (some countries have mentioned that the police action has had a big influence on night-life).
- VII. Drug consumption related to night-life (axis drug in each scene, whether people take preventive measures while using drugs, whether people are aware of the risks, etc).

Other subjects that appear in the semi-structured guide or that have become visible during the interviews without being expected.

The idea is to get a general view of what is going on at night in our cities but the text has to reflect different opinions when necessary. It would be also convenient to include particular events or opinions as anecdotes.

It is important to “justify” our descriptions, conclusions or interpretations through literal quotes extracted from the interviews all along the text.

ANNEX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT NIGHT LIFE

IREFREA is an European Investigation Institute that works on primary prevention and that currently carries out an investigation for assignment of the European Commission in several members countries of the Community.

The objective of this study is to know the consumption habits of different drugs in relation with recreational night life in order to better organise preventive campaigns.

For this we need the night life visitors collaboration, therefore we will thank you that spend some minutes of your time to answer some questions.

This questionnaire is anonymous. We request you answer it with honesty and sincerity. Nobody will be able to identify the authors of the answers. It is not purpose of this study identifying those which think or act in a determined way, but knowing the behaviours and prevailing interest.

It is an European study, people from others countries are going to be polled with the same questionnaire, this is why some questions can be a little be strange to you. Anyway we ask you to answer all the questions.

In case you have any doubt, ask the pollster.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COLLABORATION
(Name, address and telephone of the organisation to contact)

4. Considering that weekends are Friday night, Saturday and Sunday, when you go out clubbing at weekends, do you go out

- one night [1]
- two nights [2]
- three nights [3]

5. Do you usually go out clubbing from Monday to Thursday?

- no [1]
- yes [2]

If yes, how many nights do you usually go out?

.....

6. How long does one of your clubbing session last on average during an evening/night?
(Eg. From 8pm-4am=8 hours)

.....

7. How important (**for you**) are the following reasons to go out clubbing?

	Not important at all	not very important	important	very important
-Dancing	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
-To meet friends	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
-To look for sex	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
-To look for a partner	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
-To escape my daily routine	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
-To take drugs	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
-To listen to music	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]

8. How important are the following aspects for you when choosing a bar/club to visit?

	Not important at all	not very important	important	very important
-Type of people	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
-Prices	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
-Drugs	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
-Distance ²	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
-Possibility to get off with a guy/girl	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
-Music	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
-Atmosphere	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]

² Close or distant from home.

9. How many of your friends go out clubbing **very often**?:

- all of them [1]
- most of them [2]
- half of them [3]
- few of them [4]
- none of them [5]

10. Do you usually do long displacements in a clubbing session?

- Yes [1]
- No [2]

11. How many bars/clubs/discos do you attend on average in one clubbing session?

.....

12. ¿How do you get to the bar/club/disco?

- my car [1]
- my friends cars [2]
- public transport [3]
- taxi [4]
- motorbike [5]
- bicycle [6]
- other [7]

13. Where do you get the money from that you spend at the weekend?:

- from the family [1]
- your fixed job [2]
- your temporary job [3]
- scholarship [4]
- social security benefit [5]
- other [6]

14. How much money do you spend on “going out” in an average week?

- Meals.....
- Transport (bus, train, taxi, etc.).....
- Disco, club, raves parties, concerts,...., entrance fees.....
- Drinking alcohol.....
- Tobacco.....
- Illegal drugs.....
- Others.....

15. How old are you?:.....

16. Gender:

- male [1]
- female [2]

17. What is your civil status?

- single [1]
- married [2]
- divorced //separated [3]
- you live with your partner [4]
- widow (er) [5]

18. What level of qualification do you have or are you currently studying for?

- primary studies [1]
- secondary studies [2]
- superior and/or university studies [3]

19. With your past or present studies, do you think you were or you are a:

- very good student [1]
- a good student [2]
- regular student [3]
- bad student [4]
- very bad student [5]

20. What is your current occupation?

- studying [1]
- studying and working [2]
- temporary job [3]
- fixed job [4]
- unemployed [5]
- military service [6]
- other. Which?..... [7]

21. To which socioeconomic status do you think you or your family belong?

- High [1]
- medium/high [2]
- medium [3]
- medium/low [4]
- low [5]

22. With whom do you currently live?

- With relatives (father and/or mother; grandparents, etc. [1]
- With my wife/husband/partner [2]
- With a group of friends [3]
- In a school/student residence [4]
- I live alone [5]
- Other possibilities [6]

23. How much control do/did your family exert over your going out habits?:

- No control Little control Quite a lot of control Too much control
 [1] [2] [3] [4]

24. Have you ever taken the following substances?

	Alcohol	Cannabis	Tranquilliser	Sleeping pills	Amphetamines	Ecstasy	LSD	Cocaine	Mushrooms	Heroin opiates	Tobacco
I have never taken											
I took it but I don't take it anymore											
I take it less than 12 times per year											
I take it once a month											
I take it several times a month but less than once a week											
I take once a week											
I take it several times per week											
I take it everyday											
Age of first consumption											

25. Which drug or substance of those that you usually take would be the most difficult for you to refrain from taking it³? (only 1 answer)

³ Whith "refrain from" don't mean abstinence problems, we assume that they are not addicted. We just want to know which is the drug they usually use and that is part of their routine. This drug can be different from the favourite drug, maybe because the favourite one is too expensive to get it weekly or monthly.

- I don't take any of them [1]
- Alcohol [2]
- Cannabis [3]
- Tranquilliser [4]
- Sleeping pills [5]
- Amphetamines [6]
- Ecstasy [7]
- LSD [8]
- Crack [9]
- Cocaine [10]
- Mushrooms [11]
- Heroin/opiates [12]
- Others (indicate which one).....

