Risk and control in the recreational drug culture

SONAR PROJECT

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IREFREA

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Research Coordinator: Amador Calafat

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Introduction

This study addresses the need for a better understanding of the European youth of the new millennium. Our interest arises from concern for and an ethical and moral unease over the central position occupied by recreational drug use among young people in all of the countries of Europe. Where does this need to take drugs come from? Approaching this phenomenon has been, and continues to be, a complex business and one filled with uncertainties. This is due, principally, to the intensity of certain changes that have much to do with a very technologicalsociety that is configuring a new social conception of time and space, new styles in intergenerational relationships, changes in individual, family and social values and, most particularly, because it is a very difficult subject to deal with dispassionately. In addition, the difficulty also lies in the scientific undertaking itself, trapped in the same dynamic of production that characterises our society and which is aimed at quantifiable production rather than significant information. Many publications and a great deal of documentation consider the relationship between young people and drugs and propose various idea, but it continues to be a subject where there are large voids, misunderstandingand a lack of criteria to direct the policies and actions applied in this area.

The current debate about young people and drugs nees to be framed within a wider social debate. What we do know, based on accumulated knowledge, is that drug use and in particular drug use in the context of recreation or free time is part of the general consumption of our societies. (Measham 1998, Conde 1999, South 1999, Shapiro 1999). With a history many centuries old, drug use is certainly not a new problem, but it acquires different dimensions and a new configuration in every historical era and society.

At the present time, drug use in our society must be understood not only as a typical mass consumption (Usó 1996) but also as a consumption of a post-industrial and postmodernist society that is enjoyment and leisure-orientated (Anderson 2000). Needs are created by society and culture, as are the strategies to met them. Therefore, understanding the circumstances that are responsible for drug use becoming a necessity within recreational life is a complex task but a feasible one from the dimension of social constructivism. Drugs are a sophisticated and interactive technology that act on the mind, the emotions and behaviour. Their great potential and their complexity radiates from their capacity as socio-transmitters of cultural elements, although at the same time, they are vehiculated by social values (Morel 2000). For this reason, a current approach to drug use among young people requires diversecritical and complementary

knowledge in order that an integral analysis of both the common ground and the controversies can be made.

In order to complete a panorama that might assist us in explaining the present drug use situation, we must refer also to the notable increase in the availability of drugs (both in quantity and in variety) in our society, which has grown to such an extent that it is quite possible that a distribution ceiling has already been reached in some cities. Although the widespread availability of drugs may be an important element among the reasons for use by the youngest individuals - and possibly for other age groups - it appears to have reached a situation of stability in certain cities. This greater availability of drugs must be understood as forming part of a far-ranging commercialism prompted by large financial rewards, and also as a result of the purchasing power of adolescents and young people. The quantity, quality and variety of available drugs must be taken into account in sociological studies, since drug use is not merely an action of social or psychological behaviour but there is also a neurophysical participation that is a key to understanding the role of drugs. There are new circumstances that makes this whole situation even more disturbing, such as the better quality and lower price of drugs like cocaine, marijuana (the concentrations of THC in cannabis have leaptfrom less than 5% to 20% as a result of improved seed selection and better cultivation techniques...) etc.

Intent on exploring the new context in which the young use drugs, IREFREA began its SONAR Project in 1997, with funding from the European Union. The Project consisted of research into the recreational arena the young inhabitduring the weekend, particularly at night. It endeavoured to achieve a better understanding of youth subcultures and, as part of this, the use of drugs. The IREFREA team comprises professionals from nine European countries and they all represent different medical and social science disciplines. Initially, a large collective of ecstasy users in several European cities[1] were studied and and in-depth research was carried out, examining the social representation of this substance and other characteristics of ecstasy users. On the basis of this study, it was considered appropriate to approach the question of drug use in general because there is no such thing as a consumer of a single drug only, particularly in recreational settings, only poly-consumers. A sample of 2,700 was used for the second study, comprising young people in nine European cities who were interviewed in local recreational settings. In addition to the quantitative data, an ethnograph was made of the recreational life in each city where the research was taking place. The results of this first approach led to the publication of *Nightlife in Europe and recreational drug use*[2].

This report is an in-depth study of the data provided by this same sample, complemented by new qualitative research carrid out in 1999. One of IREFREA's most ambitious challenges is to be able to combineent qualitative and quantitative techniques

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[1] This led to the publication Characteristics and Social Representations of Ecstasy in Europe, which may be consulted on the IREFREA website www.irefrea.org

[2] This book may also be downloaded from the IREFREA, same website

to facilitate an approach to the complexity of the subject, investigating very specific aspects without losing globality. The research attempts to answer some of the questions, but the more the area is studed, the more new questions and doubts unfold! It is like a route leading from induction to deduction, from the general to the specific and vice versa. This could be perceived as a disordered process but we do not believe this to be so. Our society is part of what is known as a postmodernist process, which is concerned with acceptance of multiplicity in the adhesion to a technique of representation, and this is infiltrating science (Yearley 1993-4). In our work, this procedure necessitates being open to all ideas that might contribute to understanding without overlooking the fact that there is a structure which orders, orients and delimits scientific work. This work seeks protection in the delimitation of the subjects being dealt with, as well as in strictness in the data collection processes. This study attempts to address the thorny subject of complementing the different techniques and we believe that in doing so, it brings the material closer to the socio-psychological , specific actions closer to general dynamics, and frigid data to the illustrative images of reality. Nevertheless, we are a long way away from achieving this balance in a complete and satisfactory form. Progress towards this goal continues to be one of the challenges for the research field in which the IREFREA team are involved.

Practical research experience is essential in implementing an analysis of reality. However, it must be taken into account that the laboratory for the social sciences is society itself, an entity in a constantly productive state of actions and mutations. At the same time, our society also has a great capacity for adaptation, for adjusting to new realities and legitimising them. As far as drug use is concerned, the rapidity with which the new generations have incorporated certain substances into their lives, given them significances and functions, and assimilated them as part of normality can be clearly seen. Drugs are even legitimised, in one way or another, by a broader section of society. It is here where the scientists and experts acquire a twofold commitment to their task; that of adapting their expertise to the new reality and, at the same time, and that of having the ability to analyse it from a distance that allows constructive criticism, not only of the facts but of the social dynamic that supports and gives logic to the facts. By constructive, we understand it to mean that science should have a critical approach that contributes to detecting and demonstrating the problems that could be prevented in society driven by achieving objectives, ideals and utopias contained in highly pivotal documents, documents such as the *Declaration of Human Rights*. There are many moments in scientific work when these texts should be re-read to direct everyday activity. Article 3 of the Declaration of Human Rights states that "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and personal security," and Article 4 states "Nobody will be subject to slavery or servitude". It is certain that reflecting on these ideals is aHerculean task that may lead to different interpretations or routes in the quest for these objectives. The IREFREA research team itself, as part of this very plural network, had to reach an ethical position that was certainly not devoid of controversy! Throughout the research, we endeavoured to maintain an open attitude towards drugs, well aware that the substances in themselves do not signify anything outside of the social and cultural

context bestowed on them. Nevertheless, their significance can be an extremely diverse and complex one. Hence the interest in focusing this study on young people and capturing the most dominant, most general dynamics, and those with the greatest impact.

As it progressed, a team consensus on drugs began to take shape, which may be summed up in the words of Giulia Sissa (2000); "the drug takes everything and contributes nothing that is not an insurance against the pains of abstinence." The drug that starts off by being a way of searching for pleasure or fun becomes a necessity for simple survival. To such an extent that everything else ceases to matter, and many aspects of life and living lose meaning. At the same time, lack of interest in looking after one's body soon follows revealing the loss of self-esteem. When others stop being important, self-image disappears along with them. The use of drugs, says Alain Ehrenberg, obeys the search for pure sensation. And it is very true. The music world and television culture, after the lifestyle revolution of the nineteen sixties, exalts the immediate, the 'feeling', and the vibrations of the present. "All the defects that philosophy generally attributes to the senses have been exchanged for virtues" (Sissa 2000). Therefore, is inevitable that we think that the use that is being made of drugs today is an attempt to attack life, liberty and the safety of young people. Drug use as practised by the young Europeans of today is moving in the direction of a new form of slavery and loss of identity. However, the biggest impact was not so much the confirmation of this fact but glimpsing an entire network - not simply a financial one - supporting this drug use situation, an ill-defined and indirect but effective network, made almost invisible by confused moral values and disguised professional interests.

In our society there is a certain subliminal openness about drugs by the media that has markedly liberalising bent, and that is gaining allies and sympathisers particularly among the young. Drugs are accompanied by symbols and by a very effective rhetoric that create the illusion in the imagination of the young that drug use acts as an agent of social change, enabling them to enjoy new experiences and broaden their universe. Many professionals are contributing to this idea in defining certain drugs as 'entheogens', suggesting that their use leads to an internal journey, a connection with the gods, a kind of personal therapy[3]. Drugs thus become elements of a new form of spiritual medication, a new idiosyncrasy on the more extreme fringes of the New Age movement, the nouveau riche middle-classes who have replaced the yuppies of a decade ago, whose ideal is to spend, spend, spend but on things labelled ecological, spiritual, macrobiotic, fat-free, and with a little Zen thrown in. They are new fads, well-adapted to a consumerism that guides the way to the god of happiness, a made-to-measure paradise to suit the needs of a high-tech market, a market that is creating a new idealisation of nature, sampled through laboratory products. Designer drugs are an example of this sophistication as are the various 'brands' cannabis, with high doses of THC from their transgenic cultivation,which reach Dutch companies.

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[3] Several publications are springing to its defence. In Spain, the *Ulises. Revista de viajes interiores*, is one example.

The new discourse is creating a new kind of doctrine that is transmitted through publications, magazines, the Internet and informal discussion, and now several professionals are paticipating part in it, not only the leaders (prophets) who came to prominence in the pro-legalisation of drugs movement, like Nicholas Saunders, Jack Herer, Alexander Shulgin, Antonio Escohotado, Albert Hoffmann, Thomas Szasz, Jonathan Ott, etc. but professionals, closer to the mass population, are also taking part in this new movement and contribute to promoting this symbolic and miraculous baggage labelled drugs.

A great power wielded by drugs is this manufactured link to positive notions such as the search for communication, pleasure and greater sociability which seem so difficult to achieve in a society like Europe as it enters the XXI century. In addition, and as part of the propaganda in favour of drug use, - substances associated with countercultural attitudes and alternative values to those of a traditional and conservative society have been attributed with astonishing qualities. The signature of the Californian society for the defence of marijuana (HEMP) is a marijuana leaf, and its slogan is "can save the planet". One of its founders, Ed Rosenthal, stated in the prologue to one of his books, "During the last ten years there have been revolutionary changes in the moral values of youth. The empty materialism of the fifties and the liberal idealism of the sixties have been laid aside by a pragmatic revaluation of lifestyle and political structure. This arises, to a great extent, from the extensive use of psychoactive drugs and herbs..." (Rosenthal 1974)[4]. This rhetoric of the nineteen seventies may be seen as a pioneering a new evaluation of drugs as saviours of a decadent society. Some drug users legitimise their own use on the basis of these beliefs without relating them to reality in any critical way, failing to recognise that this is a prefabricated counterculture, closely integrated into the market and logic of modern consumersims that transcends the socially dominant area of recreational life. Inevitably, the use of drugs today has become the banner for a utopian society, an easy route to achieving communication and pleasure. And, at the same time, this reflects one of the great inadequacies and weaknesses of our society - the need for a utopia, for illusion and for new ways of setting the world to rights. In the utopia offered by drugs, the solution to the problem is evasion, passivity. This is why we believe drugs have such enormous potential for social control.

Detecting and deconstructing the culture that legitimises drug use is one of the objectives of seeking to understand the symbolic values used to define substances. In this study, we endeavour to shed light on - or at least discuss - some of the premises and conditions that revolve around drugs. This is our contribution to improving society, through the development of a scientific work that, through both empirical and ethical knowledge, could lead to improving the conditions in which we live, and to building a better world for our young people.

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[4] This is a translation form an excerpt from the Spanish edition of the text.

This research was designed as a construct in which all members of the team took part and not as a sum of individual contributions linked together. Different hands and minds elaborated each piece. There has been ongoing discussion and the text has now reached the stage where the team considers that it should be published in order to make it available for wider discussion by professionals in the field.

As stated, the present study is supported by quantitative data from a wide survey of 2,700 young Europeans involved in recreational activities and by the ethnographical study which was made in each of the nine cities taking part in the earlier research. The processing of previous data required an in-depth examination of specific subjects. Consequently, new qualitative data was required from the young people themselves. A Focus Group was held in each city consisting of individuals from the most representative subcultures of each city. The aim of these discussions was to obtain information on certain topics that the research team had highlighted as crucial to reaching a better understanding of the young in a recreational context. They were as follows:

WEEK AND WEEKEND

The social division of time is one of the basic co-ordinates of social life as well as of lifestyles. The changes that have occurred over the last few decades in relation to the structuring of free time have arisen as the result of the new significance given to leisure and free time, particularly by the young. The opportunity for social time, defined as their own, enables the young to give new meaning to those activities in which they develop their breadth of experience and nurture new relationships of 'belonging'. The way in which the young search for and experience fun, particularly those who go out specifically to 'have a good time', has a direct relationship with the significance they give to their lives and their occupationss. For the young, working days are quite distinct from weekends; formal activities are differentiated from leisure activities. Thus they were asked in the Focus Groups about their experience of this division of time, and how they defined each time period, in order to ascertain the meaning of the weekend held for them, and in what way this differed from the week; with whom did mixed socially and what activities they were involved in the week and at the weekend respectively; their evaluation of their lives during these two periods and which one they preferred and which they considered to be more important in their lives.

FUN AND DRUGS

Drugs have an instrumental function in having fun. In the Focus Groups, an attempt was made to ascertain how the young define fun and why they consider that drugs are effective - or otherwise - in achieving the objective of 'having fun'. The kinds of

questions asked included: Why do they use drugs when they are going out for a good time and want to enjoy themselves? What are the 'fun' effects produced by the various drugs, and which drug best achieve 'fun'?

RISK BEHAVIOUR

Another subject that was discussed within the Focus Groups was risk: what dangers did they perceive in drug use; how did they define these risks; how did they manage them; and how did they influenced their drug use? An attempt was made to evaluate the place risk occupies in their lives. Do they know that drug taking is risky? We asked what risks they believe they are taking when they use drugs; what kind of risk seems pointless to them, and which they do or do not try to avoid; in what way do they try to avoid risk or control it?. In addition, aspects associated with risk, sensation seeking and tendency to social deviance was also explored.

TRIBES OF YOUTHS

The SONAR Project attempted to capture the major - or most visible - settings and communities in each city, describing their characteristics, recreational habits, musical tastes and relationship with drugs. The result of this was a European map, or a mosaic of youth cultures (tribes or subcultures) that coexist.. Sometimes, these reject and exclude one another, at other times they share territories and exchange cultural elements such as music and dress styles. Another of the objectives of the Focus Groups was to investigate further: how they interrelate with their social group; ; how they define their group, what name do they give it, what are its characteristics, what other groups are similar to them or most dissimilar, or indeed opposite to them; how does their personality or behaviour change when they are with their social group and when they are outside of it; what are the things they share with their group and with other people? One aspect that did emerge during the discussions was the enormous influence of the group they belonged to, as well as the scenes in which they were involved, in deciding and managing everything to do with drugs.

Taking into account that the information we were seeking was of a qualitative nature, the questions developed to investi each subject were adapted to suit each city, in order to make them comprehensible to the members of the group. The cities where the Focus Groups were held were Athens, Coimbra, Liverpool, Modena, Nice, Palma, Utrecht and Vienna. All the members of the team developed the data obtained from each city for their own use and for use by other members of the team. This information was added to the ethnographical information already provided in Phase 1 of the research (Sonar 98).

The qualitative information, obtained using the ethnographical methods outlined, was analysed in combination and interactively with the data obtained from the survey made in Spring 1998 as an example of the combined use of quantitative and qualitative

techniques as a complementary approach to the study of the subject of recreational drug use. In some cases, the results of the statistical analyses on the association between variables inform the design of the questions explored in greater detail in the Focus Groups. In other cases, certain hypotheses arising from the ethnographical studies directed the development of ad hoc retrospective statistical analyses. In several chapters of this work, the description of specific groups of young people are supported by descriptive statistics (frequencies, percentages, average values and values relative to the variability of the individual characteristics) proceeding from the European sample of the SONAR 98 Project, and by the comparative analyses made to detect differences between them. The description of groups of young people is also supported on occasion, by the empirical identification of relatively homogeneous groups using cluster analysis. In other chapters, the authors use multivariate procedures (correlation analysis, factor analysis, reliability analysis) to compare the existence of groups of variables that appear to be interrelated according to theoretical approaches and hypotheses arising from the ethnographical studies (factors or scales). Finally, in an attempt to construct useful models for the subsequent study, understanding and prediction of behaviours associated with drug abuse and their negative consequences, some chapters use diverse multivariate procedure (logistical recession, discriminant analysis and multiple linear regression).

In addition to the empirical data that arose from our own research, official data from each country was also taken into consideration as well as international data from the European Observatory (EMCDDA). With all this information, an attempt has been made to respond to a central question that has orientated the research work of IREFREA for many years. Why does the need to take drugs emerge among young people in order to achieve fun and enjoyment, promote interpersonal skills, experience new sensations or escape from a reality they do not like? There are different strategies for achieving these objectives, so why through drugs? Practically all of the chapters in this report approach this question.

CONTENTS OF THE BOOK

Although pursuing common goals, and with the experience of working together for several years, the fact that each chapter has been written by different people in the research team, according to their specialities and specific training, can obviously produce differences in style and certainly some discrepancy in certain focuses or analysis. However, it is our hope that these are not crucial. Any collective work may present such differences and this is, to a certain extent, its limitation but also its grandeur. In addition, a choice had to made between a more extensive elaboration of the text and its contents. and the need for transmitting the results of our research in a reasonable period of time - a very important consideration in this type of research where reality is constantly changing and part of the analysis may be obsolete in a short time.

The first chapter of the book, *Sociodemographic Characteristics: Expectations concerning the use of XTC and some ideas about the use of other drugs*, describes the

social situation of the young in the sample from each city. The analysis is based on statistical evaluation, describing the frequencies and percentages of different sociodemographic variables (sex, occupation, socio-economic status, source of income, etc.) and of individual answers on the expectations and effects of ecstasy use, and the reasons for using it. In addition, it includes descriptive statistics of certain sociodemographic variables and other variables relating to motivations for using ecstasy. These descriptive statistics, frequencies and percentages are segmented according to various sociodemographic variables - age, city of origin, recreation group that the subject belongs to, and ecstasy use patterns.

Chapter 2, *Use & Misuse*, explores a highly significant aspect, the difference between using a substance occasionally (in other words trying it or using it now and then) or abusing it, if we define abuse as a use with a frequency that could have negative consequences for physical, mental or social health. This is an exploratory and descriptive study that aims to describe the relationships between certain individual characteristics (socio-demographics, substance use history, nightlife patterns and some subjective variables) and substance use and misuse among the young Europeans interviewed in recreational settings. The statistical analysis is crucial in this Chapter, and includes the basic descriptive statistics (frequencies, percentages, mean, maximum and minimum values) of different demographic variables, all in relation to the variables that form the focus of the study - drug use and abuse indicators, patterns of involvement in recreational nightlife, and individual characteristics associated with sensation seeking and social deviance. Non-parametrical correlation analysis and factor analysis of the principal components were used to detect the existence of associations and clusters among the variable indicators of substance use and abuse. Cluster analysis techniques were used to identify groups of subjects with similar substance use and abuse levels. Subsequently, multivariate techniques were used to identify the existence of associations between drug use and abuse levels and different sociodemographic variables, recreational patterns and social deviance - sensation seeking, such as correlation analysis, contingency tables and variance analysis. Finally, discriminant analysis and logistic regression model techniques were used to evaluate the predictive capacity of these latter variables on substance use and abuse levels.

The main finding of prevalence of lifetime and current use of licit and illegal substances suggests a strong association between recreational nightlife environments and substance use and misuse. Bi-variate analyses showed associations between legal and illegal substance use and misuse with main demographic characteristics, history of substance use and several indicators of substance motivation for and behavioural implication with recreational nightlife, sensation seeking and social deviation. Some predictive models showed encouraging evidence supporting their predictive capability of legal and illegal substance use and misuse. Our results provide initial support for including nightlife behavioural patterns and motivations as variables to be included in further research on substance use/misuse. Some suggestions for risk factors research on recreational substance use and for drug education and prevention strategies are included.

Chapter 3, *Clubbing, ravers and free time*, explores a socio-cultural aspect central to youth cultures. One of the most important generational changes lies in the use of free time. This Chapter takes as its basis the qualitative analysis of the Focus Group discussions but also includes some descriptive statistics (frequencies and percentages) relating to variable indicators of involvement in recreational nightlife (the number of nights 'going out' in a month, number of days per weekend, going out or not during the week). The distribution of these variables is segmented in different groups using contingency tables to describe them according to whether or not the individuals went to rave parties or after hour venues with a certain frequency and using the chi square test to detect the level of association between these variables.

The weekend is crucial for the young. It is the time for being with friends, for making new acquaintances, for reshaping one's identity and for having fun. The young develop certain expectations about what fun is, and they try to achieve them in the two time periods using different strategies. Drug use is one of these strategies, closely associated with the party that is the weekend. In this Chapter, we outline the way clubbers and ravers, in particular, spend their free time. Before delving into this subject, we need to describe the position of raving in youth culture. Is it just another leisure activity or is it a way of life, a subculture? First of all, we have to take a closer look at the meaning of free time and leisure activities and how this has changed over the last few hundred years.

Chapter 4, *Nightlife: Subcultures and tribes*, observes the young through the prism of the subcultures they form, and explores the importance of the group and of 'scenes' for these young people. Different styles of fun and entertainment arise in each environment in respect of music, aesthetics, activities and also drug use. The statistical analysis includes a detailed description of different groups using indicators of the distribution of sociodemographic variables and variables relating to substance use and to involvement in recreational nightlife of these groups. These data are explained and complemented by qualitative information. Results show very significant differences between environments that explain, to a certain extent, the pressures on use and the significance that this acquires. The hypothesis that use may become an authoritative and excluding element in respect of the other elements associated with entertainment is explored in close relationship to the environments and the influences of the group.

Chapter 5, *Personal control over ecstasy use*, presents the distribution of certain sociodemographic characteristics of the sample, and the distribution of personal control over ecstasy use indicators in the sample and in the home cities of the individuals. This is followed by a description of a Personal Control Scale on the use of ecstasy with its basic statistics (frequencies, percentages, mean values and dispersion). The analysis of this scale includes an analysis of its internal consistency using the Cronbach alpha coefficient and a factor analysis of the principal components. Finally, the authors use correlation coefficients and contingency tables with the chi-squared statistics to evaluate the association between Personal Control and diverse sociodemographic variables, recreational patterns, other substance use, risk perception associated with

substance use, social deviation and sensation seeking. The principal hypothesis is that the level of substance use, misuse and abuse as well as the consequences of substance use can be modulated by personal control over substance use. Personal control over substance use can involve interplay between the substance(s) used, individual characteristics and the settings where substance use is located. We explore variables involved in personal control over ecstasy among more than 700 ecstasy users. Quantitative data, as well as qualitative information provide some examples of personal control over ecstasy based on control of substance use and control over settings where ecstasy is used, suggesting that personal control over ecstasy can be a multidimensional construct. An experimental and brief scale was computed to assess personal control over ecstasy among 641 individuals, showing a continuous distribution that varies normally among individuals. Personal control over ecstasy appears to be independent of age, education, occupation and civil and family socio-economic statuses. Personal control is higher for females and for individuals who perceive a higher family control over their going out habits. Also, personal control over ecstasy is lower among individuals with more frequent legal and illegal substance use, who began to use several substances at an earlier age, who are more involved in nightlife recreational activities, less sensitive to risk associated with legal and illegal substance use and more prone to sensation seeking.

Chapter 6, *Risk behaviour and risk perception*, takes risk behaviour as the subject that focuses preoccupation about drug use. It explores the dimensions relating to risk perception. Firstly, the influence that this perception exercises on use behaviour. Using an in-depth statistical analysis, three scales were elaborated to do so.1) Risk perception associated with the use of legal substances (alcohol and tobacco) and the use of illegal substances (cannabis, ecstasy and LSD); 2) Predisposition to risk associated with determined personality traits or generalised predisposition to risk behaviour; and 3) Risk behaviours, linked to drug use (excessive consumption of illegal drugs, bouts of drunkenness, driving after taking drugs, etc.)

The statistical analysis describes the distribution of certain sociodemographic and historic variables and certain indicators of implication in recreational nightlife among the subjects comprising the sample, using the basic descriptives (frequencies, percentages, mean values and dispersion indices). It goes on to describe the distribution of 23 individual variables considered as risk perception, risk predisposition or risk behaviour indicators, utilising frequencies and response percentages. A subsequent stage uses the Cronbach alpha coefficients and factor analyses of principal components to evaluate the internal consistency and unidimensional nature of diverse ad hoc scales. The descriptive statistics and histograms of frequencies relating to the distributions of the scales constructed in the study relating to risk perception, risk predisposition and risk behaviours are presented. Contingency tables based on the Pearson chi-square and the t test for the comparison of means in independent groups were used to calculate the association between these scales and their association with diverse socio-demographic variables,. Finally, the authors use models based on multiple linear regression to evaluate the relative contribution of diverse scales on the relative scales to risk behaviour.

To complement the statistical analysis and through the qualitative information, an investigation was made into those factors that contribute to immunising or neutralising risk perception in such a way that many young people do not have such perceptions or, for those who do, create perceptions that fail to influence their drug use. The results of this Chapter are of very direct interest to the field of prevention, reinforcing the idea that risk perception is a paradigm to be explored as a basic aim of preventive strategies.

Chapter 7, *Club health,* enters another aspect of prevention, that of the setting as a basic dimension for targeting social policies. The *1st International Conference on Night-life, Substance Use and Related Health Issues* which took place in Holland in November 1999, promoted the relevance of an approach to the environment or setting that would lead to functional policies of harm reduction. This dynamic gave rise to new concepts such as 'healthy settings' or 'safe dance' proposals to be applied to the recreational scenes. These settings are considered to be places where the young spend a large part of their time and where they take the decisions that directly affect their health. Research is contextualised on the basis of this focus that favours the study of the factors that affect health in specific environments (Kilfoyle & Bellis, 1999). The analysis provides descriptive data on diverse variables relating to age of commencement and the use frequency of various substances in samples studied by IREFREA and samples proceeding from other studies. Some of these variables relating to the use of substances are shown segmented by groups defined in respect of other individual characteristics (social deviation, risk perception indicators, etc.).

Chapter 8, the final chapter, is a report on the present situation of the prevention of recreational drug use in Europe which has involved people linked to the IREFREA research team, and drug programmes centering on prevention, under the auspices of the Lisbon Monitoring Centre on Drugs (EMCDDA) and which are reproduced here with their consent. It reviews the attributes and characteristics of different studies and programmes in operation. There is information on the target population (age, status relating to substance use, etc.) objectives of the programmes or projects (prevention, treatment, research) activities undertaken, human resources used, evaluations made and their results, etc.). The study that gave rise to this report was facilitated by funding from and in consultation with the EMCDDA. The report was made on the basis of a survey of organisations involved in the field of prevention, 41 organisations in total, distributed in nine countries, managing a total of 52 projects.

Finally, the book ends with a number of conclusions that highlight some of the more relevant data on drug use. In addition, the conclusions prioritise the criteria for research and prevention that our scientific team believe should direct social policy and institutional direction. We hope this study will help to provide an insight into the meaning, process and context of drug use among young people across Europe, and promote responses founded on a more robust knowledge base.

1. REMARKS ON RECREATION. WHO USE DRUGS?

1. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

This book should be regarded as a further development of the last SONAR publication "*Night life in Europe and recreative drug use. SONAR 98*": In the present book we have reinforced the analysis with complementary, qualitative data collected from young people in the same nine European cities where the quantitative survey was conducted (Athens, Berlin, Coimbra, Manchester, Modena, Nice, Palma, Utrecht, Vienna). Before analysing results of these two surveys, carried out with the intention of providing a more realistic picture of recreative drug use, it may be useful to take a closer look at the how we structured this study. The quantitative survey was carried out in 1998, and the total sample comprised 2,700 individuals. Sub-samples grouped by night life 'scene' were divided in 4 subgroups in each of the cities involved (thus each subgroup/city included around 75 individuals in).

Data were collected by means of a questionnaire that covered the following areas:

- Sociodemographic variables
- Routines and opinions relating to night life
- Frequency of use of different substances and general opinions about drugs
- Sensation-seeking scale
- Risk and deviant behaviour
- Habits, attitudes and opinions resulting from experience of using 'designer' drugs

Data from the SONAR 99 survey, designed to complement the previous year's work, will be included in this report. These qualitative data were gathered during focus group meetings held in the respective cities. Participants were recruited in night-time establishments (such as nightclubs and bars), and participated in short interviews about night-life habits and attitudes towards drug use. After this they were invited to participate in the focus groups some time after the initial interviews. Individuals were selected in order to provide a representative cross-section for the focus groups in terms of sex, age, drug use, lifestyles and nightlife 'scenes'[1].

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[1] A scene defines the leisure lifestyle characteristics of a particular sub-groups, often relating to musical preferences.

As the quantitative data will be referred to throughout the subsequent chapters, it may be useful to present a short overview of the socio-demographic characteristics of the individuals interviewed. Although in general this report will look on Europe[2] as a whole or at specific nightlife 'scenes', the sample will be categorised by city in the presentation of socio-demographic characteristics, so that readers interested in specific countries or attempting to compare situations in different cities may find some basic information about the sample structure[3].

Gender

Considering Europe as a whole, males dominated the total sample, constituting almost 60% of all interviewees[4]. The most equal balance between the sexes was found in Berlin, with 51% male and 49% female, narrowly followed by Modena with 52% to 48% respectively. On the other hand, the samples of Palma, Utrecht, Nice and Athens had a higher proportion of more males than on average.

Figure 1.1: GENDER BY CITY SAMPLES

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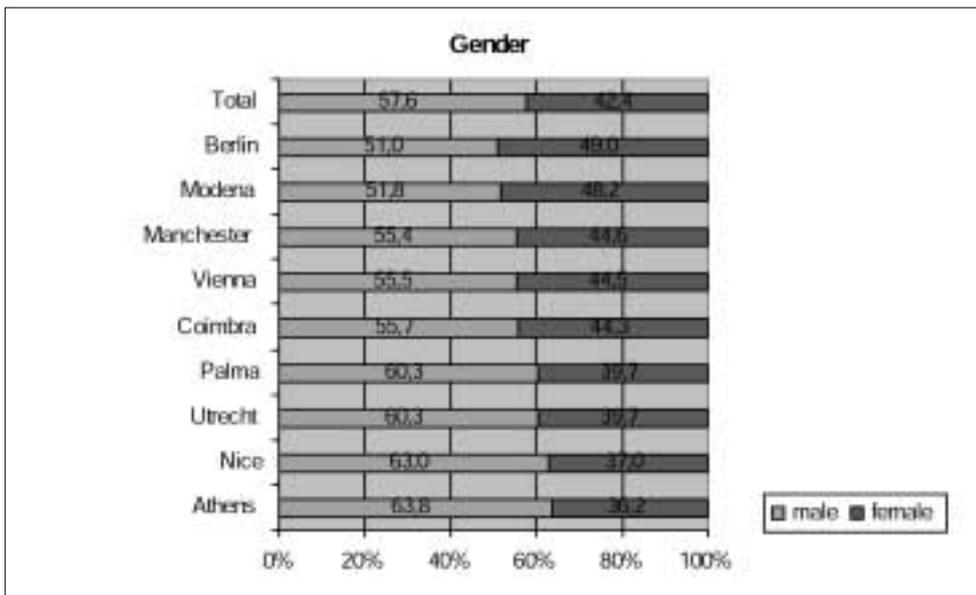
[2] In this chapter the shortcut "Europe" will be used as an equivalent for "the total sample in all participating countries".

[3] See also the chapter on sociodemographic characteristics in *Night life in Europe and recreative drug use. SONAR 98*, pp. 138 – 144. This and others Irefrea books are downloadable from www.irefrea.org

[4] Similar results in sex balance have been mentioned in other studies as well, see for example: Tossmann, Boldt & Tensil: *Drug affinity amongst youths within the Techno party scene in European metropolises*. SPI-Forschung, Berlin, 2000, where 62% of respondents were men.

One reason for the larger proportion of males may be different differences in the lifestyles and preferred leisure time activities of men and women. Since the data collection of the SONAR '98 survey was designed primarily to provide information about the different 'scenes' existing within European nightlife, we know that the gender balance differs from scene to scene. While some scenes are dominated by men, others have more of a gender balance. In some countries we even found scenes where women predominated. Later in this report, in Chapter 4, gender differences within different 'scenes' will be reviewed.

One interesting fact – even if some scenes may be regarded as pan-European – is that the gender balance of specific scenes is not consistent across Europe. In Modena, for example, interviewees from the *Techno-Scene* consisted of 40% males and 60% females. On the other hand, in Berlin as well as Manchester the *Techno-Scene* was predominated by men (Berlin: 53%, Manchester: 63%).

Similarly the *Student-Scene*: In Coimbra and Vienna women dominated this scene, they made up 55% of this sub-sample in Coimbra and in Vienna 58%, while in Utrecht the 'student-scene' the ratio of men to women was 65%:35%. In the other two scenes that could be regarded under the 'student-scene[5] - these are groups from Palma and Nice - the relationship between the sexes was balanced. The *Disco-Scene* was predominated by men in Nice (70%, n = 53), but by women in Manchester (40%:60%).

As for female dominated scenes we found only the *Jazz-Soul-Funk-Scene* in Berlin, consisting of 60% women and 40% men. Another sub-sample where women were strongly represented was the Italian *Rock-Scene* (55% females). In Athens, where a 'rock scene was also identified among interviewees, it was clearly dominated by men (61% males).

Findings for the Rave-Scene and for the *Suburbs-Scene* were more consistent: The Rave-Scene wa clearly dominated by men in the Athens's sample (80%); in Nice (65%), Modena (60%) and Vienna (57%) the male predominance was less significant, but still apparent. The *Suburbs-Scene* identified in Vienna and Palma was a further scene dominated by men (Vienna 70%; Palma 60%), and within the *House- /Hip-Hop-Scene* as well as in the *Mainstream-Scene* men werere dominating in all those countries where members of these scenes were interviewed (the proportion of men being: *House*: Manchester 60%, Athens 63%; *Hip-Hop*, Athens: 61%; *Mainstream*: Modena 61%, Berlin 56%). Although the gender ratio in the Vienna *Club-Scene* was almost balanced, with only 52% males, the men seemed to predominate: In Utrecht they made up 60% of the clubbers.

One possible explanation for these gender differences among the interviewees has already been mentioned. However, we should also think about cultural and lifestyle differences: It is interesting that in Nice, Palma and Utrecht the men clearly dominated all scenes, principally also in Athens (only one of the four scenes identified there has 1% more women) while in Berlin, Vienna, Manchester and Coimbra there was a scene

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5 See chapter 4 "Nigth style: subcultures and tribes"

in each city with more women than men, and in Modena the ratio was balanced with two male- and two female-dominated scenes. It is possible to surmise that in some European cities nightlife is a more male 'haunt' than in others. On the whole, men and women seem to belong to different scenes- maybe because they simply prefer other music styles or different night time venues.

Age

After gender, age is the most significant sociodemographic characteristic because at different ages, young people live in different environments and have different responsibilities (for example, school, study, employment. The average age of the total sample was 22.4 years. At a mean age of 24.8 years, respondents in Berlin were oldest; the youngest interviewees were those from Vienna, aged on average just 20.5 years.

Table 1.1: AVERAGE AGE BY CITY SAMPLES	
	Average Age (mean)
Berlin	24,8
Nice	24,1
Utrecht	23,0
Modena	22,8
Coimbra	22,8
Manchester	22,2
Athens	21,3
Palma	20,7
Vienna	20,5

In terms of age of respondents, we see that there was a varying proportion of 'older' individuals: This may be regarded as an indication of a 'prolonged youth', where some people do not change their lifestyle as they grow older. At the age of 27–30 years they are still living as they did 5 years earlier. Therefore 'young' is very often is actually defined as 14/ 15-30 years old. In sociology, this phenomenon has led – in accordance with the growing age range of the "youth" population - to further differentiation to three age ranges:

• Adolescents (from 14/15 to 18/19 years): until their entry into university or the job market.

• From 18/19 to 23/25 years: for some studying for a university degree and integration in job market; for others, living with a partner or getting married.

• 'Grown-up adolescents': Fully integrated into the job market and into economically active; this is also an important period for partnership and family.

The scene with the youngest interviewees was the *Adolescent-Scene*" in Coimbra. On average, respondents were 17.5 years old. It is interesting that it was also in Coimbra that the 'oldest scene' was interviewed, the so-called *Adults*', with an average age of

31.8 years. Comparing the average age of the different scenes, it can be seen that age is not one of the characteristics that are homogenous in scenes across Europe. The interviewees of the *Techno-Scene* were 25 years old in Berlin, 22 in Manchester, but only 20 in Modena (averages). In Vienna and Athens the *Ravers* were among the youngest groups (averaging 19 and 19.6 years respectively); in Modena and Nice they were distinctly older at 24 and 23 years. The *Student-Scene* was slightly more homogenous, by definition. In Utrecht and Vienna the average age was 22.6 years, in Coimbra the 'students' wee a bit younger (19.7 years, mean). So, even if lifestyles tend to be homogenous within the large group comprising young people from 14 to 30 years – some scenes seem to be more attractive to younger individuals than others.

Socio-economic status

Socio-economic status must be interpreted as a subjective variable. Considering the sample as a whole, the sex of the interviewee had no influence on socio-economic status. Although fewer interviewees in the younger age group belonged to the lower social classes within the total sample, this relationship is not apparent for all cities. Indeed, Coimbra and Vienna, with the two youngest samples, also had the lowest percentage of 'low social class' interviewees, but in Berlin, where the interviewees were oldest on average, the proportion from a 'low social class'" is also well below the 'European' average.

Another possible explanation is offered if we look at the various 'scenes'. As noted above, these differ in terms of sex and age, and it is certainly possible that – across the different cities – there are differences relating to the social composition of the 'scenes'. Utrecht appears to be in a special position: there 40% of interviewees - much more than in all other countries - rated themselves as belonging to a 'low social class'. It is possible that the specific composition of each sample is responsible for the differences in the self-rating found between various the city samples.

If we proceed to analyse the social classification of the respondents by 'scene', we see that the proportions from different social classes do not differ greatly between cities. Some minor exceptions should be mentioned:

- The scene with the largest proportion of people assigning themselves to the lower social category, was the *Student-Scene* in Utrecht, at approximately 53%. In the other countries where a student scene was identified, the proportion of 'lower class' interviewees was also high. Thus, in Vienna, 15% of the students ranked themselves as 'low socio-economic status'. In this 'self classification' the availability of financial resources plays a substantial role. Students, especially if they no longer live with their parents, often have a relatively small income in comparison with other social groups. In addition, their housing conditions, for example student accommodation or flats hares with friends should be taken into account For instance, 24% of the Viennese 'student scene' lived in student homes, and almost as many

with friends (21%); in Utrecht 68% lived in student accommodation and 6% lived with friends.

- The 'scene' with highest proportion of individuals rating themselves 'low socio-economic status' members was the Italian *Rave-Scene*, at 21%. In Vienna, in contrast, the proportion of 'low socio-economic status' individuals in this scene was only 4%.

- On the other hand, the *Young Person-Scene*' consisted primarily of individuals form socially favoured classes. Both in Palma and in Coimbra a higher proportion of individuals classified themselves as from higher social classes were represented than individuals from other scenes.. Here the influence of living circumstances needs to be considered: In Coimbra 95% of young people live with their relatives, 85% even receive the money they spend on weekends from their family. In Palma, 97% live at their parents' homes and 73% receive money from their family. Among Viennese students, only 40% receive money from their family to spend (among other things) over the weekend.

This may lead to us to conclude that it is easier for young people to assign themselves to higher social classes if they do not have to earn their own living. Differences in socio-economic status between scenes might also be explained by different 'going out' routines: Some scenes prefer expensive venues that only individuals from a higher social class' can afford. Others visit less expensive establishments.

Source of income

Following on from the question of where interviewees obtained money to spend on weekends, it resulted that in some cities more interviewees had a full-time job than in other countries. The main tendency observed was that in all cities more men were in full time employment, while women were more likely to be students or to have a part time job alongside their studies.

- In Manchester, in all four scenes, over 50% of the respondents earned their money through a paid job, and in the *House-Scene* the proportion was 77%, although this scene, with an average age of 21 years, did not rank among the 'oldest' scenes.

- In Berlin, in three scenes the majority of interviewees earned their money themselves which was connected in part with the higher average age in these scenes. The exception here was the *Jazz/Soul-Scene*, where the participants were younger.

- The situation was similar in Nice. In all scenes there, with exception of the *Pubs-Scene*, the majority of interviewees earn their money through a full time job. In the *Disco-Scene* this was the case for almost 80%, but at almost 27 years this scene also had the highest average age of the Nice sample. In the youngest French scene, the *Pubs Scene*"(average age 21 years), only 19% of respondents made money themselves through a full-time job.

- In Utrecht 56% of the *Older Clubbers*, 41% of *Young Clubbers* and 47% of the *Concert-Goers* earned their own living.

- In Athens only one scene - the *Locals-Scene* - provided interviewees who were predominantly financially independent; 51% of them were in full-time employment.

- The situation was similar in Coimbra, where only in the *Adults-Scene* did the majority earn money through a full time job, and in Vienna, where this was the case for 48% in the *Suburb Scene*.

- Finally, in Palma the money spent by interviewees at the weekend mainly came from their families.

With the exception of Vienna on the one hand and Nice on the other, the young people who participated in the clubbing scene in north European countries appeared to have full-time jobs more often (at a relatively y younger age), while there was a tendency for individuals to remain dependent for longer on their families in southern European countries.

2. THE ROLE OF EXPECTATIONS IN RELATION TO DRUG USE.
THE CASE OF ECSTASY USE.

In the past, other than 'hard facts' like frequency of drug use and poly-drug use, research about drug consumption has mainly focused on psycho-social characteristics or characteristics of the social environment ("risk factors") of drug users. Other focuses have been risk perception and evaluation of risks inherent in drug consumption. Some of these questions have been referred to in the first part of this report (*Night Life and Recreational drug use*) and they will be developed in the following chapters.

Personal opinions about and motives for drug consumption have been less frequently explored by research projects. Nevertheless, these personal attitudes are important in order to improve our understanding of drug consumption, because the decision to use or not to use substances is based not only on individual risk evaluation but also on expectations about the positive effects of drug use. Even if 'simple' cost-benefit models are somewhat out-dated some rational evaluation processes will take place (evidently influenced by emotions and feelings) before drug consumption. Some of these 'individual preliminary evaluations' have been studied in a student sample, using quantitative and qualitative data, elsewhere (Bohrn 1998).

The following section present some of the motives for drug consumption cited by individuals in order to explain their drug use. Results from the quantitative survey (*Sonar '98*), as well as from the qualitative research will be utilised. 'Reasons for taking ecstasy' in formed part of the questionnaire used in the 'SONAR 98' survey, and this topic was also included as a n area for discussion during the focus-groups staged for the 'SONAR 99' research, which did not only focus on ecstasy but also extended the subject

to explore attitudes about taking drugs in general.. Ecstasy was also the central theme in the first piece of IREFREA research (*Characteristics and social representations of ecstasy in Europe*). Selected data from this study will be discussed later in this report.

The first section will illustrate differences between cities, then will focus on the expectations of users and non-users in order to ascertain whether there are any differences between the two groups. The second part presents extracts from the focus group discussions. Most of these do not refer exclusively to ecstasy, but relate to drug consumption in general. Even if the consumption of ecstasy (perhaps even more than of other drugs) is deemed to be influenced largely by the social environment, in particular by peers (Bohrn 1998: 118-122) and generally takes place with friends or during 'nightlife-associated events', personal experiences and attitudes remain an important factor in explaining patterns of consumption.[6]

In reference to the effects of MDMA, Weigle (1996) summarises reported experiences as follows:

- experiencing another state of consciousness [...] with the simultaneous capacity for the direct communication of one's own experiences and expressing emotions, which is difficult to achieve in a state of 'normal consciousness';
- increased self-assurance, strengthened self-acceptance and increased self-confidence;
- fears or other social barriers, which often make contact with other people difficult since they lead to misunderstandings, may be removed;
- developing a feeling of empathy for other humans and other living things;
- opening of the 'chakra of heart';
- 'transpersonal' experiences" (Weigle 1996, Schmidt-Semisch 1996)

The following quotations are borrowed from a German interview study:

- Effects with repeated consumption [...]: the self and foreign perception as well as the interaction behaviour and - experience are influenced.
- Flirting' is facilitated and personal interactions are felt more deeply [...].
- Self-assurance is strengthened and a strong feeling of happiness is experienced. Anxiety and fears disappear, inhibitions are removed and physical contact and sexual sensations become intensified [...].- Negative effects: Loss of appetite, sleep disturbance, forgetfulness, depressive feelings and paranoid thoughts, depression physical unrest and trembling." (Rakete 1995)

In previous studies, respondents have partially differentiated between hedonistic consumption motives and consumption as coping behaviour:

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[6] The SONAR 2000 research plans to concentrate on attitudes of non-users frequenting establishments where drug use takes place.

"Besides the large group of opportunity consumers, who seem to consume ecstasy during a longer period, predominantly at weekends, in the company of others for hedonistic motives, who are generally well-integrated socially and who are affected far more rarely by serious complications or subsequent effects, there is a further group of unknown size, who use ecstasy for coping with internal psychological conflicts and difficult life events or circumstances" (Thomasius 1998)

For data relating to reasons for ecstasy consumption, we can also refer to the IREFREA-study "*Characteristics and Social Representation of Ecstasy in Europe*", where a sample of non-users and users was asked about motives for consumption. In contrast to the present sample, the proportion of users was around 50% in every one of the participating cities (Coimbra, Modena, Nice, Palma de Mallorca, Utrecht). Every individual could choose three answers. The following percentages refer to the total of the answers provided (and therefore differ from percentages given later for SONAR '98 data). The most important reasons for ecstasy use were "*to enjoy dancing*" (22% in Nice and 20% in Coimbra, but only 13% in Palma, and 10% in Utrecht and Modena); "*to escape from reality*" (around 23% in Modena, Palma and Nice, 15% in Utrecht and 10% in Coimbra) and "*makes me feel okay*" (22% in Utrecht, around 18% in Palma and Coimbra, 14% in Modena and only 7% in Nice).[7]

In the SONAR '98 study some motives for ecstasy consumption were examined through the inclusion of the question "*Here we indicate a few possible reasons why people could take ecstasy. Indicate your opinion about each one*". Possible responses were:

- "to relax"
- "to enjoy dancing"
- "to get on better with others"
- "to escape from reality"
- "because it makes me feel OK"
- "for better sex"
- "to stimulate my senses" and
- "for fun".

Respondents were asked to if they agreed or disagreed with each reason,. Looking at the entire sample, the 'number one' reason for ecstasy consumption was "*to enjoy dancing*", with which 84% of respondents agreed. In second place was "*for fun*", with 80% agreeing, followed by "*to make me feel okay*" (77%). The desire "*to escape from reality*" (75%) and "*to stimulate the senses*" (70%) were are also quite important to respondents, and "*to get on better with others*" was selected by two in every three

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[7] IREFREA: *Characteristics and social representation of ecstasy in Europe*. Palma de Mallorca, 1998. p. 65 - 66.

respondents. "*For better sex" and "to relax*" were somewhat less important motivations, with 41% and 37% respectively agreeing with these answers.

We see that in this study respondents did also differentiate between positive, hedonistic motivations such as "*for fun*" and "*to enjoy dancing*", and more problem-oriented motives like "*to forget reality*" " or "*to make me feel okay*". Across the whole sample, these two sets of motivations for ecstasy use appeared to be equally important

Differences due to gender and age

Only a small difference was found in response patterns by gender. On a European level the differences between men and women were 6% at the most, and can therefore be disregarded.

Figure 1.2: REASONS FOR TAKING ECSTASY
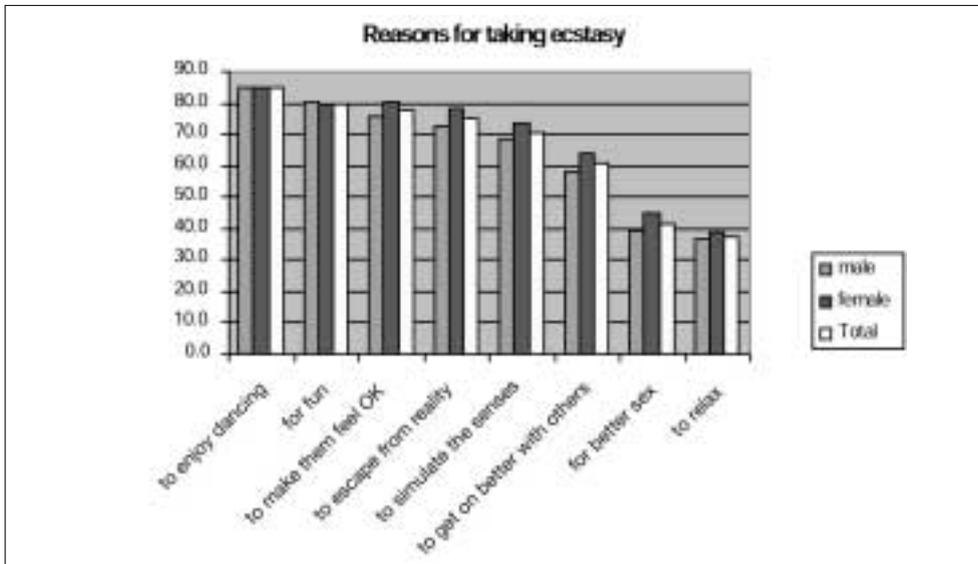
Women agreed more frequently with all given expectations, except "*to enjoy dancing*" and "*for fun*", that belong to "positive" motives. Women may be more sensitive to feelings in general and prefer "psychological" explanations (such as "*to make them feel okay*", "*to escape from reality*").

Another possible explanation for the differences between men and women is drug consumption. In the whole sample the proportion of ecstasy users who were male was higher, which may have influenced the answers about consumption motives. As will be seen later, non-users tended to attribute "problematic motives" more frequently than users.

Only small differences relating to expectations were found as a function of age. With increasing age the motive "*for better sex*" was chosen more frequently and "*to stimulate*

the senses" was slightly more important for older respondents. The importance of the motive "*for fun*" is continuously decreasing with age.

The "dance drug"

On average "*to enjoy dancing*" was a motivation for 84% of the respondents. I(although in Modena, this was true for just over 2 in 3 respondents) In Manchester and Berlin, however, agreement with this was higher than the European average. In Berlin "*to enjoy dancing*" was actually the most important motive, and in Manchester it ranks second place behind "*for fun*", whereas it came only fourth in Modena.[8]

Figure 1.3: TAKING ECSTASY TO ENJOY DANCING
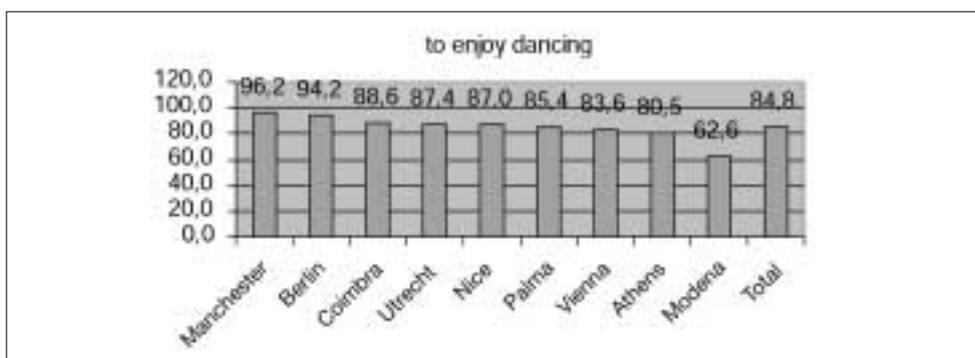
In the focus groups of the SONAR 99 project the users spoke about a "better feeling for the music increasing fun when dancing", as a reason for their ecstasy consumption.

"To me ecstasy is the best drug, it makes you feel very good. You feel tuned into the music. It makes feel like giving my best. You feel like you're flying." (female from Modena, 22 years)

"With drugs it is even more fun. For example, with ecstasy the feeling, the music comes out better, one understands the music much better." (male from Vienna, 18 years)

The expectation that ecstasy "provides energy" and enables individuals "to continue dancing all night long" was another aspect of the relationship between scenes and ecstasy consumption that was mentioned, for instance, in Modena:

"These drugs allow you not to feel tired, to optimise your spare time, to give your 101%." (male from Modena)

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[8] In the IREFREA study *Characteristics and social representation of ecstasy in Europe "to enjoy dancing"* was also less important in Modena (but also in Utrecht) than in Nice, Coimbra and Palma. (p. 65).

The "mood drug"

In the whole sample, "*for fun*" (80%) was the second assumed or real motive of ecstasy consumption. 77% agreed that they took ecstasy "*to feel okay*", and this ranked as third motive at the European level. This motive was overemphasised in Berlin and Utrecht, in somewhat smaller extent also in Vienna and Palma, while in Nice it was selected by only 55% of the respondents.[9] Citations from the qualitative study underline the importance of this motivation:

> "Ecstasy makes you feel happy, and when you listen to music you like you can get into it more… you move better, in time, everything flows around you…" (female from Liverpool, 20 years)

> "I think that they [ecstasy, LSD, cocaine] are used to feel like a superman." (male from Modena)

A somewhat different view was expressed in the following comment from Utrecht, which refers also to the disadvantages of ecstasy:

> "With drugs like ecstasy the feeling of happiness is there, but it's superficial. You become quite self-interested. Or you can become 'intimate' as we call it: make love with friends and that kind of thing." (male from Utrecht, 23 years)

In the focus groups, this experience was also reported for other drugs:

> "Drugs can make things more beautiful, you can experience things differently. They add something. They make you feel happy, but they also can make you feel sad of tired." (male from Utrecht, 27 years)

Another reason - "*to stimulate the senses*" - came only fifth in the total sample, with 70% agreeing. In Berlin, however, it ranked third place with 88%. In Manchester and Coimbra it was also selected more often than the European average. In Nice and Modena, however, it seemed to be somewhat less important.

'Stimulate the senses' is similar to "*enjoy the music*": Respondents believed that think that with ecstasy they can experience feelings more deeply:

> "With ecstasy it's a feeling. It increases your feeling in a strong way. And it also influences your senses." (male from Utrecht, 27 years)

> "I would say ecstasy changes you for the better, mellows you out and makes you more accepting of different people… Proper ecstasy makes things clearer..." (female from Liverpool, 20 years)

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[9] These findings are coherent with the IREFREA-Study *Characteristics and social representation of ecstasy in Europe where „to make feel okay"* was also less important in Nice and Modena. (p. 65).

Escaping reality

At the European sample "to escape from reality" was chosen by 75%. here agreement is higher in some of the "southern" cities: In Palma, Athens and Modena. To a lesser extent respondents in Vienna agreed more often with this motivation In Athens it was the second most frequently cited motive, whereas on an European scale it ranked only at number four as a motivation for ecstasy use. However, this motive was less important in Utrecht, Berlin and Coimbra.[10]

Figure 1.4: TAKING ECSTASY TO ESCAPE FROM REALITY
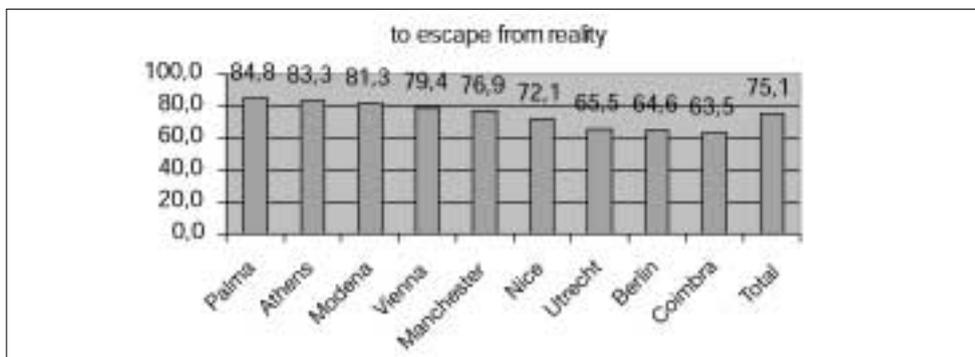
Some participants of the focus groups were aware of the different functions consumption of ecstasy can have:

> "I think that people take highly addictive drugs like ecstasy, cocaine and LSD for different reasons: some people do it to escape from reality completely or partially, others to have more fun, others still to identify with a group or others simply for excitement." (male from Modena, n.a.)

Ecstasy as a "social lubricant"

One of the qualities most often associated with ecstasy is its effects on social intimacy. Many studies highlight the importance of this drug in achieving a higher emotional sensitivity, which helps individuals to overcome personal shyness (Saunders 1995, Capdevila 1995). This social or psychological function of the drugs not sought exclusively by young people. Across the whole sample, 60% agreed with the motive "to get on better with others". In Manchester clearly more respondents agreed (74%). In Utrecht, Palma and Coimbra agreement was somewhat higher than the European average. In Berlin, Vienna and Modena this motive is obviously less important.

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[10] These findings underline the results of the IREFREA Study *Characteristics and social representation of ecstasy in Europe: "Escape from reality"* was less important in Utrecht and Coimbra (p. 65).

Figure 1.5: TAKING ECSTASY TO GET ON BETTER WITH OTHERS
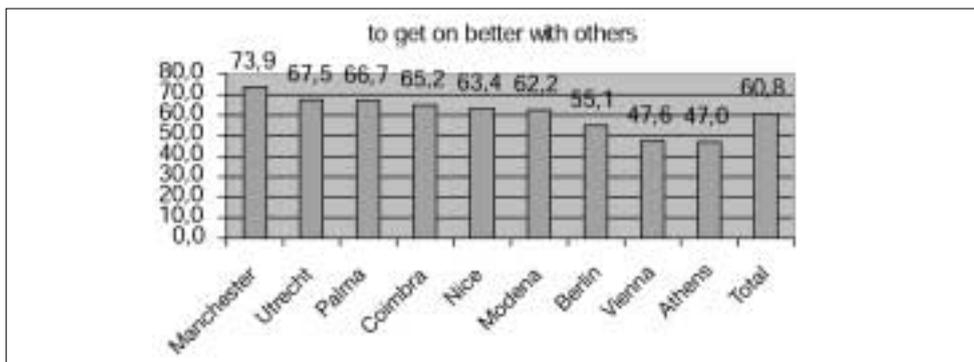
In the focus groups this motivation was mentioned more often by ecstasy users, possibly as a justification for consumption:

"It's quite true that with drugs you think more clearly or, at least in my own experience, that they open up certain limits for you. (...) When I refer to it opening up your mind, I am referring to ecstasy and LSD." (male from Palma, 20 years)

", At parties where I took an ecstasy pill, I was able to experience the party and have conversation more intensely. I wouldn't have, if I had been on *strychnine*. *Ecstasy* makes you hyper; you feel great, you communicate more easily, you are more alert, it flies in your head." (male from Nice, 22 years)

"I am so used to it by now I cannot described the difference between going out 'straight', but perhaps one is more outgoing, perhaps more open and then it is fun to meet with other people who are in the same state." (female from Vienna, 20 years)

This is a very "social" motive. Ecstasy is believed to increase one's understanding of others, to make one more sensitive to others' feelings and to improve communication. We will find this "social grease" function (Bohrn, 1998).

Improving sex

On a European level not even half of all respondents agreed with "*for better sex*" (42%) as a motivation for ecstasy use. In Berlin agreement was a little bit higher than the average at 58%. In Manchester and Vienna also respondents agreed more frequently than in the other countries. This motivation was less important in Modena and Palma.

Obviously, this motive is less important than the others mentioned. But we need to be aware of "social desirability": It may be more acceptable to take ecstasy for greater understanding of other people's feelings (positive social motive) or to enjoy dancing (positive personal motive) than to "just" have better sex. And for some respondents the expression "better sex" may imply that actually their sexual aptitudes are less than satisfying - which may be difficult to admit.

Figure 1.6: TAKING ECSTASY FOR BETTER SEX
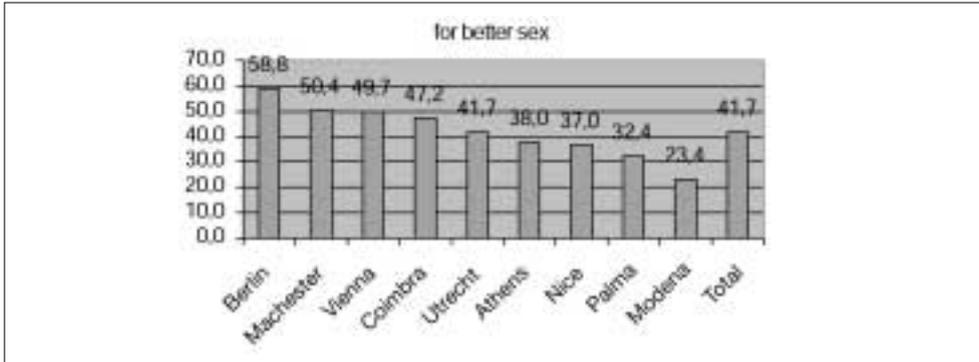
Relaxing with Ecstasy

On a European level the importance of using ecstasy "*to relax*" somewhat minimal, with only 37% agreement.

Figure 1.7: TAKING ECSTASY TO RELAX
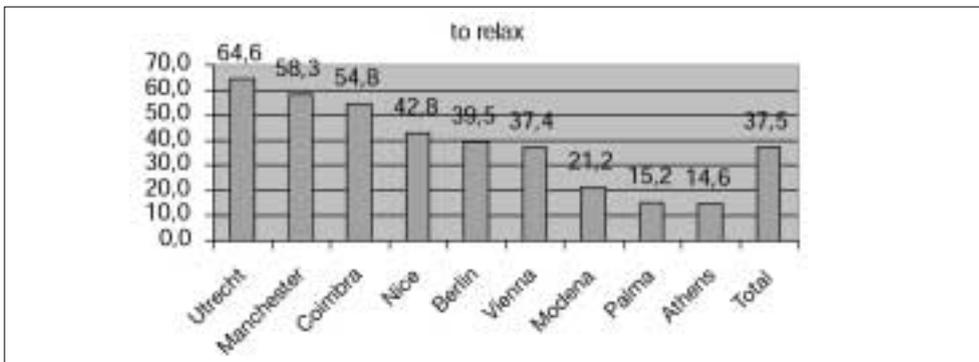
In this context, it is interesting to see the differences in expectations (or experience) between cities. While in Utrecht a majority of respondents - almost 65% – selected this as a motive and in Manchester and Coimbra higher importance was also attributed to this motive, it seemed to be rather insignificant in Palma, Athens and Modena.

One possible explanation for these differences could be the social environment where ecstasy use takes place. If consumption is linked to being with friends (maybe in an apartment), "*to relax*" will be more important than when consumed at a big 'nightlife' event where enjoying music and dancing will prevail. If this hypothesis is checked against data from the SONAR 98 survey, it can be seen that indeed the percentage of respondents who indicated that they used ecstasy "at home" or "at a

friend's home" was relatively high in Manchester, Utrecht and Coimbra (only high percentage for "friend's home" not for "own home" as a large part of respondents lived with their relatives.). However, this difference between cities may also be explained through the fact that the meaning of ' to relax' has different connotations in diverse cultural settings and in distinct languages.

Place of consumption appears to be linked with perception of drug effects, but it is not of course the only factor. For instance, in Athens the percentage of consumption in one's own home is high, and in Modena and Nice a most ecstasy consumption takes place at "a friend's home". On the other hand, motives considered as "indicators" for "problematic drug use" ("to escape from reality", "to feel okay") are also mentioned by a great number of respondents (in Athens, Modena, Palma and Nice). These two kind of motivations – and here we should be aware of the fact that this question was answered by ecstasy users as well as by non-users – seem to determine social attributions for ecstasy use.

The results of the questionnaire survey also show evidence of cultural differences between motives for ecstasy consumption. Even if coherent differences are not identified between "northern" and "southern" countries, some motives seem to be more important in some cities than in others. For example, "*to escape from reality*" is less important in Coimbra and Utrecht than in the other participating cities. In this case too it care should be taken to take into account the different connotations that this expression may have in the cities participating in this study. Other studies also reveal differences in attributions about drug use.[11]

Differences between ecstasy users and "non–users"

Before analysing differences between "ecstasy users" and "non users", it is necessary to take a look at the proportions of the two groups in the different country samples: While the proportion of persons who consume ecstasy recreationally (= not more than 1 time a week) in all countries is large enough for a statistical analysis, statistical results cannot be provided for the group of users who consume ecstasy several times per week. Due to the very low proportion of "regular users" in the country samples it is more useful to compare only "users" and "non-users" globally and not to differentiate further by frequency of consumption. The responses of the "regular users", consuming ecstasy several times per week, can then serve as a rough reference.

In most of the cities small differences were found between users and non-users. This was the case in Palma, Manchester, Vienna, Berlin, Athens and Nice. In Palma as well as in Vienna only minimal differences between users and non-users appeared in motives

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[11] See for example: Tossmann, Boldt & Tensil: *Drug affinity amongst youths within the Techno party scene in European metropolises* SPI-Forschung, Berlin, 2000. Cocaine is more common in Madrid and opiates in Vienna and Prague (p. 47 - 51).

for ecstasy consumption. These differences ranged within a maximal 5%, and therefore can be neglected.

Figure 1.8: PROPORTION OF USERS AND NON-USERS PER CITY
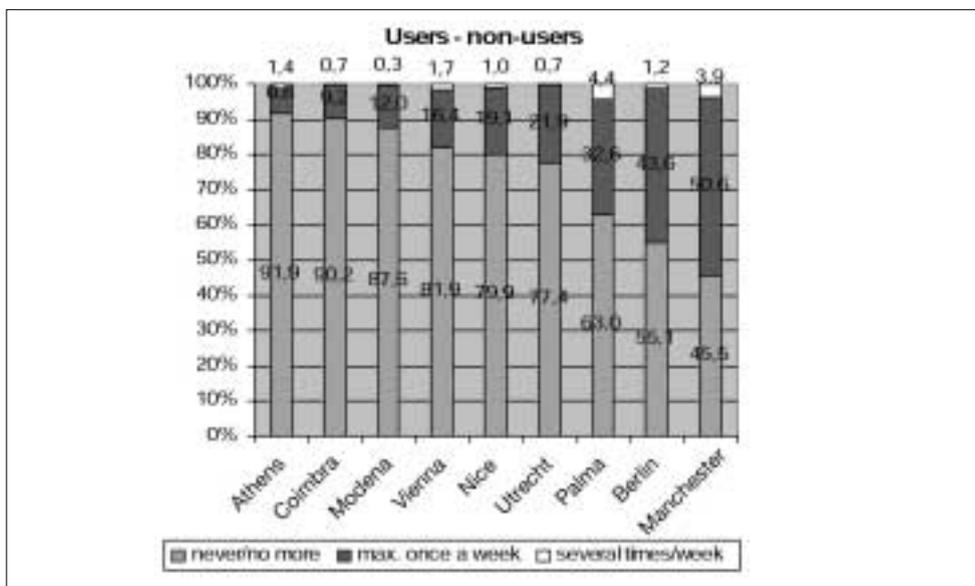
In Manchester users and non-users differed in their agreement with two possible motives for ecstasy use : "*to relax*" was chosen by 48% of non-users, but 60% of the occasional consumers, and 71% of regular users; "*for better sex*" was cited by 41% of the non-users, around 50% of users, and 60% of regular users. Compared with other countries, the proportion of "users" was rather high in the English sample and this high presence of users in the nightlife environment might have influenced the attributions of "non-users".

We should remember here that compared to other cities, the importance of "*for better sex*" and "*to relax*" was above the European average in Manchester, which might be due to the higher proportion of users. Nevertheless, we must be careful with over-simplified explanations because in the Spanish sample the proportion of users was also higherand here these two motives did not reach a greater importance than the European average.

In Berlin users selected the motive "*for better sex*" most often, with 65% of 'positive' answers. The agreement was even more pronounced here than within the group of English users (against 51% of German non-users). "*To escape from reality*" was chosen much more frequently by non-users: 73% of the non-users, but only 52% of the occasional users selected this motive. This motive has a somewhat negative

meaning, it may be equated with an inability to control one's own life. It is for this reason, perhaps, that it is mentioned more frequently by non-users in almost all country samples.

In Utrecht non-users agree more frequently with the motive "*to escape from reality*" than users do (73% to 49%). The response pattern is nearly the same with "*get on better with others*" (70% to 60%). "*To relax*", "*to stimulate the senses*" and "*for fun*" are selected more often by users (non-users - users: 65% - 75%; 68% - 78%; 87% - 100%). Again "*to escape from reality*" is clearly chosen more frequently by non-users: with 79% to 48% the difference is significantly greater than in the other national samples. Moreover, the motives "*to feel OK*" and "*to get on better with others*" are selected more frequently by non-users than by users (58% - 45%; 65% - 57%).

In the Nice sample too, "*to relax*" is a motive more frequently for the users-group (41% - 52%). In Athens the largest difference in agreement for the "*to enjoy dancing*" motive was found, for which in all the other countries there was no notable difference between users and non-users. In Athens 80% of the non-users, but all users agreed with this motive. Not even one single user chose "*to relax*", and also only 15% of the non-users did so, in contrast with other countries. As in some other country samples "*to escape from reality*" was clearly a motive mentioned by non-users. Only 18% of the users selected this item, but 68% of the non-users did so. "*For better sex*" was also chosen more frequently by non-users (41%) than users (29%).

In Modena also the evidence suggested that non-users more often thought that ecstasy consumption is motivated by the wish to escape from reality. 85% of non-users, but only 61% of users agreed with the item "*to escape from reality*". On the other hand, "*to enjoy dancing*", "*to get on better with others*" and "*to feel okay*" were mentioned more frequently by users (81% - 60%; 73% - 61%; 58% - 45% respectively).

On the whole, users mentioned more motives for ecstasy consumption than non-users, which may (also) serve as justification for their own consuming behaviour. A closer look at the differences between users and non-users demonstrates that for users motives related to recreational drug use were more important ("*stimulate senses*", "*relax*", "*enjoy dancing*"), while non-users emphasised "problematic" motives most frequently("*to escape from reality*"). Users seemed to justify their consumption by underlining the positive effects of ecstasy, while non-users probably emphasised negative/ problematic motives to reinforce their decision to not take the drug.

Similar results were reported in the IREFREA study "*Characteristics and social representation of ecstasy in Europe*", where the motive "*to escape from reality*" was also chosen by more non-consumers than consumers. The largest differences were found in Utrecht and Coimbra with differences between users and non-users ranging between 12% and 16%.[12]

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[12] IREFREA: *Characteristics and social representation of ecstasy in Europe*. Palma de Mallora, 1998. p. 65-66.

Further qualitative research on "individual explanations" for one's own drug consumption may be interesting, as it could show different patterns of expectations and experiences (e.g. "*for more fun*" – recreational use; "*to forget about problems*", "*use as coping strategy*"; "*use as a group norm*"). Explanations from non-users should also be paid further attention.

Despite different patterns of personal experiences and attributions, differences between users and non-users could also be related to the proportion of users in the interviewed population: If there are more ecstasy users, non-users may also have "experiences" of the effects of ecstasy consumption, because they are able to observe them more easily. This assumption is correct for Manchester and Palma, but not for Berlin, where the proportion of users is also relatively high in the sample, but where nevertheless the agreement with the different motives differs quite strongly between users and non-users.

3. SOME IDEAS ABOUT MOTIVES FOR CONSUMPTION OF OTHER ILLICIT DRUGS

Citations from the focus groups may be useful for explaining assumptions and expectations as well as experiences of drug use. In the focus groups of the SONAR 99 survey, one of the topics was attitudes about the consumption of different drugs. Even a few citations from the focus groups will show that qualitative data can be illuminating in explaining assumptions and expectations as well as experiences of drug use.

In considering motives, it is acknowledged that motives for taking "other drugs" like cannabis, cocaine, LSD or acids do not differ essentially from the reasons why individuals use ecstasy. On the one hand, there are hedonistic motives like "*having fun*" or "*to relax*", on the other hand more problematic motives like "*to escape from reality*". Another reason for drug use mentioned in the focus groups was "*social pressure*".

Generally, in the focus groups differentiated opinions about the effects of different drugs were pronounced. The effect of cannabis was described as rather calming ("*to relax*"), cocaine as stimulating. For synthetic drugs the hallucinogenic effect was underlined.

> "Anyway drugs have different effects, it depends on what you take, its quality and your frame of mind. Some of them like heroin have nothing to do with fun, at most can be used afterwards, to make you feel better when the effects of other drugs are over. Those which make you have fun are acid, pills, cocaine, I mean those which can give you the right charge, and make you open yourself to the world." (male from Modena, 19 years,)

Also the fact that the consumption of a given substance can be motivated by different expectations, was mentioned:

"I see that as the search for an opportunity to express oneself, to communicate, to be more quickly, more easily, in a joyful state that enables you to live it up. Personally I see several aspects to the consumption of dope: it can be a way of having a great time, of entering some game that changes your usual context, with people belonging to different backgrounds. It can be festive but also spiritual: you can consume during a party to be like other people, or to be yourself on a personal 'trip' with others to reach certain goals; for me it will be working the visual. You can also take substances because you're tired, to carry on partying with the others." (male from Nice, 21 years)

For having fun, for seeking pleasure; enjoying music and dancing

In the qualitative part of the study, all drugs except heroin were associated with the idea of "*having fun*":

"All these, alcohol, hash, grass, cocaine, heroin, acid and tablets, are associated with forms of well-being. " (male from Coimbra, 41 years)

 "Finally, the cannabis or LSD users stressed that they were seeking pleasure through using these substances." (Comment from Athens report)

In this context, alcohol also played an important role - it was seen as stimulating drug, which was only partly combined with "illegal" drugs:

"I enjoy myself enormously with a trip (acid)... I have as much fun with alcohol as trips." (male from Coimbra, 23 years,)

|With regard to heroin, at several points in the discussion respondents referred to the possibility of dependency, which destroys body and soul.

"I don't think heroin has anything to do with fun. I think is highly addictive drug for those who can't take it without becoming estranged from the world." (female from Modena, 24 years)

If a closer look is taken at the opinions expressed in the focus groups, we find different aspects of the concept of "having fun" that are often strongly linked with music:

On the one hand, the influence of drugs on how one feels and *experiences the music* (especially electronic music) was mentioned. Here it is interesting that ecstasy seemed not to be the only drug associated with a better "*understanding and stronger feeling of music*", since in the focus groups some participants referred to drugs in general in speaking about a better feeling for music:

"However, I think that in the trance scene a percentage (that I cannot define), of young people use drugs to perceive the music." (male from Athens, 24 years)

"I think that among young users, some of them believe that they use drugs in order to have a special experience with music." (male from Athens, 20 years)

"If I've taken something then obviously the music and the atmosphere and the people around you seem so much better." (male from Liverpool, 18 years)

The fact that drugs enhance understanding of music is mentioned both by users and non-users; for ecstasy, "*for fun*" and "*to enjoy the music*" were little more important for

users than for non-users. For the whole sample in the questionnaire survey the two main reasons for ecstasy consumption were "*for fun*" and "*to enjoy the music*".

As a second aspect of the concept of "*having fun*" the stimulating effect of some kinds of drugs were discussed under context that "*they give you energy*":

"(...) by using drugs you become more energetic during big parties." (female, 22 years, Athens)

"Pills, speed and trips make you enjoy to the maximum what is around you. You give your 101%." (female from Modena, 22 years)

"Other drugs like ecstasy excite you, they allow you to focusf all your energies, to see the world in a more open-minded way, to demolish the wall. I think that cocaine gives the same effects." (male from Modena,)

As for "*feeling the music more intensely*" the stimulating effect is not attributed to one single kind of drug, but - at least - to ecstasy, amphetamines and cocaine.

Even if there seems to be some differentiation between expectations attributed to different drugs, respondents thought that the same effect could be achieved through different means.

Experience yourself, new experience; stimulate senses

Another group of motives hat could be isolated in the focus group discussions can be summarised under the notion of "*having new experiences*". As for the previous concept ("*having fun*") it is possible to differentiate between different ideas :

First of all, the global notion "*to have new experiences*" was mentioned:

"Concerning synthetic drugs, if these substances are not dangerous for your life, you could take them in order to have new experiences." (male from Athens, 24 years)

Several respondents held a more person-centred view about new experiences. For them, new experiences are not an effect that should be achieved for its own sake f but as a means of *getting to know oneself better*: In this context, drugs help one to do things or to experience emotions that one would never have known without drug consumption:

"It's as if, when someone has new experiences (...) a person expands." (female from Coimbra, 18 years)

"It's just doing what you never do, normally you live within limits and there you lose this limits, it is just having fun." (female from Palma, 22 years)

"LSD helps you to perceive reality in a different way, since you are able to discover unknown aspects of yourself." (male from Athens, 20 years)

A third motive closely linked to the desire for having new experiences is a more intensive "*stimulation of thesenses*":

"Other people ook for sensations with drugs or alcohol." (female from Palma, 17 years)

"Good drugs amplify your senses, especially your touch. Perhaps this is the reason for considering it the 'love drug': you want to touch and be touched. You feel at peace with

the world, with nature, with your body and so while you are dancing with people you have never seen you want to kiss them." (female from Modena, 24 years)

"All the interviewees who have used cannabis believe that the substance is very stimulating." (Comment from Athens report)

As in the quantitative study, the motive "*for better sex*" played a less important role in the qualitative section and was mentioned only once in the focus group reports:

"Moreover, a young man from the trance scene and another one from the rock scene mentioned that LSD and cocaine are aphrodisiac substances." (Comment from Athens report)

Communicate better with others, no social barriers

The motive "*better communication*" may describe a third set of expectations linked to drug use. Similar to the questionnaire data, the important role of drugs to "enable communication" wass discussed in the focus groups:

"Drugs produce euphoria, you are capable of doing anything, of talking on any subject.People who are unable to talk about their problems can do so when they take something and this liberates them." (female from Palma, 22 years)

"Through drug use social prohibitions do not seem so strict. Therefore young people use drugs to have better communication." (Athens report)

"By using drugs people become more spontaneous and open with each other. If you walk around at a party, you notice that everybody is talking to each other. You can easily talk to people you have never seen before. (female from Utrecht, 21 years)

Similar views were held about alcohol, which was also seen as disinhibiting:

"Drugs, alcohol... all have a certain... disinhibiting effect... pleasure, seduction... as if we were more... more open, more confident, less aware of responsibility. Everything is much easier..." (male from Coimbra, 41 years)

In the European sample, the motive "*to get on better with others*" was one of the least important reasons for ecstasy consumption, but it was nevertheless mentioned by two thirds of the respondents. The desire for better communication may be seen as a link between hedonistic motives and drug consumption, a kind of coping strategy for personal problems. Young people may experience certain difficulties in talking about their problems in their social environment (family, school, working place) and use drugs in order to feel more self-confident and to be able to communicate or behave more spontaneously within their peer group. This motivation for drug consumption would be consistent with the findings of a recent student survey carried out in three provinces of Austria, where licit (alcohol, tobacco) as well as illicit drugs were identified as a kind of "social lubricant" for young people (Bohrn 1999). Through preventing drug use by improving communication skills and providing the settings and opportunities for communication, this motive for drug use may become less important.

Escape from routine and reality, to feel okay

In contrast to the "hedonistic" and "positive" motives, "*to escape from reality*" and "*to feel okay*" have a more negative meaning. Here the drugs are no longer a kind of stimulant that facilitate more fun, but are consumed in order to cope with difficulties in one's life. One solution to individual problems is "*just to go into another reality*": However, this escape should not be interpreted from a purely negative perspective., It can also have a more positive function as a breathing space, a change from the mundane

"The use of alcohol and cannabis helps me to escape from the daily routine and as a consequence I feel better." (male from Athens, 34 years)

„Only drugs can make you live in other worlds, and let you be yourself, because only with drugs can you really have fun. You are free from worries and obligations." (male from Modena, 19 years)

"With LSD, you cut yourself off from reality. Y find yourself more quickly on another planet." (male from Nice, 23 years)

Nevertheless, drugs are also seen as a remedy for psychological problems like shyness or complexes. In the focus groups, all drugs mentioned were expected to make you "*feel better*":

Ecstasy; cocaine: "To enjoy myself I've got to throw everything behind me and drugs can help you also to increase your sense of self-confidence. When you are high you feel different, stronger, safer, more free, almost immortal. You feel as though you are a part of a universal world. I mean more tuned in with others. I'm talking about drugs like ecstasy. But others like cocaine give the same effects." (female from Modena, 24 years)

Cannabis: "Joints are the only drug which make me feel good, it's the one that brings you closest to yourself: if you are a piece of bread then you are even more so. it doesn't increase your ego, it only intensifies your qualities." (male from Palma, 21 years)

Pills – "Sometimes they take pills, just to feel a bit better (...)" (female from Modena, 24 years)

"You take drugs to feel high, safe, without limits. Drugs help you feel stronger in your loneliness, in group situations, with girls. You feel less shy and you don't feel tired." (male from Modena, 23 years)

In this context, it should be pointed out that results from quantitative research (SONAR 98) showed that "negative motives" tended to be chosen more often by non-users than users.

Pressure of social environment, "drugs are fashionable"

One aspect of drug use that was not included in the quantitative study, was mentioned in almost all focus groups: The pressure of the social (peer-group) environment.

"Drug use is considered as a fashionable behaviour and for that reason some young people consume drugs during their free time." (female from Athens, 25 years,)

"Most of them take drugs only because of the pressure of their social group and not because it is such great fun." (female from Vienna, 20 years,)

"People do associate clubs with ecstasy, they are pressured into taking ecstasy." (female from Liverpool, 19 years,)

"Depending on the scene where you are, you take (substances) of one sort or another." (male from Palma, 21 years,)

"The social group plays an important part: it's sociable, to do the same as everybody else, to be integrated in the group. There are places for taking drugs: I won't take acid to go and have a drink in a pub. You have to consider the circumstances: if I am with many friends in a private party where there's no taboo; where I can be myself and take some top stuff, why not?" (male from Nice, 22 years,)

Influence of friends and social pressure have been considered as important factors for drug use, and therefore have served as the basis for "peer education" approaches in prevention activities. This concept serves as theoretic framework for a lot of preventive activities, but – when evaluated - the results have not always been very convincing.[13]

The fact that young people themselves emphasize the influence of their social group on their personal drug consumption behaviour can be seen to support peer group education. In planning prevention activities, we should be aware of addressing the 'right' group of people, in the 'right' places. These kinds of prevention activities should be targeted not (only) at youngsters who, for example, attend the same school or class: prevention will be much more effective if it addresses youngsters going out together in the evenings, since social influence on drug consumption will be much stronger during nightlife than in 'normal life'.

Addiction and breaking the rules of society

Two aspects that appear to be less important are "*dependency*" and "*breaking the rules of society*":

"I think that when one is grown up one changes, and the people who continue to take drugs at my age - at 28 years of age - do so because they are hooked, and they don't do it to enjoy themselves, but out of necessity." (male from Palma, 28 years)

It may be that the risk of becoming addicted to certain kinds of drugs is minimised by young people, in order to justify their own drug consumption. It is likely that the dangers are perceived very differently between different drugs. Heroin is considered as much more dangerous than cannabis or ecstasy. Attitudes towards addiction should be paid scrutinised within research about risk behaviour because this important aspect seems to be underestimated by young people.

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[13] An evaluative study using a more systematic approach to peer group involvement in school-based drug prevention activities is currently being carried out in Vienna by the author. The framework of stakeholder involvement in drug prevention will be studied in the project "European Healthy Schools and Drugs (EHSD)", co-ordinated by the TRIMBOS Institute, Utrecht.

"[...] the possibility of doing something that society does not allow." (female from Nice, 25 years)

Doing something prohibited by society (and/or parents) is mentioned just once in the focus groups, so we can conclude that this motive has nearly no importance. Nevertheless, further research on this topic could reveal cultural differences, for instance, between the Netherlands and countries with a more restrictive drug policy.

4. CONCLUSIONS

So far we have introduced a European overview that informs us about the use of drugs within recreational life. We have drawn in particular upon ecstasy use since this is the substance that typifies the last decade.. Data from quantitative research as well as information from focus groups show that young people attribute a wide range of expectations and experiences to drug consumption and that their opinions are very differentiated. They perceive, on the one hand, positive, hedonistic motives such as "*to enjoy music*" and "*to have fun*", as well as the desire for better understanding of others. On the other hand, 'problematic' motives' like "*to cope with problems*" or "*to escape from reality*" are important, but these motives are more often mentioned by non-users than by users.

As a third set of motives, '*social pressure*' and '*fashion*' seem to have some influence on young people's behaviour and should be further investigated.

In the next chapter some of these aspects will be explored in greater detail in an attempt to link drug use and social dynamics, and to investigate the influence of personal expectations on drug use, and on mental representations of the (positive and negative) effects of the use of different drugs ('functions of drug use'). Such an analysis may help to improve our understanding of risk and benefit evaluation.

2. SUBSTANCE USE & MISUSE
Relationships with Socio-demographic Variables, Recreational Patterns, Sensation Seeking and social Deviation

Introduction

Preventive interventions in a broad sense, and strategies oriented to substance use prevention need to be theoretically funded and empirically based. These interventions should be built on theoretical models that can explain processes that lead individuals to substance use and misuse, and they should be validated also through empirical studies. In this field, any attribute (individual, situational or environmental) that increases / decreases respectively the probability of substance use or misuse is defined as a "risk / protective factor". Knowledge and understanding of the risk / protective factors associated with substance use / misuse would benefit substantially the design and implementation of interventions relating to substance prevention and education. Once these risk / protective factors are identified, and the effects of interactions between them understood, prevention and education interventions could be designed with greater specificity and more cost effectively. In the last ten years considerable effort has been made to develop and adapt these models for substance use / misuse and to validate them empirically, although the majority of these efforts have been conducted in the USA (Becoña, 1999).

There is a growing amount of research regarding factors that can lead to substance use / misuse and the variables that appear to protect against substance use / misuse. This empirical evidence has been reviewed systematically over the last ten years, providing a substantial knowledge base on risk / protective factors for substance use and relevant guidelines for further research. One of the main reviews of this decade (Clayton, 1992) considered the following risk factors for substance use: economic problems; parental substance abuse; physical / emotional and sexual abuse; homelessness; school failure / truancy; implication in socially deviant behaviours (violence, delinquency); mental health problems and suicide attempts. Hawkins et al. (1992) classified risk factors for substance use into four main groups: genetic (family substance use), constitutional (early substance use, chronic pain / illness, physiological factors), psychological (mental health problems, emotional / sexual / physical abuse) and socio-cultural (family attributes, peer factors, school adaptation and community attributes). Similarly, Patterson et al. (1992) classified these risk factors into four groups: Community factors (social and economic deprivation, lack of bond with the community and lack of community structure, geographic mobility, substance availability), family factors

(family alcoholism, ineffective parenting styles, parental substance use and positive attitudes towards substance use), school factors (early social deviance, school failure, lack of commitment) and individual factors (rebelliousness / alienation, antisocial behaviour during early adolescence, peer substance use, favourable attitudes for substance use and early initiation for substance use). More recently, Pollard, Catalano, Hawkins and Arthur (1997) reviewed risk and protective factors and classified them into four domains: community, school, family and peer group. Moncada (1997) reviewed those risk factors identified as the most significant for substance use prevention, classifying near 20 main risk factors into two groups: environmental factors and individual factors and relationships with the environment. Muñoz (1998) classifies a large number of risk factors into three groups: environmental factors, individual factors (genetic, biological - developmental and psychological) and socialization factors. Very recently, in a detailed review of 359 American and European studies on risk factors for illicit substance use supported by the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (Rhodes, Lilly, Fernández et al., 1999), the authors identify a similar set of risk factors, classifying them into three groups: intrapersonal, micro-environmental and macro-environmental.

Therefore, state of the art research on substance use & misuse suggests that there are several individual and environmental characteristics that can be considered to be risk and protective factors, which could predict to some extent substance use in different samples. Nevertheless, scientific knowledge of risk protective factors for substance use should be actualised, by means of studies designed to validate and review this knowledge across different samples, situations and environments. We need to understand the interactions between risk / protective factors in a specific situation or environment, in order to design and implement situation-specific interventions.

One of the limitations of this study and observed in the aforementioned reviews is the paucity of research at the European level regarding risk and protective factors for substance use. In Europe, the majority of studies designed to study the factors and processes that lead to substance use and misuse have been conducted at the national level. Few studies have been conducted that involve several countries. Specifically, this lack of scientific knowledge on risk factors at the European level relates to one of the environmental factors most strongly associated with substance use: night-time recreational activities, or 'nightlife' carried out during life. In a recent study (Calafat, Bohrn, Juan et al., 1999), IREFREA showed that prevalence of substance use among people recruited in recreational settings across nine European cities was higher than in the general population, suggesting that some nightlife scenes are strongly associated with high levels of substance use. Furthermore, recreational nightlife settings constitute "per se" high-risk situations for substance use. Therefore, further research specifically designed to investigate the processes that can lead to initiation and problem substance use in situations and environments associated with night-time recreation.

Another limitation of European-based research on risk / protective factors for substance use is the absence of studies focusing factors associated with "problem"

substance use. The great majority of these studies are designed to identify factors associated with substance use, but not to identify factors useful to predict substance abuse or misuse.

The aim of this chapter is to explore factors associated with substance use & misuse among European youth recruited in nightlife settings. Due to the nature of the data used for this study, the aim is to make a preliminary study of the relationships between substance use / misuse and some individual characteristics, including nightlife routines. Data used in this study were obtained from the SONAR '98 project, and therefore the conclusions in this study have substantial limitations as a result of this sort of retrospective data analysis This report describes the nature and distribution of some of the indicators of substance use and misuse among young Europeans, studying the relationships between these indicators and sociodemographics, recreational lifestyles and some subjective variables explored by IREFREA in previous European studies.

The specific objectives of the present chapter are:

1. To describe distributions of several indicators of substance use / misuse across the whole sample,

    a. Analysing their interrelationships, and

    b.a. Identifying specific dimensions and levels of substance use / misuse.

2.1. To study relationships between these levels of substance use / misuse and socio-demographic / historic variables, patterns of recreational nightlife and two subjective variables: sensation-seeking and social deviation.

3.1. To describe different subgroups of individuals regarding their levels of substance use / misuse, and to explore predictive capability of variables mentioned above.

2. MATERIAL AND METHOD

This section describes the sample used for the study, variables included in the analysis and statistical procedures applied to reach the objectives outlined. Further details on sampling and interview methods used to obtain data can be found elsewhere (Calafat et al., 1999).

The sample

The sample size is N = 2670, representing nearly 3000 young people from nine European cities. More than half or them are male (57,5%), the majority are single, have completed secondary or university studies and are studying, working or working and studying. Mean age is 22,4 years (standard deviation is 4,8 years). The majority come from families with average or above-average economic status.

Table number 2.1: DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

SAMPLE DESCRIPTION	(N = 2670)			
COUNTRY	**N**	**%**		
Vienna	299	11,2		
Manchester	287	10,7		
Nice	300	11,2		
Berlin	249	9,3		
Athens	305	11,4		
Utrecht	306	11,5		
Modena	299	11,2		
Coimbra	305	11,4		
Palma de Mallorca	320	12		
TOTAL	2670	100		
GENDER	**N**	**%**		
Male	1536	57,6		
Female	1130	42,4		
AGE	**MEAN**	**S.D.**	**MAX.**	**MIN.**
	22,4	4,8	50	14
MARITAL STATUS	**N**	**%**		
Single	2289	86		
Married / partner	327	12		
Div. / Sep. /Widow(er)	56	2		
STUDIES	**N**	**%**		
Primary	218	8,3		
Secondary	1116	42,4		
College / University	1300	49,4		
OCCUPATION	**N**	**%**		
Studying	839	31,5		
Working	1132	42,4		
Studying & Working	515	19,3		
Unemployed	79	3		
Other	101	3,8		
FAMILY STATUS	**N**	**%**		
High / Medium High	839	31,5		
Medium	1404	52,7		
Medium - Low / Low	419	15,7		

Variables studied

A significant limitation of this study is that the set of variables used as indicators of substance use / misuse provides an incomplete operational definition of substance abuse / misuse, because this is a post-hoc exploitation of available data. A key feature of substance abuse / misuse is a non-adaptive substance use pattern, characterized by

significant and repeated adverse consequences associated with recurrent substance use. These adverse consequences include intoxication, legal problems (eg. being fined or detained as the result of driving under the effects of any substance), social and interpersonal problems (physical or verbal violence, problems with sexual partner, etc.), non-compliance with important obligations, repeated substance use after any problem associated with this substance use, use of substances in dangerous situations (eg while driving), and, in a general sense, all adverse consequences derived from repeated substance use.

From 50 variables included in the interview used for data collection in SONAR '98, thirteen were selected as behavioural indicators of substance use / misuse:

- Seven of these variables are frequencies of use of two legal substances (alcohol and tobacco) and the five illicit substances most commonly used by the whole sample (cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine, LSD and amphetamines). Frequency of use of each of these seven substances were recorded on an eight-point Liket scale (from 'never' up to 'daily use'). These variables are included as indicators of "repeated substance use", which can be associated with any of the mentioned adverse consequences of substance use.

A further six variables were used as indicators of substance abuse / misuse:

- Frequency of drunkenness during the last month (intoxication), driving under the influence of alcohol, and having any legal or health problem (being fined, detained or involved in a car accident) under the influence of alcohol (as three indicators of "alcohol abuse / misuse").

- Continuing substance use after having problems with it, having driven under the influence of drugs other than alcohol (as two indicators of "problem substance use"), and having received any warning of substance misuse from friends / relatives (as an indicator of "substance abuse / misuse").

Drunkenness over the last month was recorded on a -six-point Liket scale (from 'never' up to 'daily alcohol abuse'), and the last five variables were recorded as dichotomised responses (yes / no).

Therefore, although this study was not designed to assess substance abuse and misuse systematically, these thirteen variables provide us with substantial information concerning substance abuse / misuse behaviours.

As specified in the third objective of this study, several socio-demographic, historical, behavioural and subjective variables were selected as individual characteristics potentially associated with substance use / misuse ("risk factors"). These variables were classified into the following sub-sets:

Some socio-demographic and historic variables: age, gender, marital status, academic qualifications, self-evaluation as a student, occupation, family socio-economic status, housing, perceived family control over 'going out' routines, and age of

onset for the more commonly used substances (alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine, LSD and amphetamines).

Some behavioural and subjective variables describing 'going out'1 habits and preferences: frequency of visits to various kinds of recreational venue (bars, discos, pubs, coffee shops, clubs, 'after hours venues, parties ("raves") and "other recreational places"), frequency of 'going out' at weekends per month, number of evenings 'going out' per week, patterns of 'going out' on weekdays, average duration of a 'going out' session, importance attributed to several motivating factors in 'going out' and in selecting recreational venues, relative frequency of friends who go out very often, average number of recreational venues visited in one 'going out' session and usually doing long displacements in a going out session.

Social deviation and sensation-seeking traits: four items associated with antisocial behaviour and values and three items extracted from a sensation-seeking scale, all of which are scored on a six-point Liket scale.

METHODOLOGY

Several statistical analyses were carried out in order to meet the objectives of the study:

1. Distributions of the thirteen indicators of substance use / misuse were described by showing frequencies and percentages observed for these variables. The interrelationships between these parameters were explored by using their correlation coefficients. Due to the nature of the data (measured using ordinal scales) and non-normal distributions of these variables, a non-parametric coefficient was used (Spearman rho). These correlation coefficients and their statistical significance provide us with a measure of association between two specific variables.

2. An exploratory factor analysis (a principal component method with Varimax rotation) was used to identify specific dimensions among these thirteen substance use / misuse indicators. The factors identified provide us with empirical support for using particular sets of variables rather than the whole set of thirteen indicators of substance use / misuse.

3. Once these dimensions were identified by factor analysis, scores for these dimensions were computed for each individual, by adding up the scores of each item included in them. Next, individuals were classified in three levels (low, medium and high) for each dimension, using some Quick Cluster analysis when appropriate. A cluster analysis allows us to identify particular sets of individuals with similarities with regard to variables included in the analysis.

4.1. Several analyses were used to explore and describe the interrelationships between different levels of substance use / misuse and individual characteristics (socio-

demographic, behavioural and subjective variables): Crosstabs with Chi-square statistics and analyses of variance. The first analyses were used to explore associations between categorical variables, and the latter were used to explore differences between levels of substance use / misuse on continuous variables. In all cases, a significance level of .05 (bilateral) was used for these statistical tests.

5.1. Finally, Logistic Regression procedures, and Discriminant analyses were used to explore the predictive capability of studied variables on substance use and misuse. A Logistic Regression procedure is suitable for predicting a categorical variable by using also categorical variables as "predictors". When predictors are some continuous variables, a Discriminant analysis is more suitable.

All these statistics were calculated using a SPSS for Windows statistical package.

3. RESULTS

The first objective of the study is to know the distribution of each variable indicating substance use / misuse among our sample. Table number 2.2 shows distributions of the thirteen variables, and the last column illustrates the number of individuals providing valid responses for each one of these variables.

Alcohol is the legal substance most commonly used by the young people in our sample; just over half of the sample use alcohol every week, and more than half of the sample had abused alcohol one or more times during the last month. In addition , nearly half of the sample have ever driven under the influence of alcohol and one in ten individuals have had any legal problems (being fined or detained) or an accident associated with this behaviour (driving while under the influence of alcohol).

Tobacco is also commonly used by our sample, and more than half of them smoke daily.

Nearly 70% of the sample have ever used cannabis. Almost half of the sample use cannabis at least once per year and a quarter of the sample use cannabis every week. Other illicit substances such as ecstasy, cocaine, LSD and amphetamines are used less frequently, but they are used yet by a significant number of individuals. Nearly 34,4% have ever used Ecstasy , nearly 30% have ever used cocaine and nearly 25% have ever used amphetamines or LSD, providing information on the use of these substances.

More than a half of the sample have received advice from friends relatives about their substance misuse, and almost 30% have continued some substance use after having a related problem, indicating a sort or "problem substance use". Furthermore , nearly one third of the sample admit to driving under the effects of other drugs (not alcohol) at some time, and around half of the sample admit to driving under the effects of alcohol. One in ten individuals report legal problems or accidents as the result of driving under the effects of alcohol.

Table number 2. 2: DISTRIBUTION OF THE THIRTEEN SUBSTANCE USE / MISUSE PARAMETERS IN THE WHOLE SAMPLE (PERCENTAGES)

	Never	Not any more	< 12 times /year	Once a month	Several / month	Once a week	Several / week	Every day	Valid N (%)
Alcohol	3.6	4.9	4.7	5.2	11.3	19.2	42.8	8.3	2624 (98.3)
Tobacco	15.2	13.6	2.3	1.6	1.8	1.6	8.8	55	2309 (86.5)
Cannabis	32.8	17.8	10.5	4.7	7.4	5.4	11.3	10	2617 (98)
Ecstasy	65.6	10	9.5	4.8	5.3	3.1	1.4	0.3	2607 (97.6)
Cocaine	71.6	9.8	8.4	3.6	3.3	1.9	1.2	0.3	2604 (97.5)
LSD	75.5	13.2	6.8	1.6	1.4	0.7	0.5	0.2	2605 (97.6)
Amphetamines	76.4	10	6.1	1.8	2.2	1.5	0.6	0.3	2604 (97.5)
Drunkenness	39.2			18.9	17.3	10.9	12.7	1	2650 (99.3)
Drink-driving	56.6 (No)	43.4 (Yes)							2650 (99.3)
Problems resulting from drink-driving	89.5 (No)	10.5 (Yes)							2556 (95.7)
Driving under the influence of other drugs	69.8 (No)	30.2 (Yes)							2629 (98.5)
Problems resulting from drug use	70.7 (No)	29.3 (Yes)							2169 (81.2)
Advice about Abuse / Misuse	38.5 (No)	61.5 (Yes)							2580 (96.6)

Once the distributions of all variables indicating some level of substance use / misuse have been considered, the next objective is to analyse the interrelationships between these variables. These interrelationships provide us some evidence regarding the presence / absence of any dimensions or "latent" variables that indicate a sort of behavioural tendency towards substance misuse. Table number 2.3 illustrates the interrelationships between the thirteen parameters that signal substance use / misuse.

Data shown in the table indicates the following main effects:

- All the correlation coefficients are positive (although the coefficients between advice about substance misuse and variables related to alcohol abuse / misuse are very slight).

- Almost all these coefficients are statistically significant due to the size of the sample, and half of them are near or above.30, indicating substantial associations between these indicators of substance use / misuse. These findings indicate that all parameters (excluding advoice about substance misuse) tend to be positively and substantially related to each other. Therefore, licit and illicit substance use and misuse can be seen as a continuum where use / abuse of licit and illicit substances, and behavioural indicators of substance abuse / misuse can be considered as manifestations of a common behavioural dimension.

- Also, several correlation coefficients observed in Table number 2.2 indicate convergences among some variables, and these can be interpreted easily. For instance, frequency of use of all five illicit substances included in the analysis show correlation coefficients at or around.50, providing strong evidence of a dimension related to illicit substance use.

When a factor analysis is applied to these 13 variables, we obtain a four-factor solution. Only one of these factors can be interpreted easily, because it grouped frequencies using the five illicit substances showed in Tables number 2.1 and 2.2. Nevertheless, the other 8 variables, grouped into another three factors, are difficult to interpret. Therefore, we used a rational approach to group these variables, instead of this factor solution:

- Frequencies of use of these five illicit substances were grouped as a factor named as "Illicit Substance Use".

- Variables relative to frequency of legal substance use (frequency of use of alcohol and tobacco, and frequency of drunkenness during last month) were grouped in a factor called "Legal Substance Use".

- The other five variables, concerning driving under the effects of any drug / alcohol, problems resulting from driving under the effects of alcohol, continuing "problem" substance use and advice about drug misuse were grouped into a third factor labelled "Substance Misuse / Abuse".

Computing scores on each of these three dimensions made a further step. Adding scores on all variables included in them calculated these scores. Therefore, a higher score indicates higher Illicit / Licit Substance Use and Substance Misuse / Abuse respectively.

Correlations between these three factors showed significant (at.01 level, 2-tailed) but moderate values ranging from 0.34 to 0.46, indicating that these are associated but relatively independent measures of substance use / misuse across our sample. In other words, Licit Substance Use, Illicit Substance Use and Substance Misuse / Abuse appear to be three domains substantially associated with each other.

Table number 2.3: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THIRTEEN INDICATORS OF SUBSTANCE USE / ABUSE (SPEARMAN'S RHO CORRELATION COEFFICIENT)

	Drink-driving alcohol OH	Any prob. OH	Driving under the influence of other drugs	Alcohol (freq.)	Alcohol-Abuse	Tobacco (frequency)	Drugs-problem use	Advice about Drugs/Misuse (freq.)	Cannabis (freq.)	Amphetamine (freq.)	Ecstasy (freq.)	Cocaine (freq.)	LSD (freq.)
Drink-driving		0.40**	0.48**	0.28**	0.25**	0.17**	0.13**	-0.02	0.23**	0.13**	0.21**	0.28**	0.18**
Any problem-driving - OH			0.27**	0.18**	0.23**	0.13**	0.12**	0.01	0.15**	0.11**	0.14**	0.20**	0.15**
Driving under the influence of other drugs				0.22*	0.26**	0.27**	0.24**	0.04*	0.54**	0.41**	0.50**	0.51**	0.47**
Alcohol (frequency)					0.50**	0.25**	0.13**	0.04	0.33**	0.18**	0.20**	0.22**	0.17**
Alcohol-Abuse						0.21**	0.20**	-0.01	0.36**	0.26**	0.28**	0.24**	0.28**
Tobacco (frequency)							0.17**	0.12**	0.40**	0.18**	0.25**	0.27**	0.22**
Drugs-problem use								0.10**	0.30**	0.26**	0.26**	0.27**	0.28**
Drugs-Misuse (warnings)									0.34**	0.09**	0.06**	0.05*	0.07**
Amphetamines (frequency)										0.46**	0.58**	0.53**	0.49**
Cannabis (frequency)											0.64**	0.58**	0.53**
Ecstasy (frequency)												0.66**	0.65**
Cocaine (frequency)													0.59**
LSD (frequency)													

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

In a further measurement, some statistical analyses were carried out in order to describe association between these three domains and variables selected as potential "correlates".

Substance use / misuse and socio-demographics:

Table number 2.4: ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN LEGAL SUBSTANCE USE, ILLICIT SUBSTANCE USE AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE / MISUSE WITH SOME SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES.

	Legal Substance Use		Illicit Substance Use		Subs. Abuse / Misuse	
	F	Significance	F	Significance	F	Significance
Gender	39.8	***	52.7	***	139	***[1]
Civil status	6.1	**[2]	1.3	n.s.	5.6	**[3]
Studies	0.5	n.s.	12.5	***[4]	2.3	n.s.
Self-evaluation as a student	21.3	***[5]	26.3	***[6]	26.9	***[7]
Occupation	23.2	***[8]	43.9	***[9]	36.5	***[10]
Family status	0.1	n.s.	3.2	*[11]	1.1	n.s.
Housing	10.3	***[12]	20.1	***[13]	17.8	***[14]
Family control on going out	20.5	***[15]	27.6	***[16]	11.1	***[17]

[1] Males showed significantly higher scores on the three domains of substance use / misuse than females.

[2] Individuals who were divorced / separated / widowed scored significantly higher than single or married individuals in legal substance use. Differences were more significant when compared with married than with single individuals.

[3] Individuals who were widowed / separated / divorced scored higher than individuals who were single or married / with a partner involved in substance abuse / misuse.

[4] Individuals with primary qualifications only scored higher than individuals with secondary or university qualifications. Differences were significant at the.001 levels in the both cases.

[5] Individuals self-evaluating themselves as "poor students" scored higher than individuals who considered themselves as "regular" or "good" students in legal substance use, and differences were significant at.001 levels. "Average" students also scored higher than "good" students in this dimension, and this difference was significant at the.01 level.

[6] Individuals self-evaluating themselves as "poor students" scored higher than individuals who evaluated themselves as "Average" or "good" students in illicit substance use, and differences were significant at.001 levels.

[7] Individuals self-evaluating themselves as "poor students" scored higher than the other two groups, and "average" students scored higher than "good" students in substance abuse / misuse.

[8] Students scored lower than people studying and working, working or with "other occupations" in legal substance use, and these differences were significant in all cases at the.001 levels. No other differences between groups were statistically significant

One might expect that "older" individuals differ significantly to "younger" ones in the three domains, especially in substance misuse / abuse. Age correlated positively and significantly with the three domains: substance abuse / misuse scores (.21, significant at the.01 level -2-tailed-), correlated positively but minimally with illicit substance use scores (+. 047; significant at the.05 level -2-tailed-), and with legal substance use scores (+. 1, significant at the.01 level -2-tailed-). These slight associations between age and licit / illicit substances show us that "younger" individuals use licit and illicit substances with similar frequency than "older" individuals. Association between age and substance misuse / abuse reached a higher but moderate level, suggesting that younger individuals show these behavioural indicators of substance misuse / abuse less frequently than older individuals.

Table number 2.4 shows measures of association between the three dimensions of substance use / misuse and the other eight socio-economic and historic variables included in the analyses. When differences reached statistical significance, we used

9 Students also scored lower than individuals who are studying and working, working or with "other occupations" in illicit substance use, and these differences were significant in all cases at the.001 levels. Moreover, individuals studying andworking also scored lower than individuals who are working or with other occupations in illicit substance use, and these differences were significant at the.001 level in the first case and at the.01 when compared with people with another occupations.

10 Students scored lower on substance abuse / misuse than people studying and working, working or with "other occupations". Individuals studying and working also scored lower than people working or with "other occupations".

11 Individuals from families with high or low economic status showed a somewhat higher probability of using illicit substances than individuals from a family with an average status, but no "post-hoc" significant differences were found between any pair of groups.

12 Individuals living with relatives scored lower than individuals living alone or in other accommodation (with friends, in a student residence or "other") in legal substance use, and these differences were significant at.001 levels. No difference was observed between people living with relatives or with a partner.

13 Individuals living with relatives scored lower than individuals living with a partner, alone or in another accommodation (with friends, in a student residence or "other") in illicit substance use, and these differences were significant at.001 levels. No any difference was observed between any other pair of groups.

14 Individuals living alone scored the highest, and significantly more than individuals living with relatives, a partner or in a student residence. Individuals living with friends scored the second, and significantly more than living with relatives or in a residence. Individuals living with a partner also scored higher than people living with relatives or in a residence.

15 Individuals growing up in families with no control over 'going out' scored higher than individuals from families with little or some control in legal substance use, and these differences were significant at .001 levels. The same effect was observed between individuals from families with little or some control control. No differences were observed between individuals growing up from families with "too much control" over 'going out'.

16 The same effects than in licit substances were also observed for illicit substances. Also, individuals from families with "quite control" scored lower in illicit substance use than individuals from families with "too much control".

17 People from families with none control scored higher than people from families with little or "quite" control, and the second scored higher than the last group. People from families with "quite a lot" control scored also lower than people from families with "too much" control.

analysis of variance (ANOVA) to identify significant differences between sub-groups. Footnotes clarify the nature of these differences, as well as pairs of groups statistically different in these dimensions.

1. A first glance, the table provides evidence of the strong and significant relationships existing between the three domains of substance use / misuse and the majority of the socio-demographic variables included in the analysis:

2.1. Gender is one of the socio-demographic variables most strongly associated with substance use / misuse in our sample. Males scored significantly higher than females in the three domains: Legal and Illicit substance use and substance abuse / misuse.

Occupation is the second variable most significantly associated with substance use / misuse. Students are probably using / misusing licit and illicit substances less frequently than people both studying and working, and these are using / misusing these licit and illicit substances less frequently than individuals who are working or in "other occupations".

3.1. Self-evaluation as a student is another variable strongly associated with licit and illicit substance use and misuse. A poor self-evaluation as a student corresponds with the highest frequency of licit and illicit substance use / misuse, and "averager" students are also more likely to use / misuse licit and illicit substances than people who evaluate themselves as "good students".

4.1. Level of studies completed only showed significant association with illicit substance use, and individuals with primary qualifications are probably using illicit substances more frequently than individuals with secondary or university studies.

Another set of socio-demographic variables associated with substance use / misuse includes characteristics relating to family and accommodation:

5.1. Individuals who are separated / divorced or widowed are probably using licit substances more frequently than individuals who are single or married.

6.1. Individuals living with relatives are probably using licit and illicit substances less frequently than individuals living with friends, alone or in another accommodation.

7.1. Moreover, family control over going-out habits appears to be an important factor associated with substance use / misuse. Individuals who grew up in families with "some control" over these habits showed the lower frequencies in licit and illicit substance use and in problem use / misuse. Nevertheless, growing up in families with "too much control" (as perceived by the interviewees) appears to be a factor associated with more problematic outcomes in terms of illicit substance use and problem use / misuse.

8.1. Family socio-economic status shows a weak relationship only with illicit substance use, indicating that people from families with an "average" status are less likely to use illicit substances than people from families with the highest or lowest statuses.

Substance use / misuse and going-out habits and motivations:

Table number 2.5 describes how these three dimensions of substance use / misuses are related to frequency of going to diverse recreational venues.

1. Frequency of use / abuse of legal substances (alcohol and tobacco) is positively and significantly associated with frequency of going to bars, pubs, clubs, after hours venues, parties ("raves") and other recreational venues. There are three recreational places more strongly associated with legal substance use: bars, pubs and after hours venues.

2.1. Frequency of illicit substance use is significantly and positively associated with frequency of going to bars, coffee shops, clubs, after hours venues, parties (raves) and others. The two recreational venues most strongly associated with illicit substance use are after hours venues and raves.

3.1. Probability of problem substance use / misuse is also significantly and positively associated with frequency of going to coffee shops, clubs, after hours venues, parties (raves) and other venues.

Table number 2.5: ANALYSES OF ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN LICIT SUBSTANCE USE, ILLICIT SUBSTANCE USE AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE / MISUSE WITH FREQUENCY OF GOING TO SEVERAL RECREATIONAL PLACES[1]

	Legal Substance Use		Illicit Substance Use		Subs. Abuse / Misuse	
	F	Significance	F	Significance	Chi-square	Significance
Bars[2]	79	***	5.2	*	2.9	n.s
Discos	0.3	n.s.	3.2	n.s.	2	n.s.
Pubs[3]	62.6	***	0.6	n.s.	1.6	n.s.
Coffee shops[4]	0.11	n.s.	63.8	***	10.3	**[5]
Clubs[6]	13.3	***	65.4	***	13.2	***[7]
After hours[8]	35.3	***	304.5	***	11.7	**
Parties ("raves")[9]	4.7	*	362.6	***	13.2	***
Others[10]	4.8	*	2.1	n.s.	16.5	***

***: Differences are significant at the.001 levels. **: Differences are significant at the.01 levels.
*: Differences are significant at the.05 levels.   n.s.: Differences are not significant.

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[1] Frequency of going to a specific type of recreational place was recoded to only two categories: "low frequency: never / seldom", and "high frequency: often / very often".

[2] Individuals who visit bars most frequently scored higher than individuals visiting these places less frequently to in licit and illicit substance use.

[3] Individuals who visit pubs most frequently also scored higher than other individuals in licit substance use.

[4] Individuals "sometimes" visiting coffee shops "" scored higher than others in illicit substance use.

Table number 2.6 provides the same information regarding frequency of 'going-out' of respondents and their friends, and Table number 2.7 describes motivations for going-out and for choice of venue.

Individual habits relating to 'going out' relate substantially to licit and illicit substance use / misuse in our sample:

Frequency of legal substance use is significantly higher among individuals who go out more weekends per month and who go out more nights per weekend, and also for individuals whose friends go out frequently. Also, frequency of use / abuse of legal substances is higher among individuals whose going-out sessions last longest, and is significantly and positively associated with average duration of a going-out session and number of recreational venues attended in a going-out session.

Frequency of illicit substance use is also significantly higher among individuals going out every weekend and all weekend nights, and is also higher among individuals whose going-out sessions last longest, and among individuals whose friends go out frequently. Frequency of illicit substance use is again positive and significantly associated with average duration of a going-out session and the number of recreational venues attended in a going-out session.

Substance abuse / misuse is also higher among individuals who go out every weekend night among people who go out on workdays or who spend more time in a going-out session and who visit a larger number of recreational venues in a going-out session.

As in shown in Table number 2.7, motivations or reasons for going out and selecting a specific recreational venue (bar, club, etc.) are substantially associated with frequency of illicit substance use, and sometimes are also associated with frequency of legal substance use and substance abuse / misuse.

1. Frequency of tobacco and alcohol use / abuse is probably higher among individuals who consider one or more of the following reasons as important for going out: to look for a partner, for sex and to take drugs. Consequently, frequency of alcohol and tobacco use / abuse is probably higher among people who consider drugs and the possibility of "getting off with" a guy / girl as important reasons for choosing a recreational venue.

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5 Individuals who "often" visit coffee shops showed a slightly higher probability of problem use / misuse than individuals visiting them "sometimes" or "never".

6 Higher frequency of attending clubs is associated with higher scores in licit and illicit substance use and problem substance use / misuse. Effects are more remarkable for scores on illicit substance use.

7 Individuals who "often" go to clubs showed a slightly probability of problem use / misuse than people "sometimes" or "never" going.

8 The same effects as for frequency of attending clubs, but stronger for licit and illicit substance use.

9 Similar to clubs and "after hours venues", individuals frequently attending parties ("raves") scored higher than other individuals in the three dimensions of substance use / misuse.

10 Frequency of going to "other" recreational venues is positively and significantly associated with licit substance use and problem substance use / misuse, but not with illicit substance use.

Table number 2.6: ASSOCIATIONS OF LICIT SUBSTANCE USE, ILLICIT SUBSTANCE USE AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE / MISUSE WITH FREQUENCY AND DURATION OF GOING-OUT SESSIONS

	Legal Substance Use		Illicit Substance Use		Subs. Abuse / Misuse	
	F	Significance	F	Significance	Chi-square	Significance
Going-out/ month (freq.)	51	***[1]	12	***[2]	4.4	n.s.
Going out/ weekend (freq.)	104.1	***[3]	43.9	***[1]	18.5	***[2]
Going out in working days	0.4	n.s.	2.7	n.s	14.9	***[3]
Friends going out very often	25.3	***[4]	15.2	***[5]	6.3	n.s.
Doing long displacements in a going-out session (yes/no)	6.5	**[6]	289.5	***[7]	17.7	***[8]
	R	Significance	r	Significance	F	Significance
Average duration of a going-out session	.13	***	.4	***	15	***[9]
Average number of clubs attended in a going-out session	.14	***	.14	***	14	***[10]

Differences / correlations are significant at the.001 levels. **: Differences / correlations are significant at the.01 levels.
*: Differences / correlations are significant at the.05 levels. n.s.: Differences are not significant.

[1] People going out less than one weekend per month or 1-2 weekends per month scored lower than individuals going out 3-4 weekends per month in legal substance use.

[2] Individuals going out less than one weekend per month or 1-2 weekends per month also scored lower than individuals going out 3-4 weekends per month in illicit substance use. No differences were observed between individuals going out less than one weekend and 1-2 weekends per month, either in licit or illicit substance use.

[3] Individuals going out three nights per weekend scored higher than individuals going out two or only one night each weekend in legal substance use, and the same effect was observed when individuals going out one or two nights per weekend were compared.

[4] The same effects as for licit substance use were observed, indicating a strong linear relationship between number of nights spent going out per weekend and frequency of illicit substance use.

[5] The same effects as for the other two parameters were observed, indicating a positive and linear relationship between number of nights going out per weekend and problem use /misuse.

[6] Individuals who usually go out on weekdays showed higher probability of problem substance use / misuse than individuals who do not.

[7] Individuals with a majority of friends who go out "very often" scored higher in legal substance use than individuals with half or few of their friends going out "very often."

[8] The same effects as for legal substance use were observed for illicit substance use.

[9] Individuals doing long displacements in a going-out session scored higher in legal substance use than individuals who do not.

[10] The same effect as for legal substance use, but very much stronger for illicit substance use.

[11] Individuals doing long displacements in a going-out session showed higher probability of problem substance use / misused than individuals who do not.

[12] Substance use / misuse is significantly and positively associated with average duration of a session.

[13] Substance use / misuse is significantly and positively associated with average number of places visited in a session.

Table number 2.7: ASSOCIATIONS OF LICIT SUBSTANCE USE, ILLICIT SUBSTANCE USE AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE / MISUSE WITH MOTIVATIONS FOR GOING-OUT AND FOR SELECTING A PLACE

	Legal Substance Use		Illicit Substance Use		Subs. Abuse / Misuse	
Motivations (reasons) for going out						
	F	Significance	F	Significance	Chi-square	Significance
Dancing	1	n.s.	21.7	***[1]	3.3	n.s.
To meet friends	2.3	n.s.	1.9	n.s.	.83	n.s.
To look for sex	29.7	***[2]	37.3	***[3]	8.7	*[4]
To look for a partner	6.9	**[5]	7.7	**[6]	1.6	n.s.
To escape daily routine	2.3	n.s.	3.8	*[7]	4.2	n.s.
To take drugs[8]	136.7	***	1505.4	***	41.4	***
To listen music	1.2	n.s.	11	***[9]	3.9	n.s.
Motivations (reasons) for choosing a recreational venue (bar, club, etc.)						
Type of people	.04	n.s.	1.6	n.s.	2	n.s.
Prices	1.1	n.s.	11.2	***[10]	51 3	n.s.
Drugs[11]	40	***	703	***	39.5	***
Distance (from home)	1.5	n.s.	3	n.s.	.4	n.s.
Possibility of "getting of with" a guy/girl	6.9	**[12]	5.2	*[13]	2.3	n.s.
Music	.1	n.s.	7.7	**[14]	55 8	*[15]
Atmosphere	1.7	n.s.	.3	n.s.	2.1	n.s.

[1] Individuals who consider "dancing" as an important reason scored higher in illicit substance use than people who do not.

[2] Looking for sex is positive and significantly with frequency of legal substance use.

[3] As in the previous note, individuals considering sex as an important reason for going out scored higher in illicit substance use than individuals who do not.

[4] Individuals who consider sex as "important" showed higher scores in substance abuse / misuse.

[5] Individuals who consider this reason as "important" scored higher in licit substance use than individuals who do not.

[6] Conversely, individuals who consider this reason as "important" scored LOWER in illicit substance use than individuals who do not.

[7] Individuals who consider this reason as "important" scored higher than individuals who do not.

[8] As expected, individuals who consider this reason as "important" scored significantly higher in legal substance use, illicit substance use and substance abuse / misuse than individuals who do not.

[9] Individuals who consider this reason as "important" scored significantly higher in illicit substance use than individuals who do not.

[10] Individuals who consider this reason as "important" scored lower in illicit substance use than individuals who do not.

[11] As expected, individuals who consider this reason as "important" scored significantly higher in licit substance use, illicit substance use and substance abuse / misuse than individuals who do not.

[12] Individuals who consider this reason as "important" scored higher in licit substance use than individuals who do not.

[13] Conversely, individuals who consider this reason as "important" scored LOWER in illicit substance use than individuals who do not.

[14] Individuals who consider this reason as "important" scored significantly higher in illicit substance use than individuals who do not.

[15] Individuals who consider this reason as "important" scored significantly lower in substance abuse and misuse than individuals who consider this reason as "not important".

Frequency of illicit substance use is probably higher among individuals who consider one or more of the following reasons as "important" for going-out: dancing, escaping daily routine, listening music, sex and drugs. Consequently, frequency of use of these illicit substances is higher among people who consider one or more of the following characteristics as "important" when they choose a recreational venue: drugs, music and the possibility of "getting off with" a guy / girl, irrespective of prices at these places. for the opposite is true of people who consider looking for a partner as an important motivation for going out and the possibility of "getting off with" a guy / girl as a motivation for choosing a recreational venue. The importance of sex and drugs in going out habits and in choosing a venue are also significantly and positively associated with substance abuse / misuse, and music appears to be an "important" characteristic for individuals with lower scores in substance abuse / misuse.

Substance use / misuse, sensation seeking and social deviation

Table number 2.8 describes how legal and illegal substance use, and in particular problem use / misuse, is associated with three indicators of sensation seeking and with four social deviation behaviours.

A first glance at this table indicates that all these subjective and behavioural variables are positively and consistently associated with the three dimensions of substance use / misuse.

1.   Individuals who have never participated in any of the seven indicators of sensation seeking or social deviance are probably using legal and illegal substances less frequently than individuals who have done them sometimes.

2.1. Also, in some cases, this negative and significant relationship is observable for individuals who have participated in these behaviours but not in the past year, when they are compared with individuals who have engaged in these behaviours more frequently.

3.1. All these effects and similar proportions are also observable when analysing relationships of these variables with substance abuse / misuse.

Clustering individuals according to levels of legal and illegal substance use / misuse

Clustering individuals according to their substance use / misuse scores is useful in order to identify risk / protective factors associated with different levels of substance use / misuse, and to assess predictive capability of the variables studied for these levels of substance use / misuse. Table number 2.9 shows percentages of individuals clustered and labelled for each factor, and percentages of these individuals clustered labelled for each level in the specific factor. In addition, this table describes "centres" obtained for each group / level relating to each factor. The "centre" of each group represents a "typical" individual for this group for each factor (legal / illegal substance use and substance abuse / misuse).

Table number 2.8: ANALYSES OF ASSOCIATIONS OF LEGAL SUBSTANCE USE, ILLEGAL SUBSTANCE USE AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE / MISUSE WITH SENSATION SEEKING AND SOCIAL DEVIATION RESPONSES

	Legal Substance Use		Illicit Substance Use		Subs. Abuse / Misuse	
Sensation Seeking responses						
	F	Significance	F	Significance	Chi-square	Significance
Have done what feels good, no matter what…	23.3	***[1]	255.4	***[2]	70.6	***[3]
Have done somthing dangerous…	14.5	***[4]	34.8	***[5]	38.6	***[6]
Have done crazy things…	26.6	***[7]	67	***[8]	78.5	***[9]
Social deviation behaviours						
Have driven a car on a public road with a license[10]	34.5	***	49	***	19.8	***
Have deliberately damaged properties…[11]	45.4	***	84.4	***	42.6	***
Have taken things from shops/stores without paying[12]	37.5	***	76	***	23	***
Have been involved in physical fights (no with someone from family[13]	41	***	54.8	***	22.3	***

[1] Individuals who have never engaged in this behaviour scored lower in legal substance use than the other five groups.

[2] A strong, positive and linear relationship is observed between frequency of this sensation seeking indicator and illegal substance use.

[3] A strong, positive and linear relationship is observed between frequency of this sensation seeking indicator and problem substance use / misuse.

[4] Again, individuals who have never engaged in this behaviour scored lower in legal substance use than the other five groups.

[5] Again, Individuals who have never engaged in this behaviour or have done so but not in the past year scored lower in illegal substance use than the other four groups.

[6] A strong, positive and linear relationship is observed between frequency of this sensation seeking indicator and problem substance use / misuse.

[7] Individuals who have never engaged in this behaviour or have done so but not in the past year scored lower in legal substance use than the other four groups.

[8] Again, individuals have never engaged in this behaviour or have done so but not in the past year scored lower in illegal substance use than the other four groups.

[9] Again, a strong, positive and linear relationship is observed between frequency of this sensation seeking indicator and problem substance use / misuse.

[10] Individuals who have never engaged in this behaviour scored lower in legal and illegal substance use, and in problem use / misuse than individuals who did so last year or since 15. No differences were found between these last two groups.

[11] Again, individuals who have never engaged in this behaviour scored lower in legal and illegal substance use, and in problem use / misuse than individuals who did so last year or since 15. People who did it since [12] scored higher in illegal substance use than people who did it last year.

[13] Very similar effects as for the last two variables were observed, indicating a strong, positive and linear relationship between this social deviation behaviour and legal and illegal substance use and problem substance use / misuse.

[14] Individuals who have never engaged in this behaviour scored lower in legal and illegal substance use, and in problem use / misuse than individuals who did so last year or since 15. No differences were found between these last two groups.

Table number 2.9: GROUPING INDIVIDUALS BY THEIR LEGAL SUBSTANCE USE, ILLEGAL SUBSTANCE USE AND SUBSTANCE USE / MISUSE USING CLUSTERING METHODS: cluster centres[1], percentages of the whole sample with information available and percentages of individuals classified in each cluster

	Legal Substance Use		Illicit Substance Use		Subs. Abuse / Misuse	
	Centre[2]	N (%)	Centre[3]	N (%)	Centre[4]	N (%)
LOW	7	392 (17.2)	7	1767 (69.1)	0	576 (26.6)
AVERAGE	13	798 (35)	16	607 (23.7)	1	1120 (52)
HIGH	18	1088 (47.8)	24	182 (7.1)	2	460 (21.4)
Total	-	2278 (85.3)	-	2556 (95.7)	-	2153 (80.6)

The majority of the sample were clustered and labelled according to frequency of illegal substance use. As a result of the number of individuals with "missing" information about their alcohol abuse (drunkenness during last month), the percentage of people clustered and labelled for legal substance use was lower than for the previous factor. Also fewer individuals were clustered and labelled for problem use / misuse because they had "missing" information on any variable for this factor.

As shown in the table, a small percentage of individuals were labelled as engaging in a "low" level of legal substance use, and this is represented by an individual who does not smoke daily and uses alcohol once a week or less. A second and bigger group with "average" legal substance use is represented by a "typical" individual who smokes every day, uses alcohol several times a week and gets drunk one or more times per month, but not weekly. The biggest group is represented by an individual who smokes daily, uses alcohol several times a week and gets drunk every week in the last month. Frequencies of alcohol, tobacco and intoxication are significantly higher for the third group than for the second group.

With regard to illegal substance use, the biggest group includes individuals with a "low" frequency of illegal substance use, and it is represented by a individual who do not use any kind of illegal substance, although he may have used cannabis or another illegal substance in the past. The second group is represented by an individual who uses cannabis once or several times a week, uses ecstasy less than 12 times per year and may have used cocaine, LSD or amphetamines, but currently does not use any of these three illegal substances. The final group comprises a relatively small number of individuals

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[1] The centres illustrate the score of the "most representative" individual for each cluster.

[2] This score is obtained by adding the scores of alcohol use, tobacco use and drunkenness, as they are shown in Table number 1.

[3] This score is obtained by adding the scores of cannabis use, ecstasy use, cocaine use, LSD use and amphetamine use, as shown in Table number 1.

[4] This score is obtained by adding the scores of variables related to "problem substance use" and "substance misuse" as shown in Table number 1.

who use cannabis several times a week or every day, use ecstasy several times a month and may be using cocaine and/or amphetamines monthly and LSD fewer than 12 times per year. Finally, individuals in the sample were also clustered and labelled according to their patterns of substance abuse and misuse. The first group includes individuals who neither encounter problems as the result of substance use nor receive advice about their substance misuse, who do not drive under the effects of alcohol or other drugs and have not had any legal problem because of substance use. The largest group includes individuals who do engage in problem substance use OR have received advice about substance use. The third group includes individuals who engage in problem substance use and have received advice because of their substance misuse, and have driven under the effects of drugs or alcohol, and have had any legal problem associated with these behaviours.

Substance use / misuse and its relationship with age of onset of legal and illegal substances

Age of onset was also studied for several legal substances as an individual attribute potentially associated with substance use and misuse. Table number 2.10 describes differences observed between levels of legal and illegal substance use and substance abuse / misuse against age of onset of use of the seven substances most frequently used by the sample.

Table number 2.10: ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN DIFFERENT LEVELS OBSERVED ON THE THREE DIMENSIONS OF SUBSTANCE USE / MISUSE AND AGE OF ONSET FOR SEVERAL LEGAL AND ILLEGAL SUBSTANCES

	Legal Substance Use		Illicit Substance Use		Subs. Abuse / Misuse	
	F	Significance	F	Significance	F	Significance
Alcohol[1]	8.7	***	33.5	***	21.9	***
Tobacco[2]	.2	n.s.	44.8	***	14.4	***
Cannabis[3]	6.1	**	46.8	***	11.9	***
Ecstasy [4]	2.5	n.s.	4.9	**	1.4	n.s.
Cocaine [5]	2.4	n.s.	11.7	***	3.5	*
LSD [6]	.6	n.s.	5.3	**	1.5	n.s.
Amphetamines [7]	2.2	n.s.	6.6	**	3.4 *	

***: Differences are significant at the.001 levels.
**: Differences are significant at the.01 levels.
*: Differences are significant at the.05 levels.
n.s.: Differences are not significant.

[1] Age of onset for alcohol use is higher among individuals with "low" legal and illegal substance use than among individuals with "average" or "high" legal and illegal substance use. In relation to substance abuse / misuse, age of onset for alcohol shows statistical differences between the three groups, indicating that a lower age of onset for alcohol use corresponds to higher levels of substance abuse / misuse.

The three groups of individuals classified according to levels of legal substance use only differ in age of onset of alcohol and cannabis use. Individuals with a "low" legal substance use began to use alcohol and cannabis later than individuals with "average" or "high" legal substance use. Similarly, the first group also began to use cannabis later than individuals with a "high" legal substance use.

Groups labelled according to levels of illegal substance use differ in age of onset for all substances studied. Individuals with a "low" level of illegal substance use began to use these seven substances later than individuals with "average" or "high" levels of illegal substance use. Furthermore, age of onset for cannabis and ecstasy use is lower among individuals with "average" levels of illegal substance use than for individuals with "high" illegal substance use.

Also, groups defined by their levels of substance abuse and misuse also differ in relation to average age of onset for alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, cocaine and amphetamine use. As observed for the previous two factors, ages of onset for these substances are always lower among individuals whose level of substance abuse / misuse is "average" or "high" than among individuals who do not engage in substance abuse or misuse.

Predicting legal and illegal substance use / misuse

Previous analyses focused on exploring the predictive capability of the variables studied for levels of legal and illegal substance use and substance abuse / misuse. Following a "multiple risk factor approach", multivariate analysis allows us to explore the relative balance of any factor associated with legal and illegal substance use / misuse, at the side of other factors also correlated.

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[2] Age of onset for tobacco use is higher among individuals with "low" illegal substance use than among individuals with "average" or "high" illegal substance use. Individuals with a "high level" of substance abuse / misuse began to use tobacco earlier than individuals with "average" or "low" substance abuse / misuse.

[3] Individuals with "low" legal substance use began to use cannabis later than individuals with "high" legal substance use. Age of onset for cannabis use is higher among individuals with "low" illegal substance use than among individuals with "average" or "high" illegal substance use, and it is also higher among individuals with "average" illegal substance use than among individuals with "high" illegal substance use. The effects observed for substance abuse / misuse are similar to those observed for illegal substance use.

[4] Age of onset with ecstasy is lower among individuals with "high" illegal substance use than for the other two groups, and it is also lower among individuals with "average" illegal substance use than among individuals with "low" illegal substance use.

[5] Individuals with "high" illegal substance use began to use cocaine earlier than individuals with "average" or "low" illegal substance use. Age of onset for cocaine is also negatively and significantly associated with substance abuse / misuse.

[6] Individuals with "high" illegal substance use began to use LSD earlier than individuals with "average" or "low" illegal substance use.

[7] Individuals with "high" illegal substance use began to use also amphetamines earlier than individuals with "average" or "low" illegal substance use. Age of onset for amphetamines is also negatively and significantly associated with substance abuse / misuse.

The predictive capability of quantitative variables were explored using discriminant analyses, and logistic regression procedures were used for nominal / ordinal variables. These analyses were carried out in a two-step procedure:

1. First, "predictor" variables were included in an analysis to classify individuals with a "low" level versus individuals with an "average" or "high" level in the three factors. In this way the weight of different factors in predicting legal and illegal substance use and any substance abuse / misuse could be balanced.

2.1. Later on, these discriminant and logistic regression methods were applied to classify individuals with "average" levels versus individuals with "high" levels" in these three factors. Through this second method, the weight of different factors in predicting levels of substance abuse / misuse, once substance use and misuse are a component of the individual behaviour, could be balanced.

Table number 2.11 shows results obtained using these procedures. This table is divided into three pairs of columns. Each of these pairs of columns shows the findings according to one of the three factors: legal substance use, illegal substance use and substance abuse / misuse. Findings described for each factor show variables included in the predictive models and percentages of individuals correctly classified by the specific model. The first rows show findings obtained in predicting the inclusion of each individual in a "low" level of the factor versus an "average or high" level. The last rows of the table show variables and percentages referring to classifications of individuals in a "medium" or "high" level of legal substance use / illegal substance use / problem use and misuse. For each of these analyses, results are reported by variables included as predictors (continuous variables such age versus nominal / ordinal variables such as gender).

In summary, Table number 2.11 provides results obtained from 12 predictive models:

1. Two models used to predict legal substance use: one of these used to predict a "low" level versus an "average or high" level and another model to predict an "anverage" level versus a "high" level of legal substance use.

2.1. These two models were also used with the same purposes for the other two factors: Illegal substance use and substance abuse / misuse. Therefore, this makes a set of six predictive models.

3.1. Each one of these six models were applied for both types of variables used as predictors - continuous / nominal variables - making a set of 12 predictive models.