26. Which of the substances you have tried do you like the most?

.....

27. Have you continued taking a drug (legal or illegal) after having had problems with it?

- YES [1]
- NO [2]

Indicate which drug:

- Alcohol [1]
- Cannabis [2]
- Tranquilliser [3]
- Sleeping pills [4]
- Amphetamines [5]
- Ecstasy [6]
- LSD [7]
- Crack [8]
- Cocaine [9]
- Mushrooms [10]
- Heroin/opiates [11]
- Others (indicate which one).....
- Specify which problem (s).....

28. Have any of your friends, relatives, etc, warned you about your misuse of any drug?

- YES [1]
- NO [2]

In case of YES specify which drug (s):.....

29. Do you usually take more than one drug or substance (for instance alcohol and marijuana) in the same night?.

-YES [1]

-NO [2]

If yes, please indicate how you combine the different drugs. We ask you to write the name of the code of the drugs you take in the same occasion. There are three possibilities of answer in case you do different combinations.

A).....

B).....

C).....

-Alcohol [1]

-Cannabis [2]

-Tranquilliser [3]

-Sleeping pills [4]

-Amphetamines [5]

-Ecstasy [6]

-LSD [7]

-Crack [8]

-Cocaine [9]

-Mushrooms [10]

-Heroin/opiates [11]

30. Have you EVER taken any other drug not specified in the last list?. Which one(s):

.....,

31. Have you heard of any new drugs that are being used in the places you attend?

What are the names?.....

How are they used?.....

32. Which are the most fashionable drugs in the places you attend nowadays? (a maximum of two answers)

.....,

33. In the last month, have you got drunk?

- everyday [1]
- few times a week [2]
- once a week [3]
- few times a month [4]
- once a month [5]
- no [6]

34. In your opinion how dangerous are the following behaviours:

	No danger	Slight danger	Moderate	Great
Smoking one pack of cigarettes per day is:	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Smoke marihuana regularly is:	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Using ecstasy every week-end is:	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Taking LSD once a month is:	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
To have two alcohol drinks a day:	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
To have four alcohol drinks on one occasion:	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]

35. Have you ever driven under the influence of alcohol:

- YES [1]
- NO [2]

36. Have you ever had any of the following problems because you were driving under the influence of alcohol?:

	YES	NO
-being fined	[1]	[2]
-being detained	[1]	[2]
-car accident	[1]	[2]

37. How many times have you done the following things?:

Never	I've done it But not in the past year	Less than once a month	About once a month	2/3 times a month	Once a week or more
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]

- Done what feels good no matter what.
- Done something dangerous because someone dared you to do it.
- Done crazy things even if they are a little dangerous

38. Have you ever driven under the effects of any other drug (marihuana, ecstasy, etc.)

-YES [1]

-NO [2]

39. Indicate with a cross which of the following things you have done

Done since aged 15 Done in last 12 months

-Driven a car on a public road without a license. [1] [2]

-Deliberately damaged property such as a phonebox, car, window or street light (but without stealing anything). [1] [2]

-Taken things from shops or stores without paying. [1] [2]

-Been involved in a physical fight with someone outside the family. [1] [2]

40. Here we indicate a few possible reasons why people could use ecstasy. Indicate your opinion about each one.

	YES	NO
-to relax	[1]	[2]
-to enjoy dancing	[1]	[2]
-to get on better with others	[1]	[2]
-to escape from reality, to forget problems	[1]	[2]
-because it makes me feel OK	[1]	[2]
-for better sex	[1]	[2]
-to stimulate senses	[1]	[2]
-for fun	[1]	[2]

41. What do you think about ecstasy consumption?

-It is increasing [1]

-It is maintaining [2]

-It is decreasing [3]

Only for those who take ecstasy at least time to time

42. When you want to take ecstasy (or other pills) do you think that (only one answer):

- It is not important to me knowing what the exact composition is [1]
- I would prefer to know what I am taking, but I take it anyway [2]
- If I am not sure of the composition of the pill I *don't* take it [3]

43. If I take ecstasy I normally take it:

- only at weekends [1]
- during the week [2]
- at any day of the week [3]

44. Approximately, how many pills have you taken on each occasion? (choose only one answer)

- a quarter of a pill [1]
- half of a pill [2]
- one pill [3]
- between one and two pills [4]
- between three and four pills [5]
- more than four pills, specify [6]
how many.....

45. Since you started taking ecstasy, do you take ?:

- the same amount on each occasion [1]
- more and more amount on each occasion [2]
- less and less amount on each occasion [3]
- It is very variable [4]

46. When do you take ecstasy? (choose only one answer)

- when I am alone [1]
- with friends/others [2]
- sometimes alone, sometimes with friends/others [3]

47. Indicate all those places where you consume ecstasy:

	YES	NO
-at home	[1]	[2]
-at my friends' home	[1]	[2]
-in the disco	[1]	[2]
-in clubs	[1]	[2]
-in the bar	[1]	[2]
-in the street	[1]	[2]
-in the parties ("raves")	[1]	[2]
-in the "after party's"*	[1]	[2]
-others	[1]	[2]

48. Have you ever thought about giving up ecstasy *completely*?

- YES [1]
- NO [2]

49. From whom do you get the pills?

- From a stranger [1]
- From a friend [2]
- From a dealer [3]

50. How many pills do you normally buy in one occasion?

.....

Pollster name.....
Date.....
Hour.....

I R E F R E A



IREFREA is a european network interested in the promotion and research of primary prevention of different sorts of juvenile malaise and the study of associated protective and risk factors.