Percentages of cases correctly classified indicate the predictive capability of each model.

1. Continuous variables used to predict a "low" versus "average or high" level of legal substance use obtained a "good" predictive capability, even with a few variables: number of clubs attended in a session, duration of a going-out session, age of onset

Table number 2.11: PREDICTIVE MODELS ON LEGAL AND ILLEGAL SUBSTANCE USE AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE / MISUSE

"LOW" versus "AVERAGE + HIGH"

	LEGAL SUBSTANCE USE		ILLEGAL SUBSTANCE USE		SUBSTANCE ABUSE / MISUSE	
	Variables	Correct	Variables	Correct	Variables	Correct
Continuous Variables	Number of clubs attended in a session. Duration of a going-out session. Age of onset - alcohol. Age.	83%	Number of clubs attended in a session. Duration of a going-out session. Age	74%	Onset - alcohol and cannabis. Number of clubs attended in a session.	73%
Nominal / ordinal Variables	Going to bars, pubs and clubs. Nights per weekend going out. Reasons for going out: friends and drugs. Friends go out very often. Doing long displacements in session. Occupation. Doing what feels good (s. seeking item). Vandalism (a social deviation item).	84%	Going to coffee shops and parties. Reasons for going out: dancing, to look for a partner and drugs. Reasons for choosing a venue: drugs. Doing long displacements in a session. Self-evaluation, occupation and housing. Doing what feels good and crazy things. Thieving (a social deviation item).	85%	Going to pubs, clubs and "others". Nights per weekend going out. Going out during working days. Reasons to choose: music. Family control over going out. Doing what feels good. Vandalism (a social deviation item).	73%

"AVERAGE" versus "HIGH"

	LEGAL SUBSTANCE USE		ILLEGAL SUBSTANCE USE		SUBSTANCE ABUSE / MISUSE	
	Variables	Correct	Variables	Correct	Variables	Correct
Continuous Variables	Age. Duration of a going-out session. Number of clubs attended in a session. Onset - amphetamines and cannabis.	59%	Duration of a going-out session. Onset - cocaine and amphetamines. Number of clubs attended in a session. Age.	79%	Duration of a going-out session. Onset - tobacco, alcohol and cocaine. Age.	
Nominal / ordinal Variables	Going to bars, coffee shops, parties and "others". Nights per weekend going out. Reasons for going out: to take drugs. Reasons for choosing a venue: possibility of 'pulling'. Doing long displacements in a session. Gender. Self-evaluation as a student. Housing. Doing what feels good (s. seeking item). Driving a car without license (a social deviation item).	66%	Going to bars, coffee shops and after hours. Nights per weekend going out. Reasons for going out sex and to take drugs. Doing long displacements in a session. Doing what feels good (s. seeking item).	81%	Going to pubs and clubs. Reasons for choosing a venue(bar, club, etc.); drugs. Occupation. Family status. Doing what feels good (s. seeking item). Vandalism (a social deviation item).	74%

for alcohol and age. These four variables were included in a model that correctly classified 83% of the sample in these two levels of legal substance use.

2.1. These continuous variables were able to obtain a somewhat lower predictive capability when applied to illegal substance use and substance abuse / misuse, although they correctly classified about three quarters of the sample with six and three variables respectively.

3.1. Categorical variables applied to the same objectives also achieved "good" results in classifying individuals according to levels of legal and illegal substance use, although these models included a higher number of variables (11 and 13 respectively). The model found in predicting substance abuse / misuse included 9 variables and correctly classified the same percentage as the model obtained with a few continuous variables.

4.1. Predictive models for an "average" versus "high" level of legal substance use obtained a low predictive capability. Neither models including continuous variables nor models based on categorical variables reached a minimum of 70% of correct classifications, showing a low capability for discriminating between people with "average" or "high" legal substance use.

5.1. On the other hand, these models again reached an acceptable predictive capability when used to predict "average" versus "high" levels of illegal substance use, correctly classifying around 80% of the individuals.

6.1. When these models were used to predict a "moderate" or "high" level of substance use / misuse, they correctly classified fewer than three quarters of the individuals, reaching a moderate predictive capability.

In a recent study, a near maximum predictive capability (96.7%) for ecstasy use was attained by using neural networks (Palmer, Montaño y Calafat, 2000), a predictive capability, higher than that observed in our models (our best percentage of correct classifications was 85%). In the study using neural networks, the authors used two groups: one including ecstasy users (monthly of more frequently) who were also users of other legal and illegal substances, while the comparison group included "abstainers" of all these substances. In our study, the model used to predict a "low" versus "average / high" illegal substance use attained 85% correct classifications, which could be enlarged by using some predictive variables included in models based on categorical indicators. This could be considered a "good" performance, especially if it is taken into account that the two groups used in the other study were more similar to the extreme levels on this study ("low" versus "high" level), and that better results would be found if only use these two extreme values of illegal substance use were analysed. Our models were intended to predict legal substance use and substance use / misuse using multidimensional criterion variables (formed using a combination of several indicators). In other words, it is very difficult to attain these levels of prediction among a relatively homogeneous sample, especially if the variable to be "predicted" is a combination of

several indicators. In summary, the models in this study attained a good or acceptable predictive capability, except for the models on moderate / high legal substance use.

In relation to the nature of variables included in these 12 predictive models:

1. Of the eight socio-demographic variables used as predictors (see Table number 2.4), only age entered as a predictor in several models, entering five of the six models based on continuous variables. Occupation is the second of these variables most frequently included as a significant predictor, entering three of the six models based on categorical variables. Self-evaluation as a student entered two in six models, and housing, family control, gender and family status only entered one of the six models possible.

2.1. Frequency of visiting several recreational venues entered in all of the six models based on categorical variables. The venues most frequently included in these models were (in this order): bars-pubs-clubs-coffee shops, raves-others, and after hours parties. Raves and coffee shops entered more models relating to illegal substance use, while pubs and clubs mainly entered models relating to legal substance use and substance abuse / misuse.

3.1. Several variables relating to involvement in specific night-time recreational activities also emerged as consistent predictors of legal and illegal substance use / misuse:

a. Average duration of a going-out session emerged as one of the best predictors among continuous variables. It entered in the two possible models for legal substance use and also for the two models on illegal substance use.

b. The same consistent predictive capability is observed for the average number of recreational venues visited during a going-out session. This variable also entered five of the six possible models: the two constructed to predict legal / illegal substance use based on continuous variables, and the model to predict low versus average / high substance abuse / misuse.

c. The number of nights going out per week also reached a consistent predictive capability, entering four of the six models based on categorical variables: two models regarding legal substance use and one of each of the other two factors.

d. Doing long displacements in a going-out session was also included in four of the six models, entering the two models on legal and illegal substance use based on categorical variables.

e. Percentage of friends going out very often, and habits of going out during the working week (Monday to Friday) entered only one of the six related models.

4.1. Of the 14 variables related to motivations (reasons)forgoing-out and for choosing a recreational venue, only a few of them entered predictive models:

a. Importance of taking drugs as reasons for going out or choosing a recreational venue also emerged a consistent predictor on legal and illegal substance use. This variable entered five of the six possible models.

b.a. Meeting friends, looking for a partner, sex, the possibility of 'pulling', dancing and music entered only one of the six possible models, indicating a casual predictive capability, when put together with other many variables associated with legal and illegal substance use / misuse.

5.1. Also, some of the items indicating sensation seeking and social deviance emerged as solid predictors for legal and illegal substance use and misuse:

a. The first of the three items on sensation seeking (doing what feels good, no matter what) entered all predictive models based on categorical variables. This is the only variable of the study that has been included in all possible models.

b. An item indicating social deviance (having deliberately damaged property) entered as a predictor in three of the six models based on categorical variables. This variable entered the two models regarding substance abuse / misuse and in the first model referred to legal substance use, but in no model related to illegal substance use.

c. Another two indicators of social deviance (driving a car without a license, and taking things without paying), and one item related to sensation seeking (doing crazy things, even a little dangerous) entered only one model.

6.1. Regarding age of onset for specific substances, the main effects observed are:

a. Age of onset of alcohol entered as a substantial predictor in four models, specifically in the three models created to predict a "low" versus "average / high" level of legal and illegal substance use / misuse.

b. Models designed to predict "average" versus "high" levels of legal and illegal substance use included mainly age of onset of illegal substances (not alcohol): cannabis, amphetamines and cocaine.

c. Age of onset for cannabis use also emerged as a substantial predictor, entering three of the six possible models, and age of onset for tobacco use entered two predictive models.

4. DISCUSSION

Research on risk and protective factors for substance use / abuse / misuse focuses on identifying factors associated with substance use and misuse, and understanding their interactions with other risk / protective factors. The ultimate goal of this research is to make a contribution to the further design, targeting and implementation of drugs education and prevention. Recent studies have highlighted the need for integrating findings on several risk / protective factors and their validation in specific situational contexts and environments. Some of the theoretical and methodological limitations observed in the scientific knowledge base currently available in Europe on these issues are:

a) paucity of studies on risk factors including samples recruited from different European countries,

b) lack of studies integrating relevant environmental factors and analysing interrelationships between several risk factors and their relative weights in predicting substance use / misuse, and

c) lack of studies focused on substance abuse / misuse, not only on prevalence rates for substance use (lifetime or recent) (Rhodes, Lilly, Fernández et al., 1999)

Our study attempts to make a preliminary contribution at the European level, including one environmental factor considered relevant for recreational substance use among young people (the nightlife setting) in an attempt of explore interrelationships between individual risk factors and their relative weight in predicting levels of legal and illegal substance use and misuse.

Before discussing the results obtained in this study, it is necessary to take into account some of its substantial limitations. This is a cross-sectional study, not a longitudinal study, and this fact introduces a serious limitation with regard to the predictive capability of the variables studied for several levels of legal and illegal substance use and misuse. Furthermore, operational definitions used to assess substance use and misuse bear substantial limitations because it is a post-hoc exploitation of available data, and was not designed to assess substance abuse and misuse systematically. Bearing these caveats in mind, the findings of this study will be discussed in ralation to their relevance for our objectives: describing distributions of these substance use / misuse parameters in a sample recruited in recreational nightlife settings, and exploring their interrelationships with some individual variables.

Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample are studied with more detail elsewhere (see the chapter on socio-demographic characteristics in this book). In order to meet the objectives of this study, it need only be noted that its goal is not to study a representative sample of European youth, but a sample representative of people involved in youth subcultures associated with recreational substance use during 'nightlife' related activities. As reported by EMCDDA (1998), users of ecstasy, amphetamines, cannabis, LSD and cocaine are frequently neither young people living in marginal environments nor individuals with low economic status, but in fact are often young people working, studying or maintaining both activities with a "non-problematic" economic situation. It is considered that our sample shows a socio-demographic profile very similar to those young people in several European countries involved in recreational nightlife activities closely t associated with legal and illegal substance use. Therefore, our sample provides a useful database with whihc to explore relationships between recreational nightlife activities and legal and illegal substance across several European cities.

Our study provides relevant information relating to one environmental variable presumably associated with legal and illegal substance use and misuse: the recreational 'nightlife' setting. The concept of recreational nightlife as a relevant variable is present

in our study, not only because this is the environment where the research was undertaken, but because recreational nightlife activities are the context where many individuals of our sample use / misuse several legal and illegal substances.

Prevalence of use of different illegal substances encountered in our sample is presumably higher than that observed for general populations in the European countries studied. Our objective is not an exhaustive comparison of prevalence of illegal substance use in our samples, compared with similar populations recruited from general or young populations in the same cities. Instead , it is to l compare our data with epidemiological information published by the European Monitoring Centre on Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA) in its Annual Reports on the State of the Drugs Problem in the European Union (EMCDDA, 1998, 1999):

1. In the 1998Annual Report , the EMCDDA showed that lifetime prevalence of cannabis use among general populations ranged from 5% up to 20-30%, reaching near 40% among young adults in some European countries. Prevalence of cannabis use during the previous 12 months was around 1-9% among general populations, and around 20% among young adults, depending on the country. In its 1999 Annual Report , the EMCDDA introduces similar lifetime prevalence data for cannabis use among general populations, ranging from 10% up to 20-30% depending on country, and the same findings for young adults. Our data indicates a lifetime prevalence of cannabis use around 67% of the entire sample and near 50% for prevalence of "recent" cannabis use (during the last 12 months). In summary, our prevalence rates for cannabis use (lifetime and recent) are twice as high asthe average prevalence rates observed among European young adults, and more than three times the rates found among general populations.

2. Lifetime prevalence for ecstasy in our sample (34.4%) is more than ten times the rate observed among adult populations (from 0.5 up to 3% for 1998).

3. Lifetime prevalence for the use of amphetamines in our sample (24.6%) is more than eight times the rate observed among adult populations (average prevalence of 3% for 1998 and 1-4% for 1999), and four times that observed among young adults (average prevalence of 6% for 1998 and between 1-5% for 1999).

4. With regard to cocaine use, the Annual Report of the EMCDDA show lifetime prevalence of 1-4% among adults for 1998 and 1-3% among adults and 1-5% for young adults during 1999. In our sample, lifetime prevalence of cocaine use (average) is 28.4%, around eight times the rates cited for European adults and young adults.

5. In the EMCDDA Annual Reports mentioned above there are no available data on prevalence rates for LSD, suggesting that this substance is used less frequently than amphetamines, ecstasy and cocaine. Lifetime prevalence for LSD among our sample is very similar to that for amphetamines and cocaine. Therefore, lifetime and recent prevalence for LSD among our sample is probably also much higher than in general and young adult European populations.

These facts suggest that populations found in recreational venues in the selected cities are more likely to be using / misusing legal and illegal substances than the general population and other young adults. Therefore, our findings provide strong support for studying the night-time recreational setting as an environmental variable that presumably constitutes a "high risk environment" for legal and illegal substance use among young European adults with similar socio-demographics tetó the individuals observed in our sample. Moreover, our study suggests that studying recreational nightlife patterns and their relationships with substance use / misuse may make an important contribution to the planning of preventive strategies focused on individuals at high-risk of substance use / misuse in this specific "high risk" environment.

The other six indicators used to assess substance abuse and misuses provide us with an incomplete view of these risk patterns among our sample. Together with measures of "repeated" use of legal and illegal substances, research on risk factors for substance use and misuse needs systematic information on "risk" patterns of drug use. These measures should provide a reliable and valid picture of the negative consequences of substance use (for health and social / family and occupational adaptation and performance). This information is needed for improving the design, targeting and implementation of risk reduction strategies; drug prevention and education interventions targeting specific "risk" groups. Our findings provide us with evidence of a substantial prevalence rate of alcohol abuse among our sample, as well as evidence of alcohol and drug misuse (associated with driving) and other negative consequences. Lacking comparable data at the European level, our data provide sound evidence of substantial drug and alcohol abuse and misuse among young Europeans recruited at recreational venues in these nine cities.

Table number 2.2 provides data indicating that almost all of the thirteen indicators of legal and illegal substance use and misuse are significantly associated with each other, because only one of these variables (receiving advice from relatives and friends relating to substance misuse) appears to be non-related to the other indicators. In other words, the occurrence of any of these behavioural patterns increases the probability of other indicators, suggesting that the majority of these thirteen indicators of substance use and misuse are related to a "latent" construct, which can be labelled as "Substance use and Misuse".

These thirteen indicators can be grouped into three factors for easy interpretation. This reduces the number of "dependent" variables to be studied and "predicted":

1. Variables concerning frequency and repeated use of use of five illegal substances can be constructed into an "Illegal Substance Use" factor, taking into account that all these variables are highly correlated with each other.

2. The three variables concerning legal substance use / abuse can also be considered as a further unitary measure of "Legal Substance Use / Abuse".

3. The five variables relating to problem substance use and substance misuse can also be used as one combined variable indicating "Substance Use and Misuse", for the purposes of this exploratory study.

Associations observed between frequencies of use of each one of these five illegal substances with each other, and associations of these five variables with the other eight indicators of substance use / misuse are coincident with findings reported by several authors (Choquet, M., Favre, J.D., Ledoux, S., and Azolay, G.; 1996; Daugherty and Leukefeld, 1998; Kandel, Yamaguchi and Chen, 1992; Kandel and Yamaguchi, 1993). As summarized by several authors (Rhodes et al., 1999) experience of using an illegal substance is frequently associated with the use of other legal and illegal substances, and also probably with later or concurrent substance abuse / misuse. Moreover, in our study the higher the frequency of use of these illegal substances, the more probable and more frequent is legal substance use and substance abuse / misuse, as indicated by high correlations between frequencies of Illegal substance use and the other eight indicators. Also, in our study, this positive association with substance abuse and misuse is observed for the three indicators of legal substance use: frequency of tobacco and alcohol use and frequency of drunkenness last month. These findings can be readily interpreted using the Kandel's theory of drug use (Kandel, Yamaguchi and Chen, 1992; Kandel and Yamaguchi, 1993): the use of a drug at one stage is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for further progression through various kinds of drug use and later substance abuse / misuse. Although use of legal substances is not necessarily causative for further illegal substance use, and these two behaviours are not necessarily causative for further substance abuse / misuse, the identification of risk factors for transitions and escalation for substance use and misuse can be very useful. Thus, identifying factors not only associated with initiation into legal and illegal substance use, but other factors associated with processes (such as progression, maintenance and escalation of legal and illegal substance use) can be useful for targeting education and strategies to prevent further substance use, abuse and misuse.

Some of the findings relating to socio-demographics and substance use history showed in Tables number 2.3 and 2.10 are consistent with results found in other studies, and provide some help in identifying high-risk individuals likely to be using / misusing legal and illegal substances among individuals recruited in recreational nightlife settings:

- A male found in these nightlife environments,, with antecedents of "failed" relationships with a partner, who has been a "poor" student, is not currently studying is living without relatives and grew up in a family with no or little control over going-out habits is at high risk of legal substance use / abuse especially if he started to use alcohol and cannabis at a young age.

- The same characteristics are risk factors for illegal substance use / abuse among individuals with only general education, with a family of low economic status, who started to use any of the studied substances at an earlier age than other individuals,

irrespective of marital status. Some of these variables plus family status appear to be risk factors for abusing/misusing psychoactive substances.

Some studies emphasize that early initiation into alcohol and illegal substance use increases the likelihood of later illegal substance use and substance abuse / misuse (Clark, D.B., Kirisci, L., and Tarter, R.E., 1998; Kandel, D.B., Kessler, R.C., and Margulies, R.Z. 1978; Lloydl, C., 1998; Orte, C., 1994; Sutherland, I., and Willner, P., 1998). In our study, an earlier age of onset for alcohol and illegal substances appears to be a risk factor for further legal and illegal substance use and misuse. Other authors suggest that an earlier age of onset for legal and illegal substances can be substantially associated with other antecedent and current individual and environmental risk factors for substance use and misuse. Thus, risk factors associated with age of onset may explain in large part the effect attributed to drug history, which can be only an indicator of other more specific risk factors (Daugherty and Leukefeld, 1998; Ferguson and Horwood, 1997). In our study, results obtained from all multivariate predictive models based on continuous variables (see Table number 2.11) include one or more variables regarding age of onset for legal and illegal substances. Moreover, age of onset for different substances appears to have a specific predictive weight. Age of onset for alcohol, tobacco and cannabis is a predictive factors entering when predicting "low" versus "average / high" legal and illegal substance use and misuse, and cannabis is more specific to models relating to illegal substance use and substance use / misuse. Nevertheless, age of onset for illegal substances such as cannabis, amphetamines and cocaine makes a substantial contribution to predicting "average" versus "high" levels of legal and illegal substance use / misuse, with age of onset for alcohol and tobacco also predicting a high level of substance abuse / misuse. Our study does not explore the relative effects for all the main risk factors identified and validated through scientific research for substance use / misuse, but our findings do provide some support for the conceptualisation of age of onset of legal and illegal substances as significant risk factors for substance use and misuse. An earlier age of onset for legal substances can be a risk factor for any further substance use, while an earlier age of onset of illegal substances such as cannabis, amphetamines and cocaine can be a risk factor for further substance abuse and misuse. Therefore, although some the "effect" of age of onset can be partially "confounded" by other more specific risk factors, our findings support the basis of education and preventive interventions designed to delay legal and illegal substance use within populations similar to our sample.

Less conclusive are the findings concerning socio-demographics such as gender, academic qualifications, family status, family control over going out, occupation, marital status and housing, especially when it is taken into account that only a few of them entered as predictors any of the multivariate models.

Associations observed between these variables and substance use / misuse, as revealed by bi-variate analyses, suggest that likelihood of legal and illegal substance use / misuse can be increased / decreased partially by a myriad of factors related with individuals' educational history, their social environments and availability of alternative

resources. Not only a shorter history of substance use, but also some personal and micro-environmental variables such as a history of a good school performance, stable relationships, social status (family and studies), and activities other than substance use (associated with working / studying) can decrease the probability of substance use / misuse. All these variables are associated with availability of resources and participation in activities other than substance use, with more conventional individual preferences, commitments and behavioural patterns that are not compatible with substance abuse / misuse. Finally, our findings suggest that some sort of "social / family control", not only historic (past family control over going-out) but current (housing) may exercise a substantial influence over substance use / misuse. There are few research studies or theoretical publications on risk factors that discuss the role of socio-demographics in substance use and misuse. Some of them are focused on some demographics such as gender, education, economic status and family issues. The following paragraphs include some comments relating to demographics in our findings, in comparison with some other studies.

In his ethnographic description of heroin and solvent use among London students, O'Bryan (1989) found that "machismo" and "bravado" were linked to heroin use: "being able to do it". Thus, substance use / misuse among males may be a means of achieving masculine identity and status among peer groups. As most of these substance use / misuse patterns are usually engaged in in the company of friends, peer pressure / socialisation is evident. So, recreational substance use / misuse among youth can be perceived by a male as a behaviour corresponding to his desired self-image. The role of gender as a risk factor for substance use / misuse can be examined through ethnographic studies such as tose introduced in this book. However, gender does not emerge as a consistent predictor for multivariate models, suggesting that its strong association with substance use and misuse showed in Table number 2.4 can be "confounded" or "explained" by other variables.

Completed education and self-evaluation as a student appear to be associated with substance use and misuse among our sample, indicating that a low level of education and in particular a self-evaluation as a "poor" student are risk factors for legal and illegal substance use and misuse. American (Robins and McEvoy, 1990) and European (Powis, B.; Griffiths, P.; Gossop, M. et al., 1998).) "risk factor" research has identified school exclusion, academic failure and truancy as risk factors for substance use and misuse, although a recent survey study with a large sample (N = 50,000) from 26 European countries demonstrated no association between truancy and alcohol / drug use, nor associations between school success and later alcohol / drug use (Morgan, Hibbel, Anderson et al., 1999). These two variables related to educational attainment does not reach a consistent predictive capability in multivariate analyses. Although non-conclusive, our findings suggest that school performance and adaptation can be a risk factor for legal and illegal substance use among European young people involved in recreational nightlife.

Another set of socio-demographic and micro-environmental variables subjected to analysis in this and many other studies looking at risk factors are variables related to family issues, especially family structure, family relationships and familial / parental substance use (Rhodes, Lilly, Fernández et al., 1999). In our study, we explored only four variables concerning family issues: marital status, family economic status, housing, and family control over going out habits. Although all of these variables showed significant associations with any of the three factors (legal and illegal substance use and misuse) through bi-variate analyses, their association disappeared in multivariate analyses. Only a lower family economic status, living in accommodation other than at home / with relatives, and "low" family control over going out emerged as predictors in some of the multivariate models for legal and illegal substance use and misuse, and none of these variables appears to make a substantial contribution in predicting criteria by entering repeatedly these models.

We found more consistent results for two other socio-demographic variables: age and occupation. Although correlation between age and the three factors are moderate, age entered as a predictor in the majority of predictive models based on continuous variables. Our results may indicate that increasing age corresponds with a higher likelihood of using / abusing legal and illegal substances among samples recruited in recreational settings across Europe. Occupation is another variable that emerges as a predictor for legal substance use and substance abuse / misuse, because being neither employed nor studying appears as a risk factor for these behaviours in our sample. This lack of "productive activity" may be associated with patterns of leisure time associated with legal substance use and with social / recreational functions of legal substance use for people unemployed or with "non-standard" occupations within our sample. However, our study does not indicate that these socio-demographic characteristics contribute substantially to predicting legal and illegal substance use among our sample.

Our study explores in greater detail behavioural patterns relating to recreational nightlife activities and motivations, which were the main focus of the SONAR '98 Project, as discussed in the subsequent paragraphs. Discussion of recreational nightlife activities and motivations as risk factors for legal and illegal substance use and misuse leads us to examine substance use as a social activity, and therefore to deal with several factors: peer pressure, peer selection / socialization and influence, recreational activities and environments, substance use as an intentional behaviour and their function in recreational substance use. In our study, we identified several variables that demonstrate a consistent predictive capability for legal and illegal substance use and misuse: Frequency of visiting recreational venues, duration of a 'goingout' sessions, number of recreational venues visited in one session, number of nights going-out per weekend, doing long displacements in a session, and, less consistently, percentage of friends going out very frequently. All these variables are related to patterns of behaviour associated with activities of a social nature.

Some risk factors research, and some prevention strategies, maintain that an active involvement in several social activities can protect against substance use and misuse

(Rhodes et al., 1999), and there are many studies associating a "less active and creative" use of leisure time, and boredom, with substance use. Risk factors research and preventive strategies may be failing to a cknowledge substance use and misuse as a social activity, and therefore may misinterpret the social and recreational functions of substance use, and the effects of social context on substance use / misuse effects. A separate study shows that recreational substance use and substance use in recreational environments has become an increasingly acceptable pattern of drug use among European youth (Rhodes et al., 1999). In some cases, and especially among groups similar to our sample, substance use is an essential component of leisure and recreational nightlife activities, and patterns of use and misuse can be substantially determined by iinvolvement in these social activities and by the microenvironment where individuals engage in these activities. Of course, there are individual variables that also determine substance use and misuse patterns, some of them explored in this report (personal control over substance use, risk perceptions), as well as other variables included in bio-psycho-social models: social learning, decision-making and behavioural choice processes, individual vulnerabilities, etc.

As observed in our sample, exposure to some "micro" environmental conditions can make a very substantial contribution as determinants of legal and illegal substance use and misuse. Among these environmental factors, recreational venues can be stimuli strongly associated not only with the availability of substances, but also for some well-consolidated behavioural patterns. Undoubtedly, all of the recreational environments studied are "conditioned" stimuli for alcohol use, but some of them are associated more significantly with legal and illegal substance use and misuse than others. Our findings provide evidence of the role of some recreational venues as potential determinants and risk factors for legal and illegal substance misuse: bars, coffee shops, after hours parties and "raves". Although this fact is not surprising, there are few studies that attempt to explain the factors that act as mediators between these environmental variables and substance use / misuse among European youth. Studying the role of substance availability, outcome expectancies, social models, lifestyles and other variables that can determine the decision-making processes that lead to exposure to these environments and later substance use / misuse could be useful if we are to improve theoretical knowledge and plan effective educational and preventive strategies.

Exposure to "high risk" environments and situations can be a determinant for substance use / misuse, especially if this exposure is a component of a lifestyle closely associated with recreational nightlife. Another "set" of findings provides strong evidence of the relationships between involvement in nightlife and substance use / misuse. Most of the seven behaviours relating to nightlife habits demonstrated a positive relationship with frequency of legal and illegal substance use, and with problem use / misuse, as showed in Table number 2.6. Excluding 'number of friends going out very often', all of them referred to individual behaviour as "proximal variables" which can lead the individual to substance use and misuse. Number of weekends going out per month, nights going out per weekend, doing long displacements in one going-out session, length of duration of a clubbing session, and attending multiple venues in one

going-out session are behaviours suitable for study and presumably modifiable through educational interventions. All of these behaviours are learned and are influenced by a set of cognitive, behavioural, motivational and affective individual factors and also by social models, as explained by social-cognitive learning models and other theoretical approaches.

Variables showed in Table number 2.7 referred to non-observable and subjective variables relating to individual motivations for going out and for choosing between different recreational venues and environments. The main observation is that motivations related with drugs showed very similar effects across legal and illegal substance use and with problem substance use / misuse. This motivational factor (drugs) as a reason for gooing out and for choosing a venue suggests intentional substance use as a motivational state associated with recreational nightlife. Sex and drugs can combine to reinforce and sustain a lifestyle focusing on sensation seeking and self-stimulation, leading to substance use and misuse, within our sample. Other reasons showed a significant association with illegal substance use but not with legal substance use: music, dancing and escaping from daily routine. These factors appear to be related also to specific stimuli clearly associated with recreational nightlife that indicate a lifestyle geared towards 0 "recreation". The fact that "price" is not important for frequent illegal substance users suggests that the stimuli mentioned are more salient for them than others. These stimuli suggest that motivational - conditioned factors can play a very substantial contribution to legal and illegal substance use and misuse among those involved in recreational nightlife. Therefore, our findings indicate that there is a need for integrating motivational factors associated with recreational nightlife into explicative and predictive models for legal and illegal substance use / misuse.

Among intrapersonal risk factors studied in risk factors research for substance use, personality and psychological characteristics are the variables most often explored (Rhodes et al., 1999). The vast literature commonly associates substance use and misuse with "social deviance" in general, and in particular with antisocial personality (Hawkins, Lishner, Catalano and Howard, 1986; Lavelle, Hammersley, and Forsyte, 1993; Wittchen, Perkonigg, Lachner and Nelson, 1998). Also, a substantial number of studies indicate that sensation seeking is a risk factor for substance use and misuse (Calafat, Amengual and Palmer, 1997; Calafat et al., 1998; Calafat et al, 1999; Bobes, González, Villa et al.; 1995; Brook, Cohen, Whiteman and Gordon, 1991).

Evidence on "sensation seeking and social deviance" individual variables provided in Table 2.8 is conclusive and can be easily interpreted. All sensation seeking and social deviation indicators are strongly and linearly associated with legal and illegal substance use and with substance abuse / misuse in our sample. As summarised in one recent review on risk factors (Rhodes et al., 1999), there appears to exist a substantial overlap between drug use, other problem behaviour and a resistance to normative social values. In particular, drug use and misuse appear to be inextricably linked with a variety of problematic behaviours including acquisitive crime, violence and vandalism as strongly correlated or predictive risk factors. These findings reported by other authors (Jessor,

Chase, and Donovan, 1980; Lloyd, 1998; Robins and McEvoy, 1990) are substantially coincident with results obtained in our sample. Moreover, multivariate models used to predict legal and illegal substance use and misuse also include social deviance items and sensation seeking responses as substantial components. Individual traits associated with non pro-social values / social deviance and their combination with sensation seeking traits can be variables that "prepare" individuals for later exposure to "high risk" environments for substance use / misuse. These factors, isolated or combined, can prepare individuals to learn behavioural patterns associated with the use and misuse of drugs as an active component of peer socialization and social activity developed in recreational nightlife environments.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The sample studied in this exploratory and descriptive research includes young adults who represent young people involved in recreational nightlife across nine European cities. Prevalence rates of lifetime use and recent use of legal and illegal substances among our sample are much higher than in general and young adult populations studied in different European countries, indicating a strong relationship between recreational nightlife and legal and illegal substance use in our sample.

Correlation analyses found significant and positive relationships between thirteen indicators of substance use and misuse, including frequencies of using legal and illegal substances and some indicators of substance abuse and misuse. This result suggests that legal substance use, illegal substance use and substance abuse / misuse may be viewed as related phenomena that are strongly associated and that are indicators of a latent construct related to substance use and misuse.

Bi-variate analyses found several associations among legal and illegal substance use / misuse and several socio-demographic such as gender, age, studies, occupation, family status and family control, and age of onset of legal and illegal substances. Nevertheless, multivariate analyses only included the following variables as substantial predictors: age, age of onset of legal and illegal substances, and lack of occupation (neither studies norwork).

Bi-variate and multivariate analyses found strong relationships between legal - illegal substance use and misuse with indicators of a higher involvement in recreational nightlife activities, again providing strong support for the hypothesis relating recreational nightlife and substance use and misuse. Also, motivations for going out that revolve around drug use are factors that emerge as good predictors of substance use and misuse, revealing another indicator of substance use as an intentional behaviour among our sample.

Finally, bi-variate and multivariate predictive analyses of our study find a strong relationship between legal and illegal substance use / misuse with some indicators of sensation seeking and social deviance behaviours, indicating that some intrapersonal variables can be substantial contributors in learning and developing substance use / misuse patterns among young people in recreational settings.

Much further research is needed in order to clarify the interplay of the variables identified as "predictors" of substance use / misuse in this study, and in order to understand the individual and environmental factors that determine drug use / misuse among young people in Europe involved with recreational nightlife. Further research should seek not only to estimate prevalence of lifetime / recent substance use , but also to develop standard measures to assess substance use and abuse / misuse,. Most recent drugs prevention and education strategies have focused on risk reduction, and standardized procedures are needed to assess substance abuse and misuse in epidemiological studies and in risk factors research. Also, more efforts should be made to develop and validate Europe-wide and standardized procedures to assess the main risk/protective factors (individual and environmental). This explorative and descriptive study provides evidence of the role of nightlife recreational activities in rates of substance use / misuse among young people , suggesting that risk factors research among European middle-class youth should include indicators of involvement in recreational nightlife.

Our study also presents some conclusions potentially useful for drug prevention and education among young Europeans involved in nightlife recreational activities. Preventive and educative strategies should be targeted at high risk individuals who are heavily involved in the night club scene, who are initiated earlier into legal and illegal substances, and show a tendency for sensation seeking and social deviance. Strategies could usefully focus not only on avoiding or delaying substance use among young people but also on counteracting the group processes which lead to substance use and abuse as a component of socialization during night-time recreational activities.

3. CLUBBING, RAVERS AND FREE TIME

In this chapter we will outline the way clubbers, and especially 'ravers', spend their free time. Before going into this topic, we need to describe the significance of clubbing in youth culture. Is it just another leisure activity or is it a way of living, a subculture? First we will have a closer look at the meaning of free time and leisure activities, and how these have changed over the last couple of centuries.

1. FREE TIME AND LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Definition of free time

'Free time' describes time that is not spent on personal care (sleeping, eating, hygiene), on fulfilling social obligations or in paid employment. Youngsters spend their free time at various times, in different places and on a wide range of activities. At ten o'clock at night, one young person may be watching television or listening to a music CD, another one frequenting a bar with some friends and yet another watching a movie with a boyfriend or girlfriend. Earlier that night one might have been playing sport, another one studying and the third one having dinner with his or her parents. (Van den Broek, 1999)

It is not that easy to determine whether certain activities should be regarded as leisure time activities or not. It is not the nature of an activity that determines whether or not it is a leisure activity, but also the way a person perceives it. A youngster who is working behind his or her computer in the evening might experience this as a hobby. On the other hand a youngster who is working as a disc jockey (or DJ) in a club might not experience it as leisure time.

Changes in the use of free time

In previous eras, the difference between free time and work time was not very clear because most people worked every day. Free time was not really planned and most recreation took place after harvest or at other quiet periods in the year. Free time was often spent at the same place where work was carried out. Moreover, people did not

need to make plans to see each other because whole families were together every day anyway.

During the twentieth century the nature of free time changed completely. Due to industrialisation many new types of work were added to the traditional ones. This meant that people were paid by the hour. Another consequence was that they workers could not see their relatives and friends during working time. So people began to make a distinction between family time and work time. Time became money. (Linders-Rooijendijk, 1995)

In the beginning, much of the time outside of work was claimed by the Church, political parties, trade unions and other state organisations. In particular, the working classes were considered incapable of using their free time wisely. That is why a range of organised leisure activities were provided for them. It is not only free time outside of the home that was influenced. The use of free time in the home changed a lot due to the commercial exploitation of the entertainment industry. Through radio, television and other media the entertainment industry entered family life. Furthermore, there were many new opportunities for active leisure activities at home. (van Stekelenburg, 1995)

Previously there was a clear distinction between upper and lower class entertainment. The working classes preferred popular activities such as sports with mass appeal (fairs, football, etc.), while upper class people - who had a longer tradition of enjoying 'free time' - chose more elitist cultural activities and specific kinds of sports (golf, hockey, etc.). Through setting precise rules and demanding high membership fees, they shielded their clubs from poorer people. However, over the years the clear distinction between high-brow culture and more lowly forms of entertainment gradually began to erode.

Today, a broad range of socially acceptable leisure activities are accessible to people from all social levels and age groups. If we look at recreation today we can see the same groups of people participate in both popular amusements (such as visiting a bar, going to the cinema or attending a football match) and more 'select' recreational activities (visiting a museum or attending a concert, for example). High culture is part of a multi-coloured leisure repertoire and has become one of a selection of possible leisure activities (Philips, 1995).

In Europe these days leisure activities are less bound to one's home and take place more and more outside of the home. In comparison to the 1970s, the 1970s enabled more people to participate in sports, go out, travel or belong to a club. The only home-based activities that have increased are watching television and surfing on the Internet. Youngsters especially spend their free time more and more outside of the home. Less of their social life is spent at home, and I spent more often on sport activities, going out and travelling (Van den Broek et.al., 1999).

Another remarkable change is the number of activities engaged in and the time that is spent on a single activity. In comparison with the 1970s, young people inf the 1990s seemed to do more in spite of having less free time, but when they engage in an activity

they spend more time on it. Contemporary youth leisure activities can best be characterised as 'now and intensive'. Today, it appears to be the form for youth culture to switch activities. This way of life is characterised by a focus on the here and now, a problematical relationship with traditions and an urge to yield to impulse. In German this phenomenon is called ´Erlebniskultur´. In the 'Erlebniskultur' of constantly switching activities we observe a preference for activities that concentrate on direct sensory pleasure. This frequent search for entertainment through sensory experiences is also named the sensate culture (SCP, 1998). A possible negative consequence of this is that the constant confrontation with a wide range of experimental experiences may make leisure activities more artificial. Always looking for something new, youngsters can become 'amusement shoppers' easily switching from one provider to another. Both in terms of social contacts and in terms of intensity, young people may obtain increasingly less satisfaction from their leisure activities (SCP, 1998).

Leisure activities and subcultures

Although almost all leisure activities are accessible to everyone, this does not mean that everybody is doing everything. The way people in general, and especially young people, choose to fill their free time has become a way of demonstrating one's identity. Youngsters bow to leisure ideals that are common to the social groups they want to belong to. In this sense, freedom of individual choice is quite limited. Youngsters often believe that they choose the activities that best suit them. But, in fact, the choices are not as personal as they think. People in their environment who are important to them – parents, friends - influence their choices a great deal (Leeuw, 1995). In particular, young people who choose to become member of a certain subculture often spend their free time in a way that fits that subculture. Furthermore the way youngsters spend their free time is bound to time and place. Free time does not mean being absolutely free and doing whatever you like. Economical, social, cultural and psychological factors influence it.

The idea that free time has to be spent 'wisely' is more common among older people and is often a topic of discussion between parents and youngsters. Self-development and utilising one's talents (through playing music or playing tennis, for instance) are regarded as sensible activities, while going out or 'hanging around' with friends is perceived as wasting time. 'Sensible' activities in a sense are duties and often are not regarded as real free time. Many youngsters prefer to engage in less structured activities in their free time. It is remarkable that young people regard certain leisure activities in such a different way to their parents. An interesting example is the different perceptions of 'hanging around': "It testifies to the intense activity which is involved in the common pursuit of 'doing nothing' and to the fact that what most adults see as an endless waste of time, an absence of purpose, is, from the viewpoint of kids, full of incident, constantly informed by 'weird ideas'" (Corrigan, 1976).

The way in which young people typically spend their free time should not be confused with the term youth subculture, which represents commercially produced

lifestyles, extraordinary lifestyles and the culture of being young between fifteen and seventeen (Hazekamp, 1985). In short, there is a need to differentiate between leisure activities that are typical for certain subcultures (for example playing hockey is typical for students and driving a motorbike is typical for rockers) and leisure activities that are typical for young people in general (for example hanging around and going out).

2. CLUBBING: A NEW LEISURE ACTIVITY?

If 'clubbing' were just another leisure activity it would be quite easy to identify a subculture of young people – for example 'ravers' – who spend (part of) their free time visiting raves or dance music events and to describe the characteristics that distinguish them from other youngsters. In studying clubbing and talking with participants in raves, we found that it is not that simple, because there is not one form of 'clubbing'. Clubbing is one way of spending free time, but can examined on a deeper level. It can be, in the extreme, the central activity (ie a way of living, a subculture) or can be just another leisure activity that is just engaged in once or twice a year.

From several studies, especially those carried out from an ethnographic perspective, we know that dance culture should not be regarded necessarily as just another subculture. Social scientists claim that dance culture has completely changed the way we are used to looking upon subcultures. Old theories about subcultures do not fit dance culture. One of the reasons is that one cannot speak about any one kind of music or clothing style. There is a wide range of musical and fashion styles that correspond with the general term dance culture. "The fragmentation of the audience(s) for popular music and its culture in the 1990s makes Subculture theory outdated. It does not mean there are no subcultures any longer: these abound in youth culture today, but are frequently grounded in market niched of contemporary global music industry – techno, bhangra, gangsta rap, ambient jungle – even when they ´originally´ came from the ´streets´." (Redhead, 1997).

In ´normal´ subcultures music is one of the most obvious elements that characterises the subculture. Participants of those subcultures know the most famous performers of their favourite music and consider them as their heroes. In dance culture, music has a different meaning since it has a different function. Music is made to dance to, not to listen to. Furthermore, it is not the performer who matters, but the DJ, who combines soundtracks and brings the crowd to rapture. "They place music way down on the list of things they care about (after education, home, friends, money, sex, appearance, work, going out, sport, hobbies and football) […] Rather than dancing to the music you like, you like the music you can dance to […]. You like the music you can drug to, the music that best intensifies the chemical´s effects." (Reynolds, 1997)

It is not only that many different types and styles are shared in club culture, but there is also an absence of defiance that we find in former subcultures such as punks or

rockers, where participants demonstrated their identity in their style of clothing and thinking. In fact, anybody can join in with rave culture. Furthermore many 'clubbers' do not demonstrate their participation in club culture in everyday life. "The rave-cult was not, as is conventionally thought, a subculture, but rather a form of popular culture that mesmerised, at the same time, style-elitists, ´drop-outs´ and a great section of working class youth, as well as the English criminal justice system […] Rather than creating a spectacle of resistance or ´alternative´ patterns of living, the rave offered a release from day to day realities, a temporary escapist disappearance like the weekend or holiday." (Rietveld, 1993)

A notable observation of several social scientists is that dance culture is not about creating an identity, but more about losing oneself in the anonymity of fellow clubbers or 'ravers' and in powerful music. According to this theory they have no other motivation for participating in raves than to escape from daily realities (Rietveld, 1993, Reynolds, 1997). In this sense, rave culture belongs to the sensory culture which has been categorised by others. Clubbing can be seen as the ultimate post-modern experience: experiencing sensations and nothing more. "Rave culture has never really been about altering reality, merely exempting yourself from it for a while. In that sense, rave is really a sort of dry run or acclimatization phase for virtual reality; it's adapting our nervous systems, bringing our perceptual and sensorial apparatus up to speed, evolving us towards the post-human subjectivity that digital technology requires and engenders." (Reynolds, 1997).

Although it may be true that dance music and culture seems to lack an objective, is "a cult of acceleration without destination, the creation of sensations without pretext or context", one also might consider its 'escape' function as an attractive target for youngsters who come across many stressful situations in their daily life. Clubbing at the weekend gives them the opportunity to escape daily life for a moment. Like holidays, clubbing constitutes a time in which the established order is broken down, where young people can relax. They do not seek to criticise the establishment, but rather to escape it: "A break is caused with the established symbolic order at a basic level, however temporary[…]. A ´subcultural style´ would simply affirm the established order of society by being ´different´ from (and therefore defined by) this order. In this case there was a surrender to a complete void of meaning, rather than some form of resistance" (Rietveld, 1993).

Youngsters who attend raves or dance events describe them as experiences incomparable to any other leisure activity. They use superlatives to express the special sensation that clubbing gives them. Clubbing is one big, long-lasting party or to cite Reynolds: "Raving is about the celebration of the celebration".

3. RESEARCH FINDINGS

In light of the above-mentioned changes in the use of free time and the position of clubbing within youth culture, we will present some research findings that derive from interviews and focus groups conducted by IREFREA-partners in their respective countries.

One of the principal topics of this study was closely related to free time and leisure activities. In the first part of the study we obtained quantitative data related to the time young people devoted to going out. **Table 3.1** presents the European average for time spent on this activity.

More than half the youngsters devote three or four weekends a month to going out and one third go out every weekend or every second weekend. The differences between cities are significant. Palma (75%), Nice (68%), Vienna (67.6%) and Utrecht (61.5%) have the highest percentage of youngsters who generally go out three to four weekends per month. Manchester, however, is notable for being the city where the percentage is lower (29%). The high cost of this activity would appear to be the most likely explanation. Other figures complement this information. A significant percentage of young generally go out on two nights per weekend (46%), although one third only go out once per weekend, and 15% up to three weekend nights. Almost half the young people regularly go out during the week, the majority on one or two nights per week. The average time per session is six hours.

The young people who go out are very diverse population. If we differentiate between those who generally go to rave parties or after-hour venues and those who go clubbing (visiting discos, pubs, clubs, etc.) we find that the time the former devote to partying is greater than that spent by the latter on clubbing. Table 3a shows these differences.

Comparing the two groups (**Table 3.2**) it can be seen that the young people who take part in raves and attend after-hours venues have a higher tendency to devote more time to partying than other young people who go clubbing.. 'Ravers' spend more weekends per month, more days per week and have longer sessions clubbing.. Therefore, they may be regarded as a specifics subgroup, in terms of the meaning that they give to their free time, spent mainly on taking part in rave parties or visiting after-hours clubs.

For this reason, we asked young people how they perceived the difference between week and weekend, and how they would define recreation. Many youngsters did not consider it as a subject for deep thought. When asked about the differences between week and weekend, it seemed as if they had not considered this theme before. Most of them found the difference so obvious that they had difficulty in explaining what exactly was the difference between their week and weekend. However, through formulating an answer they discovered that the differences are not as obvious as at first they appear. During the focus groups especially, when viewpoints were discussed with other young people, it became quite clear that youngsters regard the division between week and weekend quite differently.

Table 3.1: WEEKEND CLUBBING: NUMBER OF NIGHTS EACH WEEKEND; CLUBBING FROM MONDAY TO THURSDAY; AND DURATION OF CLUBBING SESSION, BY CITY

Number of weekends	
Less than once a month	11,2
1-2 weekend per month	31,9
3-4 weekend per month	56,9
Number of night each weekend	
One night	38,6
Two nights	46,1
Three nights	15,3
From Monday to Thursday	
Yes	40,0
Nights during the week	
One or two	68,2
Three or four	31,1
Duration of a clubbing session	
Hours	6,1
Total sample	(N=2.670)

Table 3.2: WEEKEND CLUBBING:, NUMBER OF NIGHTS EACH WEEKEND; DURATION OF CLUBBING SESSION; PARTICIPATION IN DANCE EVENTS AND AFTER-HOURSS PARTIES

	bbing who participe in ravers and afters	bbing who do'on participe in ravers and afters
Number of weekends*		
Less than once a month	5,9	13,5
1-2 weekend per month	23,3	35,6
3-4 weekend per month	70,7	50,9
Number of night each weekend**		
One night	22,2	45,9
Two nights	49,8	44,3
Three nights	28,2	9,8
Duration of a clubbing session***		
Hours	8,2 hours	5,9 hours
Total sample	N= 794 (29,7%)	N=1876 (70,3%)

*χ 91,5 (p<0,001), **χ 200,6 (p<0,001), ***(p=0,001)

The following paragraph describes the factors that influence the way youngsters perceive the differences between week and weekend. Although we are going to investigate the diversity of young people and youth culture, there will be a particular emphasis on those who take part in the rave culture.

Weekend means free time, week means obligations

Before explaining possible differences in detail, it may be useful to have a closer look at the 'obvious' difference. As expected, most youngsters in all focus groups agreed that the week is considered a time which is used for obligations at school and/or work and that the weekend is reserved for doing things they enjoy. In other words: weekend is related to free time and week is related to work, study and obligations.

'If there is a strict routine I have to follow from Monday to Friday, the weekend becomes a period of relaxation. I can do things for myself, like thinking more about myself, enjoying doing my own thing.' (male from Palma, 21 years old)

At first glance, many youngsters translate this difference in terms of boredom, stress and routine during the week and fun, relaxation and excitement in the weekend. Some of them - like the young girl in the following quote - experience this difference very clearly and describe it literally as a black and white distinction:

'Weekend is when you break away from routine, stress, boredom and you do only what you want to do. Week means working hard, being tired and having worries. It's like white and black. It's wearing a pair of rose glasses during the weekend and coming back into the greyness during the week. They are two different things. The weekend is amazing, you can express yourself, feel free and powerful, during the week you have to face the reality and a world that sucks.' (female from Módena, 24 years old)

Within this context, it seems logical that the weekend is considered as more fun and more important. From the interviews, however, we learned that this is not always the case. Even if youngsters experience a clear difference in free time and obligations between week and weekend it does not automatically mean that they consider the weekend as more fun or more important than the week:

'The weekend and the week are different: certainly you look forward to relaxing and enjoying yourself on Saturday, but then Monday comes and you get back into the routine. I don't know what the best things are for me, I'd say the weekend, holiday… it's fine not having commitments doing whatever you like. But I like to study too. Maybe if it was always Sunday I'd get bored. I like changing. Both periods are important and significant: the things that you do and the different people that you meet can complement each other.' (female from Modena, 24 years old)

Or, as one of the youngsters explained, there is a difference in significance and in 'fun-value' between week and weekend, but you need them both. Week and weekend may have distinct meanings, but both are essential for a meaningful existence. Rave culture seems to fit perfectly in this picture: during the week you do what you have to do and keep it calm, and at the weekend there is time to party.

'The weekend is more immediately rewarding. The week is necessary to build your future. Both are important. I can't imagine a life without relaxation and having fun, nor without work and study.' (male from Modena, 21 years old)

Although this might sound a very plausible conclusion, it is not shared by all young people. The 'obvious' difference only holds as far as that most youngsters recognise that there is a difference between week and weekend, but the meaning of both periods can

differ a lot. Some youngsters consider their weekend as more fun than their week, others experience the opposite and others regard both as fun. In other words it is not just a matter of free time that makes youngsters experience fun or happiness. The same goes for valuing weekends more than the week or vice-versa . There are many possible reasons why a youngster might regard his or her weekend as more important.

It is remarkable is that many youngsters who frequent raves on a regular basis often consider the weekend as the most interesting period of their week, as most parties have place in the weekend. Since rave parties require a lot of energy – they can last a whole night through to the next morning or sometimes even two days - weekends for them are very intensive and energy-consuming. So they use the week to recover from their weekend excesses .

> 'The week… is when you build up yourself. You relax and get your body prepared…you live the week being as good as you can and the weekend you put yourself out again for the week!' (male from Liverpool, 21 years old)

> 'Clubbing gives you something to look forward to at the end of the week.' (male from Liverpool, 18 years old)

These remarks imply that in actual fact their life is focussed on the weekend and weeks are just to recover. Their free time during the week is not really experienced as free time, as time with any significant meaning. What happens during the week is planned, foreseeable, with routine activities and, as a result, lacking the excitement of novelty, surprise or the unexpected. Their activities during the week are necessary in terms of integration and survival but the excitement is to be found in weekend activities. The following comments reaffirm this rigid construction of reality:

> 'I like the things I do at weekends more. During the week I just go to work and afterwards I go home. I would like to do something then, but often I am too tired. I mostly come home from work at eight p.m. and then I have to eat. So before I could possibly leave and do something it's nine p.m. That's too late for me to visit a pub or a friend.' (female from Utrecht, 21 years old)

The motivation of the young girl in this quote represents how an active 'raver' may experience a difference between week and weekend. During the week she does not even attempt to do the things she enjoys. She has no time to do the things she likes doing, because she is too tired and work takes up most of her time. Nothing special happens, because her time schedule is quite rigid. She does no sport and has no hobbies. At the weekend, on the other hand, she feels free to meet with friends and do whatever she likes. However, if we take a closer look we will find out that this simple motivation does not hold for all youngsters. Such assumptions are very important when trying to understand how young clubbers - and especially 'ravers' - deal with the division between week and weekend. We'll return to this example at the end of this chapter.

Occupation

One of the most important aspects in how youngsters treat week and weekend is their work and/or study. Going to school, being a student, having a job or being unemployed determines for a great many how young people organise their social lives. They make a clear distinction between activities without any responsibilities that allow them to go out every night and activities with responsibilities which entail getting up in time to go to work. Being a student often offers the opportunity for a lot of free time. The male in the next quote explains how he could easily go out as much as he liked when he was studying. Now that he is employed, his attitude to free time and leisure activities has changed.

> 'When I was on the dole, there were so many things happening during the week, that the weekend was the painful time of the week. I used to go out throughout the week and not in the weekends. I had been caught in a kind of party routine. Now it's the other way around. Having a job has changed all this. My mates work too and the weekend has become the only time that we can see each other.' (male from Nice, 21 years old)

The influence work or study has on the social life of young people is apparent in time of change. Going to a new city to study, or starting a 'proper' job are very important occasions that can completely change the social life of young people. Here is another example from one respondent who explained how her social life had changed since she had a steady job.

> 'Since I have been working, I have noticed that this influences my social life enormously. I can't meet with other people during the week anymore. At the weekend most people plan things with their partners. So it's difficult to date at weekends. Before, when I didn't have a job, I met those people during the week. Today I need to organise and plan things much better. If I don't make appointments before the weekend, I have to spend the whole weekend on my own.' (female from Utrecht, 29 years old)

Involvement in dance culture also seems to be related to occupation. Many young people who only frequent raves at the weekends work very hard during the week. Youngsters who also go to rave parties during the week often have no obligations – at least not early in the morning – because they study later in the day, or work evening shifts.

In **Table 3.3** it can be seen that of those young people who participate in rave parties or visit after-hour venues, almost half are in full-time employment and 19.4% study as well as work. Only one quarter are full-time students. These percentages demonstrate two things: the majority of the youngsters on these scenes have their own financial resources; and these scenes involve diverse young people who are occupied during the week in different activities. Compared with young clubbers, 'ravers' tend to be working, whereas those involved in others scenes are mainly students.

One difference that may be significant is the satisfaction the youngsters feel with their activities during the week. Some young people are so happy with them that they look for complementary activities at the weekend, or devote more time to their favourite interests so that there is not much of a break or a radical change in their lives. The following is one example:

Table 3.3: OCCUPATION OF YOUNG CLUBBERS, ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT RAVE PARTIES OR AFTER-HOURS VENUE

Occupation	Go often and very often to after hour and raves %	Don't go after hour and raves %
Studing	24,4	34,9
Studing and working	19,4	19,3
Working	47,0	40,1
Other (unemployet, militar service, other occupation)	9,1	5,7
Total	N= 794 (29,7)	N= 1876 (70,3)

*χ 35,1 (p<0.001)

'During the week I work and I go to university. Besides that, I organise a lot of activities, because I like doing that. The weekend is reserved for catching up on my sleep and meeting old friends that I know from the High School.' (male from Utrecht, 20 years old)

It may be that youngsters who do not enjoy their work or study look forward most to the weekend, and consider weekend time to be more important than time in the week. If a young person is not satisfied with their activities during the week, this often means that everything has to happen at the weekend; the weekend is the time when one compensates for the week. These youngsters often live a completely different life outside of work and/or study. On the other hand if they are content, a greater part of their social lives often takes place during the week. Obligations and spare time blend into each other. In this way, it may be the weekend is the time to take it easy and take a break, because everything happens during the week.

Although young people who are involved in rave culture often focus on the weekend this does not automatically mean that they are not satisfied with their activities during the week. As we have seen before, many youngsters consider clubbing as a way of escaping the routine of everyday life, but they do not n´t seek to criticize it necessarily. They need the money to be able to visit raves, which can be quite an expensive activity.

Social life

Another factor that causes young people to attribute a different meaning to the week and the weekend is the time that is available for having a social life. The ones who do not like their colleagues and/or schoolmates may consider the week less interesting in terms of social life than the weekend, when they choose their own company:

'At weekends and in the evenings I relax with people other than my colleagues at work. We choose to be with people we feel good with. At work we have no choice.' (female from Nice, 24 years old)

Others feel quite happy with the people they have to get along with during the week. In some cases those are the same people they see at weekends. In other cases they meet

different groups of people during the week and at the weekend, but they think both social circles complement each other. Furthermore they may consider seeing different kinds of people as a welcome change:

> "It is not because there is a "teuf" or that it's more intense. It all depends on the people and the environment: I might get as much pleasure at weekends in front of loudspeakers as when having a drink with some schoolmates: I'm not with the same people, in the same context, in the same state of mind (female from Nice, 21 years old)

Anther respondent explains that, in his circle of friends, it is not the people who differ but the number of people that come together. At the weekend they gather in larger groups. During the week he meets with the same people individually.

> 'The friends I meet during the week are the same I meet at the weekend but the difference is that during the weekend nobody is missing while during the week we go out in smaller groups.' (male from Modena, 21 years old)'

the fact that young people fill up their free time is a key factor in how they experience differences between week and weekend becomes clear once again when their social life is concentrated in the week. The following quote describes this very well:

> 'At the moment my social life during the week is more important than my social life at weekends. During the week I meet with colleagues and friends who also. I have a very mixed group of friends, with whom I do very different things. With one I go to the movies, with another I go dancing and with another I go to a restaurant. At the weekend I see my family and friends who live a bit further away.' (female from Utrecht, 29 years old)

In dance culture a great part of one's social life takes place at parties. At raves one feels (s)he has thousands of friends. The contact between participants differs greatly from how people get along in ´normal´ life. From this it may be deduced that the young people who participate in raves may be creating a new way of making social relationships meaningful, giving priority to novelty, to the detriment of what is already known. In other words, they seek to meet new people and enjoy new experiences through them. Excitement, fleetingness and a lack of commitment take priority over continuity and permanence. The activities of daily life appear boring because they concern longer term objectives. Activities become monotonous actions. There is a commitment that leads to duty and obligation. The people they are meeting are the same every day and there is little motivation. At weekends, however, there is the opportunity for a life that is exactly the opposite and rave parties are the ideal place for this. This is why ravers consider their social life in weekends as more important. It is notable that ravers consider it very important to meet new people at the weekend. While youngsters from other scenes prefer to meet with friends they already know, ravers prefer to see new faces and to experience new things at the weekend. The significance given to social relationships is therefore a determinant in the weekend experience.

Role

Social circles at work or study sometimes differ to such extent that youngsters feel that they have to play a part. As a result, of a weekend and in the evenings they feel more at ease. Young people who enjoy their work might regard performing as fun too. The ones who do not like their jobs experience role-play as a more restrictive factor:

'At weekends I am me. On other days I'm a character I'm asked to play and that I haven't chosen.' (female from Nice, 25 years old)

In the next quote one of the respondents explains that both dimensions - the person you are during the week and the one you are at the weekend - complement each other. But in his opinion the person you are at the weekend is more real. Released from obligations and responsibilities, most youngsters state that they feel more like themselves at the weekend:

'Even though I like my job, I always consider it to be a commitment, a source of stress and worries, that disappears just like a miracle at the weekend when I leave everything behind me. It's just like leaving one dimension and getting into another one. […] In my opinion, when I go out, there's no difference between week and weekend, because the things that I usually do are the same, it only changes my way of being. During the week I'm often tired and I can't break out from my daily worries. Week and weekend are both important for personal development, in order to live in reality, but I certainly think that during the weekend you are more real.' (male from Modena, 25 years old)

The idea of ' playing a part' during the week seems to be quite common among young people.. As a result, they feel more real during their free time, whatever they may choose to do. At raves this seems to be the case even more often. That might be one of the main reasons that raves are considered as a perfect way of spending free time. The only thing participants have to do is be themselves, and this basically means two things - not making any commitment or taking on responsibilities, and not having to act a role socially established for them. This is facilitated by their near anonymity in this type of scene.

Subcultures

Differences in week and weekend certainly are a matter of subculture. In some subcultures, it is quite normal to meet up and go out during the week, in others it is not. From all the different subcultures that have been included in this study, one subculture stands out in providing quite distinct meanings for week and weekend: student subculture.

Contrary to most youngsters, students often regard their weekends as the least interesting period in terms of going out. Most activities and parties take place during the week. Since their responsibilities are not so demanding (classes often start in the afternoon and are seldom compulsory), they can easily meet each other during the week.

'Having a buzz and some fun can also happen during the week. When I meet a friend at university, I might not go out until three of four o'clock in the morning. This happens quite spontaneously.' (male from Vienna, 24 years old).

There is another reason why many students do not like to go out at the weekend. In their opinion, going out in the weekend is no fun: too many people are around and the atmosphere is negative The compulsion to 'have a good time' is too forced:

'I don't like the recreational patterns related to weekend entertainment, as I consider this type of going out as massive and compulsory entertainment.' (female from Liverpool, 25 years old)

'In Utrecht going out at the weekend isn't fun. Actually we look down at people who go out at weekends. It's too busy. The atmosphere isn't good. During the week it's different. I don't feel attracted to people who go out at weekends. They only go out in weekends. The atmosphere is tense. They are often people from the country who have to go out in the weekend. In the weekend more people go out with the idea of getting drunk. (male from Utrecht, 20 years old)

According to many students, at weekends more people cross the line in terms of alcohol, drugs and staying up late, because they have no obligations the following day. This greatly influences the atmosphere and often ends up in unwanted situations. People who go out during the week should put on more restrictions:

'Students also can go 'deep', but they remain nice people. In the weekend it doesn't matter what happens, because nobody has to get up early. During the week this is different, because you always have to do something the next day.' (male from Utrecht, 20 years old)

Tired from all their activities during the week, students often use the weekend to recover and take it easy. In line with this idea students prefer to do other things at the weekend other than going out. This can vary from visiting their parents' home or old school-friends, to getting together at one of their friends' houses.

'We always try to do something during the week on Wednesday or Thursday. These are mostly student events. The weekend I usually spend comfortably, sitting around in pubs where you sit inside and drink something.' (female from Vienna, 21 years old)

'On Friday and Saturday there are too many people around and it's too chaotic. Cafés, pubs are overcrowded, especially if you want to enter in a disco-pub. It's hard to get in. You have more fun during the week. I prefer to do something else at the weekend, for example to go on a short journey somewhere.' (female, 28 years old)

People who frequent raves may also participate in other subcultures too. Some students go to raves.

Use of free time

Another factor often connected with subcultures is the way youngsters like to spend their free time. Many young people feel that at the weekend it is more important to 'have fun' and 'to experience something', as opposed to the daily routine of the week.

However the way in which free time is filled can differ a lot. Some youngsters feel it is important to experience new things during their free time, and make all kinds of trips, for others the weekend is the time when they have to work. Others definitely need to visit a club or party, others enjoy catching up on some sleep, or spending time with friends and/or family. One thing is quite clear: the weekend should differ from the rest of the week. Youngsters need to behave in a different way, feel different and most of all have fun:

> 'At the weekend it is necessary to have a break, to do something else, to break out of the usual routine even if we do nothing special.' (male from Modena, 21 years old)

> 'For me the weekend is a break. The whole idea of Saturday and Sunday is like liberation. I can do what I want to all the time. In fact during the week I also do what I want to: I study what I want and I like my work. But at the weekend I can sleep, go out, stretch on the sofa,… There's no hurry to do things. The weekend is a break that enables you to be stronger on Mondays and continue.' (female from Palma, 22 years old)

It seems that for most young people it is the change that makes the difference. They would not like to have free time all the time; after a while that would be boring too. Routine should be alternated with new things. Both experiences complement each other. They enjoy their free time more if it a true break. Somehow they feel it belongs together: the routine of the week and the break during the weekend.

> 'I can relax at the weekend and if I go out, recover… Both are important… Going out, spending time with friends and relaxing is good for you but if you were doing it all the time, you'd be a complete mess.' (female from Liverpool, 20 years old)

> 'Going out is fun. But it somehow belongs together. There isn't one without the other. If there were only weekends, it wouldn't be so great. After a while it becomes boring.' (female from Vienna, 28 years old)

Of course going out to pubs and clubs is one of the most popular ways for many youngsters to spend the weekend. But as we have seen before, this is not true for all young people. Teenagers in particular regard going out as a very important way to spend their free time. As youngsters grow older they discover other ways of relaxing: travelling, having dinner with friends, visiting the countryside, etc.:

> 'In a perfect weekend I have met and talked to many different people. I go out with my friends, but we always spread out. In this way you meet a lot of different people and have a lot of conversations with people about all kinds of things. At the end we come together again and tell each other about our experiences: "I met that and that person etc." Going out is important, because you can escape normal life. It's experiencing new things, meeting people, listening to other people's thoughts. One can also experience those things by going to a concert or a birthday. It's not exclusively bound to pubs or clubs.' (male from Utrecht, 27 years old)

In dance culture, going out is unsurprisingly the most important leisure activity. Depending on the level of involvement of a young person in rave culture, (s)he had has time left to do other things or not. Youngsters who are heavily involved in dance culture often spend all their free time clubbing, or recovering from clubbing. Their interest for

other leisure activities often reduces to nothing. Nevertheless, this certainly does not hold for all people who visit raves. People who are less involved can participate in many other activities besides clubbing.

Age

Age is definitely one of the most important factors in how youngsters spend their weeks and weekends. As mentioned before, the youngest are very focussed on going out during the weekend. The older they get, the more they will look for other types of pleasure. The weekend becomes less important or is seen as a supplement to the activities they have in the week.

'In my opinion age is the key factor. It would seem to be a stereotypical remark to tell a younger person: "Wait five years and you'll see…". But that's exactly what happened to me. A few years ago a weekend without going out would have made me desperate and now everything has changed….' (male from Palma, 27 years old)

The weekend is often the most important period for the youngest, because they can escape from home and meet with friends. During the week this might be difficult, especially when they still live at their parents' home. The older they get, the more they will meet friends during the week as well.

As mentioned before older youngsters prefer increasingly to engage in outdoor pursuits at the weekend, rather then visiting clubs. They describe a good weekend in terms of unexpected and new experiences, or meetings with a lot of different (unknown) people. Apparently they learned that this kind of experiences and meetings are not specific to nightlife, but may also emerge in other situations.

Rave culture seems to be an exception to this rule. Although the largest group is aged between 16 and 30 years old, it is not only youngsters who feel attracted to rave culture. At certain events it is quite normal to meet people older than 30 years of age. In comparison with other people of the same age, people who like to visit raves go out more often then people in the same age cohort who do not go to raves.

Time schedules

The final factor that causes young people to experience differences between week and weekend is time schedules. During the week the strict time schedules for school or work determine to a large extent how things are done. There is little room for being oneself. This is why many youngsters look forward to the weekend, when they can finally follow their own timetable.

'During the week, there are set obligations which you have to meet. At weekends you have a little more freedom. And if you don't want to do anything in weekends, you just don't.' (male from Palma, 28 years old)

'It's the time for amusement. During the week you have to study…observe commitments and timetables; weekend means time which you can completely spend as you wish. There

are no rules and no schemes. It's like a little holiday in which you can do what ever you want and just amuse yourself.' (male from Modena, 23 years old)

But in some subcultures time schedules also emerge in weekends. They often feel that weekends are reserved for planned activities like going to a certain party with certain friends or going to the beach, while during the week activities emerge more by chance. During the week activities are less planned, partly dependent upon the company they're with.

'Going out for really long hours is for the weekend. During the week going out means more sitting around with people in coffee shops. Sometimes it is also planned during the week, but less than at the weekend. During the week it's more spontaneous, when I meet the right people. In the weekend we go into a certain pub and we arrange that beforehand.' (female from Vienna, 28 years old)

Although the weekend is regarded by most youngsters as a time in which they can do what they want, be themselves and plan their own time, some young people prefer the unplanned happenings during the week more then the programmed events of the weekend. In dance culture the opposite holds: since the large events take place at certain times and in certain locations, and the participants want to be prepared well, they plan other activities carefully around the rave events. The ones who are heavily involved in dance culture may plan less, because they visit all kinds of raves in the weekend and during the week.

4. CONCLUSIONS

From our research we have found learned there are many factors - occupation, satisfaction about occupation, social life, role, subgroup, use of free time, time schedules and age – that determine how youngsters organise their social lives and whether or not they enjoy the weekend more than the week. Since clubbers are a diverse group, all these factors also may play part in the way youngsters who frequent raves spend their free time. Older youngsters, in general, spend less of their free time on going out clubbing and raves than younger ones. Clubbers who have jobs with strict time-schedules during the week are less keen on visiting clubs and raves during the week than students who can organize their own free time. Certainly involvement in the rave culture is of great significance: young people who are heavily involved in the dance scene spend a great deal of their free time in clubbing.

Since switching activities is the norm and sensory activities are popular, for many youngsters raving is an ideal form of relaxation. It makes them forget their daily routine for a moment and leads them into a world where all that counts is sensation. Moreover it enables them to forget the character(s) they have to be during the week: they only need to be themselves. It's not surprisingly then that youngsters feel more 'real' when raving.

For many youngsters, planned activities lack excitement and they lose interest in them. These are activities that take place during the week. They are necessary, they require a high level of commitment and the results are seen as long term. Expectation and excitement are delivered through weekend activities, more immediate activities where unexpected things happen, where they get to know new people on a more or less continual basis and with whom they form weak commitments. The questions that arise here are why: do they feel freer in these environments than in the formal arena of work and school? What prevents them from being themselves in this formal arena? Why is it necessary to escape from activities that require responsibility and commitment?

Quite apart from their involvement in dance culture, the experience of 'feeling real' is very intense and can have a great impact on youngsters. That is why they may have difficulties in describing a rave as just another leisure activity. This also explains how clubbing, in the short time, can become the most important leisure activity in a young person's life, replacing all other leisure activities. Compared with clubbing, other activities - including the social aspects that go with them – may appear superficial and not unimportant.

A question that emerges is whether the sensory and social contact young peoples experience at raves is truly more anonymous and less of a commitment? Since chemical products (often) are needed to reach that level of relaxation, and all energy is spend in quite a short time, raving implies more than just a night out. It has the capability to change the perception of free time in quite a radical way. But again, it can also be one of the leisure activities a young person undertakes in his free time besides sports and other types of entertainment.

4. NIGHT STYLE:
SUBCULTURES AND TRIBES

1. INTRODUCTION

Differentiation between groups is inherent in the human species. But it is in cities, the framework within which millions of people share a territory, where differentiation becomes more apparent and occupies a central place in the social structure. In western European cities, coexistence has been aggravated by groups differentiated by social class, status, race, culture, political or religious affiliation, etc. throughout the 20th century, and these conflicts have played a leading role in the majority of recent historical events. Even today, experiencing this diversity is part of a collective learning process and a challenge to coexistence.

The confluence of diverse groups is accompanied by a greater consolidation of the values that define the individual as an autonomous subject. This contributes to creating a social dynamic, based on individuals, which is concerned with a constant search for differences and peculiarities in lifestyles. And all this is part of a society undergoing an intense process of mutation from scientific/technological development and from a market that projects its expansion process at the individual dimension. Young people are the ones who experiment, adopt and transform the social conditions the most. They are also searching for themselves within the framework of groups and individuals, and constructing their own relational status. Young Europeans are individualists, as this is how they have been socialised, but they are also sociable since they need a group to build their identity. Therefore they tend to integrate themselves in groups as a strategy for expressing themselves, for seaching out others and for protection. This leads to a wide diversity in groups of young people, differentiated by style, behaviour, lifestyle and - increasingly - by the leisure experience.

The first SONAR survey (Calafat 1999) established the necessity for differentiating between the young people in each of the cities taking part in the study. Differentiation became necessary in order to be able to interpret the significant differences in the way leisure is experienced and the different paths that lead - or do not lead - to drug use. Youth cultures acquire such a capacity for diffusion that they are transnational communication links between young people who share tastes and ethics, forms of entertainment, problems and aspirations. The study sensed such capacity for exchange and connection and affirmed that "probably the young are the most active social group

in creating a European identity". This analysis endeavours to combine two realities - similarities and differences.

In every European city, there is a mosaic of youth cultures (tribes or subcultures) that coexist side by side, rejecting and excluding each other at times, and sharing scenes and interchanging cultural elements such as music and dress styles at other times. These groups are not always clearly identified and delimited, but overlap and share communal scenes. The researchers who took part in the SONAR project made every effort to encapsulate the most visible youth scenes and collectives in each city and describe their characteristics, recreational habits, musical tastes and relationship with drugs. The classification criteria varied in each city, giving rise to a multicoloured portrait of groups and tribes and their scenes.

This present study analyses the differences and the similarities between the most common scenes to be found in the countries taking part in this survey. In addition, the analysis is directed towards the various forms of entertainment to be found in recreational nightlife, the influence of particular scenes and groups on the behaviour of the young people, as well as the role that the different drugs play in these scenes. This work comprises three central sections in addition to the introduction and the conclusions. The following part covers the methodological aspect and describes the method followed to delimit and define the scenes that have provided the data. Apart from its technical content, this section is important as, in establishing the scenes, it deals with qualitative criteria where the differences and similarities between the countries are revealed. The third section of this article includes certain theoretical reflections that frame the analysis. It points to the need for studying young people, their values and lifestyle in society. This rather more theoretical approach concentrates on demonstrating the dimension of the group, the collective life of young people, the use of the term "tribe" and group influences in the entertainment arena and drug use. The fourth section is the most central one and presents the data on five scenes from a descriptive and comparative angle. Finally, the conclusions provide a synthesis of the principal achievements of this research.

2. DEFINITION OF RECREATIONAL SCENES

The data that sustain this article were obtained through the SONAR 98 questionnaire administered to a sample of 2,700 young people in nine European cities. Fieldwork was also undertaken in order to obtain the qualitative information. Four subgroups of young people, the most representative in recreational life, were identified in each city. Subsequently, as a second stage of the research, a focus group was held in each of the cities, bringing together representatives from the selected subgroups. One of the subjects developed in discussion groups with the young people was their identification with the group or tribe with which they shared recreational life, the elements used to

identify them, both to each other and to outsiders, the criteria for inclusion in and exclusion from the group, the degree of identification that they felt with a group, etc. This information was used to complement and explain the statistical data as well as to provide new research approaches to the youth sub-culture phenomenon. Analysis of the tribes or the sociable aspect of the young leads to the creation of new knowledge on the youth social dynamic in order to establish relationships with diverse phenomena as well as opening up new explanatory approaches. The principal phenomenon to be analysed here is the one relating to drug use but it also has some connection with a new system of social communication, of solidarity networks, of the search for models of society and therefore, of political action.

The questions this work endeavours to answer are many and varied. The most central one is where do the similarities and the differences between the groups of young people out to enjoy themselves lie? And this leads on to other questions. What are young people looking for? Why do they use drugs? What significance do they give to drugs? Do the youth subcultures explain the differences in drug use?

Answering the first question involved a conceptual challenge focusing on singling out the differences and classifying the subgroups in the nine cities taking part in the study. It was achieved by using quantitative, qualitative and ethnological information on each city. With this information, the majority of the subgroups were coalesced *into five broad categories confined to five recreational scenes, each with a specific characteristic in respect of music, entertainment, and population age and status*. In Appendix 2, there is a table with the subgroups that were defined in each city and the principal features of each one. The subgroups were unified in accordance with common characteristics and we succeeded in highlighting the five scenes that could be considered the most visible and popular at a European level. In the process of drawing up these methodological criteria, it was necessary to investigate the most outstanding feature of each scene and the subculture that defined it. It was also necessary to draw up a conceptual framework that then had to be defined and specified before entering into the descriptive and analytical sphere. Prior to beginning to define the five scenes, a precise definition is given below of the concepts that will be constantly presented throughout this work.

CATEGORY. We refer to category in order to designate a population in which the members share some characteristic that differentiates them from others. It is a conceptual and theoretical structure that refers to large collectives, and forms part of universal criteria. Example incluse categories of women, young people, adolescents.
NETWORK. A population is a network when its members are related by the same social link. The members of a network are connected, they know each other and associate with each other. Sociological studies centre more on the nucleus of the networks than on individuals and are, therefore, interested in members of the networks. A network is one formed by the members of a family or by young people who go out clubbing, for example, or those who go to rave parties.
GROUP. This is a very plural concept to designate a collective of people with some feature in common. In other words, it may be used as a synonym for category and collective. In sociology, it may be defined as the union of a category and network. It is therefore, a population that shares

common characteristics and one that interrelates. Thus the researcher uses the term group in reference to very diverse collectives - nuclear families, colleagues in a workplace, voluntary associations and young people going out clubbing. It is a concept that is very flexible and one that can be generalised.

SUBGROUP. This is part of the concept of group but it acts to differentiate between the members of a broad collective (the collective of young people who go out clubbing, for example). It is also an abstract concept and not used by the people whom it designates. It is generally a label used by the researcher to unite and differentiate between collectives. In this work, it refers to each of the four collectives of young people that have been distinguished in each city.

SUBCULTURE. If culture is a system of knowledge that directs the social action of the members of a society, the subcultures are the cultures belonging to small groups that form part of the overall culture. Subcultures are identified within the global one but differ between themselves. The dynamic and pressure exerted by its subcultures is what enables a global culture to continue to evolve. Going out for enjoyment is a characteristic of our culture and one practised by a good number of the collective of young people but this collective or group is divided into subgroups, each of which adopts a subculture. Each subculture creates it own dynamic, tastes, habits, control over its members, values in comparison with others, etc. Recreational life is shaped by a mosaic of subcultures.

TRIBE. When we use the term tribe we do so somewhat symbolically since tribe is an anthropological concept referring to small groups of shepherds and food gatherers, organised basically on the lines of kinship and with a high degree of solidarity. The tribes in evolutionary anthropology are part of a phase of human evolution. Nomadic populations, comprising small population groups, are an example of a tribe. The tribes label themselves with a name and with identity signs that differentiate them from the other tribes with whom they generally come into contact.

In the present-day post-modernist, urban mass culture, the concept of tribe is adopted and redefined to make it functional. Its significance has continued to change in order to adapt it to reality. In the preceding decade, it was utilised to designate a group of people who adopted common identification signs including identification by a name. Some more obvious examples are the punks, skinheads or redskins. Nowadays, there are no such clearly identified groups among the young. Although groups do continue to exist, they are more flexible and mutant. Designating these groups "tribe" is a way of integrating a concept that has become popularised and is part of the vocabulary of the young people themselves. Finally, it contributes to creating an image that is helpful when this work analyses the nocturnal dynamic of the young population and, one that is closer to them.

Recreational scenes in Europe

The night may be seen as comprising a mosaic of tribes taking part in it and interacting with a heterogeneous and potent industry that creates the scenes where the tribes take up positions and act. In order to carry out the analysis of the subgroups, taking into account statistical, recreational and social data, some of the 36 subgroups described in the nine cities (4 groups per city) were classified. The result enabled the creation of five large categories to refer to the scenes where the groups or tribes that took part identified with. The grouping that established the five scenes was carried out on the basis of similar social and recreational characteristics. This classification must be understood as an attempt to give some meaning to European recreational life by selecting the

principal scenarios and their actors. The data provide demographic, social and recreational information on the young people who take part in each scene. It is important to note that the classification process is a methodological task that implies a certain abstraction of reality. In practice, the scenes are patronised by a motley population. One part is more loyal and idebtifies more closely with the culture of a specific scene but other groups of young people participate in a way that fluctuates, changing scenes with greater ease. In other words, the scenes are the scenario of a subculture where the different groups or tribes who join in identify with that specific subculture or are even attracted by it, but this identification is adopted to different degrees.

Beyond the diversity that exists in each scene there are also aspects of similarity that justify a unification of the subgroups in the different cities. The common characteristics that permit this union between the subgroups allow the creation of the idea of scenes, and this is what gives entity and significance to this analysis. However, in order to do so, it is necessary to overcome theoretical rigidity and attain a flexibility that enables a common grouping of similar subgroups irrespective of national borders which is, in fact, what young people are achieving when they go out clubbing or partying on a Friday night. In certain cities, the young are acting in a parallel way, listening to the same music and relating to similar values.

In short, the scenes that have been highlighted are five in number and 31 subgroups have been integrated within them, out of a total of 36. Five of the subgroups were excluded, as it was not possible to find a comfortable fit in any of the scenes. These excluded subgroups are to be found in the following cities, Berlin, Manchester, Nice and Utrecht. They are subgroups that take part in the scenes in a very minor way and, although they are important in the context of a specific city, they do not have equivalents in others. These subgroups include the jazz/soul/funkin Berlin, one well defined by these musical styles. The young people who belong to it have an average age of 24, and it is a scene encompassing small and 'alternative' venues. Another is the 'funk/disco' scene in Manchester, very open to the public at large and difficult to classify for this reason. A similar difficulty arises with the 'discos' subgroup in Nice, with an average age of 26 years and ranging from a wide clientele to minority groups such as homosexuals. Also in Nice, there is a subgroup that takes part in 'private parties', which is characterised by being a more adult and elitist group of people. In Utrecht, a difficult subgroup to classify is the 'old club' formed by a more adult population but one which likes house music. The remainder of the subgroups that do form part of the five selected scenes are as follows:

Techno-rave scene
Teenage scene
Rock scene
University scene
Mainstream scene

Techno-rave scene

This is the dominant scene in the recreational arena in Europe. It includes the twelve subgroups of young people that participate most in dance culture. Within these scenes, there is a preference for house, techno, hardcore, drum & bass, garage and other derivative styles. The young people in this collective are, perhaps, the ones who feel themselves most clearly identified with their own subculture: "My friends all listen to rave or techno", "We all listen to the same music- house, techno, some hardcore..." Nevertheless, the principal element that wastaken into account in making the grouping was not only musical identity but also other elements of the recreational culture closely associated with these musical styles, such as the taking part in rave or after-hour parties or recreational activities linked to the techno subculture. A characteristic that defines these scenes is that the music, created with high instrumental technology, with a mix of sampled musical pieces, has become an art, and the DJs have become one of the principal creators of the party scene. An aspect common to these subgroups is the search for new forms of amusement and the emphasis on a somewhat provocative and very colourful appearance. It could be described as the subculture furthest from the dominant culture of the adult generations.

On becoming the dominant culture and the one most present among the young, the techno, dance and house culture has also diversified and has entered the culture of the masses. Some of the groups in this culture continue to maintain an innovative and experimental dynamic but they are minority groups. In general, techno/house music has been 'normalised' and entered larger discos and nightclubs. Diversification has made it possible to identify the musical styles in each city that emerge from house music in a different shape because it is subdivided into so many styles. The most popular styles are *acid house, techno, garage, bakalao, hardcore, mellow and trance*.

In the same way that techno/house music has become normalised so has the "rave" scene. Before this music became integrated in discos and clubs, this scene consisted of parties organised by DJs in the open air or in a disused warehouse, outside the commercial circuit. These parties became known as raves in some countries and were first popularised in the north of England. At the beginning, the British Government decided to ban them and their promoters went on to organise raves in other places, such as the United States, and in other European countries and, particularly, in central and northern Europe. Since then the rave have gone on to become a more and more popular recreational event although, in some countries such as France, it is of an underground nature. The popularity of techno culture and the rave may be seen in the street parade held in Berlin for the last few years which is now imitated in other cities such as Zurich. More than a million youngsters take part in these events.

The idea of a "rave' differs from city to city. In our study, in some cities raves are rare although this does not impede there being a subgroup labelled 'ravers' in Athens where, in fact, a raver signifies being a fan of mellow music. Nevertheless, although the ravers in Nice, who actually do attend raves, probably do not feel themselves identified with the Athens ravers, some do share a musical identity and entertainment style with others.

The following description of the ravers in Athens and Nice may assist in understanding this distinctive and common culture of the two subgroups in their specific cities.

(comment about ravers in Athens)"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. During the developing stages of the dance music movement, some youngsters appeared with a very eccentric appearance. [...[The appearance traits of these young groups are discriminatory stylistic reference points vis-à-vis 'other young people' and express, to a certain degree, their collective identity. [....] They have adopted the values of leisure, enjoyment and pleasure which are considered as morally 'anti-conformist' behaviours [...] 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." (Calafat, *et al* 1999)

(ravers in Nice) "The techno community that leaves the discos in order to go to underground parties is representative of the new amusement trends, including drug use, but also a cultural search - maybe in quest of identification with a sub-culture.[...] This group is formed by an unqualified population and by students with part-time jobs, often living with their parents, taking advantage of a new and quite precarious labour insertion system established in France (contract- employment- solidarity), occupying public places, sharing their love of 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, they meet every night on the beaches or in the parks of Old Nice in order to smoke or sniff." (Calafat, *et al* 1999)

The techno-raver label is used to describe a scene that could also be defined by such labels as 'innovator', 'nonconformist', 'psychconaut', 'postmodernist' 'neohippy', although these are all imprecise labels that do not succeed in defining the collective. In short, this first large scene is characterised by being represented by the followers of the very latest musical styles to appear on the club scene - techno, house, hardcore, garage, etc., and also by collectives that attempt to create new recreational scenes, and in the arena of the weekend party scene, where some adopt an eccentric appearance with loud flashy colours that attract the attention of the rest of the population. In addition, this culture has become 'normalised' to a great extent and has entered what is understood as 'mainstream culture'.

Rock scene

This is very much a minority scene. This study has distinguished subgroups in three cities, Athens, Modena and Utrecht, where the scene is characterised by rock being the most popular music. However this scene does not exclusively attract rock music fans and it is a collective that share a lifestyle reminiscent of the experiences and values of the 1960s and 1970s.

"According to the ideology of this scene, a rocker is a cool person who behaves in an unconventional way. [...] . The ideology of the rock scene is based on anarchistic principles, such as the criticism against hierarchical social structures. Moreover, the young people from this scene dress carelessly. (Male from Athens, age: 34).

This is the way a young Athenian defines rockers. In these subgroups, rock is the preferred music but there is also pop and other styles. It is important to remember that rock has been a very influential musical style on young Europeans for many decades and still continues to be, although slightly displaced by techno music among the younger ones. In fact, rock is the second musical style of importance in the SONAR Survey. In some countries in southern Europe, rock has created a strong culture, giving rise to many local musical groups with wide prestige among young people. Rock has evolved by merging with other traditional musical styles such as flamenco in Spain. In central European countries, however, it would appear that rock has lost influence. In Berlin and Manchester, it has been displaced by the new techno styles. In other cities, such as Palma, rock is the musical style with most fans and is, therefore, spread throughout the four subgroups that make up the study. The appearance of rockers is already part of the standard dress style, dark clothes, long hair and a slightly scruffy appearance although it is only adopted by a minority of the young. Heavy metal fans - the most radical face of rock - are included in this scene but form a small minority among the clubbers in this study.

University scene

This scene is dominated by university students and also generally includes professional people. This group is distinguished by its high social levels and although it is mainly young people it also includes some adults. It is a collective close to the upper middle class and is a more select group. Perhaps for this reason, it prefers the more tranquil scenes of small and intimate establishments. In some of these places, experimental music concerts and also select classics such as rock and pop are on offer. The cities where this subgroup has, in fact, been defined are Coimbra, Nice, Palma, Utrecht and Vienna. It comprises a total of five subgroups in cities where the student collective is one with an important social presence and one that defines the scenes.

Teenage scene

This is a scene defined most of all by age. In the young clubbers group, there is a diversity of ages and there is a certain differentiation among the youngest, who could be considered as adolescents, and the rest. It is difficult to identify the age that would act as a frontier between these two factions, but a broad band could be established from 18 to 20 years of age during which there is a change of attitude between the youngest members and the more adult young people. Techno/house music is widespread on the teenage scenes and they are close in appearance and entertainment style to the young techno-ravers. The teenagers are the ones who strive the most to create a new subculture

- the furthest possible from the culture of their parents - and this, perhaps, explains their closeness to the techno scene. The cities where they are specifically represented are Coimbra, Modena, Palma, Utrecht and Vienna. There are six subgroups in total, given that in Palma there are two adolescent subgroups.

Mainstream scene

This is the group that is present in the most fashionable scenes in each city. The term 'mainstream' itself indicates this centrality. The music and the venues are the most popular in the recreational culture of the masses, and it is the music with the greatest presence in the media, the most commercialised music, and the one most listened to by radio and television. These groups are found in almost all the cities, being found in Athens, Berlin, Coimbra, Manchester, Modena and Vienna. Mainstream may be considered as a specific group, although of a very hybrid culture, that includes all the elements that have been popularised in the media. The public taking part is also a diverse one and there is fluctuation and exchange between the other groups. In this scene, there is a variety of ages but in the sample for this study the average age is higher, at 24 years of age. Mainstream culture is basically centred around discos and larger dancing venues, and it may be said that it presents a more formal appearance. However, it is also the one that has less cultural identity as it also includes elements from other subcultures that attain a certain commercial success. There is also a variety in the venues in accordance with the economic status of the individual. Some establishments are more select and filter admission of those who do not comply with the required standards of dress and appearance.

3. THE CITY, AN ARENA FOR TRIBES AND GROUPS

The social life of young Europeans has been transforming gradually and, in doing so, changing the significances it acquires and its influence on all aspects of their life. Technological change, the advent of mass culture, the imperious presence of a media discourse controlled by market and consumer needs, the changes in generational relationships and sexual practices and many other factors mean that the present social context has much that is unprecedented, giving rise to situations that must be redefined from a new sociological and cultural perspective. Young people are the agents of social change and they are very dynamic agents in transforming cultural references. One of the arenas where they most express their singularity is in the recreational sphere, the area in which the young search for themselves and their equals. In order to do so, they create codes that identify them as a generation and as a group, and thus, collectively, give a distinctive significance to their particular generation. And moreover, the recreational scene has become a new arena socialised by the young, one of the most important

entities - together with the family - at the present time, and in detriment to other classical entities such as the school or the Church (González Blasco 1999).

In this sense, social sciences have begun to develop explanatory criteria for the importance that the recreational arena is acquiring for the young of today. One approach would be to look at recreational life as a platform of new social movements and new forms of collective action (Laraña and Gusfield 1994), and as a system of informal expression by which means the young express their anxieties and take part in political action (Bavhnani 1994). The importance of this approach is that it positions youth subcultures in association with more global social dynamics where the adult generation plays a very important role. With such interest in evaluating the young from a perspective integral to society, analyses have emerged on the lifestyle of the young that indicate that their behaviours are a reaction to the growing trend to pragmatism, defined by the scientific/technological logic that predominates in European countries. From this perspective, the reaction of the young is seen as a counterweight to the hegemony of rationalisation, the demanded order, the domination of the useful, the contradictions of a contradictory and unstable balance (González Blasco 1999). It is undeniable that there is a relationship between the demands of the adult collective and the behaviour of the young but it is possible that this relationship is less linear than it appears and is transmitted in this explanatory dimension. The behaviour of the young may be seen as a reaction but one that could take many forms and, in fact, it does so. If, in their reaction, some young people submerge themselves in the quest for immediate pleasures, bodily sensations, adventure, innovations, etc., then in a way, they are, in fact choosing. This is pointed out in an endeavour to emphasise that it is necessary to keep one's distance from victimising analyses in which the young are passive or simply consequences of the adult society. It is necessary to construct more complex and, perhaps, bolder analyses.

One ideal (or fantasy) of the young is to find new sources of communication among themselves and with others and this is something that they attempt to do beyond the parameters of the formal areas of school and work, which are defined much more by adults. Their recreational life becomes the ideal arena for this quest. The search for scenes where the young feel less controlled by adults does not mean that the young are trying to act in any deviant or transgressive way. Indeed, it may be said that it is a situation agreed, tolerated and even promoted by adult society, to a great extent. The young act within the dominant social logic and this becomes even more apparent on confirming that in their activities they have recourse to and need the principal achievement of the adult collective and the one it feels most proud of, which is technology. Adaptation to the logic of technological process is very well assimilated by young people, and this can be confirmed by observing that one of the changes in the present day world is in subordinating the parameters of time and space to that of speed and the immediate (Morel 2000). Therefore, a kind of consensual dialectic is being established, in principle, between the young and the adults but this does not deny the existence of discrepancies and responses in the face of hegemonic logic.

The young frame their quest for amusement (music, clothing, Internet, drugs...) in the very latest and most sophisticated technology. They are searching for quick success and immediate experiences in the short term, to such an extent that the new and the obsolete are to be found at the same time. Technology becomes a definer of some of the new musical styles, particularly those associated with techno/house music, and also in the development of psychedelic and sophisticated aesthetics which materialise as much in dress style as in recreational scenes, in the new cybernaut media of communications and in the variety of the drugs emerging from the laboratory which are used for different forms of entertainment. It may be said that the young are becoming one of the leading consumer groups of a technology that facilitates access to goals and goods, simplifying the processes. The recreational scene is one where adaptation to the new technologies in the search for communication and expression may best be seen.

Tribes and subcultures

One way of understanding the dynamic of the young in recreational life is through their forms of collective organisation. In fact, looking at society as the sum of individuals is not particularly operative in understanding certain phenomena. The concept of the individual is questioned in present day sociological literature. There are authors who suggest that society is rather more like a network of interrelated groups that form a mosaic (Maffesoli 1990, Rodríguez 1995, Tilly 1984) and that the individual is an entity fragmented into invisible pieces scattered through the mosaic. As Ibáñez states in his foreword to Maffesoli (1990), in the so-called postmodernist society there are now no individuals but people who play roles and who identify themselves with their peers without becoming swallowed up by them. A young adolescent plays different roles in his or her family, in school, in the workplace and in peer groups. In each of these spheres he or she is part of a network of relationships and the individual dissolves in this network and goes on to become an ingredient of a group within which he or she interacts with other groups. Therefore, speaking of the culture of the groups is one way of entering into a partial understanding of individual attitudes.

In the dynamic interwoven by recreational life, networks are formed that are characterised by their role in sociability (in the relational sense). Following the reasoning of Maffesoli, "the organisation of sociability has the form of a network. A network that connects knots. The knots in the network would be the tribes" (Maffesoli 1990). The concept of tribe is innovative and experimental in seeking to understand young people who, disseminated in subgroups, create a very complex mosaic of subcultures. Therefore, the concept of tribe is operative in understanding the dynamic and significance of the groups in today's society, a society that is distancing itself with huge strides from the parameters of modernity established during the 19th century with the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation, centred on work and production. Nowadays, on the contrary, European societies have been overturned in the search for values associated with leisure, pleasure, bodily delights, quality of life and information,

and where consumerism occupies a privileged place in both the economic order and in the creation of a new system of values.

Understanding such concepts as tribe, group, network or subculture is central to this work. The concept of tribe is considered an appropriate one for it contains of flexibility, of age and innovation at the same time. The concept of tribe is borrowed from social and cultural anthropology and designates primitive collectives, organised basically around kinship. Even if the discussions in anthropology on the definition of a tribe are numerous, and there is no consensus on agreement, this is advantage in the term. Applying the concept to the urban mass societies of the postmodernist era, it acquires an original significance when referring specifically to the young. The term tribe may be used to designate groups of equals linked by their own affiliation, that generate relationships of solidarity, develop ethical and aesthetic signs of identity and act as a collective in certain social arenas. And, in addition, the concept adapts itself to transformations in the organisational life of the young. Although the concept of tribe is synonymous with group, in this work it is less of a generaliser by being closer to the young people and, therefore, more operative.

Ininvestigating the form of organisation developed by the young when going out to enjoy themselves, the concept of tribe is also useful if it overcomes the definition of tribes that was used a decade ago and which has pejorative connotations. In the 1980s, the concept of tribe was used to denominate very characterised radical groups - punks, mods, rockers, skinshead, etc. (Costa et al.,1997) creating a certain confusion. At the present time, it is a concept that has been positively and more widely resurrected by postmodernist sociology to enter into explanatory paradigms for the youth groupings that are made to differentiate themselves from others. Therefore, it is a concept that should adapt itself to the reality of the young who change in a vertiginous way. Nowadays, the majority of young people no longer identify with a tribe in a restrictive way (in the sense of a decade ago) but they do feel themselves to be members of a tribe with a variable affiliation and one that is somewhat non-committal. The concept of tribe applied to present-day reality reflects a category that pertains to the sociology of the invisible. That sociology needs to enter into aspects that are difficult to materialise, such as identity or relational links, in order to explain collective behaviours. Therefore, speaking of tribes becomes practicable if the term is defined. The young when they organise themselves into groups or tribes follow informal criteria founded on communal links of solidarity and affection, recreational or any other type of interest in common. But these groups or tribes of today have certain specific characteristics. They cannot always be identified by a name or a label. Their members are mobile, entering and leaving the group, forming a self-protective grouping and seeking alliances with other similar groups. In attempting to analyse the social life of the youth of today, several experts have adopted the concept of the tribe and contributing to its definition (Maffesoli 1990, Brake 1993, Costa et al, 1997, Feixa 1998).

The youth of today belong as much to the mass as to the tribe, it is a complementary experience for them and they are part of two realities, or what Orizo (1999) defines as

the "hybridization phenomena". Maffesoli, for his part, considers that a continual coming and going is being produced between constant massification and the development of the microgroups that we call tribes in postmodernist society: "as the masses are found to be in constant ebullition, the tribes that crystallise in them are not stable and the people who make up these tribes can move from one to another" (Maffesoli 1990). The tribe implies a relational activity dynamic. They are open groups, plural and everchanging, where there is a constant interbreeding of fashions, foods, appearances and shows.

> "I always feel like a vagabond. I'm a person who takes a look at everything but doesn't really belong to one of the groups. I go to raves with some of my friends. With others I go to hardrock concerts. You can find me at reggae parties. In fact I like all kinds of music. It varies from classical music to doom dark noise. Other people never know how to categorise me. Am I a gabber, or a clubber, or a drug user? People always find it hard to put a label on me." (Male from Utrecht, age: 27)

Orizo defines this nomadism as one of the most peculiar characteristics of the young who have adopted the postmodernist culture that "does not encourage stability of leaderships, nor conceptions with a tendency to totality nor lifestyles with a tendency to permanence" (Orizo 1999: 62). The tribes are polyculturalists. The subjects integrating the tribe are not individualists but people who play a part and whose existence depends on their presence on the scene and on their interconnection with other people. Therefore, the concept of tribe is linked to that of sociability. However, there is another aspect intrinsic to the tribes as a whole. The mosaic they form is in itself a social discourse, a non-verbal form of narration for a system of relationships, of social mobility in search of an ideal that may be that of communication. This ideal is not easily encountered in other arenas where the young move. The communication they are attempting is complex. They are searching for it with themselves, with those who are their peers and with others who are different. Distinctive normative parameters are established with each entity

> "Everything is prepared during the week for the weekend. When I go out to a disco on weekends I work off my tensions to let off my stress, I chill out, and sometimes I go overboard… To my mind, a good night is a night spent out with my friends: we laugh, we dance, we also drink a little, we have fun, in fact… The people you meet at work and during the weekend are different: they don't belong to the same world." (Female from Nice, age: 24)

The image conjured by the comments of this young woman is filled with significance. The first and last sentences indicate the location of her centre of gravity, and everything hinges around the weekend. The rest is a description of her quest - escape, emotional pleasure, bodily sensations, immediate gratification, novelty. All this is an example of the high value that the forms of self-expression acquire in certain scenes and not in others. For many young people, the leisure scene signifies freedom, the work scene necessity. According to the analysis by González Blasco (1999) "Increasingly, a profession, daily work is being considered as less of an acceptable means of achieving personal qualities and desires and, therefore in this sociocultural

context, the number of those who are frustrated with the work they do continues to grow". According to Weber, work as a scene of personal achievement was central to the Calvinist, Protestant and capitalist ethos through which the majority of European youth have been socialised, including those in Catholic countries. The relationship between work and personal growth may be a poorly valued ideal that is no longer transmitted in the arena of daily reality. Indeed, it may be possible to state that one of the ideals of some people today and, of course the young, is to get the maximum goods with the maximum profitability in terms of the effort involved.

In the comments presented herein, there has been an insistence on the group of friends with whom experiences are shared as a crucial aspect of the mechanics of integration in the scene. The young often say: "I can say anything I like with my friends", and with them they are open to new sensations: "I like doing crazy or unusual things with the people in my group". Through this process, they are reconstructing their personality without family influences, or adults nearby to judge them. The group of friends makes no judgements and protects each member from any risks arising from experimentation. In this search for new experiences, the group is the arena in which the young know how to move around. Without the group of friends, without being able to share new experiences, amusement and fun - as understood and defined by the young - would cease to exist.

As has been seen, the group is also a protective entity. It may be said that the youth of today are well-informed, the result to a great extent of their media consumption. However their information is fragmented and lacks frameworks of reference. Young people are not receiving the valid significance that gives consistency and explains the multitude of things that take place daily. (González Blasco 1999). The young are acquiring packagedd information and being trained in values that are more 'instrumental' than 'finalist' (Elzo 1998). The world is being experienced in the same way as a television programme or a newspaper paper article, but this unidirectional experience turns young into passive spectators, and more consumers of the media instrument than of the message.

The present-day dissemination of information, events, fashions, and media systems generates a certain helplessness, a kind of loss of basic references. This situation of angst has always been typical of youth but today it may be increasing as a result of the enormous field of consumer possibilities and the need for continually choicing to be oneself. The young try to mitigate their uncertainties in the group, in the collective refuge of those who think and feel themselves equal, where they can feel comfortable about expressing themselves, laughing at their fears, sharing their worries, and looking for the meaning in things that are happening. Being integrated in the tribe is the solution for the young who are searching for a way of responding to their anxieties, and utopias and collective dreams are being created in the tribes although this is achieved less through words than through a symbolic language.

The point of these analyses is really to show the way in which the young act, organise their means of communication, protect themselves and develop their own

culture. In the recreational sphere, it may be said that the young are participating in the development of new social movements. And in this sense one can see the relevance of the conceptual framework of Gusfield, in which he developed the concept of 'fluid movement' to differentiate it from the linear, organised movement with well- established objectives rationally orientated to the achievement of one's goals (Gusfield 1994). Quite the contrary, fluid movements are much more complex. They are formed on the margin of organised and directed action. They can enter into conflict with another type of movement, and they appear in diverse actions in daily life. This type of social movement generally pays particular attention to aspects of intimate and personal life, converting the private into the collective and the collective into the political. These characteristics are what define young people in the recreational scene that attracts the greatest number of young people in all the European countries, much more than any other scene that the young involve themselves in of their own accord. *The content of recreational activity is a treasury of information hidden behind a symbolic format. The elements are music, dancing, aesthetics and sensuality and this is all to form relationships defined more by sharing emotions than ideas*.

Elements of tribal identity

Despite the fact that all groups in recreational life pursue the same objective - amusement, communication experimentation - each one has its peculiarities and its ideals which create a collective but diverse movement where the dynamic of inclusion intervenes as much as that of exclusion. In the present-day recreational culture, technology and the diversity of consumer elements make it easier to innovate, although the significance of innovation should be redefined because it also implies a social construction with more orientation towards the aesthetic. In any case, the possibility of innovation acquires a central significance and this brings with it the rupture from daily life, from formality and even from tradition. The innovative intent is carried out in a collective way in the recreational scene and as part of a group. Each group is searching for satisfaction of its creative needs in different ways, and the search for new experiences and recreational life offers the young ideal settings in which to do so and is consistent with the need for developing new markets and consumer styles. The aesthetic is another aspect in which the young play with their identity, transforming their appearance and searching for ideals.

The tribes are identified among themselves and may establish relationships of solidarity, complement or repulsion. There are conflicting groups among the young people in this study, such as the 'ravers' and 'rockers' in Athens, the 'techno, 'hardcore' and 'funk' in Manchester, the 'ravers' and the disco-goers in Nice, and the young from the suburbs and the students in Vienna. All these are distinct groups that coexist in the same city. The labelling is generally in response to various attributes, normally aesthetic ones (preferred style of music, type of club or scene for enjoyment, etc.). In addition, the ideological position, social status, systems of values and different lifestyles are also involved in the formation of the group. The young, in accordance with their individual

circumstances, are looking for settings in which to meet like-minded people or different people. The following comment is an indication of the need for a context where one can pass unobserved and one that responds to the need not to feel isolated.

> "Of course I go to certain cafes, because the people who go there have more or less the same ideas as I have. We like the same music. In the cafes it's quite important that you like the same music. You can dance a bit and so on. Same people, same clothes. They accept you better like that. If I went to a rave in these clothes, everybody would stare at me. They wouldn't accept me. "What are you doing here?" You don't feel good then." (Female from Utrecht, age: 18)

Some young people tend to search for more closed groups, with similar people who feel the same way. Others, on the contrary, look for confrontation and novelty in settings where they know themselves to be different. There is both an inclusion and an exclusion dynamic in the tribal relationship. During the night, some of these tribes share scenes with other tribes and this does not occur in any chaotic way but follows a relational logic. Groups of young intellectuals or artists may be found in the same scene as rockers or house music fans. Adult groups may be found in teenage environments and young ravers in homosexual scenes.

> " Five years ago there were few exchanges between heteros and gays. Whereas now, when I go to a homo disco communication is far easier with the homos, even after consumption; I go to Limelight parties and Dolly-parties, even if everybody's stoned, I can talk to them all." (Female from Nice, age: 25).

Communication may be the most relevant aspect from which to understand this connection with equals and those who are different. Perhaps one would have to ask oneself the meaning of communication in these contexts for the young. For young people, communication associated with nocturnal entertainment consists of enjoying new experiences and sharing them. What they are searching for are new ways of being able to transmit and receive sensations, and the interconnection between groups plays an important role in this. This could lead one to think that the young people of today are more tolerant of diversity, but this is not necessarily so. Tolerance in the recreational arena has a lot to do with aesthetics. There is some vailidity in what González Blasco says (1999): "that spirit of tolerance is born from indifference towards other people and is a self-defence mechanism - do what you want to do so that I can do what I want to do" (1999: 194). It remains to be seen if the recreational interconnection carries its solidarity across to other social scenes, a commitment beyond a specific and instrumental contact on the entertainment scene.

In the recreational sphere, the classical exclusion systems are maintained in such a way that it would be difficult for a group of punks to be able to, or want to, enter in a scene dominated by yuppies who exteriorise high status symbols or vice-versa. Some women reject men who establish a sexual demand in inappropriate terms: "they act boastfully and try to "find" girls in a "unpleasant" way", and this is felt to be particularly unpleasant on the clubbing scene. This comment indicates the rejection systems between women and men, an aspect that has undergone an enormous transformation in

the last few decades as women have demanded a greater role in decisionmaking and action in relationships (Giddens 1995). This creates new cultural guidelines in the encounter between the sexes, particularly when the ethnic diversity proper to many cities is added to this diversity in styles. The subject of excluding immigrants also enters fully into the events of recreational life and in this study, this is most reflected in Nice(Calafat 1999). Nevertheless, this situation may be generalised in other cities as well, showing that the forms of exclusion are diverse. In Utrecht, a city where the students form an important and even elite group, the mixture of subcultures at weekends is evaluated indirectly as the cause of most aggression and ill feeling. The students are the group that drink the most in Utrecht and the ones who go out the most during the week. However, at the weekend, when the recreational scenes are filled with young people from different social backgrounds, the evaluation made by the students has a negative content.

> "In Utrecht going out at the weekend isn't fun. Actually, we look down at people who go out at weekends. It's too busy. The atmosphere isn't OK. During the week it's different. I don't feel attracted to people who go out at weekends. They only go out at weekends. They are often people from the country who have to go out at the weekend. At the weekend more people go out with the idea of getting drunk. (Male from Utrecht, age: 20)

Relating to others, those who are different or from a different sociocultural category is also made difficult in the recreational settings and is far from the universal ideal that is transmitted through the values of the music and the imagery of the party. The young are aware of this and assert that some subgroups set themselves up in opposition to others. In this dynamic of inclusion and exclusion, drug use also has a purpose and a differential symbolism in each of the tribes.

> "I take speed or smoke something. The effect depends on which people you are with, if they are people who do the same, you get along with them super and the others, who don't, you can't communicate so well with them". (Female from Vienna, 19 years old).

Drugs, age, music, aesthetics, occupation, social position and recreational environments are outlined as the most relevant inclusion / exclusion criteria. Although all these criteria intervene in the nocturnal alliances, drugs are given as a transversal criterion in respect of others. The previous comments are a graphic example of the extent to which drug use is related to the type of scene., The extent to which drugs act as integration (or exclusion) elements can also be seen in the comments that appear throughout the rest of this work. The comment below forms the counterpart of the preceding ones . For some, the search for people who use drugs is a criterion for deciding which scenes they will enjoy, and for others it is to distance themselves from drug users.

> "People should know what they are getting themselves into, but I keep people who use at a distance. In my experience, there have been several times when I have talked to somebody really nice and then, next time, that same person just didn't recognise me. That's really annoying. I believe it's not a very good presentation of yourself. I don't know what to expect from a person who uses drugs." (Female from Utrecht, age: 29).

Age

Age is a fundamental category in understanding the association with the group. As has already been pointed out, participating with equals is a form of protection, of safety and of consolidating an identity. Adolescents are those who identify most closely with a group of equals, although as a group they also like to infiltrate themselves into scenes where the young people are older. There are scenes for teenagers in all the cities where the times, music and style is adapted to the demands of this group. One of the changes that comes with age is the desire and capacity to move into different scenes. The following comments are an example of this.

> "I only go to pubs where I meet people like me. I can match up to them. You are well aware of the different subgroups and where they hang out. I don't feel like going to other pubs, because I know I don't get along with those people. They are very different from me." (Male from Utrecht, age: 19)

> "When I am together with my real friends, I am myself. When I am at work, I am more normal, conservative, more adjusted. [...] With my friends I can talk about everything" (Female from Vienna, 19 years old)

> "I was a member of the house scene, but now I have changed and I like contacting people from different groups" (Female from Athens, age: 27)

Belonging to a group is an open state that may be a lasting or an ephemeral one. Similarly, affiliation with a group or a tribe may modify constantly as its members interchange. This may be explained by the tendency to maintain weak social relationships, to being "open to the social aspect with no strong commitment [...], in fact, the quest is for socially gratifying relationships but ones that do not demand serious commitment". (González Blasco 1999: 191). Perhaps this also explains the rejection of conventionalisms, of labelling, of being identified with a musical style or by appearance.

> "I don't like to consider myself a member of my favourite music scene, because this commitment prevents me from being receptive to other music styles" (Male raver from Athens, age: 24)

> "I don't like labelling. You can't put a label on me if you compare my appearance with the things I do. People call me an alternative. From the outside I look like a skater - wide clothes and so on. But I also have dreadlocks. That would make me a punk. I don't really belong to one subgroup." (Female from Utrecht, age: 18 years).

It is the youngest ones who least like to be labelled. This may be read as a trait of individualism, of escape from collective links that imply commitment, or of independence. They believe that they are special, that they are what they are, irrespective of appearances, of their clothing, of the music that they listen to, of the company they keep. Nevertheless, they are conscious that although they do not label themselves, others do, and that there is a need to label in order to differentiate and create a discourse.

> "People always differentiate. You belong to a group, whether you like it or not. Other people categorise you even if you might not recognise it yourself. There are many different ways of living and they all have different names." (Male from Utrecht, age: 16)

Aesthetic expression is also a basic component of expression and identity. Fashion and clothing mark trends that the young use as a means of self-expression, of innovation, of differentiation and communication. The night is an aesthetic show, and the young frequently change their clothing to adapt to the scenes they are going to, and the people they plan to meet.

> "... apart from entertainment and to combat the boredom and moodiness... for me, the night has a mystery, a magic... the feminine part, the sensuality... the night and dancing itself is a form of exhibitionism... one of the things that makes me want to go out at night is that the people dress up and take more care of their appearance... (Male from Coimbra, age: 41)

It would appear that there is a certain ambivalence to the external, to the outward aspect. They do not like labels or commitment to a group but there is a strong need to be accepted by a group, of expressing themselves in aesthetic ways, of sharing the entertainment with the collective and being a part of the scene. In spite of the fact that the young people say that the external aspect is not important, it does in fact influence them, and it is with their appearance that they mark the limits of their identity. It may be that they differentiate between the time when they go out to enjoy themselves at night, when they are going to specific scenes, where it is important to distinguish subgroups, and the formal working scene, the street or the college where a person may want to signify other things beyond those transmitted by his or her appearance.

Music

The music is another component central to identity and one that is closely linked to aesthetics. Several authors have characterised youth tribes on the basis of musical affiliation and aesthetics (Costa 1997, Feixa 1998, González Blasco 1999, Calafat 1998, 1999). Music as an element in the search for sensations and innovation owes a debt to the new electronic technology. Music permits an understanding the growing movement of differentiation among the young and the tendency to the dispersal of styles and manners. The following comments show to what extent a musical style may be differentiated in substyles that lead to new trends:

> "Metal covers more music styles. Gothic and black metal are, in fact, quite different. Except that it's black, dark and depressive. Death metal is actually harder. And not that melodious. And it can differ a lot. Most people don't see the difference. Actually I'm Metalhead, but sometimes I'm also a Gothic. But I don't always feel like that. Gothic is so terribly slow and soft". (Female from Utrecht, age: 17)

Other elements combine with the music such as the attitude to others, social values, ideology, gender or race. The importance of these aspects is less generalised although they are the ingredients in the cocktail that is part of the scene. A young man from Athens linked to the trance scene, trying to explain his link, feels that "the basic principles are that frontiers between states and discrimination among people should be abolished"; another explains it more fully:

" The ideology of this scene is anarchistic, because of the structure of the music. More specifically, listening to the music you have a tribal sensation. In other words, you think that you belong to the universe. Moreover, there is a sense of mystery in this music, because it is both an electronic and pagan music" (Male from Athens, 20 years old).

This notion of paganism is a way of placing nature or the universe at the centre of the experience of a rave party. This is a way of expressing the illusion of escape from the social order and thence the allusion to anarchism. It may be interpreted as a symbolic attempt at escape, as another form of rebellion that is being made via the music and the instruments, where the connection with the universe may be felt. It may be interpreted as a form of relating oneself to order and chaos.

Drugs

Drugs are also elements that define a scene or entertainment style that, in certain groups, implies one of the most attractive components in the search for amusement, in assisting in changing the emotional state "to find new situations". Throughout the last decade numerous studies have emerged that certify the relationship existing between scenes and drug use (Adlaf 1997, Tossmann 1999, Pedersen 1999), which reinforces the idea that there is a symbiosis of the individual with the group and of the group with a subculture. On looking at the recreational dynamic from the perspective of the groups and the subculture, drug use acquires a profound socialiser and group-relational significance. In other words, young people's drug use in recreational scenes is closely linked to the social influences that are creating the need for this use, even in spite of the illegality of certain substances. Drugs, including alcohol and tobacco, have become elements that give identity to the group, like music or clothing or socio-political ideas. Drugs are tools that facilitate contact with others and this is the part of personal construction and of the group. The following comments express this social role of drugs.

" It's impossible for me to go to a techno party and a disco without using anything. Most people take something, either you follow the wave, or it's not worth going out. Now I don't need to take ecstasy or two or three other things, but there'll always be a drink or two or three. The meaning of the night is linked with this sensation induced by a substance." (Female from Nice, age: 24).

" I won't hold the same conversation if I'm with ravers or with friends who don't take anything; I'll act differently, I have friends who only smoke, who have not gone on to something harder. I won't say that I took ecstasy two weeks ago… Relationships differ from one group to another but they're just as intense. At a private party between friends, if there are some substances going around, if I see people taking some stuff or other, I'm tempted to take some too, in order to find myself on the same trip, even if at first I didn't intend to have any. I can't really say I belong to a group. I used to work with a real hard techno group with whom I've remained in touch, as regards my taste I would say I belong to the technoid group … I also go out with people who do not belong to techno at all, who go out to pubs, to discos, and to private parties too. The link with the group is not the dope consumption: it depends on our centres of interests, our belonging to a social

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category, enjoying a certain type of music and going out to certain places." (Male from Nice, age: 22).

"I go out sometimes with good intentions, thinking 'I don't want to take anything tonight, I'll just enjoy the music'. Then you look around, and you think 'a fiver', that's all it takes". (Female from Liverpool, age: 19).

The drugs are present in dance venues and in fact define them. This is no novelty in itself. Alcohol has been part of social relations and of the celebratory event for centuries and there is a consumption culture that, in some cases, permits a controlled and healthy consumption, although this does not always happen. In present day recreational life, the novelty is that the party scene has been broadened to every weekend, new substances have entered the scene and the use trends show an increase. This also affects the consumption of alcohol that tends to take place at weekends and in recreational scenes> Consumption is condensed into less time with distinct consequences. In addition, tobacco use and the whole range of illegal substances have to be added to this. The significance of this use in the different groups is the centre of this study and it will be seen throughout the analysis.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA:
THE DIFFERENT RECREATIONAL SUBCULTURES

Social research that attempts to be scientific fluctuates between empirical data and an interpretative analysis that requires a great deal of imagination and that goes beyond the frontiers of the data. These two dimensions are combined in this study with the intention of both basing it on and explaining reality. As already mentioned, the total sample that provided the quantitative data was 2,700 young men and women, with an average age of 21.8 years, distributed in nine European cities. In the first stage in the research, four subgroups of young people, the most visible and most popular in each city, were singled out. In this new approach, the subgroups have been unified to create five recreational scenes that may be considered the most popular in Europe.

Table 4.1 presents the basic characteristics of the sample from each scene. It can be readily appreciated that one of the characteristics that all scenes share is a higher male presence. Therefore, men go out more than women and have a greater presence in the recreational sphere. However, it can also be seen that the female presence differs according to the scene. In the techno-rave and the teenage scenes, there are fewer women; in the university, rock and mainstream scenes, there is a more equal balance of the sexes, although men are still in the majority.

Women are, therefore, in the minority on the recreational scene, which is an indication that different lifestyles still prevail between the sexes. This may be interpreted from different parameters. Some decades ago, the easiest interpretation would have been that women go out less because the social control exerted on them was

Gender	Scenes %				
	Techno-rave	Teenage	University	Rock	Mainstream
Males	62,5	59,1	52,9	51,3	53,8
Females	37,5	40,9	47,1	48,7	46,2
Age*	22 years	19 years	22 years	22 years	25 years
Total (n)	889	423	333	335	405

* The age is the arithmetic mean

stronger than on men. This interpretation results from placing women in a position of inequality in comparison with men. At the present time, there are less dogmatic and more critical elements for analysing gender relations, and we can interpret this difference from different parameters. On the one hand, it may be that women receive a little more family control, but this does not have to be an indication of negative inequality. It may also be positive, given that a greater control may signify greater family protection. Another interpretation, perhaps the closest to reality, may be that women choose to participate less in the recreational activity of going out for enjoyment and choose other options.

Age is a variable consistent with the definitions of each scene. The youngest in the sample are from the teenage scene with an average age of 19 years. In the remainder of the scenes, the average is 22 years. However, in spite of the average age, it is important to underline that a population of very diverse age coexists in all the scenes, ranging from 16 years to 30 and even 35 years, although the majority population is the one with an age close to the average. In almost all the venues, there are criteria on minimum admission age, in accordance with the public they are directed at. Only on the teenage scene is there admission of adolescents under 18 or 16 years of age, depending on the age at which they are allowed to drink alcohol. The opening hours of these establishment are also adapted to this age group, as they open earlier.

Finally, in **Table 4.1**, it can also be observed that a larger portion of the sample is to be found on the techno-rave scene, which signifies that this is the most dominant scene in recreational life and where there is the greatest representation of groups or tribes in all the cities. The teenage and mainstream scenes are also well represented, whereas the university and rock scenes are minority ones.

Social arena of clubbers

As already noted, the young protagonists of this study are ordinary young people, representative of the middle class - upper middle class even. They are integrated, students, the majority living with their families, although some share with friends or live in halls of residence. The socio-demographical information on each group is shown in **Tables 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5 & 4.6** where an evaluation can be made of the circumstances in

which the members of each scene live, their occupation, the origin of the money they spend clubbing, the socio-economic status of their family and the family control they perceive in respect of their activities.

In the techno-rave group **(Table 4.2)**, the most numerous, more than half the population are young people participating in the labour market (66.9%), and a considerable percentage, 18.2%, work as well as study. Only one quarter are exclusively students. This may explain the fact that the money they spend at weekends comes, in the main, from personal employment (63.3%), although 28.9% are spending family money. The largest proportion of the young in this group (87.1%) consider themselves middle or upper middle class; only a minority consider themselves lower middle/lower class (12.9%). This is significant information in evaluating the social sphere that revolves around the techno, dance and house culture, and entertainment and amusement in the style of rave parties and, as mentioned above, this is the dominant one in the recreational arena. We must emphasise that these are middle and upper middle class youths and in no sense should be evaluated as a marginal or excluded group. Family control over the young in this scene is very slight. Almost half consider that there is no control, 37.3% state that their family does exert control but very little, and only 15% believe that their family do control them quite considerably or too much. Therefore, the majority of the young people in this subgroup feel themselves free to take part in recreational life, in the sense they have less control from their family.

Table 4.2: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, OCCUPATION, ORIGIN OF MONEY SPENT ON GOING OUT, AND FAMILY CONTROL BY TECHNO-RAVE

Techno-rave (n= 1113) %							
Current occupation		**Where do you get money you spent**		**Family socio-economic status**		**Family control**	
Studying	24,5	Family	28,9	Upper/Upper Middle	30,9	None	46,7
Studying and working	18,2	Job	63,3	Middle	56,2	Little	37,3
Working	48,7	Grant/Scholarship	1,9	Lower Middle/Low	12,9	Quite a lot	13,4
Others	8,6	Other	5,9			Too much	2,6

Another scene is the one where the rockers predominate **(Table 4.3)**. This is a more minority group, and it may be said that they are the heirs of 1970s culture. Possibly they are the ones who most identify themselves with the values, ideals and culture of the previous generation. It is a group where students are in the majority, and one third are in employment. Perhaps as a result of the larger number of students, there is a greater dependence on family money when going out. More than half describe themselves as middle class; of the remainder, the majority, as upper middle class (25.1%) and the others as lower middle class (19.2%). As for family control, the great majority (74.6%) feel that the family controls them slightly or not at all, whereas 25.5% do consider that they are controlled. In this collective, the control is a little greater than in the preceding

Table 4.3: Table 4.2: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, OCCUPATION, ORIGIN OF MONEY SPENT ON GOING OUT, AND FAMILY CONTROL BY ROCK SCENE

Rock (n= 337) %							
Current occupation		**Where do you get money you spent**		**Family socio-economic status**		**Family control**	
Studying and working	45,0	Family	43,5	Upper/Upper Middle	25,1	None	36,4
Studying	18,6	Job	45,6	Middle	54,7	Little	38,2
Working	31,3	Grant/Scholarship	8,9	Lower Middle/Low	19,2	Quite a lot	22,2
Other	4,1	Other	2,7			Too much	3,3

Table 4.4: Table 4.2: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, OCCUPATION, ORIGIN OF MONEY SPENT ON GOING OUT, AND FAMILY CONTROL BY UNIVERSITY SCENE

University (n= 340) %							
Current occupation		**Where do you get money you spent**		**Family socio-economic status**		**Family control**	
Studying	49,9	Family	41,1	Upper/Upper Middle	30,5	None	42,5
Studying and working	33,6	Job	42,0	Middle	44,5	Little	38,3
Working	13,6	Grant/Scholarship	12,5	Lower Middle/Low	24,9	Quite a lot	16,5
Other	1,5	Other	4,5			Too much	2,7

one and perhaps this difference may be explained by the greater financial dependence on the family but it may also be due to the fact that in the rock collective there is a higher proportion of women.

The university collective **(Table 4.4)** is also one of the minority groups in the recreational arena. In consonance with the label, students are in the majority although 33.6% also work. It is perhaps one of the groups where the percentage of those who only work is lower (13.6%). This has a bearing on the origin of the money they take out to spend on entertainment. A significant percentage, 12.5%, finance their amusement with study grants and, of the remainder, half depend on the family and the other half on their paid employment.

In this group, the dominant status once again is middle and upper class. Only 25% consider themselves to be lower middle or low class. As on the other scenes, the large majority perceive family control over their lives as slight or non-existent, and less than 20% feel that they are controlled, although only 2.7% consider the control to be excessive.

Very diverse tribes participate in the teenage scene although age is a very important characteristic in delimiting scenes. The teenagers represented in **Table 4.5** are those whose experience of recreational life is a more exciting one as it represents novelty in their lives, and this also leads them to experiment more with scenes and habits until they

Table 4.5: Table 4.2: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, OCCUPATION, ORIGIN OF MONEY SPENT ON GOING OUT, AND FAMILY CONTROL BY TEENAGE SCENE

Teenage (n= 656) %							
Current occupation		**Where do you get money you spent**		**Family socio-economic status**		**Family control**	
Studying	44,0	Family	50,6	Upper /Upper Middle	34,0	None	28,8
Studying and working	16,8	Job	43,0	Middle	55,1	Little	34,0
Working	32,9	Grant/Scholarship	2,4	Lower Middle/Low	10,9	Quite a lot	32,2
Other	6,4	Other	4,1			Too much	5,0

Table 4.6: Table 4.2: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, OCCUPATION, ORIGIN OF MONEY SPENT ON GOING OUT, AND FAMILY CONTROL BY MAINSTREAM SCENE

Mainstream (n= 411) %							
Current occupation		**Where do you get money you spent**		**Family socio-economic status**		**Family control**	
Studying	18,5	Family	27,8	Upper/Upper Middle	33,6	None	48,8
Studying and working	17,0	Job	67,6	Middle	56,2	Little	32,4
Working	58,2	Grant/Scholarship	1,7	Lower Middle/Low	10,2	Quite a lot	17,3
Other	6,5	Other	2,9			Too much	1,5

find what suits them. In spite of being the youngest group, only 62.8% are students and, of these, 16.8% also work. In line with this, half of them, 50.6%, obtain the money they spend on enjoying themselves from their family, and the remaining 43% obtain it through their own earnings. In this group, almost 90% consider themselves to be middle and upper class, and only 10.9% consider themselves to be lower middle class. This is then the group with the highest self-evaluation of their social status which may indicate that the teenagers from families of a higher social status join the most representative recreational arenas earlier. In other words, there is a positive relation between status and access to the more important and visible entertainment places in the cities. There is a little more family control in this collective than in other collectives although it continues to be a very slight one, taking into account that this is the scene where the very youngest are to be found.

The last collective, the mainstream **(Table 4.6)**, is labelled according to the criterion that defines it as the most integrated of all in respect of the dominant culture. Its members are those who take part in the most popular and more fashionable scenes where they can listen to the music most commonly played by the media and where the public dresses and behaves in accordance with established guidelines. These formal venues can be very diverse as they are divided into categories determined by the status of the public, which is controlled by the price of admission and the filtering carried out by security personnel. Among the mainstream population in our sample there are few

students and more than half are in full-time employment. As a result, 67.6% obtain the money they spend on entertainment from their own work, and only 27.8% depend on their family. In addition, the majority describe themselves as middle and upper class, and this and the teenagers are the groups with the largest population describing themselves as upper class. The great majority do not feel themselves controlled by their families or the control is slight and this may be explained by their age and financial independence. Only 17.3% consider that their families do control them and 1.5% feel that their control is excessive.

The information on each scene suggests that the socio-economic context of the young is a diverse one within a certain homogeneity. In all the collectives, there is a significant number of students, some are working and others are working and studying. Some, a minority, have study scholarships that place them in a position of dependence, not on the family, but on the state. Going on to look at the data from a comparative point of view, we see that the largest group - more than half - in all the scenes, consider themselves sociologically to be middle class. However in the scenes dominated by those who consider themselves to be upper, upper middle and lower middle class, there are differences that could be significant. In the teenage and mainstream scenes, there is more self-identification with a higher status, and in the rock and university scenes there are more who describe themselves as lower middle class. It may be seen as a paradox that those who identify themselves with a lower status are more numerous on the scenes where there are more students. Overall, it is the upper middle class status that predominates.

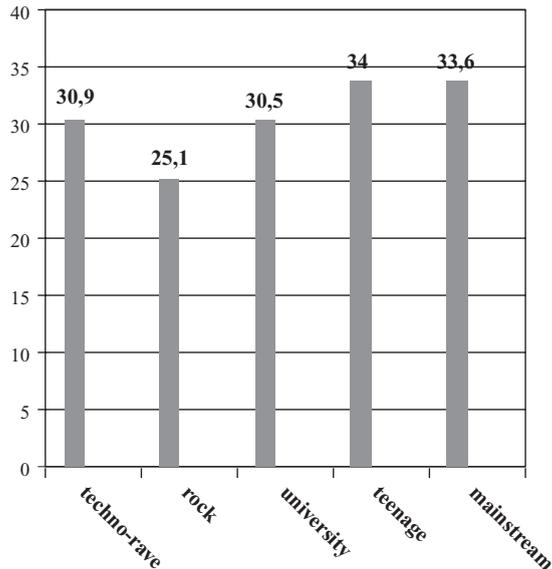**Figure 4.1: UPPER AND UPPER MIDDLE SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS BY SCENE**

Figure 4.2: LOWER AND MIDDLE/LOW SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS BY SCENE
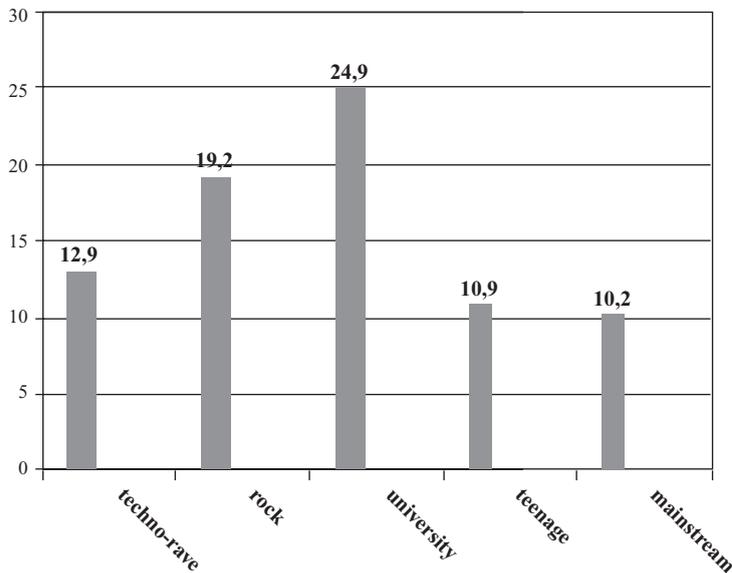
Family control is another aspect to be examined comparatively and it is very slight in all the groups although some differences may also be observed. Among the tribes on the rock scene - the one where there are more women - there is a subtle increase in the control percentage. In the university and teenage collective, where the indices of financial independence on the family are high, this does not translate into a stronger control. Therefore, greater financial dependence does not correspond to greater family control in a proportional way and this has some connection with important changes in generational relations. The young remain at home with their parents for longer, depend on family financial assistance but do not receive excessive control in exchange. The increase in adults' tolerance of their children is one of the most significant changes in family relations, although perhaps rather than tolerance it should be described as a "let them be" attitude, allowing the young to act as they like, of their own free will. This leads to a reflection on the family control evaluated in its two accepted senses, as a form of repression but also as a form of protection. **Figure 4.3** shows that the young themselves feel there is little or no parental control. This is so even with the teenagers who are the ones who are in the process of extricating themselves from family control and who should be the ones to perceive it critically. However the majority are unaware of it.

In some European countries, there is talk of a return to family life when referring to the fact that the young are continuing to live with their families at ages by which they would have been independent a decade ago. In the south of Europe, it could be called the continued permanence of the young in the paternal/maternal home. (González-Anleo 1999). In the EU, 40/% of young people aged between 15 and 29 live with their
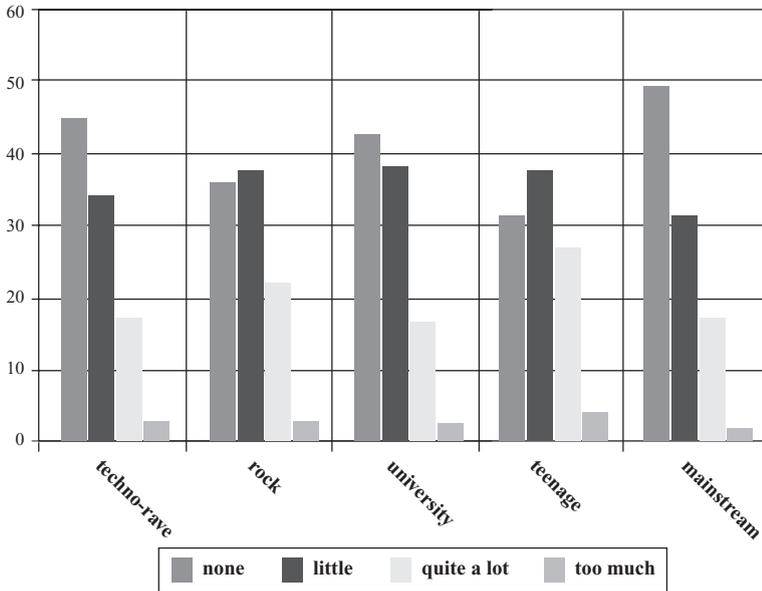
families is , Italy and Spain being the countries where more young people live with their family (Euroestat Survey, cit. by González-Anleo 1999). It is undeniable that this lower family control is a very significant factor in this process. The relation between the young and their parents may be defined as a cordial one and living at home brings the young many more advantages than inconveniences. All the indications are that relations between the young of today and their parents are good, and are tending to improve although the realities of drug use make one think that in this good understanding there is, perhaps, a great lack of communication.

In this sense, the relationship between generations may be defined as paradoxical. The young live with the adults, enjoy a rather cordial coexistence, and there is a closeness in the values they share (Orizo 1999: 62). At the same time, there are enormous cultural and significant distances in such daily aspects as entertainment choices and drug use. The adults know very little about youth recreational culture and even less about the drug use phenomenon being developed within this culture[1]. Adults show surprise when they become aware that drug use is habitual on the scenes where their children move, or else they tend to evaluate it with the trangressional significance that it had for them, as a transitory attitude in the search for new experiences typical at a youthful age. The present adult generation is very tolerant one but from one point of view we could describe it as a generational centricism. They evaluate the reality of the

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[1] The study by Eusebio Megías (1999) *La percepción social de los problemas de drogas en España* presents the generational differences in the social representation of drugs and its significance. The publication *La sociedad transversal* by J.M. de Miguel (1994) describes the generational distances in respect of life style.

young from their own desires and ideals without entering into the dimension where their children move.

The money spent by the members of the five scenes originates, inorder of importance, firstly from employment and secondly from the family. The origin of the money deserves further explanation. Although young work and spend their own money when they go out, they are indirectly supported by the family economy as many of them do not have the responsibility for the costs of the infrastructure of daily life. Therefore, when the young state that the money they spend comes from their own employment, this is true but it is equally true that some of them only have this disposable income because they do not take any responsibility for the daily costs that are assumed by their family. SONAR 98 showed that 54.6%, more than half of these young people, live with their families (Calafat 1999) and, as we have seen, the young belong, in the main, to middle, upper middle and upper class families. This means, in all probability, that the family economy does not need money from the young for family survival. For this reason, it is quite likely that a good proportion of the young people who are working may keep some or all of the money they earn for their own personal expenditure. This is another aspect of social change that is very important in respect of the young throughout the 20th century and even more so over the last few decades. For the majority of families, children no longer signify a source of income contributing to the family economy but more a source of expenditure. But this also merits discussion from the dimension of the young. They decide on what they will spend their money and, as can be seen, they spend it on recreational life to a great extent in detriment to other beneficial acquisitions such as studies, property, holidays, etc.

Figure 4.4: THE FAMILY AS THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF MONEY SPENT ON GOING OUT
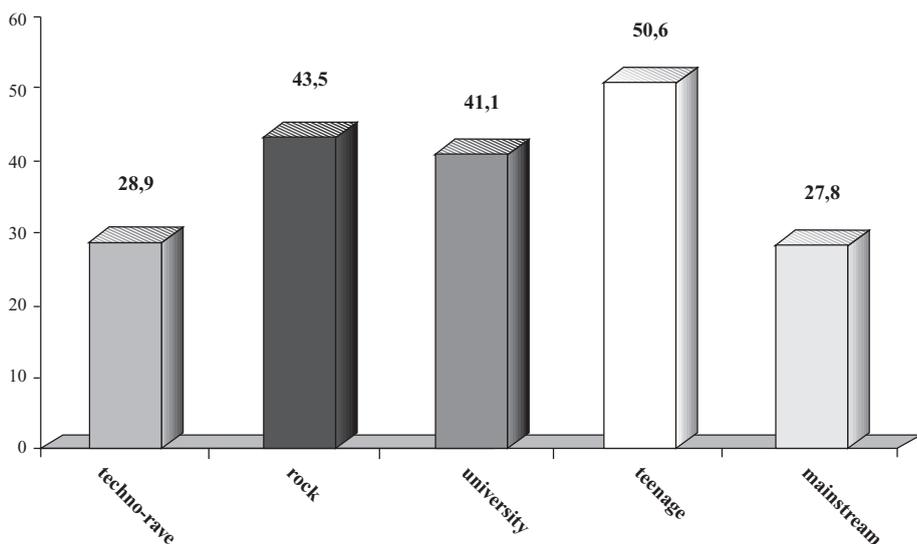
The young as students

A comparative look at the self-evaluation made by the young of themselves as students permits suggests that, in general, they consider themselves to be good students. The young place importance on studies in contemporary society. They are aware that reaching a high educational level is essential to obtaining good employment. It is a firmly rooted value and is one of the main concerns of the young[2]. Nevertheless a significant number of them do opt to work instead of study. The principal motive in having a job is that they can earn their own money in the short term and, with it, have better access to consumerism and a greater power of decision in their own lives.

Figure 4.5: PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS BY SCENE
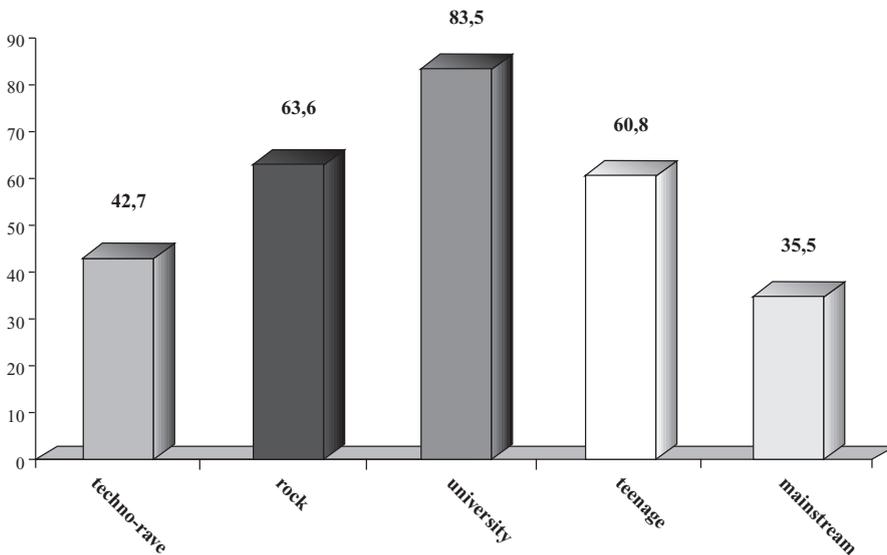
More students are to be found on the university, rock and teenage scenes whereas on the techno and mainstream scenes, they are in a minority. As for the teenage scene, in spite of the fact that the majority are students, this has to be examined in relation to age, the result of which is that there are less than on the other scenes, signifying that many teenagers are already active in the workplace.

Self-evaluation as students also presents certain differences according to scene. Almost half the young people evaluate themselves at an intermediate level, neither good nor bad. As for the other half, the great majority evaluate themselves as good students and the following Figure **(Figure 4.6)** gives the proportions broken down by scene. In general, the young evaluate themselves as being quite good and only a few think they are poor students. The young from the rock, mainstream and university scenes are those

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[2] According to a survey by the CIS 2.221 "*Social Expectations and Preoccupations of the Young*" carried out in Spain, 1996, 81.4% agree that "*In a more and more competitive society, the only way for young people to obtain employment is by studying and training as much as possible.*" (Question 21).

who evaluate themselves more highly, and the teenagers and the techno-ravers are those who give themselves a lower evaluation. Although subjective, this information may explain young people's evaluation of the importance of academic studies. It may be said that those who place more emphasis on academic studies are those who evaluate themselves more highly than those who do not consider such studies to be important to their lives.

Taken as a whole, the majority of the young in the sample are students. A significant percentage have chosen to take up employment. In general, they are good students. Half of them go out clubbing with money from their family and recreational life is a significant investment, both for those with their own money and those who are students. Therefore, this is an activity that should, perhaps, be considered as an arena linked to social success.

Figure 4.6: SELF-EVALUATION AS GOOD STUDENTS BY GROUP
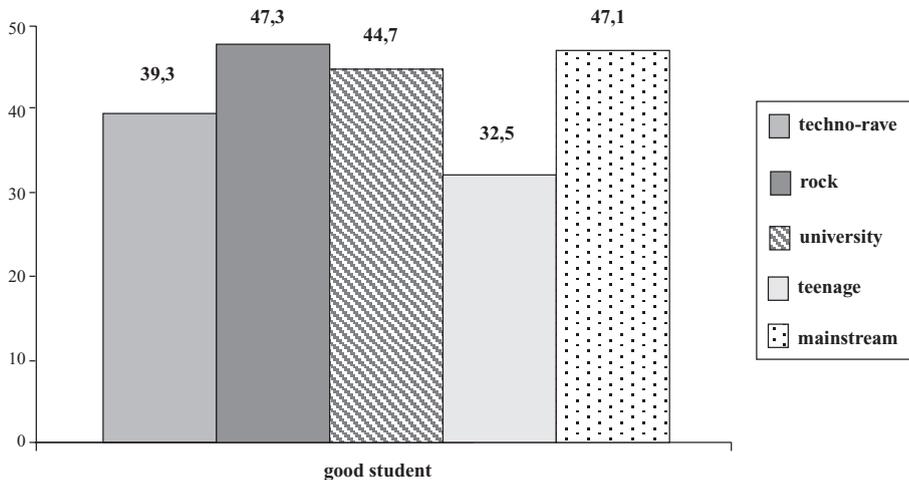
Sociodemographical characteristics have produced a table showing the levels of similarities and differences between the five settings analysed. These similarities confirm that the great majority of the young people in this study belong to and share a central sociocultural arena in all the cities. This is the majority arena in respect of numbers and the dominant one in respect of media sensitisation, lifestyle criteria, and the creation of moral and social values. This also means that in the social arena in which the research took place, there is no presence of other collectives of young people that are also part of our cities, such as young people from lower classes and peripheral scenes, young immigrants, the young who are not integrated into the educational or employment spheres, etc. Therefore, we find ourselves looking at the five collectives of the most integrated young people, those who are present in the most representative scenes in the nightlife in each city. And in this overall group, there are different subcultures to analyse, firstly in respect of entertainment style and, subsequently, in terms of drug use.

Fun and amusement culture

Young people devote a large part of their free time to going out to enjoy themselves. Going out for fun, to 'live it up', is not a new facet of society. It may be said that there have been many forms of enjoyment of free time throughout history. However, it is important to emphasise that the significance acquired by fun and amusement, and the style in which this is practised, has an intimate relationship with the type of society, its values, conflicts, and objectives (Dumazedier 1964). In this sense the profound structural changes that are transforming European societies are affecting the way in which the population, and the young in particular, are enjoying themselves. Our study has confirmed that the weekend is expanding and is becoming the central time for entertainment and fun, in spite of the fact that some people, students, professionals and weekend workers also go out during the week. But the weekend is special for everybody. It is a time for entertainment and a break with the activities of the week.

> "I like the weekend because I have time for myself, I can do what I want, I have free time to be with friends, to go out. I don't have to be thinking about set times, so I can take off my watch. During the week, there are set obligations which you have to meet and at weekends you have a little more freedom. And at weekends, if you don't want to do anything, then you don't. Sometimes, I am so tired with the pace of the week, of going from one place to another." (Male from Palma, age: 28)

The young feel an intense difference between mid-week and weekend, even those who work at the weekend or are unemployed. In some European countries, such as Spain and Portugal, this distinction is a recent one. Weekends and other free time, such as holiday periods, hardly existed a few decades ago. Sunday was the day of rest, devoted to the family and to religious obligations. It may be considered that the expansion of free time is an achievement of the welfare society and one that has been fully consolidated in the social structure of time and particularly among younger generations. Some young people consider the two time periods as complementary and that one cannot be understood without the other.

> "Both –week and weekend- are important: you cannot survive if you only go out, and with work alone, you get stupid" (Male from Vienna, age: 22).

> "If there is a strict routine I have to follow from Monday to Friday, the weekend becomes a period of relaxation, I can do things for myself, like think more about myself, enjoy doing my own thing." (Male from Palma, age: 21)

What the young are searching for when they go out can be found in an imaginary construction of all that the weekend means to them. In general, all the young are in agreement that "a good weekend is one with new experiences" but the significance of a good experience is different for each of them, as it their way of attaining it. Rave fans expend their energy during the weekend and recoup it during the week by leading a quiet and uneventful life:

> "Everyday life for me is studying, working, a bit of music that I make myself, -and then the weekend. During the week I don't go out much, especially if the weekend is a very full one." (Female from Vienna, age: 20)

"The week… is when you build yourself up. You relax and get your body prepared… you live the week being as good as you can, and at the weekend you put yourself out again for the week!" (Male from Liverpool, age: 21)

For another type of young person, the weekend is exactly the opposite, it is a time to relax, to renew oneself and start the week with more dynamism:

"I can relax at the weekend and if I go out, recover… Both are important… Going out, spending time with friends and relaxing is good for you but if you were doing it all the time you'd be a complete mess." (Female from Liverpool, age: 20)

For many other young people, it is the time that makes sense of life, the time for freedom, a respite, a liberation, time out, time for pleasure. In the group discussions, it was possible to verify that the most radical seekers of entertainment and enjoyment were the ones who value most highly the weekend as the only real arena to be oneself, in contrast to the week, which is defined as a time of obligations and 'keeping up appearances'. The young people who most enjoy their tasks, studying and working, throughout the week, however, spread their enjoyment between the two periods of time, The following comments indicate the extent to which young people need to control of the two time periods and succeed in making them complementary :

" If you go out during the week, you put yourself in danger. I lost my job because of that. After only one hour's sleep a night, I used to make enormous mistakes the next day. As a result I was fired after three months." (Male from Nice, age: 21)

Age is another difference in the collective of the young. For the collective that is still adolescent, the weekend has a very special excitement, one that has more to do with liberation from the family than from the activities of the week. The following comments were made by a young man who remembered what weekends meant when he was younger and had just begun to go out:

"It is the first time that you manage to be free of your parents, do what you want. You feel older, you experience things that your oder brothers had experienced and told you about. You can get home late and this has its magic. You can choose a little and you don't have to be under the strict orders of your parents. You start to do a little of what you want or at least you think so because in reality you continue to live at home." (Male from Palma, age: 28)

These comments are of assistance in understanding one of the important changes.

Traditionally, the weekend, reduced to Sunday or public holidays, was time for the family, for being at home and going to Mass. The family meal was part of a Sunday ritual that sanctioned certain excess in quality and abundance. Through the meal and drinking together, the family experienced shared pleasure, through table conversation, fun and entertainment. For the young, this has changed, replaced by time for friends and to "liberate themselves from their parents", time to be part of a tribe, the search for new experiences and an emotional ritual through dance, music, sex, etc. While it is clear that there is a break with tradition, a certain continuity has been assimilated with the changes. The relational, the social continues to be central in the present day style of entertainment but instead of the family occupying a central position, this is now taken

over by friends. In addition, excess also has certain continuity. Many young people use the weekends as a time of indulgence during which they can enjoy the activities that they like "to do to excess" such as drinking, taking drugs, flirting, dancing, etc.

"I go out through the week and at the weekend, but at the weekend it's something more - I get more destroyed with drink! It's more expensive and more people seem to take drugs at the weekend." (Female from Liverpool, age: 21)

The duration of each going out session is an indication of the extent to which they live it up. In **Tables 4.8 and 4.9**, it can be seen that there is a certain difference in the average time per session in each group. The techno-ravers are those who are out longer, some 7.4 hours on average, followed by the teenagers with 6.8 hours, the university students with 6 hours, the rockers with 5.6 hours and finally the mainstreamers with 5 hours. The average time that each going out session lasts is an indication of the groups that 'live it up' more intensely. The young techno-ravers are those who are out for longer, followed by the teenage and university collectives. The mainstream and rock collectives are more moderate.

The other important variable is the places that are visited during the night. It is part of the recreational culture to follow a nocturnal route, although this varies according to

Table 4.7: SELF-EVALUATION AS STUDENT BY GROUPS

Self-evaluation as student	Techno-rave	Teenage	University	Rock	Mainstream
Good student	40,6	34,3	44,7	32,5	47,1
Average student	44,8	51,2	47,6	53,9	42,7
Bad student	14,6	14,5	7,7	16,6	10,3

Table 4.8: DURATION OF EACH GOING OUT SESSION AND NUMBER OF PLACES VISITED

	Groups				
	Techno-rave	Teenage	University	Rock	Mainstream
Duration of going out session (n)	7,4	6,8	6	5,6	5
Number of places visited per session (n)	2,6	3	3	2	2

Table 4.9: NUMBER OF WEEKENDS SPENT CLUBBING PER MONTH BY SCENES

Frequency of clubbing- no. of weekends per month	Scenes (%)				
	Techno-rave	Teenage	Rock	University	Mainstream
Less than one	13,6	5,9	16,9	7,4	12,7
One or two	31,6	23,4	38,9	31,0	37,0
Three or four	54,8	70,7	44,2	61,7	50,4
Total (n)	889	423	333	335	405

the city. In the countries in southern Europe, it is more common to visit more places throughout the night than in central and northern Europe, influenced by the climate perhaps, or the lower cost of admission to the clubs. Evaluating this activity according to the collective from the different scenes, it can be seen that the rockers and mainstreamers are the most moderate, visiting an average of two venues and are active for less time. The other three groups devote more time to being out and are a little more nomadic, visiting an average of three venues. The teenagers are also significant because they show that age

Taking into account the pattern followed by the groups on the different scenes, nomadism is important in techno culture, more so perhaps in relatively small towns but with other larger cities close by where the recreational life is more intense such as Utrecht and Coimbra. In these two cities, with a significant presence of students, there is a movement of young people to other bigger and more diverse cities:

"This is a bracelet from W. It's a festival in Germany near Denmark. It lasts three days. This is a flyer from a small festival in the north of the Netherlands. It lasts only one day. Another festival I usually visit is in Belgium. We save and plan in advance to visit these festivals." (Female from Utrecht, age: 17)

"It has to be planned because transport has to be arranged ... it normally is when going to go to Oporto or Lisbon ... knowing that you are going off to something special ... as for me, I go to specific parties. I go to Gothic parties. If it weren't a Gothic party, I wouldn't go." (Female from Coimbra, age: 17).

The following Figure provides information complementary to the above, on those who go out three weekend out of four weekends per month, which means that their main free

Figure 4.8: GOING OUT THREE OR FOUR WEEKENDS PER MONTH
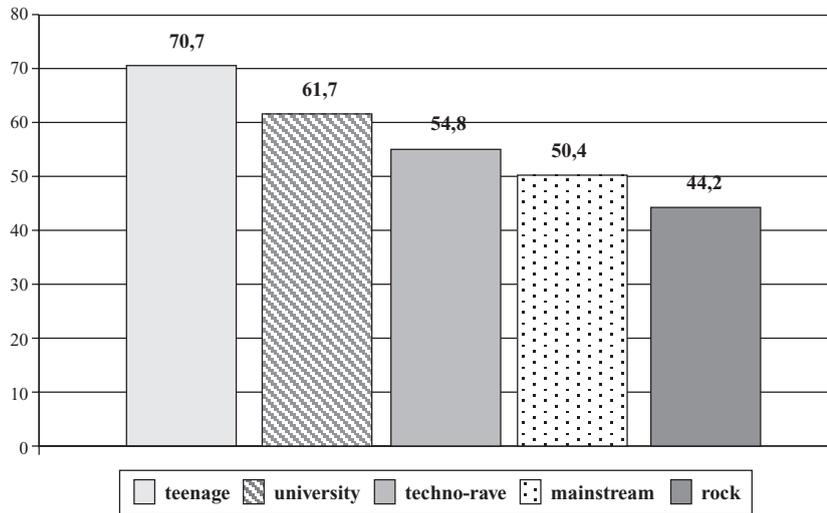
time activity is going out to enjoy themselves. With the exception of the rock collective, there is intense devotion to going out by the majority of the members of each group, more than half in all the collectives as a whole, although the teenage group is particularly notable as more than 70% spend their weekends exclusively devoted to going out.

Through assessing the time devoted by the members of each scene to recreational life, it can be seen that devotion is greater on the techno-raver and teenage scenes than the other scenes. However, investment of time in this activity is considerable in all the scenes in general and is probably what all the young people in the sample devote their time to most of all.

Reasons for going out

As has been said before, the recreational arena is one of socialisation to which the young continue to dedicat more and more time. And it may even be that this is related to social success, given that this arena is one of the most important where the young promote relationships with their friends. This is why it is important to investigate what the greatest motivation for going out is and, at the same time, the musical style that most attracts the young and is one of the elements that exercises considerable influence on socialisation.

"Reasons for going out" is a multivariable question and, therefore, each individual interviewed has scored each option separately. Taking into account the reasons evaluated as important and very important, there is some homogeneity in the order of preference of all the collectives. Nevertheless, on observing the percentages in more detail, the differences in trends in each scene which explain the qualitative differences in each subculture can be identified.
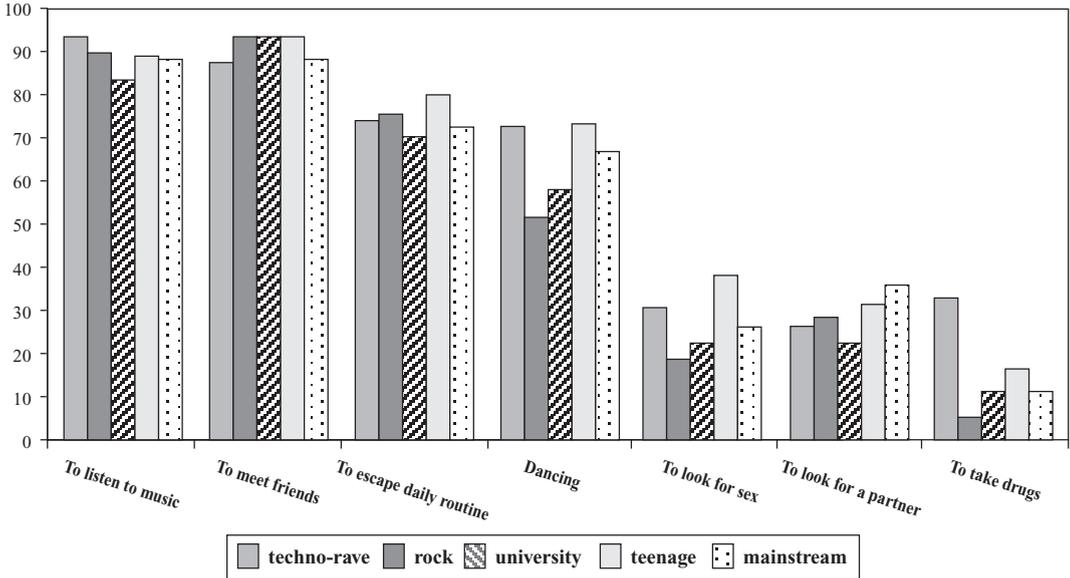
Figure 4.9 (and in more detail in **Tables 4.10, 4.11, 4.12, 4.13** and **4.14** in **Appendix 1**) shows the order of importance that is given to reasons for going out. In general terms, it may be said that music and friends occupy the first places, escape from daily routine and dance follow. Looking for members of the opposite sex and/or sex itself are also important motivations, and drug use is also a reason for going out.

The different percentages are important, but the interconnection between all these reasons must also be pointed out, as well as the difficulty in analysing them separately in order to explain the differences. The greater importance given to music and to friends are structural reasons. The leisure arena is where friendships are formed and nourished, where the young express themselves in a flexible and informal way that allows them creativity.

Music and dance

Music is a key medium inrelationships given that it acts as a language enabling sensibilities to be shared, contributes in creating an emotional state of partying, and is part of the cultural representation of leading and prestigious figures such as DJs. Listening to music is also connected to the other motivations, with dancing, with friends, and even forms part of searching for sex and/or partners as well as with drug use. Music is also one of the most important elements of the identity of the tribe...

"We all listen to the same music: house, techno, some hard core, We've been a group for almost a year and go out together […] then there's a lot of fun". (Male from Vienna, 18 years old)

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Table 4.10: EVALUATION OF IMPORTANT REASONS FOR GOING OUT CLUBBING AND FAVOURITE MUSIC STYLE BY SCENES

	Techno-rave (n= 1113) %			
	Very important reasons for going out clubbing		**Favourite musical style**	
1	To listen to music	93,5	House & techno	51,8
2	To meet friends	87,6	Jungle, funky, drum & bass	9,2
3	To escape daily routine	74,5	Pop, melodic and salsa	6,4
4	Dancing	73,2	Rock	8,5
5	To look for sex	29,6	Hip-hop and rap	5,0
6	To look for a partner	26,9	Punk and heavy metal	3,7
7	To take drugs	32,7	Reggae	2,7
			Other	12,7

Table 4.11

	Rock (n=337) %			
	Very important reasons for going out clubbing		**Favourite musical style**	
1	To meet friends	94,0	Rock	44,1
2	To listen to music	90,1	Pop, melodic and salsa	16,4
3	To escape daily routine	75,7	House & techno	13,0
4	Dancing	52,1	Punk and heavy metal	11,5
5	To look for a partner	28,5	Jungle, funky, drum & bass	4,0
6	To look for sex	18,3	Hip-hop and rap	3,3
7	To take drugs	4,2	Reggae	1,5
			Other	

Table 4.12

	University (n=340) %			
	Very important reasons for going out clubbing		**Favourite musical style**	
1	To meet friends	93,2	Pop, melodic and salsa	24,5
2	To listen to music	82,6	Rock	22,4
3	To escape daily routine	70,7	House & techno	22.1
4	Dancing	58,0	Hip-hop and rap	7,9
5	To look for sex	22,8	Jungle, funky, drum & bass	7.4
6	To look for a partner	22,5	Punk and heavy metal	6,5
7	To take drugs	10,7	Reggae	3,2
			Other	

Table 4.13

Teenage (n=656) %				
	Very important reasons for going out clubbing		**Favourite musical style**	
1	To meet friends	93,3	House & techno	55.3
2	To listen to music	89,0	Pop, melodic and salsa	17,7
3	To escape daily routine	79.5	Rock	10,4
4	Dancing	72,9	Punk and heavy metal	4,1
5	To look for sex	37,8	Hip-hop and rap	4,1
6	To look for a partner	31,7	Jungle, funky, drum & bass	3,0
7	To take drugs	16,0	Reggae	1,4
			Other	3,7

Table 4.14

Mainstream (n=411) %				
	Very important reasons for going out clubbing		**Favourite musical style**	
1	To listen to music	88,2	House & techno	30,2
2	To meet friends	88,2	Pop, melodic and salsa	21,1
3	To escape daily routine	73,1	Rock	11,9
4	Dancing	66,9	Jungle, funky, drum & bass	9,0
5	To look for a partner	35,2	Reggae	3,2
6	To look for sex	26, 9	Hip-hop and rap	2,9
7	To take drugs	11,4	Punk and heavy metal	2,7
			Other	

Figure 4.10 shows the distribution of the three favourite musical styles - house, rock and pop - according to the young people from each scene. These are the three main styles, although there is a wide variety of styles and affiliations. The importance that music acquires is because it is one of the differentiating components of the groups and tribes and is connected with aesthetics, with dancing, with entertainment style and with type of venue and is, above all, an element very closely linked to the emotional, particularly in house music. In other styles, such as rock, pop or hip-hop, the transmission of ideas and ideals is present chiefly in the musical content.

Music and dance are complementary in nocturnal partying and very important in all scenes. However, this combination takes priority in the techno-rave scene, the favourite and the most popular among the young: "Having fun means dancing, listening to music. Music is the drug", are the comments made by one young woman to express the importance of the music in the techno-rave context. **Table 4.10** shows that music is central for the large majority of the techno-rave collective (93,5%). The favourite types
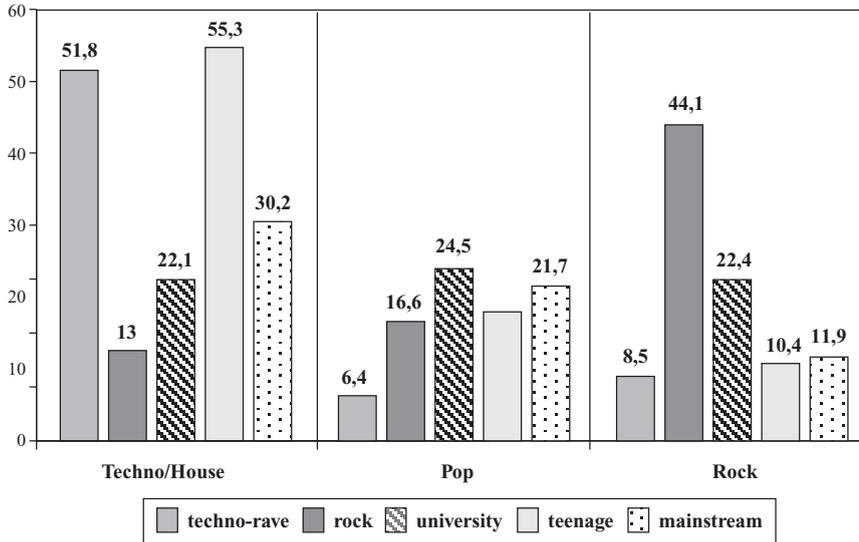
of music is techno and house which combine such musical styles as mellow, garage, and hardcore. The remainder of musical styles are minority ones. The following comments refer to the idealism which defines a rave party as well as the form in which the elements that make it special are presented - contact with new people, breaking taboos, disseminating a collective identity leaving the personal and professional identity to one side, recovering humanity, being happy.

> "At a "teuf party" we are in a context which it is entirely designed for it, you can discuss things with people, even though you don't know them. You break taboos… there is no social identity anymore, nothing left. You're a human being again, you are out of the professional and social context, everybody's alike, everybody's happy." (Male from Nice, age:21)

> "A "teuf" (party) means being together with other young people who love the same sound and who spend the night together in the angst of the coming of the day. In the evening it's hard to stay at home, we become someone else, we put on a different face from the one we have in the daytime or during the week… It means releasing all your problems, the rejection of the stress accumulated during the week, of your body, having fun, taking pleasure, having a lot of powerful sound. Good music arouses your feelings. Release entails pleasure." (Male from Nice, age: 23)

The teenage scene is another collective closely linked to techno-house music and culture. Some 55.3% prefer techno-house music, 17.7% prefer pop and 10.4% rock. The other styles are represented to a lesser extent in this group. These preferences of the youngest collective are significant for what they represent for the continuity of techno-music and the culture that will embrace it as a priority in the next few years. Consequently, with the preference of teenagers for house music, dancing is also important (confirmed by 72.9%).

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In the mainstream collective, the preferred music is also techno-house (30%), although 21.1% prefer pop or melodic music, and some 11.9% rock. Dancing is also an important factor for this collective although not so much as for the two preceding ones. It is important to point out that the music listened to in mainstream venues is the most popular and commercial version of each style. This concept is important in differentiating between individuals who label themselves in the same way but move on different scenes. House is a very diversified style, part of it is already commercialised and well-known to the mainstream scene, but this house music is too ordinary for a house music fan who takes part in underground or alternative scenes such as rave parties. Therefore it must be understood that different groups label themselves with the same musical style but do not recognise each other as being equal. In any case, 'house' overall is accompanied by a kind of dance and a culture of entertainment that share common aspects. 'House' is a repetitive type of music that, combined with dancing, creates a hypnotic state of disconnection and entry to a state of bodily expression. This effect is one that invites and is complemented by the use of certain substances such as ecstasy, cocaine and amphetamines.

The university and rock collectives may be considered alternatives to techno music although there are also quite a few among them who prefer it. In these collectives, rock is the favourite music (44.1% on the rock scene and 22.4% on the university scene), although it is also linked to pop, house, heavy metal and punk. Therefore, these two collectives are less defined than the preceding one in respect of musical style and have wider tastes. Rock, in fact, is also a musical style that has continued to evolve and create new substyles. Heavy metal is one of its variants, which has led to a diversity of interpretations in each country. At the present time, different substyles may be found within the broad range of rock:

> "Metal covers more music styles. Gothic and Black Metal, in fact, are quite different. Although they are both black, dark and depressive. Death Metal actually is harder. And not that melodious. And that can differ a lot. Most people don't see the difference. Actually I'm Metalhead, but sometimes I'm also a Gothic. But I don't always feel like that. Gothic is so terribly slow and soft'. (Female from Utrecht, age: 17)

There is a cocktail of ingredients that young people combine to enjoy themselves, where dancing occupies a leading position. Dancing is another motivation closely linked to the importance given to music and friends. It is a complementary element, as it is a more complete and expressive form of experimenting with the music and interrelating with people. The body acquires protagonism and opens an area of creativity through movement and the transmission of sensations.

The techno-rave and teenage scenes are the ones where dancing is very important (confirmed by 70%). The conversation between young clubbers in Liverpool discussing the elements they foung most important may assist in evaluating the significance that this group gives to having fun and a good time:

- "I would associate myself to some extent with types of music."
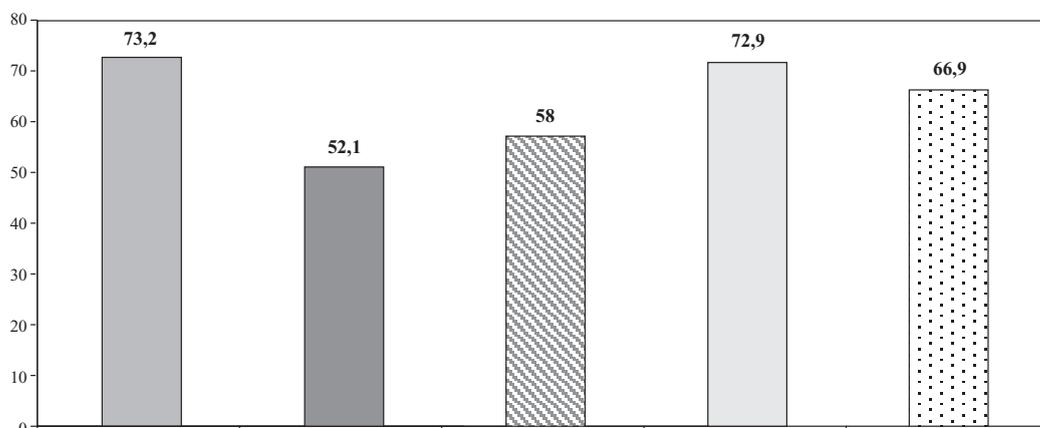
- "Clubbers have a taste in music in common. Clothes to a point, but they relate to the music."

- "Clubbers go to listen to the music and to dance continually."

- " There is a sort of affinity, a state of mind which goes along with the music."

- "Drugs go hand in hand with clubbing. I've never actually tried going out and not taking anything."

In the discussion, those interviewed labelled the young people linked to house, techno, hardcore music etc. as clubbers but in the more alternative scenes such as rave parties. In their definition, clubbers are a collective closely linked to music, dancing and drugs.

In the rock and university scenes, there is less importance given to dancing although more than half the young people in this sample do find it important. Perhaps it is because these scenes also include other activities such as conversation, people-watching and listening to music without feeling the need to dance.

Being with friends is another significant motivatin for 90% of the young people, and it is important in all the collectives. The rock scene is where this reason scored most highly (94%), followed by young people from the university scene (93,2%) and teenagers (93%). In the techno and mainstream scenes, although it continues to be one of the principal reasons, it is less important than the music. The importance of friends and scenes is crucial in understanding the behaviour of young people and their different entertainment styles. At least this is how the young express it.

"I like going to parties where you feel you are sharing the same experiences with other young partygoers... and also being one of the crowd" (Male from Athens, age: 20).

Friends, the group and the scene are the most central motivations in this study and for that reason they are argued throughout this work. The preceding comments lead on

to consideration of another reality of the night, the importance of being one of a crowd who 'dance to the same tune'. Feeling one of the crowd, sharing with it the emotion of the music or the dancing or the rhythm created by the DJ is experienced as a sublime and linking experience. There is a line of study, more reminiscent of philosophy, initiated with Ortega y Gasset, on the culture of the masses in our modern urban and developed societies. The most notable feature is the pleasure that is experienced in feeling oneself part of many others and the potent effect that this has on feelings and emotions.

Escape from routine is the third reason given for going out for enjoyment and it is also very important in all the collectives (more than 70%), although with certain differences. Recreational life and drug use within it is a combination that assists in this goal:

"Using alcohol and cannabis helps me to escape from daily routine, and as a result I feel better." (Male from Athens, age: 34)

The young as we have shown feel satisfied in general with their lives (González Blasco 1999: 250) and feel themselves quite free and able to act without family pressure. The young in this study have the money to enjoy themselves and are socially integrated. Why then this interest in escapinge from one arena to enter into another? This is one of the aspects of the life of the young people who develop a need for breaking away from their formal and daily routines at the weekend to immerse themselves in another feel closer to that needs to be better understood. This division of time between work and entertainment is one of the principal cultural constructions in European societies. The young take this division for granted and feel the need to experiment in their lives.

It is the young on the university scene who least value escape from routine, although it is important for 70% of them. But it is in the teenage collective, however, where it is most valued, by 79.5%. The need to break with the formal sphere is, therefore, another of the aspects to be considered and explored in order to understand the objectives of the collective of young people going out to enjoy themselves.

The search for sexual partners is an element in acquiring social capital and in the search for new sensations, except, in a sense, this is restricted to the physical. This is another aspect that enables reference to be made to the structural changes in our society. In just a few decades, sex has gone from being an almost prohibited activity to one that is almost obligatory. In fact, traditionally, access to sex was directly and symbolically related to power and this link remains. In the literature and philosophy of the 20th century, sexual freedom is considered the harbinger of other social and personal liberties (Reich 1993, Goldberg 1992, Marcuse 1989) that has situated this process in the front line of every democratic and liberal undertaking.

Sexuality has overlapped the cult of the body and both form a part of the consumer culture and the quest for new pleasures. Sexual pleasure is one of the most promoted, and it is identified with the body culture and, in turn, with a wide range of commercial

products. Although certainly a liberating one, this new culture is giving rise to new social dogmas and pathologies such as anorexia and bulimia, and the exclusion of those who do not respond to aesthetic labelling is one example (Bañuelos 1995). Access to sexuality is a privilege that is not available to all men and women, nor can it be given the same significance. In order to seduce there are a number of social norms to be met and certain social abilities are required, and these can be bought or learned. At the same time, there is a certain gender division in understanding the relationship between sex and romantic love consolidated in the last century, particularly through literature (Giddens 1995). All this can create obstacles to accessing sexuality for the young people going out at night. As can be seen in the following Figure, this quest is also important although it varies according to each collective.

One third of the young people in this study go out to flirt and/or find a partner. For more than a third of the collective that belong to teenage scenes, these are the two most important reasons for going out. This is similar in other collectives although slightly less so. In the techno-rave and mainstream collectives, searching for sex scores more highly than the search for a partner. In the rock collective, it is the reverse and they give more importance to the search for a partner than for sex. In the university scene, the two reasons are equally important. Although the data is not broken down by gender, there is no doubt that the presence of women in those collectives where the search for a partner is more important than that of sex may be explanatory.

Drug use as a reason for going out is one of the most significant and most directly of interest in this study. The following comments point exactly to the priority that drugs may acquire in 'partying':

Figure 4.12: SEARCH FOR SEX AND PARTNER AS REASONS FOR GOING OUT
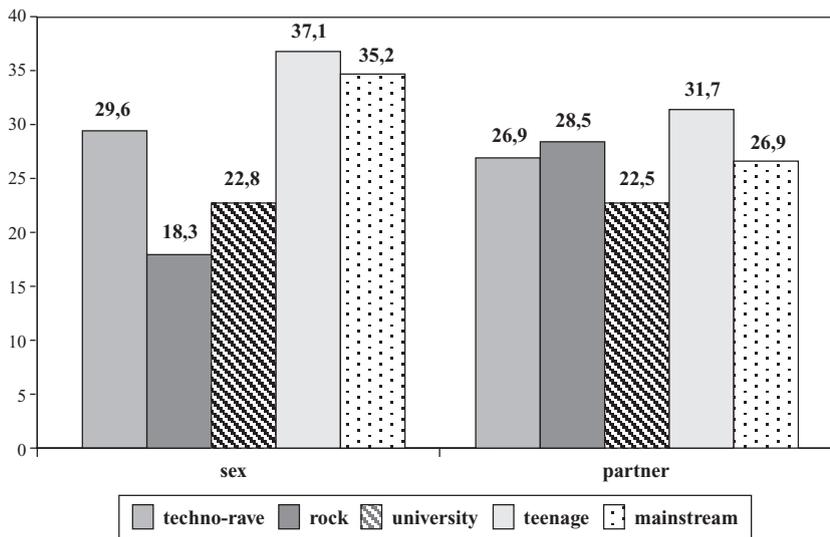
"I can't go partying without taking stuff… it's not necessarily the party that conditions the stuff, for me it's the opposite, I first think about getting the stuff, then I think about what I'm going to do… I say: What will we have tonight?" and then we go out. If I take an acid, I go to a "teuf" or else I go for a walk down town, just to have fun. If I drink I won't go to a "teuf" but I'd rather go down the Vieux Nice to have fun and if I smoke I'd rather stay with my mates…" (Female from Nice, age: 21)

This may be read as each scene having its corresponding drug. These comments place the understanding of drugs in a close relationship with entertainment styles which makes it possible to state that the nocturnal variety opens a range of choices, enabling the young to choose between styles of amusement and drug use.

Two of these collectives place considerable emphasis on drug use as the central reason central for going out. This does not mean that the young people who do not rank this option highly are not users, but merely that they do not consider it one of the important reasons for going out or at least not openly. 32.7% of the techno-rave group consider the use of drugs as a reason for going out, followed by some 16% of the teenage collective. Although these are the scenes where more young people have listed this reason, 11.4% of the mainstream collective, 10.7% of the university collective and 4.2% of the rockers also chose it.

Arguing that they go out to take drugs signifies that drugs are something other than a means of enjoyment and that they go on to become an end in themselves. That is why this variable is one of the most helpful in evaluating the presence of drugs and their importance in the culture of the group. The two following comments explain the importance given to drug use. In the first, the drugs are mediators, and in the second, the drugs help in the search for entertainment and people to share it.

"Drugs, alcohol... all, all have a certain pleasure, and a certain ...desinhibiting effect... pleasure, seduction... as if we were more... more open, more confident, less aware of responsibility. Everything is much easier ... " (Male from Coimbra, age: 31)

Figure 4.13: USING DRUGS AS AN IMPORTANT REASON FOR GOING OUT TO HAVE A GOOD TIME

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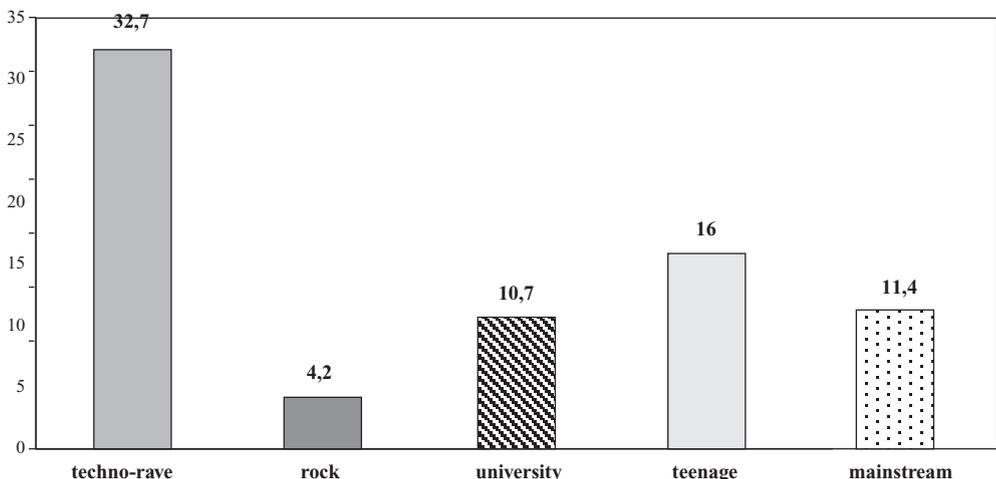
"We choose our group according to the persons and the stuff they use. [...] You can't stay with people who don't take the same drugs as you do, it's impossible. It's worse among the techno tribes, the cleavage comes from the drug." (Male from Nice, age: 21).

The teenagers are the group that most attracts attention, since they are the next generation **(Table 4.13)**, those who will dominate the recreational arena in the next few years. Their closeness to the techno-rave collective is fundamental to recreational culture because it may act as a prognostic of the way in which this activity is going, and the significance that is given to drugs.

Up to this point, the information presented provides a panorama of the subcultures of entertainment. We could conclude that meeting friends and listening to music are the two most prominent reasons among all the tribes in explaining why it is important for them to go out. The third reason that deserves further attention is that of escaping from routine, escaping from the formal arena into the emotional dimension where sociability and bodily expression are the leading attractions. In all the groups, more than 70% state this as a reason, and this may indicate a certain need to separate the two periods, a way of redistributing activities, giving a greater positive value to recreational activities. Looking for sex or a partner are also important reasons, and there were differences between collectives. It is more important for the teenage and mainstream collectives than for the rock collective but it is undeniable that it is an important component of nightlife in general.

House music is very important in the techno-rave and teenage scenes and also in the university and mainstream scenes, in other words in almost all the scenes with the exception of the rockers. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the entertainment scenes change continually. In its beginning, the clubbing scene was an 'alternative' one and now it has been taken over by market forces and is reproducing the traditional values based on consumerism.

Some young people are critical of the appropriation of their culture by the market and the recreation industry. This implies that there exist constantly new tribes looking for new scenes where a philosophy of alternative aesthetics and entertainment prevail. In some cities, a new trend is emerging, exchanging the large scenes for smaller and more intimate ones and looking for scenes where the consequences of drug abuse are not present:

"We have found a new place in Manchester, it's absolutely brilliant. It's a room not much bigger than this and the atmosphere is amazing. No one is drunk." (Female from Liverpool, age: 19)

Drug use as the reason for going out is the one we believe merits most attention. In some way, drugs in the recreational arena are understood as mediatory substances that contribute to attaining some purpose such as getting on better with other people, enjoying the dancing more, providing more courage for flirting. However, it seems that some young people, particularly the techno-rave and the teenage collectives, evaluate drug use as a reason for going out,indicating that the purpose of taking part in the

recreational arena is to take drugs. This is a significant difference that should be taken into account in the analysis centred on drug use given below.

Drug use

This section makes a full analysis of drug use. Going out for fun has something to do with the quest for pleasure, happiness, new experiences, feeling free to do as one please without plans or formality. The majority of young people coincide in pointing out that having fun is a state of mind which is not always achieved, therefore one has to choose the ingredients that may attain this ideal - the scene, being attractive, friends, sex, music and/or drugs. All these components are conditional on belonging to a group of friends, of being part of a collective entity with which they have created bonds of solidarity. The central theme of this work is the significance of the group, the tribe, the subculture that a young person belongs to when he or she makes decisions in respect of drugs. A basic finding of the SONAR survey was that 86.8% of ecstasy users used it in the company of friends but the same can also be said of other substances that have become fundamental socialising elements.

Figure 4.9 showed that being with friends is one of the most important reasons for going out. Nevertheless, the composition of the relationships of the tribe may be formed by many elements that determine the style of having fun and its ingredients. What is the importance that drugs acquire in the groups, in each scene or subculture? Investigating tribal culture is undeniably a means of achieving an important predictive element of individual drug use. At the same time, to understand individual as member of one group, as representant of a colectivity, this help us to understand better one of most important influence that individuals feel when they assumetheir own decisions as individuals, outside of their social network.

As far as we know, drugs occupy an important place in the list of 'ingredients' for having fun, and they are becoming one of the components of this collective search for amusement and entertainment. The following comments arising from the focus group discussions may furher our understanding of this phenomenon:

"Fun for me has to have something to do with alcohol. If I don't drink I enjoy myself much less than when I do drink. Once you have two drinks under your belt, fun comes, you dance, you look for personal contact on all sides, you act the goat, you're hyper." (Male from Palma, age: 20)

"When I go out in the evening, it is possible that I will drink alcohol, but it is not terribly important. It depends a lot, however, on the people I'm with. If for instance everybody's stoned, one feels silly not drinking with them. And if everybody's drinking moderately or not at all, it doesn't matter if you don't drink." (Female from Vienna, age: 28)

The above comments refer to a key factor in the relationship between belonging to a group and drug use. In principle, the group as an entity is crucial in explaining the style of use, and the use itself. Individual control in respect of drugs is mediated by interest in the degree of integration desired into the group and into the scene (and/or the need

for it), "It is not funny to be the only one in a group who does not get drunk". This is a common remark among those accustomed to using drugs when they go out. The objective is communication between members of a group, sharing the fun, and drugs are one of the most powerful components involved in this.

> " If you want to forget all your troubles you try to change your mind completely and be in another world, all together sharing the same physical and mental trip. We all put ourselves on the same level: if someone has already started consuming, you enquire about what he's taken, whom from, and everybody takes the same stuff to follow… We use this to gather, to be closer." (Female from Nice, age: 21).

> " At the latest private party, we made a tremendous punch with mushrooms, mescaline… No one looked askance at us or pointed a finger at us, and everybody was pissed, you could do it there, elsewhere you wouldn't do that, of course. Some were so pissed they didn't know what they were doing, nobody judged them. I would feel uneasy if I went to a free-party without taking anything. It's not because you are on trip that you can't communicate, even if it's not with an ecstasy that helps you to be open to others" (Male from Nice, age: 22)

> "I don't really need it (ecstasy, speed, hashish, cocaine). I am just used to it by now. I cannot see the difference between going out and being sober, but perhaps one is more outgoing, more open perhaps and flipping out more and then it is fun to meet with other people who are in the same state and then have more fun with it" (Female from Vienna, age: 20)

Sharing the ritual, the emotional trip, the style of the fun, not feeling judged, etc. is what fortifies this integration with others and with the scene. It is undeniable that these substances contribute to reaching a more uninhibited state and promote social skills. Among the components that form group relationships are abstract elements such as solidarity, affection, friendship, view of the world and other more specific ones such as being able to share the music, dancing, aesthetics, etc. The group relationship depends on an invisible link that is being created and what we are looking for here is what position drugs occupy in the formation of this link where they are part of this relationship. The *hypothesis is that drugs (or some of them at least) may become the most powerful component in the link that unites the members of a group, and they even become a mediating component for sharing other elements of the entertainment (such as music, dancing and the venues where they go out for fun, and also the view of the world, values and solidarity)*. And a further hypothesis arises from this: drugs strengthen the group as much as they weaken it. *By overruling the relationship to drug use and subordinating other elements to them, drugs end up by nourishing the relational link.*

Let us look at these comments:

> " The group is important to me, for the trip, for having fun, doing everything, blowing everything up, drawing attention to me. It has a lot of influence. Even I used to have influence. The cohesion of the group comes from techno music, the consumption of drugs, above all illicit ones, the trip, and the fun. It's also difficult for me to have a girlfriend, friends are more important. A year ago it was alcohol and joints. This year, I introduced mushrooms to them, they liked that. It was a new trip and a new experience,

which brought us closer to one another. And soon there'll be something else, no doubt, like the logical continuation of the party. My mates know they can trust me. We are very close to one another, otherwise we wouldn't go out together. I think that in five years' time, we'll still be together." (Male from Nice, age: 21)

Drugs are made into a central plank, the spinal column, of the group. The state of communion is attained without too much effort when going out with others. Drugs give significance to the music and dancing and with them the party spirit can be intensified and prolonged. All these objectives are achieved with less effort than that normally required by a group of young and shy people to meld together and create a fun atmosphere around themselves. However, drugs also become a tyrannical component n eliminating the possibility of reaching these objectives without them. Above all, this tyrannical quality may be observed in its exclusion function. There is an insurmountable space between users and non-users that prevents fun from being shared. The end result is the creation of systems of exclusion and social distancing in both the recreational arena and all social spheres. The following comments show that drugs may also interfere in the relationship between friends when the extent of use is different.

"I used to smoke joints, but six months ago I quit the habit. For me it didn't always work out well. Sometimes I had to vomit. A friend of mine still smokes joints. We often go out together. After one or two hours he becomes vague. I keep talking to him but at the end of the night, he doesn't say much anymore." (Male from Utrecht, age: 20).

So use and style of use do interfere, and may end up dominating the group identity and relationships with friends. From the data belowinformation the different habits, frequencies and significance of use according to substances and scenes can be identified. Use patterns that have been maintained in the quantitative analysis detect recreational use - the use within the group - and differentiate it from daily or sporadic use. Each substance has a distinct social significance and this means that paaterns of use are also distinct. The data are presented according to three dominant patterns: 1. Those who use drugs sporadically or very occasionally, 2. Those whose use is recreational, at weekends only, and 3. Those that use almost daily (the use frequencies are specified in detail in the Annex). Use is more common in the case of alcohol, tobacco and cannabis, than with other substances.

As already specified, the objective is to detect the different levels and significances of use in each scene in order to find the influence of the group influence. Analysing the data from the questionnaire in accordance with these criteria may assist in evaluating the influence of recreational use in each group and for each substance. It should be taken into account that the analysis is static and not dynamic. This means that it does not capture the continuum between one frequency and another, nor the evolution to be found in a longitudinal study. There may be young people who, when they start to use drugs, do so in an infrequent way in recreational scenes and, over time, reach habitual frequencies, and the converse may also be true. Nevertheless, the data presented (in **Tables 4.15, 4.16, 4.17, 4.18** and **4.19** in more detail), although limited, do assist in creating a map of use and providing some idea of the influence of the group, complementing the information with the comments of the young people.

Table 4.15: DRUG USE, AGE OF INITIATION AND EVALUATION OF THE MOST FASHIONABLE, AND THE MOST DIFFICULT TO GIVE UP SUBSTANCES BY SCENES

Techno- rave (n= 1113) %						
Substances	**Consumption***			**Age of initiation**	**Most fashionable substance**	**Most difficult substance to give up**
	None	Less frequent	Habitual			
Drunkenness in last month	32,2	33,5	34,3		(alcohol)	(alcohol)
					12,6	28,9
Tobacco	25,9	14,1	60,0	15	1,4	24,2
Cannabis	32,6	29,5	37,9	16	29,7	20,4
Ecstasy	56,5	24,3	19,2	19	32,5	4,1
Cocaine	64,6	22,3	13,1	20	12,5	2,9
Amphetamines	74,5	16,0	9,5	18	1,0	0,7

[1] Each substance has its own parameters to define the less frequent and the habitual frequencies.

- In the case of drunkenness, "less frequent" refers to those who have been drunk once during the last month; "habitual" refers to those who have been drunk more than once a month.
- In the case of tobacco,"less frequent" refers to those who smoke but not daily, those who smoke sometimes during the week or sometimes during the month; "habitual" refers to those who smoke every day. In the case of cannabis, "less frequent" refers to those who use cannabis on a momthly or weekly basis; "habitual" refers to those who use cannabis daily or several times a week.
- In the case of ecstasy, amphetamines and cocaine, "less frequent" refers to those who consume less than once a month or so; "habitual" refers to those who consume several times a month, every week and daily.

Table 4.16

Rock (n= 338) %						
Substances	**Consumption***			**Age of initiation**	**Most fashionable substance**	**Most difficult substance to give up**
	None	Less frequent	Habitual			
Drunkenness in last month	46,9	39,1	14,0		36,8 (alcohol)	35,0 (alcohol)
Tobacco	29,5	22,5	48,1	15	0,7	18,9
Cannabis	60,2	32,3	7,5	16	43,0	7,4
Ecstasy	93,7	5,1	1,2	19	10,7	0,6
Cocaine	97,3	2,4	0,3	20	2,9	0,3
Amphetamines	96,4	2,7	0,9	18	0,3	0,3

Table 4.17

Substances	Consumption*			Age of initiation	Most fashionable substance	Most difficult substance to give up
University (n= 340) %						
	None	Less frequent	Habitual			
Drunkenness in last month	37,1	39,8	23,1		53,8 (alcohol)	39,3 (alcohol)
Tobacco	38,0	22,3	39,8	15	2,7	23,1
Cannabis	58,0	30,5	11,5	16	26,4	6,5
Ecstasy	88,1	10,4	1,5	18	11,4	0,6
Cocaine	92,9	6	1,2	19	4,3	0,3
Amphetamines	93,7	4,8	1,5	18	0,3	0,3

Table 4.18

Substances	Consumption*			Age of initiation	Most fashionable substance	Most difficult substance to give up
Teenage (n=656) %						
	None	Less frequent	Habitual			
Drunkenness in last month	40,7	35,0	24,3		22,6 (alcohol)	29,0 (alcohol)
Tobacco	28,9	19,3	51,8	14	1,3	18,8
Cannabis	57,0	27,8	15,2	16	26,3	11,2
Ecstasy	80,3	10,7	9,0	16	29,0	3,9
Cocaine	88,1	8,1	3,8	17	10,2	2,0
Amphetamines	91,2	4,8	4,0	16	1,6	0,5

Table 4.19

Substances	Consumption*			Age of initiation	Most fashionable substance	Most difficult substance to give up
Mainstream (n=411) %						
	None	Less frequent	Habitual			
Drunkenness in last month	43,4	38,7	17,9		24,8 (alcohol)	27,2 (alcohol)
Tobacco	13,3	1,8	84,8	15	2,5	19,7
Cannabis	68,1	20,8	11,1	17	26,7	9,3
Ecstasy	86,2	7,9	5,9	19	23,6	1,3
Cocaine	91,1	6,4	2,5	20	11,2	0,8
Amphetamines	91,1	5,4	3,5	18	1,6	0,5

Alcohol, drunkenness and tobacco

Figure 4.14 shows episodes of drunkenness, which are a constant in all the scenes in recreational life although in different percentages. This means that the consumption and abuse of alcohol is generalised and dominant in recreational life but more so in some scenes than in others. Data on drunkenness is presented because they refer to the abuse of alcohol, a toxic consumption, in other words, that could have direct consequences in terms of health. Some authors consider that there has been a significant cultural change in the case of alcohol, a change from drinking alcohol in the family setting to drinking it with friends at the weekend and to such an extent that the young are not interested in drinking alcohol with their parents, do not drink at home and only do so when they are with their tribe at the weekends. The goal of drunkenness may have become one of the objectives of having fun, and an essential part of the ritual that starts the weekend.

Looking at the different scenes, 67.8% of young people in the techno-rave scene have been drunk in the past month, half of them habitually, in other words more than once a month. Those in the university scene also have a considerable score. More than 62% have been drunk, although the majority once only. In the other three collectives, more than half the young people have been drunk, the teenage collective being the one where drunkenness is most habitual.

Alcohol is the most widespread drug and one that is socially legitimised and one that also plays a basic function in the group relationship. Therefore the decision to give up drinking alcohol or to exercise control over consumption may bring with it difficult consequences.. Giving up drinking relates to being isolated from the group or at least experiencing the feeling of isolation, and this indicates the importance of group pressure and the breaking of solidarity by dissident members.

Figure 4.14: BOUTS OF DRUNKNNESS IN THE LAST MONTH BY SCENE
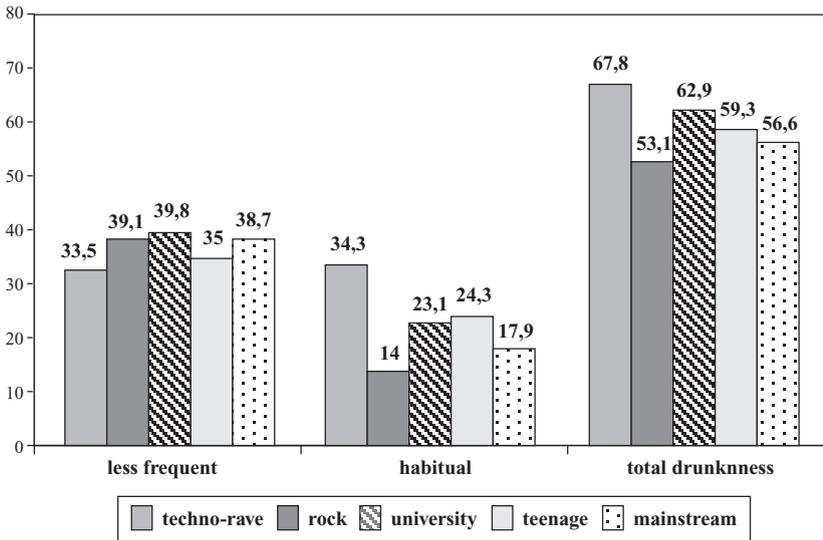
Figure 4.15: TOBACCO USE BY SCENE
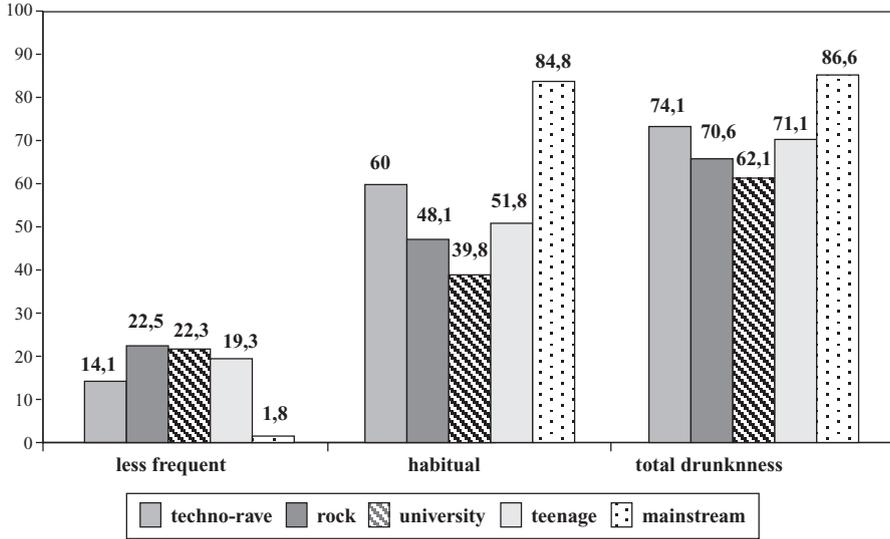
Figure 4.16: EVALUATION OF ALCOHOL AND TOBACCO AS FASHIONABLE SUBSTANCES
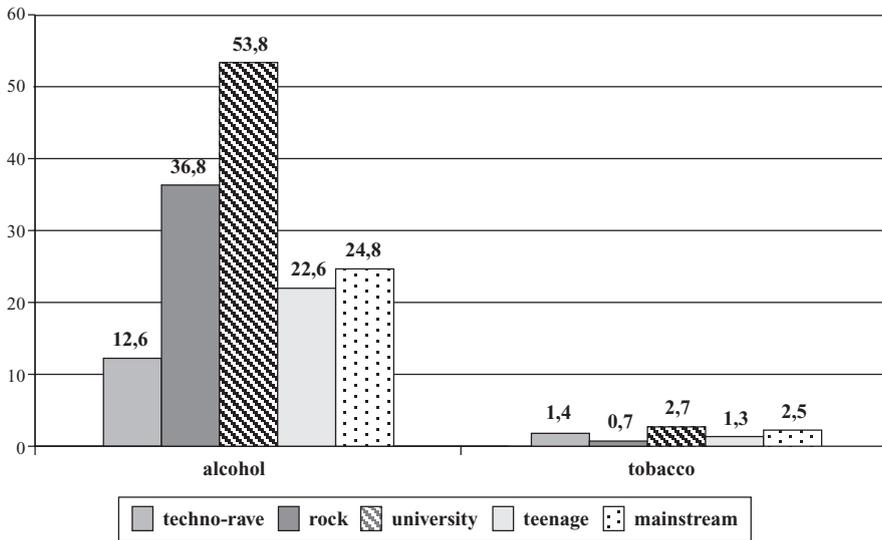
" I've had a very alcoholic period, I was aggressive, I'd given up drinking for a year, a radical stop, I gave it up altogether…It was easy but also very hard: somehow you are apart. In an unconscious way, people don't invite you along, 'he won't be in the same state as us' …". (Male from Nice, age: 21)

In addition to alcohol, tobacco, the other legal substance, is generalised in all the collectives. The usual frequency of smokers is daily, which indicates that it is one of the substances that generates greatest dependence. Nevertheless, there are important

differences between the collectives. Tobacco use is greater in the mainstream scene, with 80% smokers, the great majority of these with daily frequency. This indicates that the habit of smoking is very present in the mass media, it is a very normalised consumption and even promoted. The techno-rave and teenage collectives also include a majority of smokers, more than 70%, almost all habitual. Those who smoke the least are university students, with fewer than 40% who do so habitually and 22% who smoke but not on a daily basis.

Alcohol is one of the most fashionable substances among the young whereas tobacco is one of the least popular. There is a much stronger connection with fashion in respect of the social image of the substance and less with the consumption.

Alcohol is appreciated by all the groups, although it is the favourite among university students and rockers. A subculture of rock and of punk is the 'gothics', one of the tribes that are beginning to have a certain presence in some cities, although it is still considered underground. In Coimbra, they define their attitude in the following way:

> "Arriving there with 100$, buying a bottle of green wine, drinking from the bottle in an environment of almost total darkness, with very very little light[...] and it has a gloomy air... and black or purple clothes".

The young on the techno-rave and teenage scenes give alcohol less value, in spite of the fact that they are among those who abuse it the most. Tobacco is valued very little, despite being the most used substance. It is therefore difficult to explain that the most used substance is that which is the least fashionable. One possible reason may be that it was the initial drug, that it has been used for some time and that it has lost its effect as a novelty and it is possible that within these scenes there is greater expectation in the search for sensations arising from the use of other drugs.

Some comments illustrate the degree to which alcohol is valued. In the majority of the European countries, it is the most popular substane, to the extent that it is essential to having fun. Alcohol is associated with sociability and even with achieving a comfortable environment. There is no party without alcohol. However, there are many ways of consuming alcohol.

> "You feel free with alcohol. It sounds very cliché, but things are easier under the influence of alcohol. You know in advance that's how it'll be. Not that I'm drinking to have more fun, but it's more comfortable with a glass of beer than with a glass of coke." (Male from Utrecht, age: 19)

> "I find happiness at night, at times... for example, when we are having a drink... when we are chatting, always when drinking ... without being aware of it ... I love it!... I want to hug everybody... I feel so happy..." (Female from Coimbra, age:18).

Alcohol and tobacco are the substances that are consumed from a very early age in spite of the fact that legislation prohibits the sale of these products to those under a certain age in every European country. The average age of initiation into consumption of the young people in this study is around 14 /15 years. Therefore, alcohol and tobacco are initiating substances. In spite of this, many young people evaluate alcohol in

negative terms, even comparing its use with that of other illegal substances on occasions:

"You know what it is? If you take drugs you know what's going on, but if you drink alcohol, the next morning you think: 'Shit, what have I done'. Alcohol makes me feel lacking in confidence. With drugs I feel more certain. If I mix alcohol with pills it's ok. I don't get drunk and I feel comfortable. But if I drink alcohol alone, at a certain point I always think people laugh at me. Under the influence of drugs I would just go to them and ask them why they are laughing at me in such a stupid way. But with alcohol I don't dare. I'd rather take my stuff and say: 'Let's go to another place'." (Female from Utrecht, age: 21).

" Until they are 17, people do not drink for the quality, they drink for the quantity, and the way a person gets drunker faster is with shots... when someone is 15/16 years old, he or she is told, "you must be home before 4 o'clock in the morning because I can't sleep unless you are home." ...The faster you get drunk the better because you have an excuse for arriving home drunk... an excuse to stagger off to bed... it's as if... now a person can only go home in that state... someone who stays out until 7 o'clock, is not in such a hurry." (Female from Coimbra, age: 21)

The lower value of alcohol in the techno-rave and in the teenage groups does not have any relationship with consumption but it is reflected in the data relating to the most fashionable drug, where alcohol is only positively ranked by a minority in both collectives.

USE OF ILLEGAL DRUGS

Cannabis

Cannabis is also present in all the scenes although with big differences. Those who smoke more belong to the techno-rave scene where it is smoked by more than 70% and more than half do so habitually. Those in the mainstream are the ones who use cannabis the least, although one third do so. 43% of members of the teenage collective are users, and of these more than half habitual users. In the rock and university collectives, it is smoked by around 40% and use is more sporadic than habitual.

Cannabis is a substance associated ideally with relaxing environments where a degree of tranquillity and a search for a harmonious sociability predominate. Nevertheless, this ideal is not reflected in recreational life. The level of cannabis used by the techno collective shows the inconsistency of this image, given that in this collective the culture has little in common with tranquillity, talking to friends or relaxing. Therefore, cannabis can acquire different significances depending on the collective and age. Among the techno and teenage collective, the objective is the search for a more heightened state of mind through dancing and the hypnotic sound of this style. This may indicate that young people, in the recreational context, consume cannabis as a complement to other substances in the search for a changedstate of mind.

Figure 4.17: CANNABIS USE BY SCENE
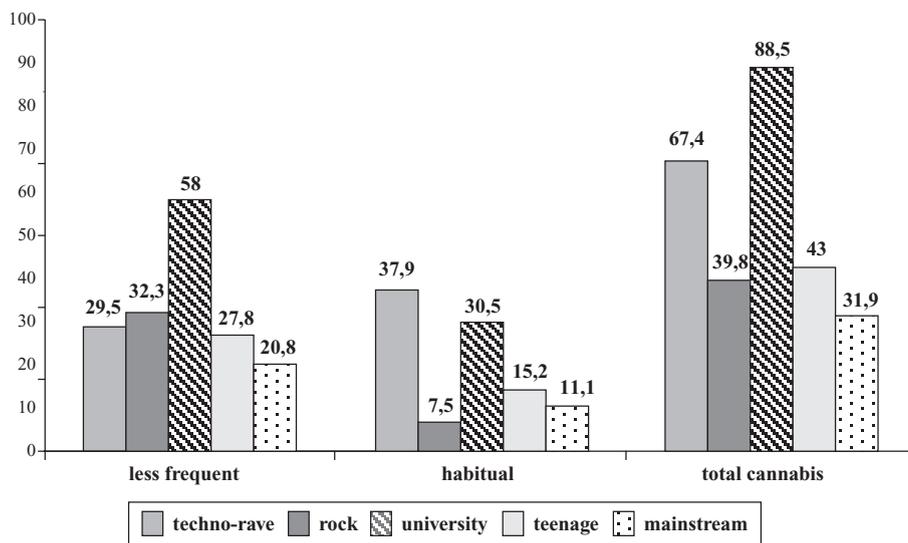
Ecstasy

Ecstasy is a substance with a very different presence according to the different scenes. Figure 4.18 shows that use in each environment is very different. The techno-rave collective uses it the most, both as sporadic and habitual users. In this collective almost one half are users. The teenage collective follows: a little less than half of users use ecstasy habitually and a little more than half sporadically.

Mainstream follows with those in the university and rock collectives using the least - the latter sporadically. Therefore, the panorama of ecstasy defines a pattern of use that is clearly different within each scene and the collectives that shape them.

The elevated use of ecstasy inthe techno and teenage scenes shows that this substance, and drugs in general, are important to this culture. Looking at the qualitative data, there are three basic elements in the acid house, dance, techno, and trance culture - music, dancing and drugs. But this does not mean just any music, dance or drug but very specific types of melody, movement and substances that unite perfectly to create an emotionally heightened state. The music is characterised by its repetitive sound, which induces a body movement in accordance with the music and, assisted by such substances as MDMA, a kind of emotional ecstasy or state of trance is sought. A member of this collective states:

> "I am of the opinion that drug use helps young people to understand the electronic music better" (Male from Athens, age:20)

Most of those interviewed, mostly from the electronic (trance, house, techno) scene, with experience of drugs believed that some drug users do know why they experiment with drugs and the most important reasons are: to have a full understanding of the

Figure 4.18: ECTASY USE BY SCENE
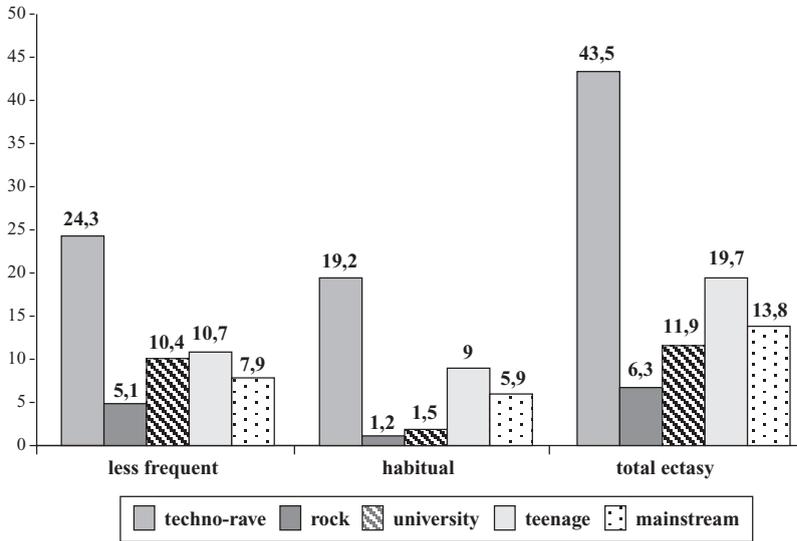
music, to relax, to improve their ability to communicate. In other words, these respondents stressed the importance of the experimental use of drugs, especially of cannabis and synthetic drugs, with the purpose of having new experiences. Of the five collectives in this survey, the techno-rave and teenage groups also include those who take part in rave parties, those who spend more time taking part in recreational life, the English clubbers, the after-hour enthusiasts in Palma and, therefore, are a collective who participate wholeheartedly in going out to have a good time and where drug use has the highest presence. It is on the techno scene that drugs acquire a central position as a socialising link and as a basic strategy for achieving full enjoyment. The following comment may be read as an example of the excluding function of drugs:

> "It's impossible for me to go to a techno party and a disco without consuming anything. Most people take something, either you follow the wave, or it's not worth going out. Now I don't need to take an ecstasy or two or three things, but there'll always be a drink or two or three. The meaning of the night is linked with this sensation induced by a substance." (Female from Nice, age: 24)

Ecstasy was very fashionable during the 1990s, although its prestige has varied over the last few years. It is less fashionable and it may be said that its use has stabilised (PNSD 2000, EMCDDA 1998), but it continues to be a highly valued substance in respect of the search for connection with house music, dancing and fraternity. And, as has been seen, its use among the youngest is considerable up to the point that these youngsters, those in the teenage collective, appear in this study to be very similar to techno enthusiasts. They are their heirs in terms of their style of having a good time and also their drug use.

The following comments explain the effect achieved by taking ecstasy:

" My ecstasy period came with house, homo, kinky, and other parties… for music generates a certain behaviour. With a trip, music directs you mentally, it makes you sense and feel things. With ecstasy, it's not that strong, it's more rsociable, whereas with trip, it's more internalised, more analysed, more observed…" (Female from Nice, age: 24)

"When I first started going out and taking pills I used to love talking to all these people, it was the best part of the night. The pills you can buy at the moment aren't amazing. About a year ago a lot of good ones came out, then steadily the ones with the picture on them got worse. At the moment it's at that stage…a bit boring, but I still go clubbing. It doesn't need a new drug, just a better form of ecstasy." (Female from Liverpool, age: 20)

" I think that having fun is almost automatically linked with a consumption of stuff of some sort. It is entertaining! The notion of living it up has always been linked with alcohol; it allows me to be in harmony with myself and with the others, to have wilder discussions, but other products can also be used as substitutes for alcohol to have fun. In my experience, at the parties were I took an ecstasy, I was able to live the party more intensely and to have discussions I wouldn't have had if I had been on strychnine; it makes you hyper; you feel great, you communicate more easily, you are more alert, it flies in your head." (Male from Nice, age: 22)

The effects of ecstasy take on such a positive significance among its users that they make them question why such a miracle substance should be prohibited and limited (Calafat, 1998). At the present time, there is an open controversy between experts on the effects of this drug on health, on its pathology and the fatalities it may cause. Many of the problems associated with this substance arise from its neurological consequences. Its defenders, however, consider that it is not dangerous under certain circumstances (Fromberg 1998, Saunders 1993, Shulguin 1986). It is discussed in terms of its physiological effects and not its psychosocial ones. Therefore, it is important to point out that ecstasy, like every other substance, acquires cultural significance and contributes to attaining socially created ends. Apart from the neurophysiological problems that ecstasy can cause and which are being confirmed increasingly by new medical research, it is becoming a substance that traps fun and amusement and subordinates it to its use and effects. In this sense, ecstasy does create dependence, not a physical one, but certainly in the psychological and social dimension. At the present time, and as has been shown, it is very closely linked to the techno-rave culture which is the most dominant recreational culture of the time, and one that will continue to be so in view of the proximity of the very youngest to this scene.

Cocaine

Cocaine use also presents differences between collectives. It is the most expensive substance although its price has been dropping and its quality improving in the last few years, which has encouraged its use to become generalised. In addition, cocaine is very closely linked to prestigious groups, elitists and those of a high sociodemographic status (Díaz 1992, 1998). Its use is spreading to other social groups, particularly among those more influenced by the glamour of the prestigious elite who are converting this substance into an everyday and accessible one. **Figure 4.19** reflects a situation similar
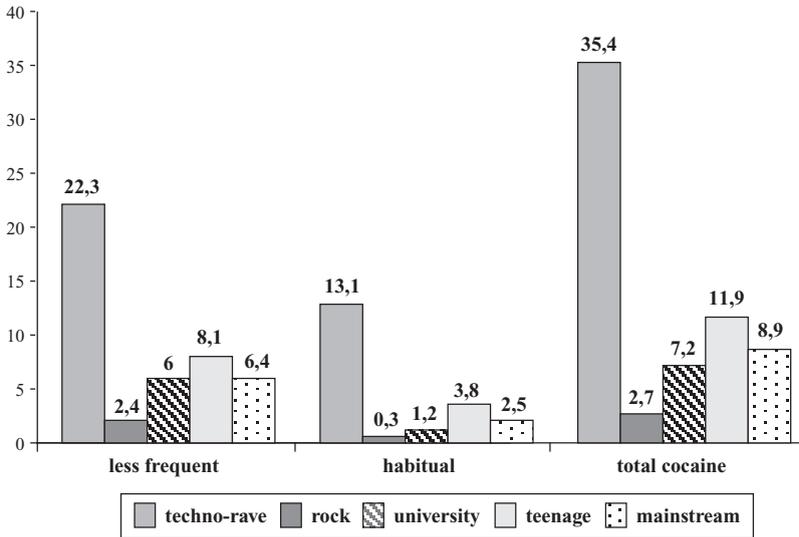
to that of the use of ecstasy. It can be seen that more is used on the techno-rave scene, by 35% and habitually by 13% of these . Through other studies, it stan be affirmed that it is on the techno-rave scenes that cocaine use is acquiring greater importance (See to Tossmann 1999). It is probable that it is in these scenes that in addition to the prestige of this substance, its stimulation is also being sought in order that individuals can party non-stop.

Use is less in other collectives but still considerable. Bearing in mind the price of the substance, it is notable that some 11.9% of the teenage collective use it. Perhaps the use of cocaine in the mainstream scene (8,9%) is less surprising, but still notable. It is not so surprising as this is a collective that is intent on assuming the elements of prestige, and it is notable because it is the collective that is most integrated in to formal culture where the use of illegal drugs it is more stigmatised, but perhaps this drug become to be 'integrated' Among those in the rock and university collectives, use is lower and frequency is usually sporadic. In spite of this, there are rock scenes where the use of this substance can be high. The comments of one clubber on clubbing scenes and drug use presents the rockers as users and evaluates the importance of cocaine among this group. His appreciation of the different scenes and uses is also important:

Of course you can take part in nightlife without any stuff, but to be honest, it helps a lot, you feel alright with ecstasy, it's love! No, you don't have to take drugs to have a great time. There's alcohol. There are different contexts of stuff-taking. In rock concerts, coke is appreciated with music. Whereas in "teufs", it's different, the drugs supplied and chosen are not the same, the experiences are not the same and the crowd of people is not the same, contact is not the same…" (Male from Nice, age: 23)

Amphetamine use

Like the other illegal substances, amphetamine use is encountered in the techno collective, followed by the teenage and mainstream collectives. Users in the university and rock scenes are those whose use of amphetamines is most moderate.

The main reason put forward for preferring amphetamines is price: 'Amphetamines and ecstasy are very cheap in comparison with alcohol'. In other words: for a certain group of young people with little money it's easier to reach a level of intoxication from ecstasy and amphetamines than from alcohol.

'A pill looks very harmless. For four American dollars you can buy a pill and have great fun all night.' (Female from Utrecht, age: 18)

Most fashionable illegal substance

"Drug use is considered as fashionable behaviour and for that reason some young people use drugs recreationally" (Female from Athens, age: 25)

The most fashionable drug is another sbject that, as previously mentioned, provides information on the ideals of the group and is of assistance in completing the panorama of use since, beyond the figures relating to levels of use, this presents a subjective evaluation about substances. This has some connection with idealised desires that cannot always be put into practice and with subjective criteria as to what they think others like best. Data of this type not only contribute practical information on what is most popular, but also enables one to envisage future use trends on the basis of which drugs have most prestige.

Figure 4.20: AMPHETAMINE USE BY SCENE

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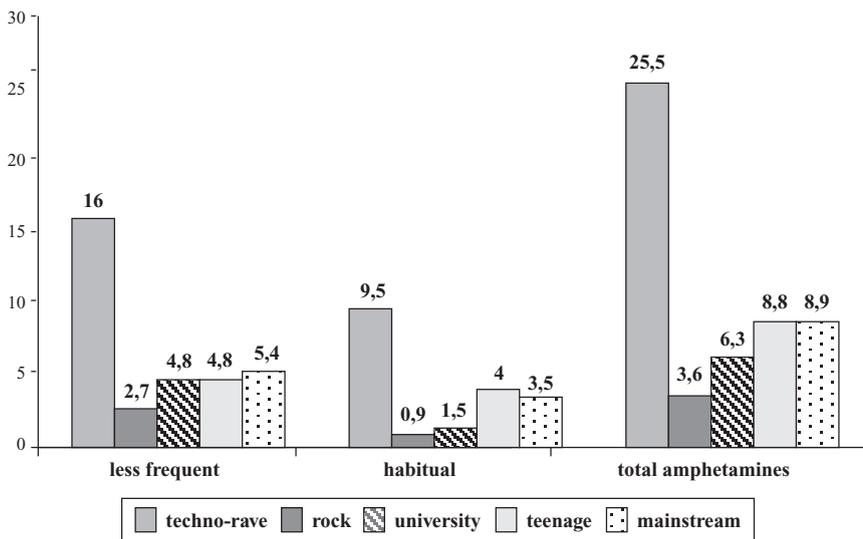
According to the evaluation of illicit drugs by scene **(Figure 4.21)**, cannabis is the favourite within rock scenes, although it members are not the ones who use it the most. Those who use most cannabis are in the techno-rave group, although it is not this group's most higly valud substance. Ecstasy and cocaine are valued, inequally and relative to use. Ecstasy is highly valued in the techno-rave and teenage scenes, as it is on the mainstream scene and to a certain extent in the university and rock scenes. Evaluation of cocaine follows a scale. It is again the techno-ravers who rate this substance most highly, followed by the mainstreamers and the teenagers.

Purchasing power may be a factor to take into account in respect of use and the evaluation of the substance through a chain of significances. As has been seen, drinking alcohol is more expensive for teenagers than taking pills in any country and this is related to a loss of the prestige attached to this substance. The same thing may occur with cocaine insofar as its high cost may limit its use and its presence on the recreational scenes, although not its prestige. The influence of the economy is another factor to explore in understanding use. Several authors have shown that the young, who have the highest purchasing power, are those who are the biggest consumers and this is equally so with recreational drugs. (Pons y Berjano 1999: 92), which indicates that the relationship between consumerism in general and drug use is becoming closer and closer.

Figure 4.21: MOST FASHIONABLE ILLICIT SUBSTANCES BY GROUP
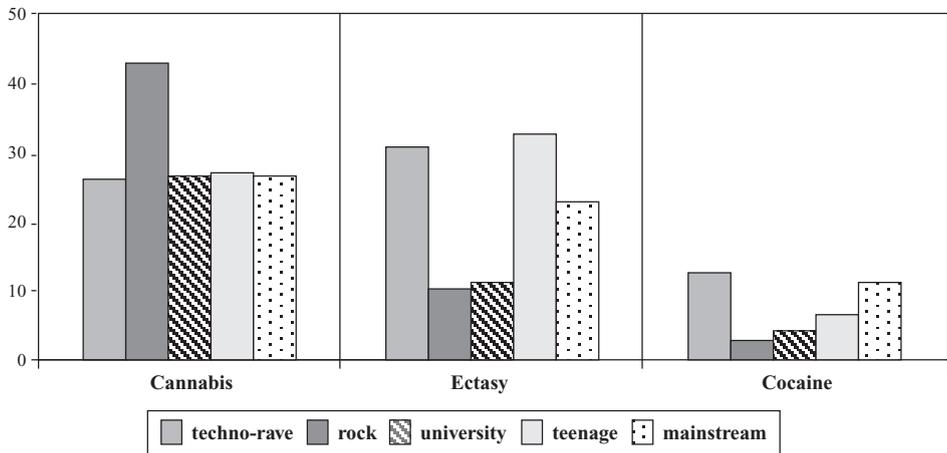
Age of initiation into illegal drug use

The age of initiation into substance use is similar in all the groups with the exception of the youngest where it is lowering, particularly as far as illicit drugs are concerned. There is a pathway in drug use, an evolution that changes with age and experience. The way that the young manage their drugs is connected with the importance that the

substances acquire in their lives. In this study, there is a high percentage of users in the teenage collective. Taking into account the importance of group and scene for the youngest, a growth in those favouring use is the prognosis to be feared - a growth at least among new teenagers who become involved in recreational nightlife.

Teenagers are initiated into an apprenticeship and establish selection criteria. As we have seen, they commence with legal drugs at an age when legislation still does not permit their use, but the social norm is a tolerant one and the collective of friends almost demands it. Later, they move onto illicit drugs, cannabis first, then amphetamines and, around 17/18 years of age, ecstasy and cocaine. It is clear that the teenage collective commences use of different substances earlier and this also can be seen as an indication that there is a trend to use drugs at an earlier age.

 The following paragraph explains how drugs are being used for different purposes as age increases. At initiation, it is used "to get stoned" and the end purpose is an abrupt change of mood. With age, the search for sensations or emotions is the justification for drug use. At both of these stages, use (on average) is the central aspect whereas the end is variable.

> " I've been going out partying for five years, afterwards you get experience with the stuff and the way to manage it. I have evolved in my consumption. At first I used to get completely stoned and now it's more a spiritual and thoughtful quest. Now I may even consume during the week at home. You have a different outlook on society, you see other things, you think differently…" (Male from Nice, age: 23)

Most difficult substance to give up

The substance that is the most difficult to give up provides us with information that enables us to ascertain the relationship between drugs and quality of life. Although it is risky to venture into the subject of dependency , the fact that young people feel compelled to continue with a specific use, in spite of having had problems with that drug, indicates that, possibly, they have begun to experience aspects of dependency on substances. According to the data (see **Tables 4.15, 4.16, 4.17,4.18** and **4.19**) alcohol and tobacco are the most difficult to give up in all scenes. Within the university and rock scenes, over one third consider alcohol as the most difficult substance to give up. As for tobacco, it is considered the most difficult by the techno-rave collective (24.2%) and the university collective (23%). Cannabis is another of the 'difficult to give up' substances, particularly for the techno-rave collective (20%). In this collective, contaning the highest users of other illicit substances, 3.7% consider that ecstasy would be difficult for them to give up, and 2.6% cocaine. In the other collectives, the teenagers are the ones who have more problems with illicit substances, 11% find it difficult to give up cannabis, 4% to give up ecstasy and 2% cocaine.

Risk perception

"There's risk-taking, but pleasure-taking too. It's simple: your fear must decrease according to the pleasure given. (Male from Nice, age: 24)

There is an invisible balance that permits risks to be accepted in proportion to the benefit expected in exchange. In the case of drug use, the benefits are pleasure, amusement and having a good time, companionship, new sensations. This is all translated into communication, into the discovery of new experiences, into the possibility of feeling in intimate emotive connection with oneself and with others. As mentioned, drugs are becoming tyrannical and perverse elements in having fun when they manage to replace and eradicate the other strategies that can be used to acquire these benefits. It has been seen that the young in the techno-rave group and also those in the teenage group are the ones who use drugs the most and who most closely associate having fun with drugs. Therefore, these are the collectives where we must presume there is greater dependency in respect of use and not only a physical one, but more or a social dependency. And this must be associated with risk since the young people who depend on drugs in order to enjoy themselves and get on with people are people who lack autonomy in the face of one of the most basic human necessities.

Risk perception is considered as one of the most effective protection factors in the decision to take drugs (Calafat 1998, 1999). The percentage of young people who consider the use of some substances in certain frequencies as dangerous or very dangerous may be seen in **Table 4.20**. This will facilitate allow an evaluation of the risk perception expressed by young people from the different scenes and relate it to their use. The result of this equation may enable us to corroborate the value that is awarded to each substance. It can be seen that all groups consider that there is something dangerous in the use of each variable. Nevertheless, the perception of risk changes according to substance and collective. Smoking, at one packet of cigarettes a day, is considered more dangerous by the university students and this is relates to its staus as the collective that smokes least. The techno-rave collective also find tobacco dangerous, although it is one of the collectives that smokes most. Similarly, the mainstreamers rate this substance as dangerous, yet they smoke most. This situation brings us close to the idea that although *the perception of risk when taking certain substances is high, this perception is neutralised as a protection factor by the perceived benefits of use*. As for tobacco, in addition to smoking because a dependency exists, it is important to point out that it is a substance associated with many prestigious symbolical elements - power, independence, enjoyment, maturity. It is probably the mainstream group that is the closest to these ideals of mass culture and to the publicity that sustains them.

The other variable is the regular use of marijuana. The mainstreamers are the ones who express most concern about this drugsand are also the ones who use it least. In the other scenes, around half of the sample also consider it dangerous, the university and techno scenes being those where it is used most and the latter group who attach lst risk to it. The use of ecstasy every weekend and LSD once a month is widely rated as

Table 4.20: PERCEPTION OF DANGEROUS NATURE OF SOME FORMS OF CONSUMPTION, BY SCENES

Substance and consumption frequency	Techno-rave	Teenage	University	Rock	Mainstream
A packet of cigarettes a day	70,3	52,8	72,4	60,5	68,8
Marihuana regularly	45,9	54,7	59,7	60,6	67,1
Ecstasy every weekend	84,9	88,2	94,6	90,1	92,9
LSD once a month	78,3	83,9	88,9	83,6	90,6
Two alcoholic drinks a day	40,5	41,5	44,4	42,4	45,5
Four alcoholic drinks in one session	45,2	47,3	44,4	51,6	58,0

Table 4.21: ATTITUDE TO DRIVING AFTER CONSUMING ALCOHOL OR OTHER DRUGS

Consuming & driving vehicle	Techno-rave	Teenage	University	Rock	Mainstream
Has driven under the influence of alcohol	49,9	34,6	38,0	34,3	40,9
Has driven under the effects of other drugs	47,5	21,7	19,8	21,9	19,0

dangerous in all the scenes, although less so by the techno-ravers, which may be explained by their being higher users than the rest of the collectives. It is on the techno-rave scene where the neutralising effect of the positive image of ecstasy can be seen. In spite of the high perception of danger (which does contribute to a lower use in the other collectives), it does not have the same effect on the techno-ravers and, as we have seen in the comments from the young people themselves, this has a lot to do with a very high value placed on the substance as well as a dependency on it to attain fun. The young enjoy themselves less without ecstasy, connect less with friends and find it difficult to join in the fun. Therefore, the young are ready to accept high risks to enjoy themselves when they have no other strategies for reaching this goal.

Alcohol, however, is not considered dangerous by a large part of the sample, half in all the scenes. However, as has been seen, bouts of drunkenness are common on weekend nights. The fact that alcohol is a traditionally and socially very legitimised substance may contribute to the tolerance of the new style of use among young people. This is why it is essential to continue to insist that the abuse of alcohol is becoming more dangerous and generalised in all scenes involved in the nigh-time weekend recreaion and this is taking place with a kind of collective unconsciousness of its consequences.

Making a decision on drug use implicates assuming risks such as driving under the influence of drink or other substances. **Table 4.21** evaluates behaviour in response to these risks according to scenes. The protagonism of alcohol in traffic accidents in the last few years has begun to generate a certain social alarm but this is not occurring with

other substances. It can be seen from the following comment how users can legitimise the use and the effect of one substance over others.

"For me, the most dangerous stuff is alcohol: a direct risk. Coming back from a party I have more chance of having a car accident if I'm boozed than if I've taken ecstasy. With ecstasy I concentrate hard on my driving, I feel I am much better behindt the steering wheel. (Male from Nice, age:)

The percentage of young people who have driven under the influence of alcohol is considerable in all the groups although higher in the techno-rave (49.9%) and the mainstream groups (40.9%). In the teenage collective it is lower (34.6%), although still quite considerable taking into account that a considerable number of the collective do not have a driving licence as they are under age. Once again the pattern remains that the lowest users (the rockers) are also those who drive undr the influence least often, both with alcohol and drugs. Among those who drive after taking other drugs (other than alcohol), the techno-rave group is notable, for almost half do so, which is double the proportion in other collectives.

In spite of these data, there is a great deal of interest among the young in avoiding risks, in spite of the fact that some state that life itself holds risks and these must be taken on board. This ties in with the idea already presented that attaining fun is a very powerful ideal; if the only way they know of doing so is by taking risks then they will do so. If the only way of amusement is by using drugs many of them will do so in spite of the risks. The data have already shown that there is a consensus in assuming that using drugs carries diverse physical, mental and social risks. Opinions differ on the how to facing up to, understanding and avoiding the risks. In the comments made by the young people there are two critical perspectives on drug use whereby those who take drugs tend to focus criticism on the abuse of drugs be some individuals, whereas non-users criticise use in itself. The typical opinion of the user is refelcted in the following comment:

"I was aware of the risks from the very beginning, I've never overdone it, for fear of becoming dependent upon it. You feel like getting ever more smashed. You need to consume your stuff well, I mean to manage your dose: it becomes dangerous when you take it in excess: a trip is good enough, why take two or three? I gave up overnight, after I had a spasmophylia crisis, when I thought I was going to die. I still go out as often and take as much pleasure as before. But sometimes I smoke and drink. (Female from Nice, age: 25)

Another of the risks mentioned is an ignorance of the composition of substances and, therefore, their possible effects:

"Little by little, you become conscious of the gaps, of the exaggerated doses… Experience affects your responsibility as regards your consumption. But today products such as ketamine or heroin are being put into ecstasy. The risk-taking also lies in the lack of knowledge of what goes into the product: I took an ecstasy stuffed with strychnine, I nearly choked." (Female from Nice, age: 21)

Intelligent use suggestedby some young people results from harm reduction criteria, a prevention dimension drawn up by professionals and one that nowadays occupies one of the more dominant positions in relation to managing drug use. This preventive paradigm arises from the criteria that society and its institutions must play a rolein young people learning to take drugs appropriately . With it there is a distancing from primary or prior prevention, that of putting obstacles in the way of use in itself.

Non-use as an option in recreational life

The night scene also includes young people who are non-users, who experience partying in a different way from the rest and who may even be considered rarities or a little strange or not be trusted. The younger they are, the more they are affected by being different from the rest of their age group, and they themselves feel a little stupid, dull or boring. However, as they get older, those who maintain this attitude of not using drugs develop a pride in their own way of enjoying partying and legitimise their position as non-users.

"I never used drugs, nor am I planning to. I'm very dull. I know that. But I don't care. I am who I am and I do what I want to do. The people I hang around with don't regard it as boring, but I know that some people think we are." (Female from Utrecht, age: 17).

"People sometimes ask me if I've taken a pill. I never use pills. I consider it as a flattering remark. I only drink water and I'm very proud that I don't need that kind of drug" (Female from Utrecht, age: 29).

It was seen in the data and in the interviews and discussions, that there are some young people who are critical of drug use although they are a group that remains invisible in this type of study. A significant proportion of the young people who do go out partying are not users or are users who do not abuse and they are the ones who develop an active attitude of resistance to use. These young people believe that they enjoy themselves as much as or more than others without the need to use drugs. For them, drugs imply dangers of various kinds sinc they cause addiction, damage intellectual ability and may have physical effects, but they also see a socially dangerous element in drugs, an instrument of repression, of control and conformity with the pressure group.

"It is risky to take drugs, one can lose control. I have had a friend who smoked quite regularly. He always said that he had been doing this for years now and nothing had happened, but if something else lies on the table, he can't say no, to strong things, I mean. I find that risky." (Female from Vienna, age: 22).

" I've tried to go clubbing without taking anything not even a cigarette. I wanted to try, but I failed. I went to a disco, I couldn't manage, I sweated my guts out. I went to a live reggae concert, I fell asleep, I went to a techno "teuf" in the 23rd bordel, it was a real disaster, I had a feeling I was with drug addicts, a huge gathering of junkies where you couldn't speak to anybody, nobody understood anything…" (Male from Nice, age: 21)

This is one of the collectives that should be taken into account more in research, iIn the first place because they are becoming a minority but above all because they are the ones developing the antidote to drug use - although this may be a very medical

illustration. Making them visible is a way of action- research in the sense of its contributing to highlighting a group with a more healthy attitude to partying and having fun.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This work has defined five European environments patronised by the young when they go out to enjoy themselves on weekend nights. Each environment or scene was selected and described taking into account the elements that constitute recreational culture and give identity to diverse 'tribes' - age music, dress style, status and drugs, as the catalystsof a new world of relationships focusd on the search for entertainment and fun. Statistical, recreational and social data from the 36 groups defined in the first part of the SONAR survey described in the nine cities (four groups per city) were taken into account. The results led to the creation of these five trans-European scenes where the recreational subcultures are developed and where the groups of young people who identify with each are to be found. This classification must be understood as an endeavour to make sense of European recreational life, selecting the main scenes and their actors.

The selected scenes have been labelled with names that most closely link them to the groups who participate in them. They are as follows: 'techno-rave scene', 'teenage scene', 'rock scene', 'university scene' and 'mainstream scene'. It has to be underlined that in practice the actors in these scenes are somewhat fluctuating groups of diverse young people who, on occasion move between scenes.

The theoretical and analytical interest in defining scenes lies in evaluating the context and the group in which the young participate as an entity that exercises influence in deciding whether or not to take drugs. Therefore emphasis has been placed on evaluating the importance of the collective life among the young Europeans of today, as well as on understanding the phenomena related to youth culture. It has been shown that this dimension is not only producing theoretical focuses of great richness but is also one of the most appropriate for the undertaking proposed here. Psychoactive substances, as affirmed by Morel (2000), carry cultural messages, and in the same sense, social values are transmitters of drug use. The settings where the young go out for enjoyment at the weekends are part of society and, at the same time, creators of subcultures and norms of belonging that can turn drugs into a central inclusion and/or exclusion element. Therefore it has to be considered that the symbiosis of the individual with the group, and the group with a broader cultural style is fundamental to the study of recreational life and drug use. This close relationship is what this work endeavours to demonstrate on the basis of empirical, qualitative and quantitative data.

The young who took part in this research belong to and share a central sociocultural arena across all of the cities. The majority consider themselves to be middle and upper

middle class, more than half are students and the remainder are employed. They all have the financial resources, either their own or from their family, to take part in recreational life. There is very little familial control. Almost half consider that they are not controlled and for the remainder, the control is slight. Each of these statements varies according to the scene analysed but these are the general and most relevant aspects that define the whole population. Therefore, the data that have been presented refer to five collectives of young people, socially well integrated and present in the most representational scenes in the nightlife of each city. In this large collective of young people there are different subcultures which have been analysed in relation to style of entertainment or 'having fun' in the first instance, and subsequently to drug use.

All the young people in the sample devote a lot of their free time at weekends to going out. The number of weekends spent going out per month and the time spent out per session, as well as the number of places they generally visit in a night have been assessed. The amount of time devoted to going out is a good indication of the intensity of their enjoyment of the experience. The time spent on going out differs from scene to scene. Teenagers are those who devote more weekends to this activity, 70% go out three or four weekends in a month. Looking at the average time that each group spends when they go out, it is the techno-ravers who are out the longest, some 7.4 hours per session, followed by the teenage collective with 6.8 hours. The other groups devote a little less time; the mainstream being the ones who are out the shortest time, some 5 hours on average. The duration of each session shows the intensity with which the group enjoys having on and, as has been seen, has a certain relationship with drug use.

There is wide range of reasons why the young go out. The most notable reasons acrossthe five collectives are to be with friends and to listen to music. The third reason that deserves attention is to escape from routine, and from the formal arena to enter the emotional dimension where sociability and bodily expression are the main attractions. More than 70% of all the groups give this as a reason and even more teenagers. There is a need to separate the two temporal spheres, formal activities from leisure. The young redistribute their activities between these two periods and probably make a very positive evaluation of the time devoted to recreational activities. Dancing is another very important reason for going out, more so for the techno-enthusiasts than the university students and rockers. Looking for sex and partners, the other reasons for going out that establishes differences between the collectives, are more important for the teenage and mainstream groups than for the rockers but it is clear that it is an important component of nightlife in general. Taking drugs is the reason that undergoes most scrutiny in the context of this study. In one way, drugs in a recreational context are understood as mediating substances that contribute to the attainment of a spcific purpose, such as getting on better with others, greater enjoyment of dancing, finding it easier to flirt, etc. Nevertheless, it appears that some young people, particularly those from the techno-rave (32.7%) and teenage (16%) collectives consider going out to take drugs as an important reason for going out in itself, and this indicates that the purpose in taking part in the recreational arena is specifically to take drugs. It is this characteristic that establishes

clear differences between individuals and tribes and it is important to explore this in greater depth.

Music is the central element of nightlife and defines many of the scenes and styles of enjoyment. House music is very important, particularly in the techno-rave and teenage scenes, and also in the university and mainstream scenes, so the scene enjoyed by the rockers is the only exception. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the recreational scenes are continually changing. In this sense, the techno or house music label embraces many substyles and subcultures that are constantly innovating themselves and occupying a different social arena. Some house music is already commercialised music whereas some is elitist and 'minority'.

All this information led to the development of a definition of the members of each scene and to an evaluation of the elements that emerge and characterise each subculture, in order to establish relationships with the central purpose of this work, which is to identify key elements that explain drug use. The data presented here, particularly the qualitative data, show the extent to which drug use by young people in the recreational arena is related to the influences therein. More than any other social group, the young show that they depend on their social relationships. Friends and the social group are vital for them in their learning processes and in shaping them as social individuals. This receptivity of the young to external influences is perhaps their most important quality as individuals who need to learn and adapt but it is also an opening for habits that may be damaging to them and, confronted by them, they must know how to act for their own wellbeing. For many, drugs become a necessary and sometimes essential feature of group integration, the search for communication, assisting in improving skills for getting on with others, and are considered as a link to pleasure, fun, happiness, sex, friends, etc. Drugs influence inclusion in and exclusion from relationships, depending on whether or not they are used and the style of use favoured by the scene.In this sense, they become a component that exercises a certain tyranny since they contribute to the young abandoning other strategies to attain their objectives.

Through the quantitative data it has been possible to verify that drug use is present in all scenes, although it is more dominant in some than in others. There is no doubt that the young choose and that they are using their ability to choose when they join a group and a scene. Therefore it is not that they are victims of influences, since they have other options, but rather that it is a matter of the dialectics of the two dimensions, individual choice and the influence of the group and the context.

The most traditional drug is alcohol. It is permeates social relationships. There is a consumer culture that permits a faction of young people a controlled consumption. Other young people drink because the scene demands it (integrator effect) and the significance of drinking is not to have a drink now and again but to get drunk. In some scenes, those who do not do so are labelled as boring or odd, and the risk perception of this substance is a low one.

The data presented suggests that illicit drug use takes place in all the scenes as part of having fun. But at the same time, this use varies in respect of each substance and

frequency of use. Young people in the techno-rave scene are notable for being the highest users of all substances. It is within this scene that recreational drug use becomes a central component and probably makes it difficult for other enjoyment strategies to be developed. It must be underlined here that this is the majority scene in Europe, the one that most young people belong to and the one where drug use acquires a central position. This is the scene where there are fewer students and more young people in employment, which means that they have more money of their own to spend. The tribes that take part in the teenage scene are the new generation, and appear to be adopting and being initiated into this techno-rave subculture.

The comments made by the young people from these scenes are very graphic. Drugs for them are on a par with the music and the dancing. They facilitate a form of fun associated with sensations more than with words or ideas. They are an integrating element of the group, of the collective search for new experiences. In this sense, drugs are one more element to be added to a list of self-medication products except that, in this case, theya re takn not to treatillness but to provide fun and a changed emotional state more closely linked to having a good time.

> "Thinking of my parents, of the people around me, we've been taught to take something in order to do something: "you're not feeling well, take an aspirin; you want to feel better you take some vitamins…". This relation of cause and effect, we can also find in parties: " you want to have fun, you get pissed". That's how it is." (Male from Nice, age: 21)

Of the collectives studied, it is the teenage one that causes the greatest concern, firstly because of the drug use occurring within it and secondly, as an indication of future trends. This is the one where most young people are to be found and they are the ones who most rank their socioeconomic status highest. Although 60% are students, many of them (32%) have already stopped studying. More than half of this collective have been drunk during the last month and 24% habitually. In addition, more than half this group smoke tobacco. The most commonly used illicit drug is cannabis (43%; 15% habitually), followed by ecstasy (20%; 9% habitually), cocaine (12%; 3.8% habitually) and amphetamines (8.8%; half habitually). The percentage of those who use these substances habitually is notable. In comparison with the other collectives, users in this scene are the highest users, surpassed only by the techno-rave group. The age of initiation to the different substances is lower in this group in comparison with the others. The average age of initiation into illicit drugs is 16-17 years. This may be one more indication that the age of initiation is lowering, an aspect commented on by older clubbers:

> "The problem today is that people are getting younger and younger and don't know the consequences of a drug. They don't know how they should handle a drug." (Male from Vienna, age: 20)

The dynamics of use is fundamental in teenage environments. It is quite possible that more and more young people are finding themselves immersed in contexts where the pressure to use drugs increases in conjunction with a more laid-back attitude to drugs or where their effects are played down. In fact, young people newly arrived on the

recreational scene are indeed influenced to use drugs as one of the requisites for acceptance and integration.

The young who move on to the university and mainstream scenes are slightly more moderate in their use of illicit drugs in general, although the former get drunk more often and are the ones who use most cannabis. The mainstreamers however are notable for smoking more tobacco. Nevertheless, considerable, illicit drug use occurs among them, with almost 10% using cocaine, and a similar number amphetamines.

The young people in the university scene enjoy more flexible hours. It is the collective with the most students. In this collective, alcohol consumption is considerable - to the extent that more than 60% have been drunk in the past month. Among illicit substances, cannabis is used most (42%), ecstasy by 12%, cocaine 7.2% and amphetamines 6.3%. In this group, use is sporadic rather than habitual but consumption of alcohol is at levels that could be termed abuse.

Drug use is also important in the mainstream scene. It is surprising that use is also high in this scene, which is closest to mass media culture, and this is very significant. It may be an indication that in the subliminal messages of the media culture there is some type of transmission of positive messages or values associated with drug use, such as extreme fun, the fascination for consumerism in general, taste for speed, the attainment of goods without effort. Within the mainstream scene, glamour is a symbolic element pursued through aesthetics, dress style and incorporating elements of prestige:

> "There are men who think that driving expensive cars, accompanying beautiful young women and spending a lot of money on their entertainment or getting involved in illegal activities at times, is an acceptable way of life in the context of their culture" (Female from Athens, age: 29)

The abuse of illicit drugs is high in this collective. More than half (56%) have been drunk in the past month. Almost 90% are smokers, 84.8% habitually, making it the group with the highest use of tobacco. It is also true that it is the group with the highest average age and this may be an indication that with age, tobacco goes from being a recreational use to a daily use as dependency increases. As for illicit drugs, cannabis is the one used the most (32%), followed by ecstasy (almost 14%), cocaine (9%) and amphetamines (9%). According to the members of the group, the substances most in vogue are cannabis (26.7%), alcohol (24.8%), ecstasy (23.6%) and cocaine (11.2%).

The rock scene is notable for being the one where there is less use and where the proportion of students is high. It is also one of the collectives subjected to more family control although less so than teenagers. Women are also more prevalent on the rock scene and it may be that there are more women because there is a lower presence of drug use. It is difficult to establish any causal relationship, but it is interesting to take into account the relationship existing between the sexes. It is in the rock culture that there is a certain positive attitude towardsdrugs through the music. Although it is a collective that values drugs positively, it forms part of a culture of fun and enjoyment in which there is less use in comparison with other scenes. Perhaps it is the more critical spirit of the rock culture, its ability to elaborate a social content through music that may

indirectly explain a better control over use, at least in comparison with other collectives. In any case, it is a little paradoxical that it is in the rock world where there has been a certain vindication of some substances such as cannabis, and where support has grown in defence of the legalisation of drugs. However, as was pointed out earlier, the rock group is such a very diversified one that make it difficult to label, and it relates toseveral scenes which also implicates different subcultures as far as drugs are concerned.

Drugs for the young are a substance, or a technology of sorts, that facilitates attainment of personal and cultural objectives. Every subculture defines these objectives and is influential in whether its members use more or fewer drugs, their frequency and the mode of use, as a requisite for integration and, therefore, fun and enjoyment. In a society where technique is highly valued, the ease with which this technology acquires a central and influential role is hardly surprising, and it is not only as an intermediary substance, since it may become an end in itself which, as we have seen, it already is for a considerable proportion of young people. It has also been suggested that drugs should be considered as substances that exercise a tyrannical power over young people, to such an extent that they contribute to eliminating other abilities to attain goals such as getting on well with others and enjoying oneself, and here there is a close relationship with the influence of the scene.

As a final reflection, it should be noted that some decades ago, illicit drug use could be considered a minority one and applicable to alternative collectives in search of new social ideals. Nowadays, the pendulum has swung the other way and drug use is the dominant norm in the most central areas of society, among ordinary young people where the majority of these young people form part of the most influential cultures such as the techno-rave and teenage groups. And of course, in others, the university, mainstream and rock collectives, there are very considerable levels of use although they seem lower in comparison with the two former groups. This reality in all the scenes implies that drug use may reflect an attitude in the process of becoming hegemonic in the recreational arena, one more response of subordination to the logic of use and a form of succumbing to group pressure.

The culture, aesthetics, the scene and the music may be (and are) very influential on use and therefore, may also have the same effect on non-use. In this sense, there is an entire area with the potential for development in the drugs prevention field, in contributing to creating scenes where alternative cultures critical of drug use as an easy means of attaining enjoyment are elaborated. Greater in-depth penetration of recreational subcultures and the socialisation processes is necessary. Drug use must be understood within a broad cultural construction and, as such, is subject to interventions of different sorts. We must ask ourselves why our societies tend to fertilise an already fertile terrain for drug use. Why has drug use by young people become an acceptable and even legitimate act among young people? And after these questions, others follow. What advantages are obtained or renounced by the individuals who choose to use drugs?

APPENDIX
DESCRIPTION OF SUBGROUPS BY CITIES

SUBGROUPS IN THE NINE CITIES

ATHENS

1. Ravers	2. House fans	3. Locals	4. Rockers
The youngest group, the average age is 19.3 years, they wear sport and informal clothes with phosphorescent and psychedelic designs. Unisex dress style. They like trance music but also garage, house, drum & bass. It is the group that use most drugs (cannabis, alcohol, hallucinogens and ketamine).	They have an average age of 21 years, their dress style is modern, eccentric and has glamour. They are from the middle and upper class. Basically, they consume alcohol and take cannabis although some use ecstasy and cocaine. They are similar to the 'locals' but are more intellectual, more elitist.	A broad age group although the average age is 22 years. Middle/upper class, they wear modern clothes and listen to Greek and mainstream music. Drug use is very moderate .It is where there are more women.	A very varied age group, the average is 21.5 years. Middle/lower class, they have long hair, dress informally in black with designs of musical groups. This group includes heavy metal fans.

BERLIN

1.Techno/house/jungle	2. Hip-hop	3. Jazz/soul/Funk	3. Mainstream
Very popular. They have an average age of 25 years. Different groups take part in these settings. It is the scene where most drugs are used, particularly cannabis and cocaine.	The most select scene with few locales: the average age is 25 years. There are young people of different races. Use more cannabis, also cocaine. There are more men.	The average age is 24 years. Small and cheaper locales. There are more women and students and where they consume more ecstasy but also cocaine.	A very varied age group although the average is 27 years. It is amore formal group although this varies. The music is what they listen to on the radio. They use rather less drugs than the other groups.

COIMBRA

1. University Students	2. Students	3. Adults	4. da pasada
They have an average age of 19 years. They go out more during the week. They drink alcohol but use very little cannabis and do not use other drugs.	They have an average age of 17 years. They go out at the weekends and like pop, rock and house music.	Mainstream and Latin music. They have a higher purchasing power. They like alcohol and some use amphetamines.	Average age between 14 and 26 years. More alternative groups, punks, 'fricks', who have an alternative life style. They go out rather more frequently than other groups. They use more cannabis and are those who get drunk more often. Rather more men than women.

MANCHESTER			
1. House garage	**2. Techno hardcore**	**3. Drum&Bass/jungle**	**4. Funk/disco**
Average age of 20 years. Wear designer clothes. Use cocaine, ecstasy, amphetamines, alcohol and cannabis. They get drunk more often.	Age 21 years. Informal dress style. Predominantly students. Use cocaine, ecstasy, amphetamines, less alcohol and cannabis. It is where there are more men.	Average age 22 years. Informal clothes. They use a music-related slang. Cannabis is more frequent but also cocaine and amphetamines.	The most open and typical scene in the city. Average age is 22.5 years. Generally listen to sixties/seventies music and mainstream. Alcohol and ecstasy use is most frequent. It is where there are more women.

MODENA			
1. Rock	**2. Mainstream**	**3. Techno**	**4. Rave**
Average age 21 years. They frequent bars and concerts. Cannabis and alcohol	Average age 24 years. They frequent bars with commercialised music and drink alcohol.	Average age 19.5 years. They wear designer clothes, upper middle class, there are also a lot of young people using designer drugs, cannabis. It is where women participate more.	Average age 23.5 years. Take part in raves and visit after-hour establishments. The group that most uses drugs.

NICE			
1. Pubs	**2. Raves**	**3. Discos**	**4. Private Parties**
Very varied age group with an average of 21 years: very varied music - rock, house, hip hop... many students, upper middle class. Drink alcohol.	There are official and underground raves attended by those with an average age of 16 to 25 years. Average is 22 years. Music is techno and house. It is where they consume more alcohol and cannabis but also cocaine and ecstasy.	Varied age group between18 and 35 years. The average age is 26 years. Dance and house music predominate. There are homosexual settings. There are more men. Few students, it is where more population works..	In public areas. Adult with an average age of 24 years. Middle and upper class.

PALMA			
1. Gomila	**2. Arenal**	**3. Lonja**	**4. After-Hours**
Very young with an average age of 17 years. House, pop, funk, rock music, middle class. Use alcohol, cannabis, pills, LSD. Men predominate.	Very young with an average age of 17.5 years, suburban area, electronic music. Use alcohol, cannabis, pills, LSD.	Varied but predominantly adult with an average age of 23 years, middle class professionals and students. More pop and rock music. Use alcohol, cannabis, some cocaine	Varied age group with an average age of 23 years. Varied music with electronic predominating. Frequented by workers from recreational environments. Use everything.

UTRECHT			
1. Young clubbers	**2. Students**	**3. Concert goers**	**4. Old club**
Average age 19 years, house and mellow music. Use alcohol, tobacco, amphetamines y cocaine.	Average age 22 years. Dance, house and commercial music. Go out more during the week. Use alcohol, tobacco, cannabis. More men.	Varied age group, average of 25 years, alternative groups, punk, hard rock. Use alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, cocaine.	Average age 24 years. Adults, house music house. Use everything, cannabis, ecstasy and cocaine.

VIENNA			
1. Club scene	**2. Rave scene**	**3. Suburban scene**	**4. Student scene**
Over 16 years. Average age of 22 years. Wear latest fashions, mainstream music, use ecstasy, cocaine and cannabis but rather less than the other groups.	The average age is 18 years. They like techno music, use all drugs and spend a lot of money.	The average age is 17 years, lower class, they enjoy techno and commercial music. They use alcohol and ecstasy. There is more violence.	The average age is 22 years. They go out more during the week. Relaxed settings, music is not important, although they prefer rock. They drink a lot of beer.

SUBGROUPS BY SETTINGS

	1 Techno-ravers	2 Rockers	3 University Students	4 Adolescents	5 Mainstream
Athens	**1, 2**	**4**			**3**
Berlin	**1, 2**				**4**
Coimbra	**4**		**1**	**2**	**3**
Manchester	**1, 2, 3**				
Modena	**4**	**1**		**3**	**2**
Nice	**2**		**1**		
Palma	**4**		**3**	**1, 2**	
Utrecht		**3**	**2**	**1**	
Vienna	**2**		**4**	**3**	**1**

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USE FREQUENCIES OF THE VARIOUS SUBSTANCES

Substances	Frequencies		
	NON-USE CRITERIA	**CASUAL USE**	**HABITUAL USE**
Alcohol (drunkuness bouts)	Those who have not been drunk at any time during the last month	Those who have been drunk once in the last month	Those who state they have been drunk, several times a month, once a week, several times a week and every day. Abusive recreational use
Tobacco	Those who do not smoke and those who have smoked but no longer do so	Those who smoke once a month, several times a month, once a week, several times a week Recreational use	Those who smoke every day. Daily use
Cannabis	Those who have never used it and those who have used it but who no longer do so	Those who use it a maximum of once a week Recreational use	Those who use it several times a week and every day. Recreational use Daily use
Ecstasy	Those who have never used it and those who have used it but who no longer do so	Those who use it once a month or less	Those who use it several times a month, once a week and every day.* Recreational use
Cocaine	Those who have never used it and those who have used it but who no longer do so	Those who use it once a month or less	Those who use it several times a month, once a week and every day.* Recreational use
Amphetamines	Those who have never used it and those who have used it but who no longer do so	Those who use it once a month or less	Those who use it several times a month, once a week and every day.* Recreational use

* In drunkenness bouts, use of ecstasy, cocaine and amphetamines, the frequencies of those who use several times a week and every day are very few, therefore, habitual use is considered as recreational use.

5. PERSONAL CONTROL OVER ECSTASY USE

1. KNOWING THE RISKS

People like to take drugs sometimes for fun and pleasure, for getting high. However, as is generally known, drug use has many risks. Use of illegal drugs may cause harmful consequences for the user's health as well as his or her financial situation, personal integrity and social relations with family members, friends and other people. A drug user may become addicted to drugs. He or she may die from a drugs overdose or from AIDS and other blood-borne infections transmitted through the use of unclean needles or syringes. Because of the legal policy governing illegal drugs, a drug user may encounter problems with the police and other authorities as well as with th community in general. All in all, drug use is a risky business, which can cause a lot of problems in a drug user's life.

In general, drug users know the risks, and they tend to behave in ways that minimise the potentially harmful consequences of drug use. Of course, when we referring to substance users it must be acknowledged that in certain situations or in the longer term, a drug user may behave and use drugs in a more self-destructive way. It is important to make an analytical distinction between self-destruction and pleasure seeking. A person may even commit suicide by consciously taking an overdose. In normal circumstances, however, when people use drugs they are not seeking destruction and harm but pleasure and fun. To put it very simply, "recreational" drug users intend to maximise pleasure and fun, and minimise harm and destruction. For this purpose people tend to control their use of drugs. Some do this better than others. It also may vary from situation to situation, but in any case, personal control over drug use is a general feature of drug behaviour, even in the case of addiction. It is often said that when you are addicted to drugs you can't help but continue. Nonetheless, it is important to keep in mind that in such circumstances, , individuals do try to regulate the situation and their behaviour. As Zinberg and Harding (1979) have stated, even compulsive users exercise some degree of control.

To avoid unintended harmful consequences of drug use, substance users need a great deal of knowledge about different drugs and their properties. They need to learn about the effects of different ways of administering a certain drug. For example, it is important to know the differences between sniffing, smoking and injecting heroin or the differences between smoking and eating cannabis. It is equally important to know

the purity and potency of the drug used and the impacts of the dosage of a drug. In relation to poly-drug use, a user needs to understand the multiplicative effects of different drugs. In addition to the situational effects of a certain drug, a drug user should be aware of the long-term effects of drug use . In short, there are many different risk factors embedded in the use of drugs which are need to be recognised by the individual if he or she is to control his or her use of drugs.

In his famous essay "Becoming a Marijuana User" Howard S. Becker (1963: 41-58) argues that drug use develops from initial experimentation to the regular patterns of use as a learning process. In order to continue use beyond initial experimentation a person needs to learn the correct techniques of use, and to learn to perceive and learn to enjoy the effects of drug. For continuing use a novice has to learn to interpret the physical effects produced by a drug in his or her body as a meaningful experience, to "get high" to use well known expression. Through this process, a drug acquires meaning for the user as an object which can be used for pleasure. Many people stop their drug use in the first stages of experimentation, and it is not unusual to hear such people say that they found the effects of the drug unpleasant or simply meaningless to them.

Many people choose not to try drugs because they think that it is too risky. Some people also stop using or experimenting with drugs because of the harm associated with drug use. To continue use and maintain his or her patterns of use, a person will tend to neutralise and rationalised the risks of use. One typical strategy is to regard conventional conceptions as misleading, the ill informed views of "outsiders" and they replace those conceptions with the "inside" view shared within a drug culture (Becker 1963, 78). However, drug users not only deny the risks, they try to manage them. Construction of the manageable risks leads us to the concept of controlled drug use and self-regulating drug use.

This chapter attempts to describe some of the strategies that are used by European youth to control their ecstasy use. For this purpose, we will explore data obtained by IREFREA across nine European cities through two research projects conducted during the period 1998-99. In the first project (Calafat, et al., 1999) IREFREA interviewed more than 2,600 young people from nine European cities regarding their nightlife routines, substance use (with a special focus on ecstasy use) and related variables. During 1999, IREFREA conducted a complementary research project using in-depth interviews and focus groups which explored patterns of substance use (also with special attention paid to ecstasy use) among European youths from the same cities.

Data obtained from individuals interviewed during the first project who were using ecstasy at the period of the interview were used to describe frequencies of use of some strategies potentially useful for controlling ecstasy use among these individuals. Consequently, a short scale was constructed combining the scores from eight questions included in the interview, describing the distribution of and analysing relationships between these scores and socio-demographics, substance use patterns, night-life behaviour and other subjective variables studied IN this project (risk perceptions, sensation seeking and social deviation).

In addition, qualitative data obtained by IREFREA during 1999 were used to provide some examples of strategies used in controlling ecstasy use among young people in several European cities. Thus, in this chapter we combine information obtained through quantitative and qualitative methods to explore the issue of personal control over ecstasy use among young European ecstasy users.

2. CONTROLLED DRUG USE

Drugs can be used in a more or less controlled way. There is significant evidence that even the use of a substance like heroin can be controlled (Harding 1988). Zinberg (1984) argues that controlled drug use may be understood as an outcome of a complex interaction between the drug, the set and the setting. By the set he means personality factors, the user's attitude to the drug and other individual characteristics related to self-control and social learning skills involved in processing information from the environment and regulating personal behaviour. The setting is defined as the social context in which the drug is used. In his own research, Zinberg has been interested especially in the role of social setting as a control mechanism in drug use (see Zinberg & Harding 1979, Zinberg 1980 and 1984).

An integral part of controlled drug use is that a person employs some internal maxims, principles and rules by which he or she attempts to regulate his or her drug behaviour, for instance whether to use drugs, when, with whom, how much, what substance etc. This personal self-control by the individual drug user is supported by the knowledge and norms shared in a social context of drug use (e.g. drug subculture, peer group, situational context, a common heritage of national culture etc.). In other words, the construction of the self-control of an individual drug user is closely connected to the social setting of drug use.

According to Zinberg and Harding (1979, 126-127) there are rituals and social sanctions impeded in the social setting of illegal drug use which promote control over drug use in four ways: (1) sanctions define moderate use and condemn compulsive use, (2) sanctions limit use to physical and social settings that are conducive to a positive and/or safe drug experience, (3) sanctions identify potentially negative drug effects, and (4) sanctions and rituals operate to compartmentalise drug use and support the user's non-drug-related obligations and relationships. An individual drug user acquires these controlling rituals and sanctions through social learning.

Maloff et al. (1979) use the concept of 'cultural recipes' to refer to the knowledge base shared collectively among the drug users. According to them, social groups develop cultural recipes describing what substances should be used and in what amounts to achieve desired effects. Cultural recipes also prescribe when, where, and with whom a substance should be used in order to achieve desired states. Recipes – sanctions, rules, whatever the term - vary from substance to substance (Zinberg &

Harding 1979; Zinberg 1984). For example, in the use of opiates it is important to seek to avoid the dangers of addiction as expressed in advice such as "Don't use every day" or "Use only at the weekends". In the case of psychedelics it is important to protect oneself from strong and uncontrolled feelings (or a 'bad trip') during acute intoxication. A commonly used motto for psychedelics is "Use in the right place, at the right time with the right people". Nevertheless, the group and the context (setting) it is not always a protective entity, and in some cases the peer group can play a role in inciting substance use. When a person is applyies this kind of cultural knowledge to his or her drug behaviour the outcome is an interplay between the drug, the set and the setting.

In addition, personal control over drug use can be based on many different and overlapping principles. For example, the regulation employed by an individual drug user can be based on: (1) the type of drug (e.g. distinction between soft and hard drugs), (2) the frequency of use, (3) the intensity of use (e.g. distinction between injection and other forms of ingestion), (4) the using situation, (5) the aims of use, (6) the state of mind and body (e.g. physiological and psychological state of a user before starting to use), (7) the obligations of everyday life (e.g. relation to other personal, social and occupational responsibilities), and (8) the drug market (e.g. budgeting a certain amount of money to spent on drugs in a certain length of time) (Hakkarainen 1987).

It has been argued that the way individuals control their use of drugs is at least as important a dimension of drug use as the actual frequency and quantity of use (Apsler 1979). The level at which people control their drug use varies according to the individual, and results in different patterns of drug use. In order to understand better the phenomenon of drug use and the consequences of drug use, different patterns of consumption need to be compared (Zinberg & Harding 1979). Next we will try to explore the ways in which the ecstasy users interviewed in the 1998 and 1999 SONAR projects control their drug use behaviour. Sections 4 and 5 of this chapter specify which questions from the interview of SONAR 98 were included in the analyses and include a brief explanation on their relevance for our issue.

3. CONTROLLING ECSTASY USE

Interviews from SONAR 99 give us some qualitative data about the subject. Based on this data it seems clear that young people across Europe are quite well informed about the risks of drug use. Those interviewees who take illegal drugs once in a while confirm that they are also aware of the risks of taking drugs. In fact, motivations for substance use as a risk behaviour among young people are not very well studied to date, and we need to improve understanding of why people choose this behaviour as a way ofintroducingrisks into their lives. As stated, young people are in fact frequently well

aware of the risks implicit in substance use. As a 21 years old woman from Manchester said in her interview:

> "Taking drugs is a risk, but you can keep it within bounds. You can feel it yourself. You can take ten pills and believe that it's ok to take another one. Or you can be more careful and take three, because with three pills I also feel well and I don't go to extremes. There are people who want more after ten pills and there are people who can do with two. In my opinion you take a risk if you take ten. […] And you also take a risk if you always buy your pills at parties. Because you don't know what kind of pills you get and who is behind it." (female from Liverpool, 21 years old.)

Young people who take ecstasy know the risks, but they think that the risks can be calculated and managed . Interviewees in different European cities and towns emphasised that risk taking is a part of life. According to some of them, if you don't take any risks life becomes boring and routine, and not worth of living. Young drug users seem to think that you only live once and you have to enjoy it, to which end you need to experience strong and even extremes sensations during your youth.

Drugs taken in a recreational context are usually used for fun and pleasure. Users attempt to manage the risk of harmful consequences in different ways. In the case of ecstasy, the most usual practice is to restrict its use to weekends only. Weekdays are for duties, obligations and ordinary social life (visiting pubs with friend etc.), but the weekend is for going out and having fun, and maybe taking some ecstasy. Taking ecstasy only at weekends effectively limits the frequency of its use. It differs clearly from a daily habit. Many interviewees said that they avoid regular or daily use of drugs. Sporadic consumption of soft drugs was described as rather safe recreational activity, whereas regular consumption or daily use was seen as quite risky and habit forming, problematic behaviour.

Addiction was an acknowledged risk of drug use which the interviewed ecstasy users typically intended to avoid. This was achieved both by limiting frequency of intake and by avoiding certain substances, especially heroin. As a young Austrian interviewee put it:

> "Certain drugs I would never touch and also never use regularly, e.g. every weekend. I would never do that". (female from Vienna, 19 years old.)

There seems to be a general sense of self-regulation among ecstasy users. For example, as stated in the English interviews, a number of 'remedies' were used to counteract the physical effects of clubbing and drug taking: orange juice, bananas ('for potassium'), cereal, salt tablets and milk ('drinking milk before you go out…milk, the raver's friend'). However, a risk that was often mentioned in interviews in different cities and towns was the uncertainty on the quality and content of pills.

> "The problem is bad drug, because you don't know what you are taking. This is a real problem." (female from Modena,.)

One possible way to deal with this risk, and a concern raised by it, seems to be selectivity of dealers, by buying drugs only from individuals who are known and trusted. It was frequently stressed that one should avoid buying pills from a stranger.

The number of pills taken in one night is another important strategy for managing the risks of ecstasy use. According to the interviewees there is a big variation between different individuals in how many pills they to take on one occasion. There can also be an occasional variation within the behaviour of an individual. In a certain situation or mood, a person may take more pills than he or she usually does.

> "Sometimes, the circumstances are such that you have many friends everywhere, then you don't really take care, you go beyond your limits, you consume a little more than usual…" (female from Nice, 21 years old.)

> "There are nights that you just want everything." (male from Liverpool, 23 years old.)

Personal control over drug use based on a person's internal mottos can be somewhat vague in some social situations. People intend to keep drug use within bounds, but sometimes or in certain circumstances these bounds can be broken. This is not unusual in the realm of intoxicants, both legal and illegal. In this situation a social circle of friends can help a person to manage situation. Use of ecstasy is a very social phenomenon and usually connected with partying. In some groups taking care of each other seems to be common consensus.

> "If someone overdose it, it bothers me. In our group one looks out for the others and watches that nothing happens to the others." (male from Vienna, 18 years old.)

> "We always go out in a group. If one of us is gone and nobody has seen him or her for more than half an hour, we'll start to look for him or her. We really look after each other well. If you don't feel well, people stay with you, ask what they can do for you. And it's not necessarily people from your own group. It can even be strangers." (female from Liverpool, 21 years old.)

4. PERSONAL CONTROL OVER ECSTASY USE IN THE NIGHTLIFE SETTING

To get a broader picture of the distribution of personal control over ecstasy use data from the SONAR 1998 survey will be studied from this perspective. Some of the questions in the questionnaire can be used to describe the distribution of some features of personal control over ecstasy use among European youth. These questions were to be answered only by those who had taken ecstasy at least time to time. So, those who answered these questions were not experimenters, but occasional or regular users of the drug. About 800 answers were obtained.

Table 5.1 shows distributions of answers to question 42: *When you want to take ecstasy (or other pills) do you think that:*

(a) *It is not important to me knowing what the exact composition is, or*
(b) *I would prefer to know what I am taking, but I take anyway, or*
(c) *If I am not sure of the composition of the pill I don't take it.*

It seems clear that people like to know the composition of the pills they take. They would like to control their drug use in this way. However, it is equally evident that the majority of the respondents will take the drug even if it is not possible to know its actual composition . Only one fifth of the respondents reported that they would not take a pill without knowing its composition. Proportions of people behaving like this were much lower in Palma and Manchester than in other cities or towns.

Table 5.1. MEANING OF KNOWING THE COMPOSITION OF THE DRUG
IN DIFFERENT EUROPEAN CITIES AND TOWNS, (%)

City/Town	(a) Not important	(b) Prefer, but	(c) Don't take	Total
Athens	11	53	36	100 (N=36)
Berlin	22	48	30	100 (N=166)
Coimbra	14	64	22	100 (N=42)
Manchester	23	70	7	100 (N=148)
Modena	23	53	24	100 (N=68)
Nice	15	46	39	100 (N=72)
Palma	39	57	4	100 (N=139)
Utrecht	9	58	33	100 (N=69)
Vienna	12	61	27	100 (N=60)
Total	**22**	**57**	**21**	**100 (N=800)**

People who respond "a" or "c" appear to act in a "logical" way: if the important fact is to take "something", then the composition of the pill is not a valuable fact. In these cases, the use of these pills can be "a risk" taken by the individual. These risks are mainly determined by external factors such purity of the products available on the market, not by personal control over ecstasy use. On the other hand, Individuals answering "c" appear to be exerting some control, in that they decide whether or not totake pills depending on the information available concerning their composition. These two groups are relatively small when compared to the other group. More than a half of individuals take risks associated with the uncertainty of the composition of the pills, even with some incongruency between thinking and behaviour. We need to develop further studies to explore the reasons why people to act in this way.

One way to try to control the quality and composition of the pills is to buy them from a person who is known and trusted. The next table demonstrates that the respondents get their pills mostly from their friends.

**Table 5.2. THOSE WHO GOT THEIR PILLS FROM A STRANGER,
A FRIEND, A DEALER OR A COMBINATION OF THESE SOURCES IN
DIFFERENT EUROPEAN CITIES AND TOWNS, (%)**

City/Town	A stranger	A friend	A dealer	Comb.	Total
Athens	6	60	26	9	101 (N=35)
Berlin	0	64	17	18	99 (N=115)
Coimbra	5	79	17	0	101 (N=42)
Manchester	3	50	23	24	100 (N=158)
Modena	15	66	15	4	100 (N=68)
Nice	15	66	10	9	100 (N=68)
Palma	12	55	33	0	100 (N=138)
Utrecht	0	79	14	8	101 (N=65)
Vienna	9	61	19	12	101 (N=59)
Total	**7**	**62**	**21**	**11**	**101 (N=748)**

We can see from **Table 5.2** that pills were obtained from a stranger very rarely. Better-known and more confidential sources were usually used for getting pills. In addition, buying pills from a dealer and/or a stranger heightens the risk of becoming involved in illegal drug trafficking and dealing, and thereby of the possible negative social consequences connected with such illegal activities. People who usually acquire pills from their friends are less involved with the illegal market and less exposed to products about which inadequate information is available relating to their nature and composition. There were no striking differences between different cities and towns in these findings. However, in Modena, Nice and Palma it was more usual to get pills from a stranger than in other cities and towns. In Berlin and Utrecht no-one got their pills from a stranger. The proportion who used friends as a source of pills was highest in Coimbra and Utrecht. In Manchester a combination of sources was more usual than in other locals.

Different kinds of calendar-based strategies are important measures in the personal control of drug use. The table below presents the responses relating to the times of ecstasy use in a normal weekly calendar. People were asked: if you take ecstasy, do you normally take it only at weekends or on any day of the week? According to **Table 5.3**, ecstasy use was strictly restricted to the weekends. As noted earlier, this was signified in the qualitative interviews, too. Ecstasy is a drug mostly used for partying at the weekend, and problems connected with its use are closely related to weekend nightlife activity and culture. It is worth noting that,contrary to the significance of knowing the composition of a pill, this calendar-based strategy was strongest in Palma and Manchester. In Athens and Berlin more than one third of the respondents reported ecstasy use not only at weekends but also on any day of the week.

Table 5.3. USE OF ECSTASY DURING A NORMAL WEEK IN DIFFERENT EUROPEAN CITIES AND TOWNS, (%)

City/Town	Weekends	On any day	Total
Athens	61	39	100 (N=36)
Berlin	65	35	100 (N=112)
Coimbra	85	15	100 (N=41)
Manchester	93	7	100 (N=152)
Modena	78	22	100 (N=67)
Nice	71	29	100 (N=69)
Palma	96	4	100 (N=139)
Utrecht	91	9	100 (N=67)
Vienna	75	25	100 (N=59)
Total	**82**	**18**	**100 (N=742)**

As mentioned previously, ecstasy is used most commonly in recreational places during weekend nights. Nevertheless, some individuals also use ecstasy sometimes in other non-recreational places (at home or at a friend's house). Using ecstasy at home or at a friend's house will later be employed as an indicator of the level of personal control over ecstasy use.

The next table shows percentages of individuals that use to take ecstasy in several recreational and non-recreational places.

Table 5.4. PLACES WHERE INDIVIDUALS SOMETIMES TAKE ECSTASY (N = 745)

Place	YES (%)	NO (%)
At home	21	79
At my friend's home	41	59
In discos	65	35
In clubs	41	59
In a bar	24	76
In the street	17	83
Atparties (raves)	75	25
At "after parties"	61	39

Ecstasy was used mostly with friends and other people. Only one percent of respondents (N= 754) stated that they usually took ecstasy alone, although 12% took it sometimes alone and sometimes with friends. In general, ecstasy is a "very social" drug. Due to the relatively small proportion of people using ecstasy alone, this variable was not included as an indicator of personal control over ecstasy in this study.

Next we will look at how many pills were taken on each occasion. Half of the respondents reported that they restrict their intake to one pill or less on any one occasion. A sifnificant 17% of the respondents said they take three or more pills on any one occasion. Again this group was bigger than on average in Palma and Manchester.

Table 5.5: NUMBER OF PILLS TAKEN ON EACH OCCASION BY YOUNG PEOPLE FROM DIFFERENT CITIES

Town	A quarter/a half	One	1-2	Three or more	Total
Athens	26	43	14	17	100 (N=35)
Berlin	26	31	29	14	100 (N=114)
Coimbra	27	56	15	2	100 (N=41)
Manchester	9	25	39	28	101 (N=159)
Modena	29	29	29	12	99 (N=68)
Nice	24	41	24	11	100 (N=71)
Palma	17	31	30	22	100 (N=139)
Utrecht	25	38	25	12	100 (N=68)
Vienna	22	32	32	14	100 (N=59)
TOTAL	**21**	**33**	**29**	**17**	**100 (N=754)**

Limiting consumption of ecstasy to one pill or less appears to exert some degree of control over ecstasy, and is used in this study as an indicator of personal control.

Another parameter indicating control over ecstasy use is the progression of dosage of ecstasy usually taken. The amount of ecstasy used by an individual can decrease, increase, maintain or follow a variable pattern from onset to present use. In this study,

Table 5.6: PROGRESSION OF ECSTASY USE AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE FROM THE NINE EUROPEAN CITIES

Town	Same or decreasing (%)	Very variable or increasing (%)	Total (N)
Athens	50	50	34
Berlin	59	41	115
Coimbra	62	38	42
Manchester	43	57	158
Modena	47	53	68
Nice	50	50	72
Palma	35	65	139
Utrecht	51	49	63
Vienna	36	64	59
Total	**46**	**54**	**750**

we used a pattern of ecstasy use as stable or decreasing from onset as an indicator of high personal control, and a pattern of increasing dosages or variable intake as an indicator of low personal control over ecstasy use. **Table 5.6** shows percentages of these two different patterns of ecstasy use.

As for previous variables, there is a significant variation of this indicator of personal control across cities. While people from Berlin and Coimbra tend to maintain or decrease the amount of ecstasy taken from onset up to the present time, people interviewed in Palma and Vienna are frequently increasing these amounts or maintaining an unstable pattern of use.

When asked *Have you ever thought about giving up ecstasy?* Just over half of the respondents (54%) answered "yes". **Table 5.7** shows percentages across the nine different cities. As usual, this variable shows a different distribution in each city. 'Thought about giving up ecstasy' is also used as an indicator of personal control over ecstasy.

<div align="center">

Table 5.7: THOUGHT ABOUT GIVING UP ECSTASY

</div>

Town	YES (%)	NO (%)	Total (N)
Athens	61	39	36
Berlin	58	42	113
Coimbra	51	49	41
Manchester	50	50	158
Modena	70	30	67
Nice	62	38	71
Palma	50	50	139
Utrecht	44	56	63
Vienna	48	52	59
Total	**54**	**46**	**747**

5. CONTROLLED USE OF ECSTASY

The scale of personal control

It must be pointed out that originally the questionnaire used in the survey was not dsigned specifically with the intention of analysing personal control over ecstasy use. However, it was considered possible that this data could be used retrospectively for this purpose, too. Based on the answers to certain questions in the questionnaire, a scale of personal control over ecstasy use was constructed. We then looked at the distribution on it of the sub-sample of ecstasy users included in the data.

The scale of personal control over ecstasy use was constructed using the following eight questions included in the questionnaire.

Q42: When you want to take ecstasy (or other pills) do you think that

- it is not important to me knowing what the exact composition is **(LC)**
- I would prefer to know what I am taking, but I take it anyway **(LC)**
- If I am not sure of the composition of the pill I don't' take it **(HC)**

Q43: If I take ecstasy I normally take it:

- On any day of the week **(LC)**
- During the week **(LC)**
- Only at weekends **(HC)**

Q44: Approximately, how many pills have you taken on each occasion?

- a quarter of a pill **(HC)**
- half a pill **(HC)**
- one pill **(LC)**
- between one and two pills **(LC)**
- between three and four pills **(LC)**
- more than four pills **(LC)**

Q45: Since you started taking ecstasy, do you take

- the same amount on each occasion **(HC)**
- more and more on each occasion **(LC)**
- less and less on each occasion **(HC)**
- it is very variable **(LC)**

Q47: Do you consume ecstasy at home or at a friend's house:

- No **(HC)**
- Yes **(LC)**

Q48: Have you ever thought about giving up ecstasy completely?

- yes **(HC)**
- no **(LC)**

Q49: From whom do you obtainpills?

- From a friend **(HC)**
- From a stranger/a dealer/a combination **(LC)**

Q50: How many pills do you normally buy in one occasion?

<div align="center">***</div>

Thus, knowing the content of a drug (Q42) and its "provider" (Q49), regulating the amount used (Q44, Q45), time and place of ecstasy use (Q43, Q47), restricting the available amount of the drug before intake (Q50) and critical reflection over one's own drug habits (Q48) were seen as strategies of personal control over ecstasy use.

Answers to these questions were dichotomised into two different groups, those describing high personal control **(HC)** and those describing low personal control **(LC)** as marked above atthe end of each given response. In anopen question (Q50), answers varied between a half a pill to several pills (median = 2 pills). In the construction of control scale the dividing line was defined so that buying one pill or less in one occasion was seen as an expression of high personal control more than that being a sign of low personal control.

A sub-sample of **641** ecstasy users answered all eight questions. The gender composition of the sub-sample was approximately one third female (34%) and two thirds male (66%). The mean age of the group was around 22.5 years. Most of them (86%) were single. 22% were studying, 17% were studying and working and 54% were working. Only 7% of the sample were unemployed. The majority of them had completed college/university studies (45%) or secondary studies (42%), and 13% had completed only primary studies.

Personal control over ecstasy use was calculated by adding the scores of these eight dichotomised variables (HC = 1, LC = 2). A score of 8 implies that a person has expressed high control in all variables, a score of 9 tells us that a person has seven HC values and one LC value, etc. A score of 16 scores means that a person provided only LC answers.

The distribution of this new variable of personal control over ecstasy use is presented in **Table 5.8**:

Table 5.8. DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONAL CONTROL OVER ECSTASY USE

Scores	Frequency	Percent
8	6	0.9
9	27	4.2
10	66	10.3
11	102	15.9
12	143	22.3
13	138	21.5
14	106	16.5
15	43	6.7
16	10	1.6
Total	**641**	**100.0**

The table shows that the level of personal control over ecstasy use varied among the users. There were quite a few individuals who controlled their ecstasy use very strictly (scores 8 and 9). On the other hand, very few people also (8.3 percent of the respondents) seemed to use ecstasy without any control as measured by this scale (scores 15 and 16). Theme an value of the scale was 12.3 and SD was 1.7. According to these results, the patterns of using of ecstasy adopted by young Europeans seem to be quite careless, maybe reflecting a happy-go-lucky mentality.

On the other hand, it is self-evident that our retrospectively constructed scale was only a rough measure, and it seems quite probable that it was too narrow to measure all dimensions of personal control. Nevertheless, a factor analysis was used to assess the uni-dimensionality of this "personal control over ecstasy" scale. Factor analysis (using a principal component method) of these eight variables yielded a three-factor solution explaining 50% of the whole variance. Varimax rotation showed a first factor with high loadings in Q44, Q45, Q49 and Q50, and it is associated with low control over the amount of ecstasy taken, progression of ecstasy use, number of pills usually bought and source of ecstasy (provider). The second factor grouped Q43 and Q47 (time and place where ecstasy is used), and the final factor grouped Q42 and Q48, suggesting some concern over the quality of pills and an intention to give up ecstasy. Internal consistency of this scale was low (Alpha = 0.46), suggesting that personal control over ecstasy, as assessed in this study, is not a homogeneous construct, and provides additional support to the multi-dimensionality of personal control over ecstasy identified by factor analysis.

These three dimensions provide some support for the conceptualisation of "Personal Control" as a dimension that probably related with these three concepts: drug, set and setting. The first factor appears to be related to personal control over some functional parameters of drug use and availability, irrespective of its source. The second factor suggests personal control over the time and place when/where ecstasy is used by the individual, suggesting control over "setting" associated with ecstasy use. The third factor appears to be related to personal control through some "set" parameters such us cognitive/attitudinal components towards ecstasy use.

Distribution of Personal Control over ecstasy is very similar to a "normal distribution", indicating us that this measure of personal control over ecstasy can be interpreted as a continuum rather than a "qualitative" construct. Nevertheless, and due to the post-hoc and experimental nature of the scale used to assess personal control over ecstasy use in this study, we choose to use the scale to compare those with higher and those with lower levels of personal control. Later on, we used some statistical analysis to measure associations between these three dimensions of personal control and other individual variables.

In defining the level of personal control for the further analysis the cut-off point in the scores was 11. Scoring eleven in the variable suggested that these people had three items indicating "low control" and five items indicating "high control". Thus, two different groups were identified. The group of high personal control (scores 8, 9, 10 and

11) included 201 individuals (31.4 % of the sub-sample). The group of low personal control included 440 individuals (68.6 % of the sub-sample). Although the median value of the variable was 12, it was more reasonable to define the high control group as persons scoring more HC answers than LC answers.

Social background of personal control

Having made this grouping we continued by cross-tabulating this scale of personal control with other variables. No statistically significant relationships were found between personal control and socio-demographic variables such as age, education, marital status, occupation, family socio-economic background or a person's self-evaluation as a student. There were some slight differences in some variables but these differences were only tendencies, not statistically significant associations.

However, apart form these non-significant differences, … some significant relationships were also identified. These were associations between personal control over ecstasy and gender, family control over going-out (as perceived by the individual) and nationality of individuals (cities where they were interviewed). The following table shows distribution of the level of personal control across gender, family control and different cities. As observed in Table 5.9, women showed higher probability than men of exerting a high level of personal control over ecstasy. Differences were statistically significant, although the effect is not very strong.

Another statistically significant relationship could be found between personal control and family control. Perceptions of family control over going out habits were associated with the level of personal control as seen in the previous table. On family control, respondents were asked How much do/did your family exert over your going out habits, (1) no control, (2) little control, (3) quite a lot of control, or (4) too much control. Differences between levels of family control were statistically very significant (Pearson Chi-Square = .002). What is interesting is that the proportions of those with high personal control over ecstasy use increased along with the level of family control from "no control" to "quite a lot control", but decreased again when moved to the category of "too much control". Family control over going out habits seemed to have a positive effect on personal control of ecstasy use, unless the level control was not perceived as too high.

Local differences in the table were statistically very significant (Pearson Chi-Square =.002). As could be expected on the basis of previous tables, proportions of the high control group were smallest in Palma, Manchester and Vienna. On the other hand, Modena and Nice showed highest proportions in high personal control over ecstasy use. However, we must avoid making too far-reaching conclusions on local differences based on this measurement, because the size of the sample varies so greatly between different cities and towns. There may also be some hidden sources of variation in different samples and their composition. Regardless of these caveats it is considered reasonable to interpret this local variation as a reflection in one way or another some kind of

Table 5.9. PROPORTIONS OF THOSE WITH HIGH OR LOW PERSONAL CONTROL OVER ECSTASY USE ACROSS GENDER, FAMILY CONTROL AND IN DIFFERENT EUROPEAN CITIES, (%)

High control	Low control	Chi square (p 2-tail).	
Gender			**4.8 (0.03)**
Male	28	72	
Female	37	63	
Family control over going out (perceived)			**15.3 (0.002)**
None	24	76	
Little	36	64	
Quite a lot of control	44	56	
Too much control	33	67	
Town			**24.4 (0.002)**
Athens	41	59	
Berlin	31	69	
Coimbra	40	60	
Manchester	23	77	
Modena	47	53	
Nice	46	54	
Palma	23	77	
Utrecht	35	65	
Vienna	24	76	

cultural differences between the cities and towns and local traditions in patterns of drug use and recreational life.

The next sections explore the relationships between personal control over ecstasy and other individual variables studied in the SONAR 98 project. First of all relationships with recreational patterns associated with nightlife are explored. Next, we explore associations between personal control over ecstasy and frequency of use and age of onset of several legal and illegal substances. Finally, we explore the relationships between personal control and other subjective variables such as risk perceptions associated with several patterns of substance use, some sensation seeking items and some social deviation behaviours.

Personal control over ecstasy and its relationships with recreational patterns

This section covers the results relating to the relationships between personal control over ecstasy and variables regarding recreational nightlife, as assessed by the SONAR 98 study. **Table 5.10** shows only significant associations found by using non-parametric correlation coefficients between personal control and variables relating to going-out

habits. A positive and significant correlation indicates that the variable is associated with a lower personal control over ecstasy use.

Table 5.10: SIGNIFICANT CORRELATION BETWEEN PERSONAL CONTROL OVER ECSTASY AND GOING-OUT HABITS

	Personal Control
Going to clubs (Frequency)	.09*
Going to after hours (Frequency)	.16**
Going to parties/raves (Frequency)	.1*
Number of nights going out per weekend	.1**
Duration of a clubbing session	.24**
Do long displacements in a clubbing session	.13**
Number of recreational places visited per session	.11**

* = Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); ** = Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

These findings show us that personal control over ecstasy among young Europeans is negatively associated with frequency of going to clubs, after hours and parties/raves. Also, number of nights going out per weekend, duration (in hours) of a going out session, number of places visited per session and travelling long distances during one session are variables negatively associated with personal control over ecstasy. However, all but one of these behavioural indicators of involvement with recreational nightlife are only slightly associated with personal control over ecstasy use, indicating a very low "predictive ability". Duration of a clubbing session appears to be a better predictor of a low level of personal control over ecstasy. It can be stated that individuals most involved in nightlife and individuals who usually spend more and more hours in recreational venues during weekends are "at risk" of using ecstasy with a lower control.

In summary, all of these variables associated with personal control over ecstasy use indicate that some "settings" are factors that potentially exert an effect on the individual contrary to personal control over ecstasy. Reciprocally, individuals less favourable to controlling their ecstasy use probably expose themselves more frequently to "settings" more closely associated with uncontrolled ecstasy use. Our findings suggest that the interplay between individual characteristics and "setting" variables and its effect on personal control over substance use. Needs to be explored further

Personal control over ecstasy and its relationships with other substance use

This section includes findings on correlation between personal control over ecstasy and variables regarding frequency of substance use and age of onset of substance use. Table 5.11 shows significant associations found by using non-parametric correlation

coefficients between personal control and frequency and age of onset of the following variables: alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, LSD, amphetamines and cocaine.

Table 5.11: SIGNIFICANT CORRELATION BETWEEN PERSONAL CONTROL OVER ECSTASY AND SUBSTANCE USE

	Personal Control
Alcohol (age of onset)	-.21**
Drunkenness (frequency during last month)	.14**
Cannabis (frequency)	.16**
Cannabis (age of onset)	-.18**
Amphetamines (frequency)	.31**
Amphetamines (age of onset)	-.16**
Ecstasy (frequency)	.36**
LSD (frequency)	.33**
Cocaine (frequency)	.28**
Cocaine (age of onset)	-.18**
Tobacco	.11*
Tobacco (age of onset)	-.15**

* = Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); ** = Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

As shown in the table, age of onset of alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, amphetamine and cocaine use is significantly associated with personal control over ecstasy, in that an earlier onset for any of these substances is associated with a lower personal control over ecstasy. Also, a higher frequency of use of tobacco, alcohol abuse (drunkenness), cannabis, amphetamines, LSD, ecstasy and cocaine is associated with a lower control over ecstasy use.

Our findings indicate that personal control over ecstasy is substantially associated with substance use patterns (legal and illegal), including frequency and duration of legal and illegal substance use. So ecstasy use does not appear to be an isolated route into substance use, but rather another manifestation of an individual trend towards generalised substance use. Moreover, personal control over ecstasy use may be substantially determined by individual habits concerning intensity of legal and illegal substance use.

Personal control over ecstasy and its relationships with risk perception, sensation seeking and social deviation

We also find positive relationships between the level of personal control and subjective variables such as risk perceptions, i.e. dangers of regular smoking of marihuana, dangers of using ecstasy every weekend, dangers of taking LSD and dangers of drinking four alcoholic drinks in one time. Those individuals who were more

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concerned over the risks of drug use showed high personal control over ecstasy use more often than those who were concerned to a lesser degree over the risks of drug use.

Table 5.12: SIGNIFICANT CORRELATION BETWEEN PERSONAL CONTROL OVER ECSTASY AND RISK PERCEPTION AND SENSATION SEEKING

	Personal Control
Danger of smoking one pack of cigarettes per day	-.12**
Danger of smoking marijuana regularly	-.22**
Danger of using ecstasy every weekend	-.34
Danger of taking LSD once a month	-.26
Danger of having 2 alcoholic drinks per day	-.08*
Danger of having 4 alcoholic drinks on one occasion	-.16**
Have you..done what feels good no matter what?	.15**
Have you done something dangerous because someone dared you to?	.16**
Have you done crazy things even if they are a little dangerous?	.20**

* = Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); ** = Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

In addition to risk perception, personal control of ecstasy use was associated with sensation seeking. In particular those with high personal control were less inclined to 'do what feels good no matter what'. No connection was found with any of four variables indicating social deviance (driving a car without license, vandalism, thieving and involvement in fights).

In another recent study carried out by IREFREA (Calafat, et al., 1998) ecstasy users scored higher than non-users in sensation seeking scales. As expected, the three items measuring sensation seeking are positively and significantly associated with score in personal control, indicating that individuals prone to sensation seeking are probably less in control of their ecstasy use. These findings suggest that subjective variables not directly associated with substance use, such us sensation seeking, can modulate personal control over ecstasy.

Inversely, all items indicating risk perception related to the use of several legal and illegal substances are negatively and significantly associated with scores on personal control over ecstasy, indicating that individuals more sensitive to the risks derived to substance abuse are probably more in control of their ecstasy use.

Therefore, our results show that there are several individual characteristics (behavioural and subjective) that may strengthen/limiti personal control over ecstasy. Some of these are related to substance use behaviours, some are variables related to attitudes towards the risks associated with substance use, and others are "distal" variables associated with the generalisation of risk-taking such a sensation seeking.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Drug, set and setting all play a vital role in the personal control of ecstasy use. Patterns of ecstasy use are socially constructed. There are different kinds of social sanctions around ecstasy use for limiting it to an appropriate level and to harmless patterns. There is a lot of cultural knowledge and shared understanding about the risks of ecstasy. Users of ecstasy apply cultural recipes of ecstasy use in their personal maxims, principles and rules by which they intend to regulate their drug behaviour. They are seeking fun and pleasure, and they are trying to avoid the potentially harmful consequences of the drug. However, as often stated in the interviews, it is hard to control the drug variable, for instance to know the actual content of pills. In fact, there is also a lot of personal variation in the regulation of patterns of ecstasy use, and sometimes a social situation can lead a person beyond the bounds within which he or she usually behaves and prefers to behave.

In the analysis of the survey data we found some evidence supporting this conceptualisation of personal control over ecstasy as involving specific domains associated with drug, set and setting variables. Variation in the personal control of ecstasy use seemed to be connected to situational and family variables. Even if there are methodological weaknesses in these statistical comparisons (for example. retrospective and secondary constructions and local variation bewteen samples), the findings provide a description of the situation, and at least hint at some significant factors or relationships behind the absence of personal control over ecstasy use. These significant factors can be proximal to legal and illegal substance use, mediators such risk perceptions concerning legal and illegal substance use and distal variables such as personality factors associated to sensation seeking.

Finally, our findings can be summarised into three conclusions.

1. The level of personal control over ecstasy use varies among users.

2. The level of personal control over ecstasy use seems to depend on the subjective values and principles of the individual and his/her family, but the local drug culture may also have an impact on the patterns of ecstasy use in local settings. Thus the data suggests that both the set variables and setting variables are important factors influencing the level of personal control over ecstasy use.

3. Social interventions designed to strengthen and support young people's personal control over ecstasy use may have an important impact for reducing the risks of ecstasy use.

6. RISK BEHAVIOUR AND RISK PERCEPTION

1. INTRODUCTION

Speaking of public health and prevention in the context of recreational night-time activities normally implies an endeavour to ascertain the heath risks which individuals are exposed to when they go out to enjoy themselves. To do so, it is necessary to apply a methodology of study that takes into account the interrelationship that exists between health problems, attitudes and behaviours of individuals and the recreational environments in which they act. The interest of such a focus lies in the possibility of creating prevention strategies that are directed at a reduction in risk behaviours as well as procuring healthier environments.

Recreational night-time activities have completely permeated the young population who have appropriated going out at weekends as a privileged part of their life experience. This means that the social impact of this activity has evolved to occupy a hegemonic place among the favourite activities of the young. More and more are joining in all the time, they begin at younger and younger ages and a powerful industry is growing up around it - an industry that is linked to music, dress styles and the use of alcohol and drugs.

We are aware that it is difficult for the young - and even for society in general - and professionals to think in terms of public health when dealing with the recreational world. However there can be no doubt that, in parallel with the service that a varied recreational network provides for society and individuals, a number of health problems are being generated, at different levels. *Here, we will approach not only the problems in themselves - the results of risk behaviours - but also the role of risk in the dynamic that leads the young to adopt risk behaviours in recreational settings, particularly those relating to drug use*. We know that the causes that impel many of the young to take drugs are diverse and that each has a different weight according to a specific individual, age and context, etc. On the basis of qualitative and quantitative data, we are going to explore the role played by the perception of the risks of drug use, the propensity or necessity for some young people to adopt risk behaviour, and the way in which they try to control or direct their need for risk within this group of variables. The risk to which we will refer is, therefore, not being understood here as being derived from drug use - the typical focus of harm reduction strategies - but how the perception and experience of risk has an influence when it comes to many young people using drugs and the way

in which they use them. We are interested most of all here in the extent to which it is influential in taking decisions and in managing use. This analytical stance enables the young to be seen as active agents, capable of making decisions, having criteria and initiatives, informing themselves and acting, as they move in a complex network of influences.In the Guidelines for the Risk Assessment of New Synthetic Drugs (EMCDDA, 1999) the term "risk" is used with its twofold significance, that of "the element of probability that some harm may occur" and "the degree of seriousness of such a harm (usually defined as 'hazard ')". Both significances are involved when we speak of "risk perception" since we are referring as much to the probability that the subject has some idea of the scale of the risk that could arise after the use of some substance (thinking, perhaps, that driving after drinking could lead, on occasion, or on many occasions, to traffic accidents) as to the degree of danger or risk that we attribute to a determined substance (in this sense, we normally attribute a greater risk to the use of heroin than to that of cannabis). These Guidelines also give the sources of hazard emanating from:

- properties of the substance (pharmacology and toxicology)
- measures of social control (regulatory policies and informal norms)
- modalities of drug use (patterns, context of use)
- individual characteristics of users (age, gender, genetic, personality)

Jessor (1991) defines risk behaviours as "whatsoever behaviour that may compromise the psychosocial aspects of the successful development of the adolescent". One important aspect of the Jessor model, known as 'the risk behaviour of adolescents theory', holds that it is very pertinent that the diverse risk behaviours, typical of adolescence, have different effects on the individual determined by whether they occur at the same time or in isolation. It is very frequently observed that risk behaviours such as drug use, delinquency or precocious access to sexuality appear simultaneously as a way of showing how the adolescent is experiencing his relationship with the world. Hence the usefulness of the concept of 'lifestyle' to refer to an organised pattern of interrelated behaviours. This conception of risk behaviours leads to a preventive focus in keeping with it. In other words, it does not mean putting a pointedly preventive action into operation targeting an isolated behaviour but rather that we should approach prevention looking at an overall lifestyle where risk occupies a central position. Although these preventive approaches are, at times, technically more complex, they do increase the likelihood of success, and the preventive effects continue in the long term.

Within this complex model of adolescent risk behaviour, Jessor includes five groups of risk and protection factors that are biological/genetic ones - the social environment, the perceived environment, personality and behaviour. Obviously, the higher or lower the presence of risk and protection factors is important in determining adolescent risk behaviours and lifestyles. However, one aspect that we would like to highlight here is that, in this model, not all of the responsibility is placed on the individual, as the social context plays a significant part in creating and promoting many risk behaviours.

Need for an explanatory model of drug use in recreational environments

Whereas there are specific explanatory theories and models for alcohol and tobacco on the age of onset, consolidation of behaviour and addiction, there are very few such explanatory models for each of the illicit drugs (Becoña, 1999). There are various explanations for this situation. The population that drinks and smokes cigarettes is larger than the population using illicit drugs and, therefore, there is more research into these drugs from etiological aspects. In addition the lack of clear and accepted specific models for each of the illicit drugs also indicates the huge complexity in understanding the behaviours that deviate into drug use (Becoña, 1999). Many of the existing theories refer, as we have said, to alcohol and tobacco or drugs in general which normally means alcohol, tobacco and marijuana with differing degrees of importance and, less explicitly, designer drugs such as cocaine and heroin, etc. To some extent this is not important as the use of diverse drugs, as many studies show, is very interconnected. The use patterns followed by many young people, particularly in recreational environments, is a quite obvious poly use (Calafat et al, 1998, 1999). We have known since the studies by Kandel and Yamaguchi (1975) that there are certain patterns in learning drug use, that there is a route that is followed from one drug to another. We also know that not everybody is going to climb every step on this ladder and that after 20 years of age, a large number of these young people will progressively abandon some or, at times, all use - and particularly the abuse - of some of these substances. According to these authors, it is a consequence of a process of psychological maturation, and the assumption of adult roles (work, partner, stability, etc.) although others do remain trapped in the different forms of abuse.However, there is a notable lack of an agreed explanatory model on the recreational environment based on solid empirical evidence, although it is quite apparent that it is in this sphere that a learning situation of the use and abuse of drugs is being more frequently encountered among European youth at this moment in time. The recreational arena has certain peculiarities and a completely new form of development unlike other ways of learning drug use and its importance, both quantitatively and qualitatively, is increasingly affecting our young people. It is clearly a culture that differs from that of heroin or the classical cannabis culture of the hippy movement. In addition, it concerns a new phenomenon and one closely resembling normal and normative experience of the weekend. After all, who hasn't gone out at the weekend to have a few drinks? Who, on New Year's Eve, hasn't found themselves having a few drinks too many? Who was never offered that first cigarette or cigar? For this reason, there was no great awareness of the way in which drug use was developing, increasing and consolidating in this setting until it reached the present situation. It has grown in such a way that for a large percentage of the population, and even for many professionals, the situation is quite normal and even legitimised by tradition, since things have always been more or less like this. Social alarm at this phenomenon appears excessive to some and their suggestion is that there should only be intervention in situations of extreme deviance, and minority ones at that, resulting from this fun and drug use culture. Howeve, in adopting this stance, they attempt to rob the problems of their drama so that they may be more easily approached.The focus and discourse on the

social norm is also supported by the fact that it is precisely the upper middle sector of society that is most involved in recreational practices. This sector, with an important presence in public forums, contributes to minimising social alarm and also research into these forms of use. All of this is delaying the availability of an agreed explanatory model on recreational use. In the present situation, with its lack of scientific studies, an absence of interest in this field is also influential, as is the attitude of a certain sector of the professionals involved in drug-dependency who have strengthened their position in therapeutic work with "hard" drugs and who undervalue the weight of recreational poly use. This adds to a chain of inconsistencies and disagreements. Some of these professionals, unaware of the dynamic and the implications of recreational poly use, compare their frustrating experiences of attempting to change the addictive trajectories of their patients with recreational use, as if they were comparable situations. For them, any initiative, beyond that of social de-dramatisation and harm reduction, that endeavours to change use patterns will be invisible and condemned a priori to disaster. In some countries (the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, Spain, etc.) a sector of sociological thinking bases its focus on removing the dramatisation and coexistence of drugs and addiction as the priority approach to drug problems. This focus, which implies certain conformity with whatever may come in the future, is giving way to a new paradigm and to diverse professional and cultural interests

Thinking on drug addicts is changing course. Nowadays, it is not a person who fails in his goals and his methods but an adult who identifies a malaise or a desire, chooses a specific remedy, tries to cure himself, and replace the doctor, with a remedy whose only defect is that it is inappropriate as it is difficult to measure the necessary dose. (Khantzian, 1985). The next step in this discourse is that drug use would cease to be a problem if society were to create a network of professionals who would be responsible for ensuring that use was carried out correctly. Nevertheless, contrary and warning voices are also raised. "Pharmacologic trivialisation is, without doubt, one of the most radical. The most significant present-day researchers contribute in reinforcing a framework of thought in which the difference between drugs and medication is reduced. The preparation of certain compounds to act in a specific manner without altering the work of the receptors and, therefore without the brain becoming accustomed to them, raises the same problems as those that Freud had to confront. Is there anything capable of embodying happiness without creating an abusive dependency on it?" (Sissa 2000). The question is still being asked and the reply continues to be a negative one. The desire for a magical substance as a bearer of happiness continues to be a myth to which only the gods on Olympus have access, taboo for mere mortals. The temptation offered by drugs is enormous, warns Sissa (2000), "heroin and cocaine are made for us.... but we are not made for them. They are so effective, so tolerable, so active in the improvement and acceleration of physiological processes, they act so much and so well that the brain would always want more." With these words, the author launches a warning on the cost that would be implied in the search for pleasure via drugs. Sissa refers us to classical philosophy, to the roots of our thought, to look for remedies, to look for a different type of preoccupations, where it is necessary to remember that to enjoy, some effort must be

involved. These contrasting discourses present two ways of facing up to the drug use situation and its risks. One, the remarkably adaptable discourse, well adjusted to a consumer society where the external points of reference beyond that of effectiveness and convenience are missing, time after time. The other, a warning discourse which reminds us that there is an enormous baggage of knowledge in the history of our culture which helps us to understand that everything drugs offer us is neither new nor legal and has been kept under control for many centuries. The destructive potential is enormous and normalising its use could be a serious historical error for society.

Returning to the need for a specific model of reference for recreational users, this is essential for focussing research. It could then act as a puzzle that has to be solved by fitting the pieces together properly. Many explanatory models of drug use take a firm stance on such factors as social problems or margination but, what are we to think, when on many occasions, it is the most integrated and successful sectors of society that voluntarily take part with great intensity in recreational life, and those who also provide patterns of drug use - and abusive ones at that? Possibly this situation is directing us to another reality, to other explanatory reasons, that for many young people, the patterns of use form part of the road to social success.

At this stage in our research, it would be useful to be able to ascertain the place of risk perception and the tendency to risk at the different points in the use dynamic. How is the notion of risk and risk perception constructed? In what ways does its presence condition the relationship with risk and the acceptance of risk for each individual and collective? What relationship does the formation of these constructs share with the use and abuse of drugs? In what ways are these constructs influential? To what extent are these constructs dependent on each individual or dependent on the group to which he or she belongs? Are they the result of the education received or even the powerful cultural stereotypes that the media create for the juvenile culture? What relationship do these constructs have with other constructs such as gender, access to sexuality, social deviance? And these are only a few of the questions being raised - they are certainly not the only ones - and there are only insufficient answers.

In this chapter, we are going to work on the idea of risk, and particularly on the perception of risk and the tendency to assume risks. Is risk simply information available to individuals and which they can make use of or not? In other words, "I have read about it and therefore I know that smoking is dangerous to health? Then - unless I don't believe it - to what extent does this knowledge influence my risk perception of tobacco?" In practice, such information that covers conflicting areas of personality or behaviour undergoes a complicated process of elaboration. The information must be processed by the individual with other knowledge that he or she possesses and which is of the same order but which, at times, can be contradictory or collides with the diverse expectations or intentions of the individual (wanting to have fun, experiment, accede to the adult role, gain some independence...). We must understand that among these pieces of information or data absorbed by the individual, both tangible elements and symbolic, emotional and affective ones also intervene. We can, therefore, think that the

construction of the ideas of risk and risk perceptions held by a certain individual are the result of a process that begins with the simple acquisition of determined information, goes on to the construction of beliefs and continues through the more dveloped stage of expectations. Behaviours would be the last step in this elaboration process.

However the process does not stop there, since the new information, which reaches the individual, as a consequence of either his risk behaviour or of his precaution, renourishes the system. If a car driver manages to reach home after having had quite a lot to drink, without having any problems, this could have its consequences on the way in which the individual evaluates the risk implicit in drinking and driving, making it easier for him to repeat this decision to drive after drinking.

Bandura (1977, 1986) was very interested in expectations as elements that are very close to the action. The choice of action made by the individual is based on them. These expectations are nourished by information and past experiences and risk perceptions are undoubtedly a central element in their formation. According to him, expectations are learned through cognitive processes, through the symbols of primary experience where the emotions occupy an important place. And a particularly interesting point in Bandura's theorisation, is the concept of "self-efficiency" which is considered one of the subjects that has a more direct and immediate relationship with behaviour and one that represents the belief of the person that he can engage in a specific behaviour with success. This hypothesis leads, in our case, to the idea that the young believe that they are capable of using drugs to their advantage without incurring any unnecessary problems. It is understood that self-efficiency is the central nucleus of an individual's perceptions of his behaviour. Following on from this, "it is true that we have little information on the real factors, found empirically, that explain why people increase or reduce their risk perception of the various substances. But what we are sure of, is that the greater the risk perception of a specific substance, the lower the use and vice versa." (Becoña, 1999).

Research into the subject

There is evidence that supports the relationship of risk perception with drug use, although we are very unaware of how it is formed and how it influences decisions. In a review (Petraitis, 1998) of 58 longitudinal prospective studies of illicit drug use among adolescents, eight of the studies dealt with the influence of "attitudes" in the subsequent use of illicit drugs. Seven of these unequivocally supported this relationship. These attitudes have something to do with subjective perceptions of the cost and benefits of physiological and psychological effects in particular, and on the legal situation. To give some examples of these prospective studies, we see that Levy and Pierce (1990) found that those adolescents of 12 years of age who had never used drugs but who had relatively positive views on the use of both legal and illicit drugs showed a greater likelihood of starting marijuana use at the age of 15. In the same way, Bailey et al (1992) found that adolescents were more likely to use marijuana two years later if they had formed the impression that its use implied few risks.

Of interest also to the focus of this present study is the follow-up at an epidemiological level made year after year of the North American population. In a search (Johnston, 1998) for the reasons that explain the annual fluctuations - increases and decreases - among this population in the use of diverse drugs during the period from 1976 to 1996, he found that certain factors such as continuing with educational studies, engaging in antisocial activities, number of going out sessions. etc. were good predictors of use, but the only thing that really explained the historical changes for each of the drugs (marijuana, cocaine, etc.), year after year, was risk perception and a higher or lower level of disapproval of a specific drug. A recent study by IREFREA (Calafat et al, 1998) also contributes some information in this respect. A questionnaire on social representations was used to compare 801 ecstasy users with a control group of 826 young people who also went out at night and shared with similar sociodemographic characteristics, but who did not use this substance. The result was that users and non-users shared the same way of analysing the use of a substance, ecstasy in this case. What they most evaluated in a drug was whether they were interested in its effects or not and, on the basis of this, they established an indirect relationship with whether or not they were perturbed by the possible effects of its use. The ecstasy users were young people who positively valuted the effects of said substance and devalued the dangers associated with it use, whereas the non-users held the opposite view. It was observed in the same study that, unlike one might have assumed, the ecstasy users were not the most interested in preventive measures although these were just the people who were taking the real risks with their behaviour.

These results were of great interest at that time for their preventive implications, given that they indicate the way in which the young analyse their relationship with drugs (through the greater or lesser interest they have in their effects and, in addition, according to the potential dangers attributed to them). This signpost towards preventive actions is corroborated by a recent study on the reason for saying no to the use of diverse drugs, analysed separately (Fountain, 1999). The sample in this case consisted of one hundred young people with a wide range of opportunities for, and experiences of, drug use, and included those who had never used an illicit substance. The sample was deliberately chosen to include young people with varied experiences of drugs. There were a total of 1,106 motives for the non-use of eleven substances, and many gave several reasons for their abstinence. In the following Table 1, we can see the two most common responses for each substance. *The motive reported most frequently was 'uninterested in the effect'. The second motive (in this case including fear of addiction, fear of the effect, fear of physical harm...) was fear of the dangers.* Other less frequent motives given as the first or second reason, but with a much lower frequency, are in the case for not using methadone 'unfamiliarity' with the product or 'no opportunity", but in the case of the benzodiazepines 'no opportunity' was also recognised as a second reason and, in the case of cocaine, 'excessively high price' was given as the second reason. Analysing the responses in respect of age, minors under 18 years of age tended to be more concerned about the dangers associated with the use of each drug, whereas those of 18 years or more, selected 'uninterested in its effects' as a reason for not using it with

a greater frequency. The authors conclude that a belief in the addictive capacity of a drug and the dangers implicit in its use although constructed on an irrational basis or in the face of all the evidence, does exercise a preventive role. In this sense, they point out that those educational measures targeting this sector of the youth population must be treated with caution, as they tend to augment a type of information that indirectly favours use. It may be that wanting to warn ends up suggesting forms of use that reduce the sensation of danger in a specific drug, in such a way that those who would not want to use it, from fear of the unknown, may end up by doing so.

Drug	Never used N	Reason 1	Reason 2
Heroin	82	Fear of physical harm	Fear of addiction
Methadone	89	Unfamiliarity	Lack of opportunity
Other opiates	84	Uninterested in the effect	Unfamiliarity
Crack cocaine	75	Fear of addiction	Uninterested in the effect
Cocaine powder	67	Fear of addiction	Too expensive
Benzodiazepines	73	Uninterested in the effect	Lack of opportunity
Amphetamines	46	Uninterested in the effect	Fear of physical harm
Ecstasy	61	Fear of addiction	Fear of physical harm
LSD	52	Uninterested in the effect	Fear of the effects
Cannabis	18	Uninterested in the effect	Fear of the effects
Solvent	69	Uninterested in the effect	Fear of physical harm

* Fountain (1999)

2. A QUALITATIVE APPROACH: THE LANGUAGE OF RISK

Diverse relationships with risk

The young people who go out at the weekend to enjoy themselves are a diverse collective and this has something to do with the attitude they adopt to use. Some avoid use whereas others, the majority, are users. Among the latter not all use the same drug, in the same quantities, for the same motives or with the same objectives. Taking drugs almost always implies some risk although it is quite true that these risks are very variable depending as much on the type of drug as on the amount or the frequency with which it is used, the location or the company in which it is used, what is done while under the effects of the substance, etc. However, taking risks implies a previous knowledge of them, a perception of their existence and this is not always the case. On many occasions, there is no perception of the risk involved and, on other occasions, this perception is insufficient or even erroneous. The following comments have a bearing on this:

"I know that 4 or 5 drinks is not in itself going to kill me, whereas, for example ecstasy can kill you". (Female from Liverpool, age: 16)

As has been mentioned, there is a diversity of subjective elements that cause the information an individual receives to be assimilated in one way or another. Information on the risks involved in drinking alcohol loses authority as it is devalued by a certain social tolerance of this substance. On many occasions, this permits the information to discriminate by making use of everything that legitimises what is being done. In this way, those who generally drink alcohol minimise its negative aspects whereas those who use other substances do the opposite.

"Drugs such as LSD, Ketamine, Coke, are drugs that make you think about your own consumption, during the fall, the rise, or even right in the middle. We think about our consumption: Why do I consume? What am I doing with my life? With alcohol you don't think you fall asleep like a bulk, but with shit and ecstasy, there's a long reflection before getting to sleep. With one trip, you get two years more mature in one night. A trip is something that is hardly noxious on the physiological level, you are on the moon but you eliminate it very well. On the neurological level, you have losses, but it's more monstrous with cocaine. The most dangerous for me is cocaine, you get hammered badly, and with alcohol also I would say. I'd rather be in a funk with trip than with alcohol. Heroin is less dangerous then Cocaine and Ketamine which is a rather pure substance, rarely contaminatd, unlikeo other products that contain about 60% different products." (Male from Nice, age: 22)

The relationship between the drug user and the risks he/she takes is very varied. Apart from the diversity in the evaluations which may be made of each substance, each individual can choose different frequencies of use. Some take few risks with occasional use and with very low amounts of alcohol or cannabis on the simple pretext of complying with a social ritual of friendship. There are others, however, for whom reaching a state of inebriation or taking too many ecstasy pills in one night is a goal not to be abandoned. This is a consideration of the utmost importance, that not all have the same relationship with risk. For some, engaging in risk behaviours is part of their interests and their objectives in taking drugs, in fact. In other words, they need the risk. "Risk makes me more energetic" says one 22 year old woman from Athens. Others take up intermediate positions, as their goal is to find an ideal relationship between having a good time and taking risks in order to reach their objective through the use of drugs. These could be designated 'intelligent' users, hedonists or sybarites who are acting in the same way as the stockbroker who plans his actions by bearing very much in mind the objectives he wants, the investment he wants to make and the risks he wants to take. The following comments are illustrative of this attitude:

"Risk does play a role, because you cannot live safe and sound, at the end you die anyway, but just not exaggerated risk. Whether I risk something or not probably depends on the benefit it brings me, or the fun in comparison with the risk. I mean one can have bad luck with each and every one, obviously. But it shouldn't be life threatening" (Female from Vienna, age: 28)

"I always know what it is that I am taking. Whether you can say I've been damaged or not, this is something I don't know yet " (Male from Coimbra, age: 23)

Other risk behaviours that the young engage in must be added to the direct risk of drug use, such as driving under the influence of alcohol and other drugs. In present-day Europe, this is one of the aspects with more direct consequences in terms of risk and health. The use of the car in recreational life is extensive. It becomes an element of independence, of prestige, and convenience. It is evaluated negatively by the informants but, at the same time, it's part of the reality of the night.

"They use cars because several can go in the same car and they can drink. If they take cocaine, the car is where they snort their lines" (Female from Coimbra, age: 21).

The use of the car is standard and, although it varies from city to city, it may be said that in practically all of them, it is a component that forms part of recreational life, an element of prestige and, symbolically, it is closely linked to the idea of independence. So that although there clearly is a risk perception in one sense, this does not prevent risks from being taken vecause of the acquired importance of cars and motorbikes and also for their obvious advantage as a means of moving from place to place.

Another aspect to be remembered is the learning process occurring with risk. As the individual goes on experimenting with use and abuse he is, to a certain extent, coexisting with the risks and managing them. This learning process may follow various paths. It may lead to a greater control of the limits that an individual wishes to reach with use and of the negative consequences that result. There is also the possibility that the feeling of being in control increases the desire to engage in new or more interesting risk behaviours.

"Risk taking is when you take four doses in one night, three trips, etc… Isn't it going to be too expensive a way of getting the sensation? am I not going to go too far in comparison with my knowledge of dope? Are you not in fact going to consume too much…? Little by little, you become conscious of the gaps, of the exaggerated doses… Experience affects your responsibility as regards your consumption. But today such products as Ketamine or Heroine are put into ecstasy. The risk-taking also lies in the lack of knowledge of what goes into the product: I took an ecstasy stuffed with strychnine, I nearly choked" (Female from Nice, age: 21).

Part of this learning is vicarious, acquired by observing what others are doing and the consequences that are derived from their behaviours. Individual experiences are transmitted in the group and go on to become part of the baggage of knowledge acquired and adopted by it. In this sense, the influence of friends and the group to which an individual belongs is fundamental although this influence is not something external to the individual as each one forms part insofar as he or she contributes to creating it. Taking risks, evaluating them and the interpretation of them often transcends the individual plane and goes on to depend on the group or subgroup to which an individual belongs. It will be the standards of the group that determine, to a large extent, the type and intensity of the risks in which its members will be involved.

On a broader social plane, the media and its influence must be taken into account, as it transmits these standards. The media is increasingly diverse and very influential as an agent of socialisation that not only transmits information but also provides guidelines for constructing perceptions. These aspects are very relevant to what we are dealing with here, and are matters that deserve to be investigated in greater depth.

Up to now, we have looked at a wide range of situations and subjects that revolve around the role of risk in drug taking. Each and every one of them is part of the complexity of the subject and we are going to examine it through a twofold approach - *qualitative and quantitative*. In the section that follows, we present the qualitative data consisting of an analysis of the discourse on risk by young poeple. Very original qualitative information was obtained from them on the arguments and strategies that are used and transmitted to minimise risk perception, and taking risks even when they do perceive them.

Analysis of the discourse on risk. Qualitative study.

The information that will be taken into account at this point emerges from the analysis of eight focus groups and 82 interviews of young people who were recruited in recreational environments, in the same 9 cities taking part in the previous study (Sonar '98). We broached the subjects that interest us here in an endeavour to get to know their diverse experiences and the subjective values that could explain their conduct. It is, therefore, *qualitative* material and this is complemented by the qualitative material developed later in this chapter.

As has been mentioned, it is very probable that when individuals are thinking in terms of the risks involved in the possible use of a drug, that they are carrying out a complex mental process which mixes rational and emotional components. The information available to the individual is taken into account in this process of constructing risk perception but certainly past experiences, decision-making, prejudices, previous experiences with alcohol, tobacco or illicit drugs, having friends who use, the company one is with at that particular time, the necessity of standardising one's own behaviour or simply the explicit or implicit desire to take risks are also present in this process, and they very often have a higher importance.A first trism that came after revising the interviews and the focus groups with the young who take part in night-time recreational life that were used to elaborate this study, is that *there is a general awareness among them that risk, understood in a very wide sense, associated with weekend behaviours is present and is something that those who use, in particular, have in some way taken as just one more component of their recreational activities*.

> "If you avoid problems and risks you don't live at all. Everything is a risk, otherwise you are a zombie. If you have to do something and take a risk, why not do it? And if something does happen, so be it" (Female from Modena, age: 22).

"Everyone must die one day. The risk I take depends on the consequences for others. If it harms others, I don't do it. How much one wants to harm oneself, everyone must decide for himself" (Female from Vienna, age: 17).

The Greek researchers who took part in this study comment that in their language, the concept of risk has wider connotations than those it usually expresses in English where it is related to danger in particular. But it is precisely this broader view of what risk means that is the one that, in practice, the young end up adopting in all countries. *Risk is not only the danger that may be involved in the use of some drugs but also the way of acceding to new experiences - of having a good time, of getting to know people, of growth, of feeling alive... in other words for some young people, the risk concept ends by having a positive connotation to a great extent.*

The subject of risk in relation to the use of drugs or of going out at weekends is something which the young have inevitably had to think about as they have all been or still are users, and they have all been offered drugs. In one way or another, they have all had to develop an attitude to risk either in taking up use or in refusing an offer of drugs. In one way or another, they have drawn or believe they have drawn their own conclusions. Taking drugs is the result of a road they travel over the years, and is the sum of many small decisions (the first time they accept a cigarette or a joint, get drunk, learn to roll a joint, or go out to buy hash as they are tired of always sharing somebody else's, decide to drive after drinking too much, etc.). Throughout these years and with each of these decisions linked to use, individuals are gauging the risks - in the wide sense that the word acquires, as we shall see - implicit in their behaviour. We do not know much about this process of taking decisions and of calibrating the risks linked to different behavioura. Are they subjects that the individuals tackle with considerable personal effort or are they more like processes that the young resolve as they go along, letting themselves be carried away by their immediate interests and by the scene in which they are immersed at a particular time? Answering these questions is one of the keys to prevention.

Often, this development is not a very well thought out or conscious process where they have examined all the pros and cons. It would appear to be more operational, facilitating individual functions. The explanations that the individual elaborates, at times, for himself or for others about his or her behaviour, has the function of serving him or her by providing a certain internal consistency but, in reality, it is not something particularly profound. In fact, many behaviours are the response to an impulse, to putting into practice that famous publicity slogan 'Just do it!' that targets precisely the young population, reaffirming their impulsive rather than reflective attitudes. The following comments approach that ambiguous area where young people know but do not want to know the risks they are taking.

"Subconsciously you know that there are problems but you can't go out thinking about them (Male from Palma, age: 17).

"Since I can hardly imagine a party without substance-taking and that taking any substance is always a risk, I'd rather say that there is always a risk when I take some stuff

without knowing the sensation and without necessarily thinking about it. When I drink alcohol, I don't get tight on purpose. I don't feel anything. When I find myself totally loaded and on all fours, I didn't do it on purpose. I think I'll keep on taking risks" (Male from Nice, age: 21).

On the basis then of this acceptance by a large number of young people of a certain risk implicit in the use of drugs or in going out to have a good time, the majority elaborate strategies for themselves or for others, to demonstrate that they retain control over the situation or that they do not do anything - although this could imply certain risks - they have not previously thought through and decided to do. They have to justify to themselves and to others that their use or abuse behaviour responds to a certain logic. Through their discourse, the different mechanisms that block risk perception or even neutralise it as a brake on use may be analysed.

The explanatory or justifying strategies of use are varied, and the most common ones are provided below. One of the attitudes adopted by the young - a very powerful one - is evaluating risk as inevitable, positive or even structural in achieving what they want. It is the 'risk seeker' attitude, in the same way as there are sensation seekers, and with whom there is a certain parallelism. Risk goes on to become the driving force of life and, occupying such an important position, how can something so vital, positive and liberating be renounced?

> "When you take risks, you are free because you are able to face your fears and discover your personal limits" (Male from Athens, age: 34).

> "We cannot seek sensations without taking any risks. There's risk-taking, but pleasure-taking too. It's the basis: your fear must diminish according to the pleasure given. It's a heedless behaviour; we'll know later if the risk is worth running; compared to the risk of life in general, drug-taking is an additional risk, and we know that we are at odds with ourselves, in a self-destructive process. What would be idyllic would be to have drugs that would be beneficial to your health and socially." (Male from Nice, age: 23).

At times, the risk is not evaluated positively but as something inevitable. Like life itself, where there are positive aspects but also some negative ones. It is a fatalist attitude. That's how things are, take it or leave it! According to those interviewed, seeking risks and taking risks are two quite different things. Most of them say that they aren't really looking for risks, but life is risky so, in their opinion, everybody is always running a risk - just by crossing a street or cycling home on a bike. Furthermore, it depends on the way a person sizes up certain situations. One person might consider certain behaviour as a risk, while another person might not see any risk at all.

> "I like unexpected things because they make me feel free, but I don't like to take risks. I would never contract big loans. Absolutely not! I'd rather save my money, so I have a buffer and can leave any moment I want. That makes me feel free" (Female from Utrecht, age: 29).

Victimism or fatalism are recourses which are very peculiar to cultures with a Christian background - although we also find it in other religions - to distance responsibility from oneself and situate it in society or in destiny, fate or divine will. To

avoid responsibility some take the posture that what must happen will happen, so why concern yourself? Why do anything? The following comments are the key to capturing this fatalistic significance of life or the use made of it to legitimise taking drugs.

"I like all kinds of risks that make me feel good, that give me positive emotions. I don't think about it, I think that if something has to happen it will happen. So I think only of having fun. Of course, I try to avoid behaviours that are not only a risk but a sure death sentence. Well, I don't know. Russian roulette, for example. I don't try to commit suicide but only to enjoy myself" (Male from Modena, age: 23).

There are degrees in risk-taking and each one differs according to the individual's experience and depends on how the individual positions himself in his personal trajectory: initiation, experimentation with substances in quantity and quality, then management (control or abstinence), dependence… *For most, risk is to be brought under control, to be managed, by working on themselves and a better knowledge of the substances*. The attitude that defines them is 'controlled risk'. In practice, controlling risk is a term that covers a wide range of possibilities. The significance that some give to control has something to do with gradually taking more risks, feeling that this way makes them stronger and they can better dominate the risks. For others, the control is in knowing the risks and distancing themselves from them. In the face of this diversity and returning to the weekend recreational environment, what it is important to remember is that *many endeavour to make the idea of risk and control compatible with their lives or integrated into them*.

"Taking drugs is a risk, but you can keep it within bounds. You can feel it yourself. You can take ten pills and believe that it's okay to take another one. Or you can be more careful and take three, because with three pills I also feel great and I don't go to extremes. There are people who want more after ten pills and there are people who can make do with two. In my opinion you take a risk if you take ten. […] And you also take a risk if you always buy your pills at parties. Because you don't know what kind of pills you will get and who is behind it" (Female from Utrecht, age: 21).

"Risk is stimulating, but it depends at what point it is risk. My risk is always calculated. Of course I'm always looking for strong emotions. I don't like tranquillity. Usually I find excitement in extreme sports. Of course, taking drugs is a risk. And its true that it is difficult to get out of the drugs tunnel. Some drugs can kill you...ecstasy and LSD can cause brain death and heroin can cause your death or addiction. I don't like that kind of risk. I don't want to become addicted to drugs. I want to give myself strong emotions. For example, in sport, it is a stupid risk if it goes over your limits. In general, so are all the things that go over your limits. Going to the mountains without knowing where are you going and without the right equipment is dangerous. Sure, taking drugs is risky. I try to avoid risks that make me go over my limits and lose control of my behaviour and of myself. Not getting to my limit, I think that's a thing you can do and it can give you pleasant emotions, a sense of conquest. Sensations determine my behaviour. I look for sensations in all things, even normal things. I don't always need to have a high emotional state" (Female from Modena, age: 28).

"Risks that give you nothing in exchange? It's a matter of balancing. You can take a risk if you know there are few probabilities that something serious can happen to you and

what you achieve is important. I think that swallowing a pill cautiously is like this" (Male from Modena, age: 22).

A dominant theme runs through these comments that *risk, for some, may be kept under control*, the significance of this word being without a doubt the result of an equation that includes different variables for each person. The type of safety to which the young refer in their discourses is often more of a word or a gesture, than the product of an elaborated reflection. The young need to demonstrate that they exercise control over themselves and their own lives and, as has been said, to give consistency and legitimacy to their actions. In some quotes one can read the opposite, in other words the expression of a disconnection from risk control. Some give the impression that their risks are not very controlled, either because they prefer it that way or because they cannot do it in any other way or because some personal circumstance leads them to lower their guard.

> "To me risk is important. If I don't feel over the top I'm bored and empty. I always have to challenge myself, I live on adrenaline, and so I like risky situations. (...) The risks are of a different kind: car accidents or finding yourself in a fight, collapsing and waking up in a hospital. Maybe even dying or frying your brain cells. I like risks and challenges and I'm very fatalist. If something gives me the chills, I'll do it unless it's something very strong" (Male from Modena, age: 23).

> "Risk is not very important to me. Even if I realise that sometimes I don't avoid it. Especially when I don't feel good. At those moment I'm more weak and I get carried away doing stupid or dangerous things" (Female from Modena, age: 24).

It has already been seen that another way of legitimising control is by *situating the danger in the abuse but not in the use* that, although theoretically it may appear to be a good posture, is not exempt from risks. In this sense the Liverpool team say that few comments were made on the acute risks, most participants identifying the risk of addiction and depression related to frequent or prolonged use only. Levels of awareness of risks associated with MDMA were surprisingly low, and the researchers were surprised at the failure of participants to identify the dangers of legal drugs like tobacco and poppers.

> "I believe in trying things once, if you don't use heavier things or if you only take it sporadically, nothing happens. Only if it becomes a habit... One doesn't have to get stupid by force. It doesn't pay off" (Female from Vienna, age: 28).

> "I really did stay with smokers only, because the alcoholic trip, it's not possible, and finding myself with a dozen people completely pissed, that's not funny at all, so in the end I really zapped that environment. Now, I've come back to a moderate consumption to redeem myself, to be a little more like everybody else, because I find I took too big a step in getting out of it and I cut myself off the world and somehow it also brought me to sex in a trip: I've done what I didn't want to do. I wanted to get out of a sectarian trip, I've jumped into another. Result: I don't like it at all. You have to do a bit of everything moderately, but do a bit of everything" (Male from Nice, age: 22).

A frequent stratagem as a means of reassuring oneself in the face of the dangers one may run is to situate the real danger not in what one is doing but in some other

behaviour that is evaluated as really dangerous. We call this evasive attitude self-deception, and it acquires different forms of expression, as will be seen further on. Looking at psychoanalysis here, it reminds us of the mechanism of projection whereby the individual rids himself of some feeling or desire by externalising them and, in doing so is free, of them. One of these stratagems and, certainly quite a frequent one, involves *seeing danger concentrated most particularly in the drugs an individual does not use, as a way of indirectly legitimising those that he does in fact use*. This strategy contains several arguments. One is to situate the danger as linked to hard drugs, heroin specifically, as users of recreational drugs to not feel themselves even remotely identified with 'junkies' and, in fact, even those who abuse recreational drugs do not have an image of themselves as drug addicts. The following comments are very common among the young:

> "I would never take any drugs that I am very afraid of, such as heroin or such things. It wouldn't be worth the risk" (Male from Vienna, age: 30).

A parallel strategy is to evaluate the risk differently, according to whether the substances are legal or illegal, and we shall see this way of measuring legal and illegal drugs by a different yardstick reflected more extensively in the quantitative part of the study. In our sample of 2,670 individuals, some 63.5% concurred in their evaluation of the danger of legal and illegal drugs. Of these, 60.3% have a high risk perception of both legal and illegal drugs and 39.7% have a low risk perception of either. And what about the remaining 35.5% who show a discrepancy in their evaluation between legal and illegal drugs? The result is that 41.7% have a low perception of the risk associated with illegal drugs and a high risk perception of legal drugs, whereas 58.3% have a high perception of the risk of illegal drugs and low one of legal drugs. Looking at these results, we see the argument for bestowing a higher danger on alcohol as a stratagem to legitimise the use of other drugs labelled 'less dangerous'.

> "For me, the most dangerous stuff is alcohol: a direct risk. Coming back from a party I have more chances of having a car accident if I'm boozed than if I've taken ecstasy. With ecstasy I concentrate excessively on my driving, I feel I am much better at the wheel. I'm talking about risking your life. Then, there are the risks linked with drugs such as acid. I know the risks with that stuff; I've always tried to minimise them. Each time I split up and take small doses, under good circumstances, at times when I'm well in my head. I'm conscious of the risks and I consume, I know that alcohol and tobacco are not a good mixture. You have to live! I don't mind if I die two years earlier, if I have had fun in my life. Happiness is right now" (Male from Nice, age 22).

The comments of many young people, aimed at demonising alcohol, do not represent a hypocritical posture but a sagacious one. Practically all young people in the recreational arena use and abuse alcohol, and the use of other drugs is not normally accompanied by lower alcohol consumption. Nevertheless, the strategy of attributing a high level of danger in alcohol linked to the idea that it is a legal substance presents one of the great inconsistencies of the normative and legislative system in our societies, and the construction of this inconsistency is permitting the formulation of arguments in favour of the legalisation of drugs. Some professionals are also indirectly tending to

support this strategy. "In spite of the great publicity on ecstasy and other designer drugs, alcohol is still the leading cause of admission to accident and casualty departments among those going out at night." (Wise, 1997). According to the author, alcohol, glass and violence are the principal reasons for hospital admissions. There can be no quarrel with him up to this point. However, he then continues with his comparisons and ends by underevaluating the problems that are derived from the use of ecstasy. The use of designer drugs is risky but as a result of harm reduction interventions (he mentions the 'Dance to Dawn Safety campaign') there are, according to him, fewer problems. Subtle comments of this type, emanating from the professional sphere are seized upon by the young, as we have seen, to elaborate rational arguments that neutralise risk perception of certain substances.

As for alcohol, it may be evaluated as a known substance that does not contain any surprises, unlike the other drugs that are precisely those which should be avoided. This is another frequent stereotype that functions well for another sector of the population. In a study (Luce, Merrell 1995) on the perceived danger of recreational drugs referring to two very specific North American populations (students and nurses), it showed a very frequent tendency by the general population to accentuate the problems of illegal drugs. "A chilling implication of these findings is that many in our society appear to believe that illicit drugs pose the most danger to our health. By adopting this position, we pay less attention to the drugs with the most proven record of harm to individuals and to society - tobacco and alcohol." (Luce 1995). Legal drugs enjoy a greater social tolerance for the very reason of their legality but also because society has elaborated a broad and extensive culture of use that permits non-problematic forms of use. Nevertheless, one sector of the population is deviating from these normalised patterns with an abusive consumption and it is the young population, in particular, who has exchanged a minimal daily consumption for an abusive weekend consumption. Excessive social tolerance of this substance minimises the risk perceptions when changes occur in consumption habits. The following comments illustrate this point.

> "I know that 4 or 5 drinks are not going to kill me, whereas, for example ecstasy can kill you" (Female from Liverpool, age: 16).

But drinking alcohol, on the other hand, is not considered as a risk by many of the young people of Utrecht, and this is related to the fact that most of them are mainly alcohol users. In this sense those interviewed believe that the risks in consuming alcohol are limited. In their opinion you really have to have a great deal before it becomes a problem. They do not usually take extra preventive measures before drinking and they think they know what the consequences of too much alcohol can be. So this is not a risk, but a painful consequence that happens once in a while.

> "The risks of alcohol are calculable. I drink alcohol almost everyday, except on Sundays. Four days of the week I really drink a lot and the other days a few glasses of beer at home. I figure it will be like this for the next four or five years. After that it probably decreases" (Male from Utrecht, age: 19).

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A similar thing happens with ecstasy. There is a certain divergence of opinion. A few years ago, many young people viewed MDMA as quite a safe drug and one whose use presented few risks - and these were only related to a possible adulteration. The appearance of new research on its effects, particularly the divulgence in the press of deaths provoked by hyperthermia after use, placed ecstasy and its users in a more ambivalent situation. In general, awareness of the problems related with its use has spread, although there are quite a few young people who continue to use it, and others who continue to defend it. Among both users and non-users, there is a great deal of confusion with regard to the dangers of using ecstasy.

> "Ecstasy… does kill your head for a start … it makes you prone to schizophrenia and disorders like that" (Male from Liverpool, age: 21).

> "If I want to go clubbing, to have sensations, I don't think about coming down, that's why a trip is such risky stuff. Whereas ecstasy is a vitamin. It's a long term risk" (Male from Nice, age: 25).

For many young people the danger with 'pills' lies in their possible adulteration, not in the actual use of them. Some attempt to control this risk by following certain rituals such as buying them only from people they know. In some countries, such as Holland and the UK, there is a service at the big dance events and raves that provides the opportunity to test the pills and ascertain their composition.

> "MDMA itself is not necessarily bad. The contaminants are the dangerous thing, that's a risk you take. If you get it from the same person you're fairly sure what's going on, but you never know what's in the pill. That's what could kill you" (Female from Liverpool, age: 20).

> "Using illegal drugs is a risk. In fact you never know the effect in advance. It depends on where you buy it. You know what is in the pill. That can be a reason for not using it. For me it is. I always have my pills tested and always buy from the same people, so I know what I'm getting. It's very important for me. I know these people. They can't give me a guarantee, but anyway..." (Male from Utrecht, age: 27).

This argument of adulteration has also been promoted by certain professionals involved in harm reduction activities. The weakness of this paradigm is that they are forgetting that the principal danger lies in the use of these pills itself, given that adulteration is not that frequent. Nor are the consequences of any adulteration necessarily dangerous, since in many cases the products used in the adulteration are more innocuous than the active components of the pills. As Coomber says "Recent research, however, suggests that dangerous adulteration/dilution with dangerous substances such as brick dust, talcum powder, rat poison, ...and numerous other such substances is in fact not a common occurrence - if indeed it happens at all - as opposed to the relatively innocuous substances such as glucose, caffeine and paracetamol" (Coomber 1997). In addition, if we examine what the young tell us so often, when they complain that the pills are adulterated, it is not that the pills do them any harm, it is that they feel that the effects of these pills have lost their intensity. They are looking for more effects and, therefore, they believe they are adulterated and hence the complaints.

What they do not know is that this loss of effect is linked to the facility with which the amphetamines create tolerance. This also explains why it happens over and over again that users remember their first pills, the ones they had two or three years ago, with a certain nostalgia and they attribute the lesser effects caused by the passage of time to adulteration.

In fact, for the majority of young users, there is no active concern about either the contents of pills or their possible adulteration. Data from the same study (Calafat et al, 1999) clearly show this majority tendency among the young people going out at night in Europe. Their predisposition to use leads them to a lack of interest in the composition of the pills, or little solid interest at least, and one that does not deter them from taking them in spite of not being aware of their contents. Another study in Switzerland shows a similar result, " a certain lack of preoccupation with the quality of the ecstasy pills is found in the study carried out in 1996 - 1551 people from 15 to 34 years of age in French and German Switzerland were interviewed according to the representative telephone interview - when only 52% of those who responded gave fear of adulteration of ecstasy as a reason for not taking it" (Graf 1997). Knowledge of substances does not appear to be significant information as far as use is concerned. In fact this situation leads one to the conclusion that it is precisely this unknown factor that adds one extra ingredient to the excitement of taking these pills.

Another way of attempting to exercise control over risk is through a differentiation between midweek and weekend. This differentiation allows a twofold argument in favour of minimising the risks of use. Firstly - the traditional approach - one of the beliefs related to addiction is that it is a state that is reached sue to daily use. Weekend use encourages the belief that there is a lengthy period of abstinence during which time a certain recovery and normality is attained prior to returning to use. Weekend use is not evaluated as dangerous while this frequency is maintained.

"My friends who take drugs …only do it on a Saturday night…they would never consider doing it any other time, it wouldn't enter their heads… they'd never dream of it during the week" (Female from Liverpool, age: 21).

The other argument concerns the compatibility of a double life. The weekdays are for working and/or studying and for recovering from the ravages of the weekend. Therefore, there is no need to complicate things by using during the week, as this would indeed mean a loss of control. During the weekend another logic comes into play and the boundaries of control become blurred. In this way, risks are confined to one part of the time only and to certain activities only in an endeavour to ensure that others are not affected.

Up to this point, a wide range of strategies has been presented, elaborated in different social environments, and which are incorporated in the imagination of the young as tools that interfere as much with the risk perception of the various drugs as taking the risks known to be implied by use. **Table 6.1** shows the attitudes that the young adopt to legitimise the risks involved in their patterns of using drugs. These attitudes are accompanied by a phrase that may assist in understanding this stereotype

but, there is no doubt, it is in the text that precedes it, on the basis of the statements of the young themselves, that one can better understand the complexity of these mechanisms directed at providing the individual with a sense of control over the attitudes to risk that he/she is taking.

Table 6.1: ATTITUDES TO THE RISKS BEING TAKEN WITH USE

Attitude	Type of argument
Risk seeker	I like taking risks. Life without risk isn't worth anything.
Fatalist	There are always risks in life and nothing can be done to avoid them.
Self-medication	I use because it helps me with my problems.
Projection	The danger is not in the drugs but in their adulteration. What I take is good, what I don't is bad.
Hedonist	Drugs give pleasure. I only use them in relation to what I expect to get.
Rebel	Taking drugs helps you to go against the social system imposed on you. The Government and some professionals attempt to control your use for economical interests and power.
Controlled risk	I am in control, this is why I take small doses.
I never abuse	
Negation	The dangers are exaggerated. Lots of people take drugs and I don't see problems.

Perception of prevention by the young

The young were not asked directly about their ideas on prevention in the interviews and during the focus groups, although the subject was touched upon when approaching risk. Subsequently, some of the comments that give us some idea of their attitude to prevention or their perception of it were collected together. Several research teams commented that it was not often that the young spontaneously expressed their desire to give up or reduce their use or to take preventive measures in these discussions. Nor does it appear they are very aware of the educational publicity campaigns that they are likely to have seen at some time or other. Nor does it appear that their knowledge of drugs is sufficient or free from error. As the Liverpool research team said, there was an obvious lack of certainty in relation to the physical and legal risks of substance use. Few comments were made on the acute risks, most participants identifying the risk of addiction and depression from frequent or prolonged use. Levels of awareness of risks associated with MDMA were remarkably low and the researchers were surprised at the failure of participants to identify the dangers of legal drugs like tobacco and poppers.

Prevention appears a difficult aim to achieve with these young people if it confines itself to drawing up rules of behaviour which must be adopted at night when out for a good time. When the young are in recreational envitonments, enjoying themselves, in a partying mood, they adapt a way of thinking quite distinct from the one that is dominant

in formal life. In this state of mind, perhaps they are attempting to disconnect from and to undermine the values which are part of the normal and "ordered" world. This is perhaps what they want to say when they talk of "going to the limit". Therefore, this normative compendium which is transmitted by the literature and the prevention norms are part of the other world that has been abandoned in order to go partying.

The lack of real information with a scientific basis among young people is accompanied by little interest on their part in getting such information, as they think they already know all about it or else they decide to experiment and learn about the problems - and the solutions - themselves or from their peers. What they want to do is "experiment". They have reiterated the importance of new things, different things. For them the danger and the risk are incorporated into this new type of experiences.

> "However much they go on about prevention in the ads on television and all that, until you get a shock you aren't aware of the danger. It's sad, but that's how it is. There is a lot of information but you don't take any notice because you say it could never happen to me. It happened to me, nothing severe, nothing serious but it gave me a shock and since then I realise that these things can happen to me" (Male from Palma, age: 29).

> " Like everything in life, if you don't experience the negative aspect of things, you can't have the positive aspects. It's experiencing excess which becomes negative and leads to the reaction. If I had been warned of the risks, I'd have done everything just the same. Anyone can say anything, you go by your own experience to form your own opinion. I've realised afterwards the negative physical effect of substances. Finding yourself sick the next day, distressed, depressed, to the point you can't stay alone, you feel horrible. The aim of the party was no longer there. When the negative effects repeated themselves I stood back. But what really set off my decision to give up was something that happened at the raves. We used to be out all evening, all night etc… in the morning the sun was rising, wonderful, shining on the surroundings, on nature… I turned round and watched all those people in a miserable state, I couldn't recognise myself, it was a nightmare, I had to stop it all" (Female from Nice, age: 24).

In some cases, the merely provision of information from adult and professional spheres may be interpreted with distrust, the result of functional prejudices to political manipulation and social control. In this way, experiencing things 'in the front line', with friends in whom there is trust becomes a necessity of the first order. The individual believes that in this way he or she eliminates all external influences and is in a better position to decide what suits him or her. The Greek research team commented that some members of the focus group consider risk as a component that contributes to their liberation and renews them, considering risk control policies as an intrusion in their private lives.

> "The most dangerous things for young people's life is "imposed" knowledge, as well as the function of a socio-economic system which prevents young people from being able to live as they like" (Male from Athens, age: 24).

Another necessary reflection is on the role of personal experience as an effective means in promoting a future prevention. When someone has a bad experience with certain drugs, does this make him think about what happened and decide to give up

drugs? And what if this bad experience happened to a friend or somebody he knew? The following comments illustrate the route travelled by some:

" I got to know substances through going out. At first amphetamines for techno parties, and then I tried something else without seeing the dangers. It's not the advertisements on prevention or information in the media that would prevent me from trying. It was out of curiosity, not the thing itself. It's forbidden so you must try it. It was in order to discover something positive without taking into consideration the risks induced by prohibition. In fact we make the stuff commonplace. We decide: 'Tonight we are taking ecstasy! And then in the evening, you take up to three or four mixed with shit, coke… depending on the falling or rising mood, etc… without bothering to be to cautious. I used to say to myself that it wasn't dangerous, 'til the day when I realised that I was in a dreadful state because I had drunk too much alcohol on top of it all. That following day, I could not remember anything, I was in a terrible mood, aggressive even full of hatred sometimes, going as far as insulting my friends, it's terrible" (Female from Nice, age: 24).

According to the comments we received, there does not seem to be any preoccupation among the young about giving up their drug uses, irrespective of whether or not they have had negative experiences with them. In quantitative terms, in the Sonar '98 study, 29.3% of the sample admit to having continued to take a determined drug - one third of them with alcohol - in spite of having had problems with it. In a study of 1,121 party goers in Holland (van de Wijngaart, 1998) it shows that almost none of the ecstasy users who have had problems with the drug have given it up, although a certain proportion say that they use less. In a study of cocaine users (Cracked by Coke, Meerten and Bie) it is stated that "cocaine makes people less cautious with respect to the use of condoms. Affected by cocaine, workers as well as clients in the sex industry tend to behave less safely. Especially when a client finally has an erection which will disappear each time the condom is put on, people are inclined not to use condoms at all". In short, it would appear that in spite of negative personal experiences with drugs, this does not often lead to a change in behaviour. Could it be that these problems must be met, these risks taken because they are part of the experience?

The young need to be more aware of certain risks to themselves such as driving under the influence of drugs. Car accidents have continued to rise and this has generated a certain social alarm. In Europe, there is a diversity of criteria in respect of the function of the car, ranging from the city of Utrecht where the car is underused to the cities in southern Europe where the use and presence of cars in recreational area is a central element. The difficulty of preventive action lies in the high value the young give to the car as well as its functionality. And all this is aggravated in some cities by an inadequate public transport infrastructure.

"If I could choose, I wouldn't go in a car with anyone who was drunk but sometimes there's no choice. If someone is very drunk then I wouldn't get into the car, but if he's only a little or half over on acids then I say to myself that it's not that serious either. There are times when there's no choice" (Male from Palma, age: 17).

Driving is an example of a problem that is common yet diverse at the same time to all the cities as far as risk is concerned. Cultural differences also have some weight in

the adoption of preventive measures. This may be extended to different domains such as the use of condoms, sharing syringes, etc. In the Sartre Survey on road safety, differential patterns were established for each European country. Thus, Spain, France and Italy were the countries that showed less agreement on the restrictions on alcohol as applied to driving, in the same way that they also showed less agreement on speed limits and the compulsory use of safety belts (SARTRE, 1994).

We insisted there should be no direct questioning on the subject of prevention and therefore the comments given here are an indirect view of how the young see it. The young must be capable of generating prevention criteria and protection in the face of the diverse problems that they confront when going out at night. Some of those interviewed by the Dutch team, young people in Utrecht who are not big users of illegal drugs - nor of cannabis - made the following comments on the subject of prevention:

> 'We always go out in a group. If one of us is gone and nobody has seen him or her for more then half an hour, we'll start to look for him or her. We really look after each other well. If you don't feel well, people stay with you, ask what they can do for you. And it's not necessarily people from your own group. It can even be strangers" (Female from Utrecht, age: 21).

The impression evoked by this brief look at young people's perception of prevention is pessimistic from the outset. There does not seem to be any great interest in prevention. These impressions must, of course, be corroborated by studies which go into the subject in greater depth as there can be no doubt that here we are looking at a key element. How can we get closer to the young, with what messages, with what methods, with what chances of success? All these questions have to be tackled, taking into account when doing so that the population that goes out to have a good time is not a homogeneous one. There are those who only use drugs occasionally, those who do not use drugs and those whose use is excessive. Perhaps there is a different sensitivity to these subjects in each of these sectors.

From the internal point of view of the young people who are going out to have a good time, who are close to drug use and who are experiencing its problems, the preventive strategies are few and confusing. The informative network in which they are immersed also contributes to weakening risk perception and they adopt attitudes that are not properly thought out and are inconsistent in relation to use. Nevertheless, knowledge of their values and legitimating their comments can indeed contribute enormously in drawing up external preventive strategies in the professional spheres working on prevention.

3. RISK PERCEPTION AND BEHAVIOUR IN RECREATIONAL LIFE: A QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

There is, as already seen, a close relationship between risk and recreational life. However, risk is also present in normal life and, at some time or another, everybody has had to establish what risk means to him or her, and the relationship they would like to have with it - all this by a process of which the subject is not entirely conscious - and those who have become used to going out have certainly considered the relationship between risks and drug use.

This section, which presents statistical information, confirms that a greater perception of risk associated with the use of a determined drug reduces its consumption. The quantitative part of this study endeavours to explore the questions associated with risk from a distinct but complementary perspective to that of the qualitative information which has already been presented. Distinct because of the different techniques employed in collecting the information and in its elaboration; complementary because data showing relationships between the different variables is obtained from the former and, and with these data, it is possible to generalise, confirm trends and corroborate hypotheses, whereas the qualitative information was used to research the subjective discourse in order to find explanatory keys. In this case, the qualitative information contributes to detecting the arguments used by the young to *stay the effect that* the risk could have on their behaviour as drug users.

We have copious information on 2,670 young people who visit recreational environments in nine European cities and who were interviewed during 1998 as part of the SONAR Survey on young people and recreational drug use. As you can see in **Table 6.2**, some 300 young people were interviewed in each of the cities taking part in the survey. The samples for each city were recruited from the four different major recreational scenes in each city - these scenes having been identified in an earlier qualitative phase from among the most typical and biggest in each city, so that the results of the selection may differ from city to city - 75 young people being interviewed from each of these scenes.

Although it is considered that these nine cities, each in a different country, taken as a whole, can give us some idea of drug use and other characteristics of these young people in recreational environments around Europe, this is not, of course, a representative sample of all European cities nor are the samples statistically significant for each of these cities. However, this does not mean that we should diregard the information we acquired or believe that it does not show us, in broad terms, the overall situation of a wide sector of youth in many European cities. The breadth of the sample, the variety of the cities taking part and the method for selecting the sample in each city is in our favour. Further information on the sample and the methodology used as well as other sociodemographic and use data can be found in a previous IREFREA publication which covers other aspects of the same sample (Calafat A et al, 1999).

The cities differ one from another, not only because they are each in a different country. We must also take into consideration that the sample includes very large cities (Athens, Vienna, Manchester and Berlin), small cities (Modena and Utrecht) which also have a large metropolis close by, as well as medium-sized cities (Nice, Palma and Coimbra). There are cities where the tourism phenomenon is an essential element in helping to define the identity of the city (Palma and Nice). In some cases, the university element defines their identity (Coimbra and Utrecht), although in other cities the university and its numerous students and lifestyles also play a role in defining the environment. All of this is stated so that the reader takes due precautions when reading the data, particularly when we compare - on the very few occasions that we do so - the cities with one another. Such a comparison is always a delicate exercise, both for the methodological questions involved (cities very different in styles and idiosyncrasies, non-representative samples, selection of samples on the basis of the logic of the local teams and the individual features of each city, etc.) and for the fact that we are entering a field where sensitivities could be offended.

Sociodemographic aspects of the sample

The sample of 2,670 young people corresponds to approximately 300 individuals in each of the nine cities. As might be expcted in the recreational sphere, there are more males (57.5%), although in this case this is not the result of any intention of reflecting the reality of said population in any precise statistical way. The average age is 22.4 years, with a standard deviation of 4.8 years. The majority are single (86%) and have finished or are engaged in secondary level education (42.4%) or studying at university level (49.4%). The majority work (42.4%), or study (31.5%) or study and work simultaneously (19.3%). This means that we are looking at a social and economic sector of the population that is certainly not a marginal one. Quite the contrary, in fact, as is further confirmed on analysing family status, where practically half define themselves as middle class (52.7%), a third as upper or upper middle class (31,5%) and only 15.7% defined their family as lower middle or lower class. Therefore, the population throughout Europe that tends to go out at weekend is among the elite of society and has a high purchasing power. This leads us to view all this recreational activity, together with a drug use which has become one more important ingredient, as an activity of social integration, far from any marginality, and even conducive to the search for social success.

In addition to these descriptive sociodemographic variables, given in the table **Table 6.2**, we have considered other very specific individual variables relating to educational adjustment, family control and pattern of participation in recreational nightlife. These variables will be used with the ones given above when describing how the variables relating to risk are distributed among the different social groups.

Information was collected on the self-evaluation as student made by the individuals concerned. It is most frequent for the students to evaluate themselves as 'normal' students (1237; 46.6%). A second group evaluate themselves as good (850; 32%) or

very good (252; 9.5%). Finally, a small group consider that they were poor students (207; 7.8%) or very poor (110; 4.1%).

Table 6.2: DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

SAMPLE DESCRIPTION (N = 2670)				
CITY	**N**		**%**	
Vienna	299		11,2	
Manchester	287		10,7	
Nice	300		11,2	
Berlin	249		9,3	
Athens	305		11,4	
Utrecht	306		11,5	
Modena	299		11,2	
Coimbra	305		11,4	
Palma de Mallorca	320		12	
TOTAL	2670		100	
GENDER	**N**		**%**	
Male	1536		57,6	
Female	1130		42,4	
AGE	**MEAN**	**S.D.**	**MAX.**	**MIN.**
	22,4	4,8	50	14
MARITAL STATUS	**N**		**%**	
Single	2289		86	
Married / Partner	327		12	
Div. / Sep. /Widowed	56		2	
STUDIES	**N**		**%**	
Primary	218		8,3	
Secondary	1116		42,4	
College / Univ.	1300		49,4	
OCCUPATION	**N**		**%**	
Studying	839		31,5	
Working	1132		42,4	
Studying & Working	515		19,3	
Unemployed	79		3	
Other	101		3,8	
FAMILY STATUS	**N**		**%**	
Upper / Upper Middle	839		31,5	
Middle	1404		52,7	
Lower Middle/Lower	419		15,7	

Another variable included in the study on the grounds of its potential relationship with the assumption of risks by young people relates to the individual's family environment and refers to *family control over going out habits perceived by the subject*. This variable attempts to cover the control perceived by individuals living with their parents at the time of the interview or the control they perceived when they were still living with their families. The majority of those interviewed perceived little family control over their going out habits either "no control" (1140; 42.8%) or "slight" (959; 36%). A small group were aware of "considerable" family control (489; 18.4%), and very few found it to be "excessive" (75; 2.8%).

Finally we included four variables indicating the degree of participation in recreational nightlife, which will be used later to develop an *inolvement in recreational nightlife indicator*. The variables that will be used to create this indicator are as follows:

1. The number of weekends per month that an individual goes out "for a good time": the majority go out three to fourweekends per month (1518; 56.9%), and another group goes out one or two weekends per month (850; 31.9%). Those who do not go out frequently are few (300; 11.2%).

2. The number of days per weekend that an individual goes out "for a good time": the majority go out on two nights (1227; 46.1%) or one night per weekend (1027; 38.6%), whereas those who go out on three nights are relatively few (408; 15.3%).

3. The average duration of each session or each night is 6.6 hours (S.D = 4.2).

4. The average number of recreational venues (bars, etc.) an individual visits in one session. The average is two-three venues (2.5; S.E= 1.9) with an interval of values between one and and fifty venues.

Therefore, with the addition of the variables included in the preceding Table, these three variables tell us that the prototype of the subject included in our sample is someone who perceives him or herself as a "normal" student who has grown up in a family that has not controlled or only slightly controlled his or her going out habits, that he or she generally goes out on two nights every - or almost every - weekend each month, in recreational sessions that last for between six or seven hours, distributed between two or three places associated with recreational nightlife. These data, of course, refer to the whole sample and there are notable and interesting differences between the subgroups that form the samples from each city, or the subgroups that we were able to detect, at a European level, as we shall see in the chapter that studies precisely these subgroups.

Focus of Study

- In addition to the preceding variables that enable us to have some idea of the sample on which this study is based there are other variables in the questionnaire we used that we could relate to risk in one way or another. It is precisely these variables that constitute the nucleus of this part of the research into the role of risk in drug use in

recreational environments. We consider that these variables could be grouped from a theoretical perspective into *three areas or constructs that would enable us to create scales*:

- Perception or risk associated with the use of legal substances (alcohol and tobacco) and with the use of illegal substances (cannabis, ecstasy and LSD). six items were used to form the *Risk Perception Scale*.

- Predisposition to risk associated with determined personality traits or generalised predispositions to risk behaviour. A total of eight items were used to construct the *Risk Predisposition Scale*.

- Risk behaviours properly linked to drug use (excessive consumption of illegal drugs, bouts of drunkenness, driving after taking drugs, etc.). A total of nine items were used to form the third scale, the *Risk Behaviours Scale*.

We consider that with these three dimensions we are evaluating different risk components (cognitive, attitudinal and behavioural). Studying the relationships between these three risk dimensions and other individual variables will enable us to progress in finding certain correlations and possible determinants of risk in recreational life. In addition, this approach will enable us to understand certain aspects relating to the importance and the role that risk plays in drug use and, particularly in higher and most problematic uses.

The study of *risk perception* associated with legal and illegal drug use places us in phases prior to the use behaviour, on a cognitive, affective and attitudinal plane,which is also determined by information, beliefs and expectations. In our study, this dimension has six items and has been constructed on the basis of the perceptions of respondents in respect of the risk associated with three specific patterns of legal drug use, and an equal number of illegal drug use patterns that may be associated with things such as vulnerability, biological predisposition, character traits or lifestyles among other things. This construct may be related to diverse variables, although some of these have not been sufficiently studied up to now. In our study, we use only the information available from a prior study and which provides us with the formula we used during the SONAR Survey of these individual characteristics. This dimension groups items from a sensation seeking subscale, three items from an antisocial behaviour subscale and another two referring to the importance given to drug use in going out or in selecting a venue.

The *risk behaviours* dimension groups nine items. Four of these refer to risk behaviours such as being drunk in the last month, driving under the influence of alcohol or other drugs, or continuing to use some substance after having had some problem with its use. The other five variables refer to the highest uses we found of five illegal drugs (cannabis, cocaine, LSD, ecstasy and amphetamines). It should be possible to discuss if there is consensus on whether the uses considered as "risky" in this study are or are not risk consumptions. We would assume that with certain drugs, such as cocaine, there would be little question of reaching a consensus but one might think that the high

consumption of other substances, smoking cannabis daily for example, would also be considered risk behaviour. However, there is absolutely no doubt that we have chosen the highest frequencies for each type of drug.

As we will see below, the three dimensions are quite consistent from a statistical point of view, so that in this present study they will be considered as scales. This approach will enable us to progress in the study of the nature of these scales and draw certain conclusions on their role in recreational life.

Each of the scales will be related to a series of sociodemographic and historical variables (gender, age, social position, etc.) in order to get a better idea of the distribution of risk within the collective of young people in recreational life, and to facilitate the task of adjusting preventive programs to reach their targets.

3.1 Risk perception scale

It is a fact that the young engage in risk behaviour. Asking if such behaviour is associated with a lack of knowledge of the risks implicit in such behaviour, or a defective reading of these risks or an underestimation of these risks, or even results from the young believing that these risks do not concern them or thinking that their ability and autonomy may enable them to overcome these risks, are important questions that must continue to be investigated. Some of these questions were approached in the qualitative part of this research on the basis of the statements of the young themselves. In this part of the study, we are endeavouring to this problem by focussing specifically on what risk perception and its relationship to diverse variables (sex, age, socio-economic status, etc.) would be. Further ahead there will also be occasion to ascertain its relationship with other risk dimensions, a subject that will be opn to examination once we have the other two scales.

This first scale groups six items relating to the perception of the danger associated with different alcohol consumption (two items) and tobacco behaviours, in addition to a further three that concern illegal drug use patterns (cannabis, ecstasy and LSD). We shall now describe each of the six variables that form this scale.

Distribution of the variables that form the scale

• *Risk perception: 1 pack of cigarettes / day.*

For almost one third of the sample smoking one pack does not imply any risk or, at any rate, no appreciable risk. A similar percentage (30%) consider that this behaviour is really dangerous. This shows that the risk perception of the sample is inclined to negate the risk underlying smoking one pack of cigarettes daily. It is worrisome that there is such misinformation about tobacco.

Figure 6.1: SMOKING ONE PACK OF CIGARETTES DAILY (%)

9,6
21,5
30,3
38,6

No danger
Slight danger
Moderate
Great danger
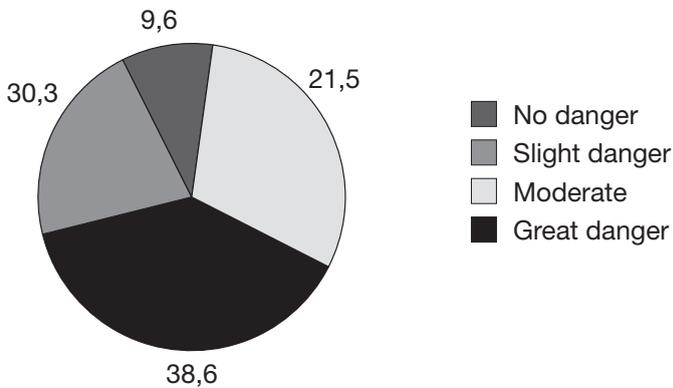
• Risk perception: Regular use of marihuana.

As for the regular use of marijuana, results show a similar pattern to that of tobacco and with an even lower perception of the risk associated with cannabis than with tobacco. Almost three quarters of the sample considers that it is not really dangerous to smoke marijuana regularly, and almost half the sample (44%) considers that this behaviour does not involve any danger or any appreciable danger. Whereas 30.3% considered smoking one pack of cigarettes as very dangerous, the habitual consumption of marijuana is seen as very dangerous by only 25.7%. Once again, we find ourselves with obvious preventive failures for not having ensured that the information available to the young is adequate.

Figure 6.2: SMOKING CANNABIS REGULARLY (%)

14
30
25,7
30,2

No danger
Slight danger
Moderate
Great danger
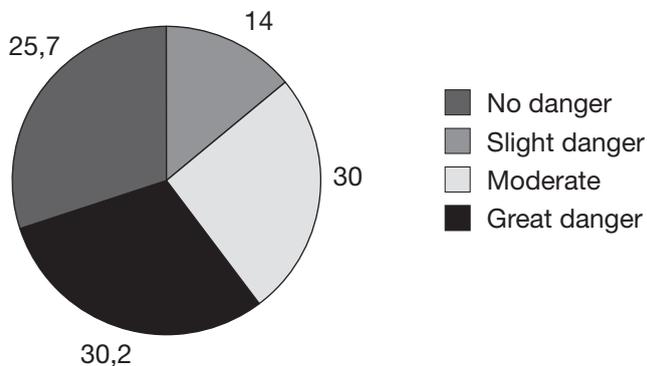
• *Risk Perception: Ecstasy use every weekend.*

In comparison with smoking cigarettes (one pack daily) and the regular use of cannabis, the use of ecstasy every weekend is perceived as rather more dangerous.

Figure 6.3: RISK PERCEPTION ASSOCIATED WITH USING ECSTASY EVERY WEEKEND

2

9

20

No danger
Slight danger
Moderate
Great danger

69
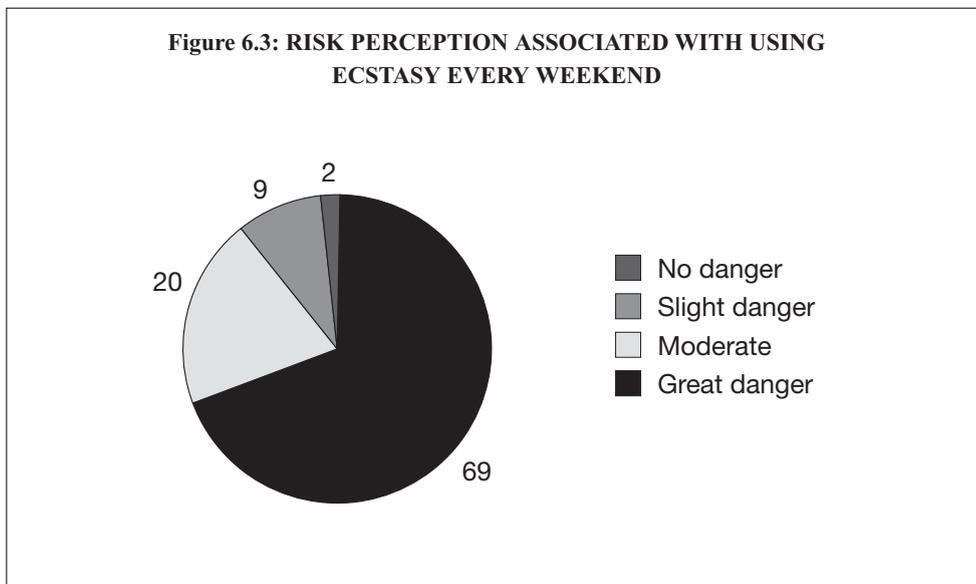
It is very interesting to see how a drug such as ecstasy, which not so many years ago was perceived by most young people - and even some professionals- as a not particularly dangerous drug, has gone on to become seen as very dangerous by 69% of the young people. Those that do not see any danger in the regular use of ecstasy are few (around 11%). This indicates that the risk perception of a specific drug can be changed in a relatively short period of time. Quite possibly, the drop in ecstasy use shown in the statistics of several European countries has something to do with this change in the perception of its danger.

• *Risk perception: Using LSD every month.*

A similar situation to that of ecstasy is repeated with LSD. In other words there is a high perception overall of the risk associated with its monthly use. Only 16% of the sample do not see this danger. It is obvious therefore that illegal drugs - with the exception of marijuana - arouse a greater perception of the danger associated with their use than legal drugs. Quite possibly we would arrive at similar perceptions if we were to study drugs such as cocaine and - of course - heroin. Marijuana follows a different course as there is a powerful pro-cannabis lobby that endorses not only the innocuity of its consumption but its advantages, in print and through the rest of the media, leading to a reduction in risk perception, actually lower than that for tobacco.

Figure 6.4: RISK PERCEPTION ASSOCIATED WITH USING LSD ONCE A MONTH

No danger
Slight danger
Moderate
Great danger

4
12
24
61
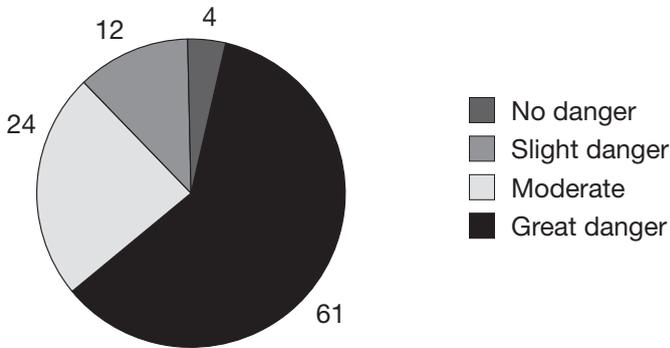
• *Risk Perception: Consumption of 2 alcohol drinks / day.*

There is less awareness of the danger from alcohol than from tobacco or any other illegal drug. At the same time, there are few differences between risk perception of a daily consumption of two drinks and the consumption of four drinks in one session. We assume that the young associate daily consumption with their idea of what drug addiction or dependency is, and 44% see a certain danger linked to consuming two drinks daily. In principle, there is no reason for there to be an excessive danger linked to this behaviour but, as it is not habitual among them, they perceive it as dangerous.

Figure 6.5: RISK PERCEPTION ASSOCIATED WITH CONSUMING TWO ALCOHOLIC DRINKS PER DAY

No danger
Slight danger
Moderate
Great danger

17
27
26
29
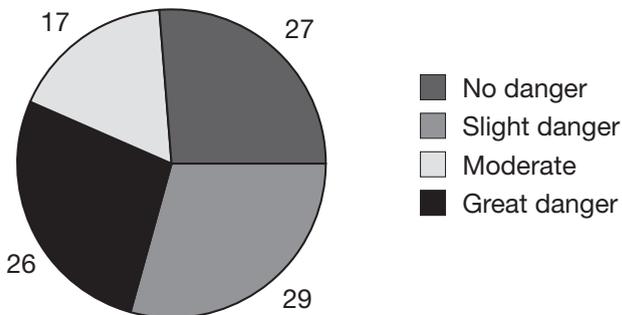
• Risk perception: Consuming 4 alcoholic drinks /per session.

Nevertheless, we see that the consumption of four alcoholic drinks is viewed as involving no risk or little risk for more than half the sample. No doubt because this is a habitual behaviour for many of them, for there is a significant majority that get drunk once or twice a month. Only one quarter consider that such behaviour implies serious risk. It is important to note that this low risk perception of consuming four alcoholic drinks, if not well spaced out, induces, in all probability, a level of alcoholism above that authorised for driving a vehicle and may, therefore, lead to a risk behaviour - and not only when driving.

Figure 6.6: RISK PERCEPTION ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONSUMPTION OF 4 ALCOHOLIC DRINKS PER SESSION
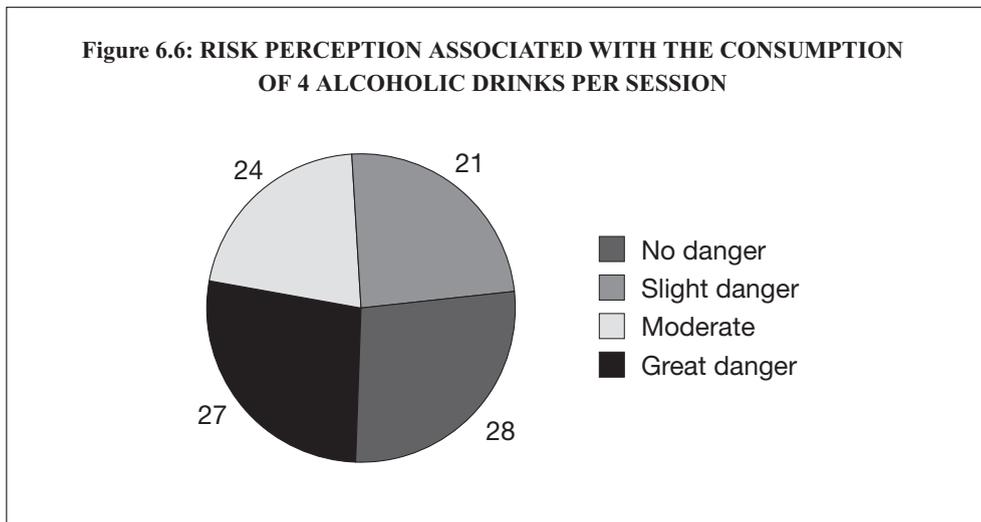
Internal consistency of scale

The mean correlation coefficient between these six variables equals 0.33, and the internal consistency coefficient (Cronbach alpha) has a value of 0.74. These values tell us that the risk perceptions associated with these six use patterns of legal and illegal substances are substantially interrelated and that *these six variables may be considered as components on a scale with an adequate internal consistency in our sample*.

This scale however, is not properly unidimensional. The exploratory factor analysis of principal components groups these six items into two factors, whose interpretation should be easy - the first of these is formed predominantly by the risk perception associated with the use of illegal drugs (cannabis, ecstasy and LSD), whereas the second is formed by high factor loadings in the items relating to the risk perception associated with the use of legal drugs (alcohol and tobacco).

Thus, these six items may be used to construct an *overall* risk perception scale and, in addition, two specific subscales relating to risk perceptions associated with the use of

legal and illegal drugs respectively. Both subscales are consistently related to each other and the correlation coefficient is r = 0.46 (significant at the 0.001 level). This means that *like the risk perception associated with the use of legal drugs drops, there is also a tendency for the risk perception associated with the use of illegal drugs to drop*. However, although this is a majority tendency, we will see how there is a discrepancy between them (there are people with a low score on one subscale and a high score on the other) in some cases that will be described below.

If we divide the distribution of each subscale, taking the median as the cut off point (the value that indicates the mid-point of the distribution), we can distinguish those who score "high" and "low" on these subscales. On comparing the two subscales, we obtain the results, shown in **Table 6.3** below:

1. Of those who have a high risk perception in respect of the use of legal drugs, approximately 3/4 also have a high risk perception associated with the use of illegal drugs.

2. Nevertheless, almost one half of those who attribute a lower risk to the use of legal drugs consider that the use of illegal drugs implies a relatively high risk. However, among these individuals, it is more frequent that they perceive illegal drugs as not dangerous or not very dangerous (57.1%) than as somewhat or very dangerous (42.9%).

3. Logically, both subscales are significantly associated, in accordance with the contingencies table and its associated statistics (p = 0.001).

Table 6.3: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW LEVELS OF RISK PERCEPTION ASSOCIATED WITH THE USE OF LEGAL AND ILLEGAL DRUGS

	Risk Perception Subscale. Illegal Drugs.		
Risk Perception Subscale. Legal Drugs	**High Perception**	**Low Perception**	**TOTAL**
High Perception	1022 (73,8%)	362 (26,2%)	**1384 (100%)**
Low Perception	506 (42,9%)	673 (57,1%)	**1179 (100%)**
TOTAL	1528 (59,6%)	1035 (40,4%)	**2563 (100%)**

Below **Figure 6.7**, is the distribution of the overall Risk Perception Scale - obtained by totalling the replies to the six items - relating to the 2,670 people in our sample. To understand the results, it is essential to note that a score of 1 for an item means that this behaviour is perceived as very dangerous. Thus, those that score 6 are the ones who consider the 6 behaviours to be very dangerous, and those that score 24 are those who consider that these 6 behaviours are not dangerous. *The higher the score, therefore, the lower the risk perception associated with use*. In the histogram, we can see that it is a distribution that resembles the normal curve although it is asymmetrical because of a

bias towards the highest scores that indicate a lower risk perception. The total risk perception scale is distributed in our sample with a mean value of 12.6 and a S.D. of 3.75: In other words this mean value corresponds to a perception of these use patterns as moderately dangerous.

Figure 6.7: HISTOGRAM OF FREQUENCIES ON THE OVERALL RISK PERCEPTION SCALE
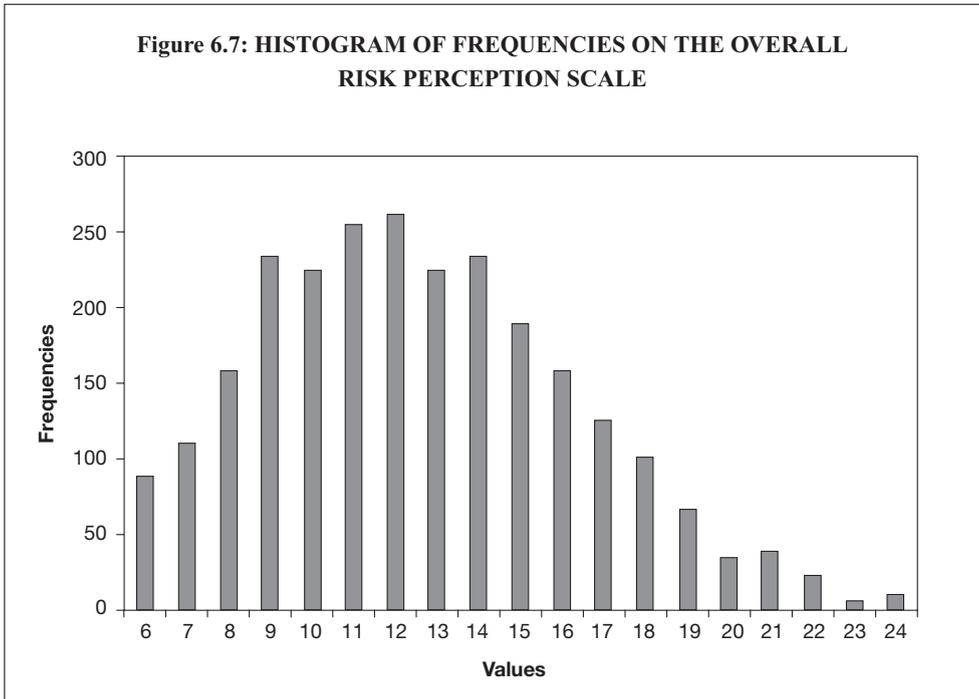
Differences associated with risk perception levels

We would define a "high" level in Risk Perception as that which implies a high level of perception of risk in respect of the use of legal or illegal drugs. Similarly, a "low" level of Risk Perception is that which implies a low perception of risks on the two subscales. In this way, there are two groups that do not include the whole sample as those who have a high level on one scale and a low on the other are excluded. In total, 1694 individuals (63.5% of the sample) are labelled by one of these two values. Of these,1022 (60.3%) have a high perception of risk on the two subscales and the remaining 673 (39.7%) have a low risk perception on the two subscales. We will go on to compare these two subgroups in respect of the most interesting variables.

Gender

The probability of having a high risk perception is significantly higher among women than among men. The differences are statistically significant at a level of .001 (two-tailed), according to Pearson's chi-squared test applied to the following table of contingencies:

Table 6.4: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN RISK PERCEPTION LEVELS AND GENDER

Gender	Risk Perception		
	High Perception	**Low Perception**	**TOTAL**
Male	483 (52%)	445 (48%)	**928 (100%)**
Female	538 (70,2%)	228 (29,8%)	**766 (100%)**
TOTAL	**1021 (59,6%)**	**673 (39,7%)**	**1694 (100%)**

Age group

Considering the following 4 age groups: <18; 19-23; 24 - 28 y > 28, there are no significant differences between these groups in the probability of having a high or low level on the total risk perception scale.

Social class

The socio-economic level is indeed significantly associated with the level of risk perception. The following table shows the results of this comparison, using five levels of family socio-economic status:

Table 6.5: ASSOCIATION[1] BETWEEN RISK PERCEPTION LEVELS AND FAMILY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Status	Risk Perception		
	High Perception	**Low Perception**	**TOTAL**
Upper	44 (57,7%)	35 (44,3%)	**79 (100%)**
Upper Middle	282 (760%)	189 (240%)	**471 (100%)**
Middle	562 (64%)	315 (36%)	**877 (100%)**
Middle Lower	106 (653,3%)	93 (46,7%)	**199 (100%)**
Lower	27 (641,5%)	38 (58,8%)	**65 (100%)**
TOTAL	**1021 (60,4%)**	**670 (39,6%)**	**1691 (100%)**

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[1] The association betwen these variables is statistically significant: Pearson's Chi-square= 19,6, 4 f.d., p=0.001.

Table 6.5 clearly shows that those from the middle class have a higher risk perception, and the lower class are less likely to have a high risk perception, particularly if we compare them with those in the middle and upper middle class.

Family Control

There is also a significant association between these variables. It can be seen from the table below that those who come from somewhat controlling families stand out from the rest. Those who come from families where there is little control resemble those who come from excessively controlling families and, in both cases, are more notable than those from families that do not control their children at all.

Table 6.6: ASSOCIATION[2] BETWEEN RISK PERCEPTION LEVELS AND PERCEIVED FAMILY CONTROL OVERGOING OUT HABITS

Family control over going-out habits	Risk Perception		
	High Perception	**Low Perception**	**TOTAL**
None	341 (47,3%)	380 (52,7%)	**721 (100%)**
Slight	359 (62,3%)	217 (37,7%)	**576 (100%)**
Considerable	293 (84,4%)	54 (15,6%)	**347 (100%)**
Excessive	28 (61%)	18 (39%)	**46 (100%)**
TOTAL	**1021 (60,4%)**	**669 (39,6%)**	**1690 (100%)**

Education

Educational studies are significantly associated with the level of risk perception, whatever the level reached or the self-evaluation as a student. Both those at an intermediate level and those at a higher level have are more likely to have a high risk perception than those with the lowest level of studies.

Self-evaluation as a student is also significantly associated with the level of risk perception. Very poor students are much less likely ot have a high risk perception than average, good or very good students.

If we eliminate the very poor students from the analysis, the differences are also significant, indicating that poor students are also significantly lower perceivers of risk than the individuals on the other three levels of self-evaluation as a student. The following table shows the association between these two variables:

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[2] The relationship is statistically sinificant, Pearson's Chi-square= 136,5, 3 f.d., p=0.001.

Table 6.7: ASSOCIATION[3] BETWEEN RISK PERCEPTION LEVELS AND EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

Educational studies	Risk Perception		
	High Perception	**Low Perception**	**TOTAL**
Primary Education	66 (47,8%)	72 (52,2%)	**138 (100%)**
Secondary Education	481 (66%)	249 (34%)	**730 (100%)**
Universitary Education	465 (857,5%)	344 (42,5%)	**809 (100%)**
TOTAL	**1012 (60,3%)**	**665 (39,67%)**	**1677 (100%)**

Table 6.8: ASSOCIATION[4] BETWEEN RISK PERCEPTION LEVELS AND SELF-EVALUATION AS A STUDENT

Self-evaluation	Risk Perception		
	High Perception	**Low Perception**	**TOTAL**
Very good student	92 (59,7%)	62 (40,3%)	**154 (100%)**
Good student	334 (62%)	205 (38%)	**539 (100%)**
Average	490 (63,2%)	285 (36,8%)	**775 (100%)**
Poor student	71 (50,4%)	70 (49,6%)	**141 (100%)**
Very poor student	32 (41%)	46 (59%)	**78 (100%)**
TOTAL	**1019 (60,34%)**	**668 (39,6%)**	**1687 (100%)**

<u>Going out a lot</u>

We calculated the value of a new variable that indicates the degree of participation in recreational nightlife by the individual. The procedure applied was as follows:

1. We multiplied the number of weekends that each individual goes out per month (from1 to 4) by the number of nights he or she goes out at the weekend (from 1 to 3), obtaining the number of weekend nights that each individual goes out in a month.

2. We calculated the quartiles of the two variables - the average duration of one going out session and the average number of places visited per session, and we gave a numerical value to each of these quartiles (from 1 to 4, from the lowest to the highest).

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[3] Pearson's Chi-square=21,2, 2 f.d., p=0.001.
[4] This relationship between these variables is satistically significant, Pearson's Chi-square= 21,4, 4 f.d., p=0.001.

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3. We multiplied the number of nights that each individual goes out by the resulting number relating to the number of places visited and the duration of each session, obtaining a value indicative of "going out a lot at weekends".

This indicator variable of involvement in recreational nightlife is distributed without being adjusted to normal distribution, with a clearly asymmetrical distribution (dispersed to the highest values of the distribution). The mean value is 28 and the S.D. is 29.4. The minimum and maximum values are 1 and 144, and the middle point of the distribution (median) is 18, indicating that a good part of the individuals are grouped at the lowest end of the scale (which would indicate that they go out relatively little).

Comparison of this variable with those who perceive high or low risk demonstrates that those who perceive less risk are almost most double the others. Logically, the differences are significant at 0.000 in the t-test.

Table 6.9: COMPARISON BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS WITH HIGH AND LOW RISK PERCEPTION IN RESPECT OF THE "GOING OUT A LOT" VARIABLE INDICATOR

Going out a lot	Risk Perception	N	Mean	S. D.
	High	994	21,8	24,4
	Low	646	35,6	33,8

Origin (City)

Extreme differences are observed in the probability of having a high or low risk perception when we compare the nine cities, as can be seen in Table 6.10 below. We have already pointed out that these comparisons must act only as a means to advancing certain hypotheses. Among other things, the cities differ in size and in the importance of drug use in each and, above all, we are not looking at representative samples, nor did the selection of the collectives in each city follow the same criteria. In any case, given the obvious differences observed, the study of environmental variables relating to the characteristics of these cities and to the criteria applied in selecting the sample (specific recreational environments where the sample was recruited) could assist in identifying certain variables associated with risk perception. Those interested in further information on the criteria used in the selection of the samples in each city, as well as some of the characteristics of said groups should consult the chapter 4 on Subcultures and tribes.

Manchester, Utrecht and Palma are the ones that show lower probability of a high risk perception, although there are also clear differences between them. As expected, these differences are statistically significant (chi-squared test = 432,7; 8 degrees of freedom; $p = 0.001$).

Always taking into consideration the provisional nature of our comments relating to the comparison of cities, we see that the differences between cities acquire more meaning when we also take into account the differences that are also established when the same comparison is made using the other scales. In this sense, we see that, in effect,

Table 6.10: COMPARISON OF RISK PERCEPTION LEVELS BETWEEN CITIES

City	High Perception	Low Perception	TOTAL
	Risk Perception		
Palma	83 (40%)	125 (60%)	**208 (100%)**
Vienna	121 (67%)	60 (33%)	**181 (100%)**
Coimbra	152 (82,2%)	33 (17,8%)	**185 (100%)**
Nice	154 (77%)	46 (23%)	**200 (100%)**
Modena	199 (83,7%)	29 (12,7%)	**228 (100%)**
Manchester	21 (12,1%)	153 (87,9%)	**174 (100%)**
Berlin	116 (74,8%)	39 (25,2%)	**155 (100%)**
Utrecht	44 (26,7%)	121 (73,3%)	**165 (100%)**
Athens	132 (66,3%)	67 (33,7%)	**199 (100%)**
TOTAL	**1022 (60,3%)**	**673 (39,7%)**	**1695 (100%)**

the low risk perception in the case of Palma de Mallorca and Manchester corresponds to high risk behaviours and to high drug use. In the case of Utrecht, we have to think of different explanatory hypotheses. According to the available data, it is a sample that takes few illegal drugs, and its drug use and going out habits are not particularly pronounced - above all if we compare them with the other two cities. Its low risk perception possibly has something to do with cultural issues specific to the Netherlands.

Differences between the groups showing discrepancies in risk perception levels of legal and illegal drugs.

We have seen that although there was a high concordance in looking at legal and illegal drugs with the same perception, there was, however, a certain percentage that differed. In other words, they tended to view legal drugs as distinctly dangerous from the illegal ones and vice versa. We are going to look at this aspect in depth in this section and compare those (Group 1) who have a **LOW** risk perception associated with illegal drugs and a **HIGH** risk perception associated with legal drugs with another group (Group 2) which has a **HIGH** risk perception of illegal drugs and a **LOW** one of legal drugs.

In this way, we labelled 868 individuals (the remaining 32.5%). Of these, 362 (41.7%) form Group 1 and 506 (58.3%) Group 2. Thus it is more common to perceive a high risk in respect of illegal drugs and a low risk in respect of legal drugs than the reverse. We went on to compare these two subgroups in the sociodemographic variables of interest, although we will see that in some cases there are no significant differences.

Gender

Sex is not significantly associated with having a difference in risk perception level in any way.

Age group

There is a significant association between this variable and age groups. As Table 6.11 shows, between 24-28 years of age there is a tendency to perceive high risk in legal drugs and low risk in the illegal drugs, whereas the younger age groups tended to perceive high risk in the legal and low in the illegal drugs.

Table 6.11: ASSOCIATION[5] BETWEEN THE DISCREPANCY IN RISK PERCEPTION OF LEGAL/ILLEGAL DRUGS AND AGE GROUP

Age group	Risk Perception		
	Group 1	**Group 2**	**TOTAL**
< 18 years	66 (33,3%)	132 (66,7%)	**198 (100%)**
19-23 years	140 (38%)	227 (62%)	**367 (100%)**
24-28 years	116 (56,3%)	90 (43,7%)	**206 (100%)**
29 years or more	39 (42%)	54 (58%)	**93 (100%)**
TOTAL	**361 (41,8%)**	**503 (58,2%)**	**864 (100%)**

Social Class

No significant association is to be observed, although there is a statistical tendency indicating that those of a lower economic status tend to be found in Group 1 (63.6%), whereas around 60% of those of a upper middle or middle class status are found in Group 2.

Famiy control

There is no significant association between these variables although those who perceive excessive control tend to be in Group 1 (more risk in legal drugs) whereas the others tend to be in group 2 (more risk in illegal drugs).

Education

There is no significant association between the level of educational studies or self-evaluation as a student with perceiving more risk in the legal or illegal drugs.

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[5] The relationship between these variables is statistically significant, Pearson's Chi-square= 25,7, 3 f.d., p= 0.001.

<u>Going out a lot</u>

There are no differences between these two groups in respect of this variable.

<u>Origins (City)</u>

There are very notable differences between the cities in respect of this variable, as **Table 6.12** demonstrates

Table 6.12: COMPARISON OF DIFFERENT CITIES IN DISCREPANCY IN RESPECT OF RISK PERCEPTION ASSOCIATED WITH LEGAL AND ILLEGAL DRUGS

Name of City	Risk Perception-Discrepancy		
	Group 1 (+ Legal)	Group 2 (+ Illegal)	TOTAL
Palma de Mallorca	40 (39,2%)	62 (60,8%)	**102 (100%)**
Vienna	49 (43%)	65 (57%)	**114 (100%)**
Coimbra	9 (7,8%)	107 (92,2%)	**116 (100%)**
Nice	33 (34,7%)	62 (65,3%)	**95 (100%)**
Modena	42 (66,7%)	21 (33,3%)	**63 (100%)**
Manchester	38 (43,7%)	49 (56,3%)	**87 (100%)**
Berlin	70 (82,4%)	15 (17,6%)	**85 (100%)**
Utrecht	49 (42,2%)	67 (57,8%)	**116 (100%)**
Athens	32 (35,6%)	58 (64,4%)	**90 (100%)**
TOTAL	**362 (41,7%)**	**506 (58,3%)**	**868 (100%)**

There are some cities, such as Berlin or Modena, that tend to perceive more risk in the use of legal drugs than illegal ones, whereas Coimbra, Athens, Nice and Palma perceive more risk in the illegal. The explanation of these differences is beyond the possibilities of our interpretation.

3.2 Risk predisposition scale

Predisposition to risk is an intermediate construct between risk perception and risk behaviours. It must be mentioned that a major theoretical task was needed, prior to constructing the scale, which led to the inlcusion of all those components that were considered relevant in respect of the explanatory model being adopted and the existing research. We have already commented on the necessity of a model adapted to drug use in recreational environments. What role does risk - and the predisposition to risk - play within the evolution and maturation of the adolescent personality? It is commonly said that adolescence is typically a period of assuming risks as if this were to form part of the normal maturation process of every adolescent. There is much epidemiological data that supports this notion, as can be seen in those referring to unwanted pregnancies, traffic
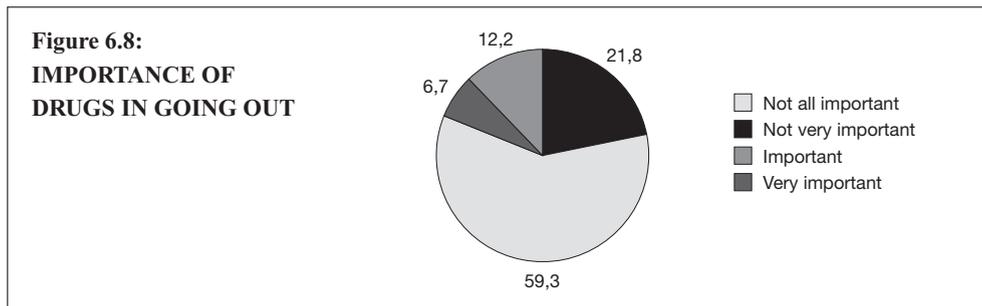
accidents, drug use, fighting, taking part in dangerous pastimes, etc. Without entering into a discussion of the function played by risk within the development of adolescence, we can assume that there will be some adolescents who will tend to take more risks than others. When this tendency starts to become pathological or deviant, or at least when it leads to the individual taking drugs in excess or in a dangerous way, it becomes relevant to this study. Why are there differences in risk-taking between one adolescent and another? What function do risks play in personality development of according to their intensity or the type of risk or the type of personality or the age of the individual? These are questions to which there are inadequate answers.

The scale of eight items used in this study covers some but not all of the questions that could be taken into consideration when speaking of vulnerability to risk or - to put it another way - risk predisposition. We took into account a scale of three items on sensation seeking, another three items relating to behaviour relating to deviance, and a further two relating to the consideration of drugs as important motives for going out for enjoyment and in choosing a venue.

Description of the variables forming the scale

• *Taking drugs as an important reason for going out.*

It would appear that taking drugs is an important motivation in going out for only 19% (almost one in five). However, there is 21.8% to be added to this figure who, whilst not considering it to be very important, do not altogether discard it among the possible motivations for going out for fun at the weekend. Therefore, we are looking at a sector of young people who in a conscious way include taking drugs among their reasons for going out together with meeting friends and listening to music.

Figure 6.8:
IMPORTANCE OF DRUGS IN GOING OUT

12,2
21,8
6,7
59,3

☐ Not all important
■ Not very important
▨ Important
▨ Very important

• *Importance of drugs in choosing a venue*

We are looking at a variable that possibly measures questions very similar to the preceding one. When going out, up to what point does the fact that a particular bar or disco facilitates drug use, in one way or another, influence its selection as a venue? We observed similar results to the preceding variable. For 18% (almost 1 in 5), drug use is important or very important when selecting a bar or club and, has at least some importance for 41.7%

Figure 6.9:
IMPORTANCE OF DRUGS IN CHOOSING A VENUE

11

7

23,7

58,3
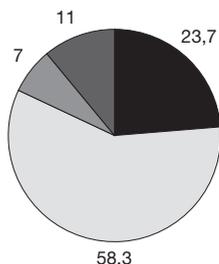
• *Predisposition to Risk: Sensation-Seeking.*

The three items selected to measure Sensation Seeking are a subscale that forms part of a broader questionnaire on risk factors (Arthur, 1997) used by the research team who worked with Hawkins and Catalano. The items are as follows:

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?

These three items correlate rather well, indicating that they really do measure a construct relating to attitudes favouring risk and to Sensation Seeking. The average correlation between these three items reaches a level of r = .42, with the items referring to potentially dangerous behaviours being the ones that correlate the most (r = .50).

The distribution of these three variables in the sample is shown in the following table.

Table 6.13: DISTRIBUTION OF THE SENSATION-SEEKING ITEMS AS INDICATORS OF RISK PREDISPOSITION

	Done what feels good, does no matter what (%)	Done something dangerous as a dare (%)	Done crazy things a little dangerous (%)
Never	19	55	28
Not in the past year	18	26	28
< Once a month	16	10	20
About once a month	12	4	9
2 or > a month	12	3	7
Weekly or more	23	2	8

It can be seen that young people refquently allow themselves to be swayed by their "first impulses" and that a certain percentage do crazy or dangerous things. One quarter (24%) admit that they have done "crazy things" at least on a monthly basis, even if they were a little dangerous (we do not know what is they undrstand by this exactly, but we

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should bear in mind that they do tend not to perceive risks to the same extent). Finally, one in 10 individuals in the sample engaged in dangerous behaviour in the last month (we do not know what type) after being challenged to do so.

Thus, it appears that these three items are measuring a relatively consistent construct. Therefore, obtaining a score by adding up the answers to these items is justified. The score on the Sensation Seeking Scale is obtained in this study by calculating the total of the three items on it. Taking into account that these items score on a scale of 0 - 5, where 0 equals "Never" and 5 "Once a week or more", the following diagram shows the histogram of the frequencies obtained in the distribution of the overall Sensation Seeking Scale.

Figure 6.10: HISTOGRAM OF SENSATION SEEKING FREQUENCIES
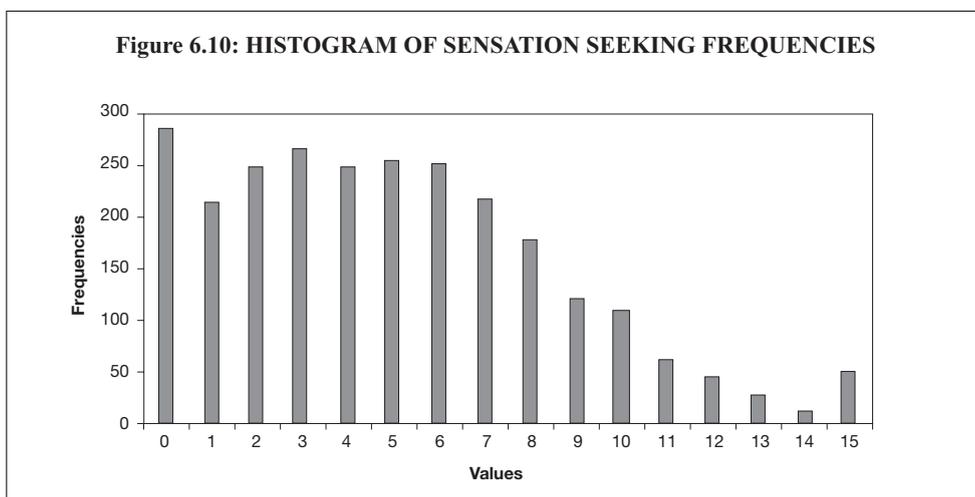
The following can be seen to be well differentiated: a) the values start from 0, which is the lowest possible value, indicating that a substantial part of the sample has never carried out any of these three actions. b) The mean value of the scale is approximately equal to 5 (4.91), equivalent to a less than monthly frequency for these three types of actions. c) Starting with the mean value (which on this occasion very closely resembles the mid-point or median), there is a greater dispersion of values and a greater variability of the high values on the scale.

• *Antisocial Behaviours.*

The following Diagram shows that the large majority of the sample state that they have never in their lives carried out any of the four antisocial behaviours listed in the questionnaire. Percentages between 23.3% and 36.4% admit to these types of behaviour on at least one occasion after 15 years of age or in the last year.

Figure 6.11: SOCIALLY DEVIANT BEHAVIOURS (%)
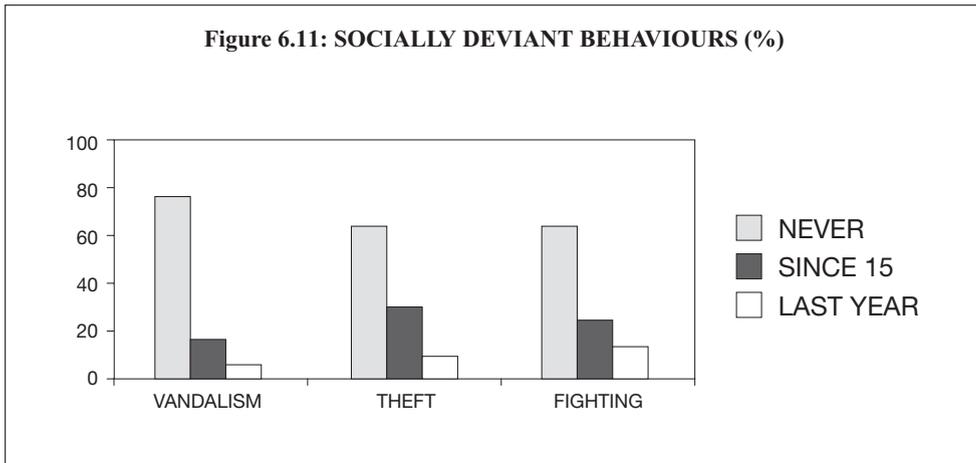
Scale characteristics

The mean correlation coefficient between these eight variables equals 0.27, indicating a significant association between them, particularly if we take into account their diverse nature. Internal consistency coefficient (Cronbach alpha) has a level of 0,72, empirically supporting the possibility of obtaining a score on a scale that includes these items.
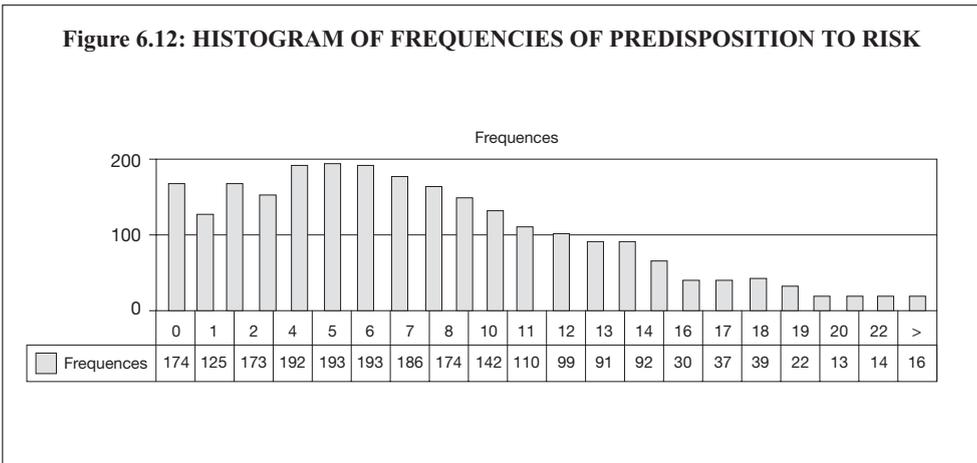
The factor analysis of the principal components shows that three dimensions may be considered within this group of eight variables. These three factors clearly correspond to the origin of the eight variables: one factor relates more to the group of items relating to sensation seeking (SS), another with the items on social deviance (SD) and another with drugs as a motivation when going out and deciding on a place to go.

In short, both from a theoretical and empirical viewpoint, it is justifiable that it should be considered an overall dimension, in our sample, relating to a Risk Predisposition which groups three more specific dimensions - Predisposition to Sensation Seeking Behaviours, Predisposition to Behaviours Indicative of Social Deviance, and Drug Use as Motivation or Taking Part in Recreational Life. The three subscales correlate significantly although moderately with each other (with an average correlation of 0.32) and the strongest association is between the sensation seeking subscale and drug use as a motivation for taking part in recreational life.

The total score for Risk Predisposition is obtained by totalling the responses to these eight items. In this way a scale is obtained with the distribution shown in the following histogram of frequencies:

The minimum values correspond to individuals who have never or almost never engaged in any of the Sensation Seeking and Social Deviance Behaviours and who do not bestow any importance (or very little) on drugs when going out or choosing a venue.

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Figure 6.12: HISTOGRAM OF FREQUENCIES OF PREDISPOSITION TO RISK

	0	1	2	4	5	6	7	8	10	11	12	13	14	16	17	18	19	20	22	>
Frequences	174	125	173	192	193	193	186	174	142	110	99	91	92	30	37	39	22	13	14	16

Distribution is grouped around a mean value of 7.5 with a S.D of 5.2. The midpoint of the distribution (median) is at value 7 and the interval of values is 0-27. As in Risk Perception, the majority is to be found in interval of values lower than the median, whereas there is a considerably greater dispersion in the values higher that the median.

Differences associated with Predisposition to Risk levels

In a similar way to the Risk Perception Scale, one group can be found with a high predisposition to risk and another group with a low predisposition. In order to accentuate these differences, we chose two extreme groups as follows:

1. Those who have a low predisposition on the three subscales (Drugs, SS and SD) have a "Low Risk Predisposition ".

2. Conversely, those who have a high predisposition on the three subscales have a "High Risk Predisposition".

In this way, we are labelling 1119 individuals (41.9% of the sample). Of these, 737 (65.9%) have a low Risk Predisposition level and 382 (34.1%) have a high Risk Predisposition level according to this criterion.

We then went on to compare these two most extreme groups in the descriptive variables that we used for the same purpose in Risk Predisposition.

Gender

Once again, men have a lower probability than the women of having a low predisposition to risk:

Table 6.14: ASSOCIATION[6] BETWEEN RISK PREDISPOSITION AND GENDER

Gender	Risk Predisposition		TOTAL
	High Predisposition	Low Predisposition	
Men	291 (48,5%)	309 (51,5%)	600 (100%)
Women	90 (17,4%)	428 (82,6%)	518 (100%)
TOTAL	381 (34%)	737 (66%)	1118 (100%)

Age group

The different age groups also show different probabilities of having a high or low risk predisposition

The youngest are the ones who show a higher predisposition and the oldest the least. The significant differences observed arise from the differences between the older age group and the others. If we exclude this older group from the analysis, the differences between the other three groups do not become significant.

Table 6. 15: DISTRIBUTION[7] OF RISK PREDISPOSITION BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS

Age Group	Risk Predisposition		TOTAL
	Low	High	
< 18 years	155 (59,2%)	107 (40,8%)	262 (100%)
19-23 years	327 (67 %)	162 (33%)	489 (100%)
24-28 years	165 (66 %)	85 (34%)	250 (100%)
29 years or more	88 (78,6 %)	24 (24,4 %)	112 (100%)
TOTAL	735 (66%)	378 (34%)	1113 (100%)

Social class

This variable does not become significantly associated with risk predisposition on the two levels.

Family control

Once again, there is a significant association between these two variables. Those who come from somewhat controlling families are those have more probability of showing a low Risk Predisposition. In addition, those who come from excessively

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[6] The relationship betwween these variables is statistically significant, Pearons's Chi-square= 112,1 f.d., p= 0,001.

[7] The relationship between these variables is statistically significant, Pearon's Chi-square= 25,7. 3 f.d, p=0.001.

controlling or non-controlling families show the highest percentages of a high risk predisposition.

Table 6. 16: ASSOCIATION[8] BETWEEN LEVELS OF RISK PREDISPOSITION AND PERCEIVED FAMILY CONTROL OVER GOING OUT HABITS

Family control over going-out habits	Risk Perception		
	High Perception	Low Perception	TOTAL
None	183 (41,2%)	261 (58,8%)	**444 (100%)**
Slight	129 (33,4 %)	257 (66,6%)	**386 (100%)**
Considerable	56 (21,9%)	200 (78,1%)	**256 (100%)**
Excessive	14 (42,4%)	19 (57,6%)	**33 (100%)**
TOTAL	**382 (34,1%)**	**737 (65,9%)**	**1119 (100%)**

Education

The level of educational studies is also significantly associated with risk predisposition. Those who have medium or higher level studies have a lower Risk Predisposition than those who have a low educational level.

The same thing happens with self-evaluation as a student. Those who evaluate themselves as poor students have a much higher Risk Predisposition than those who see themselves as average or good students.

Table 6.17: ASSOCIATION[9] BETWEEN RISK PREDISPOSITION LEVELS AND EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

	Risk Perception		
Educational studies	High Perception	Low Perception	TOTAL
Primary	56 (62,2%)	34 (37,8%)	**90 (100%)**
Secondary	192 (38 %)	315 (62 %)	**507 (100%)**
University	129 (25,3%)	381 (74,7%)	**510 (100%)**
TOTAL	**377 (34,1%)**	**730 (65,9%)**	**1107 (100%)**

Going out a lot

As was to be expected those who have a high Risk Predisposition level go out twice as much as those who have a low level.

The differences between these measures are statistically significant at 0.000 according to the t test on independent samples;

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[8] The relationship betwween these variables is statistically significant, Pearons's Chi-square= 28,1, 3 f.d. p= 0.001.

[9] Pearons's Chi-square= 52,5, 2 f.d., p= 0.001.

**Table 6.18: ASSOCIATION[10] BETWEEN RISK PREDISPOSITION LEVELS
AND SELF-EVALUATION AS STUDENT**

Self- evaluation	Risk Perception		
	High Perception	**Low Perception**	**TOTAL**
Good student	122 (27 %)	331 (73%)	**453 (100%)**
Average	166 (32,2 %)	349 (67,8 %)	**515 (100%)**
Poor student	90 (62,5%)	54 (37,5%)	**144 (100%)**
TOTAL	**378 (34%)**	**734 (66%)**	**1112 (100%)**

Origins (City)

Once again, there are clear (and statistically significant) differences in the probability of High and Low Risk Predisposition among the different cities:

**Table 6.19: COMPARISON OF THOSE WITH HIGH AND LOW RISK PREDISPOSITION
AND THE "GOING OUT A LOT" INDICATOR VARIABLE**

Going out	Risk Perception	N	Mean	S.D.
	High	373	45,6	38
	Low	713	18,5	20,1

In this case, the Dutch do not follow the same pattern as in risk perceptions, and are included with those who have a Low Risk Predisposition, which fits in with the other statistical and ethnographical data we have on this sample.

**Table 6.20: COMPARISON[11] BETWEEN DIFFERENT CITIES
OF RISK PREDISPOSITION LEVELS**

City	Risk Perception		
	Low	**High**	**TOTAL**
Palma de Mallorca	66 (44%)	84 (56%)	**150 (100%)**
Vienna	77 (61,1 %)	49 (638,9 %)	**126 (100%)**
Coimbra	142 (90,4%)	15 (9,6%)	**157 (100%)**
Nice	87 (72,5%)	33 (27,5%)	**120 (100%)**
Modena	125 (81,2%)	29 (18,8%)	**154 (100%)**
Manchester	32 (39,5%)	49 (60,5%)	**81 (100%)**
Berlin	30 (33,3%)	60 (66,7%)	**90 (100%)**
Utrecht	100 (84%)	19 (16 %)	**119 (100%)**
Athens	78 (64%)	44 (36%)	**122 (100%)**
TOTAL	**737 (66%)**	**382 (34%)**	**1119 (100%)**

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[10] The relationship between these variables is statiscally significant, pearon's Chi-square= 62,9, 4 f.d., p=0.001.

[11] The Risk Predispotion levels are distributed in a statiscally distinct fashion in the different cities Pearson's chi-square= 178,8, 8 f.d., p=0,001.
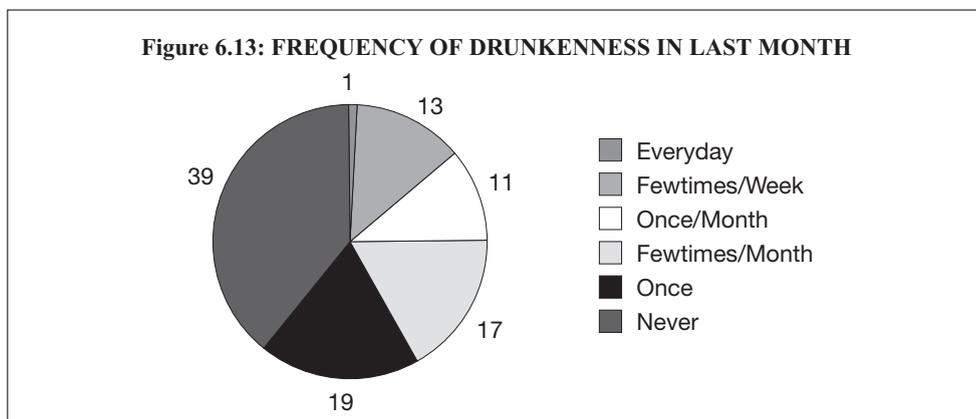
3.3 Risk behaviour scale

Adolescents and young people not only perceive or are incapable of perceiving risk or show a predisposition to take risks. It is a fact that they do engage in risk behaviours, possibly with a higher frequency than they themselves would wish. In this instance, we will study the risks behaviours related to drug use in recreational environments but, as we know, there are other risk behaviours that the young engage in with some frequency (high risk sports, risky sexual behaviours, risky driving, etc) and certainly there is an important relationship between them, all although it is not the objective of this study to explore these connections.

Once again, as we have already said, an agreed theoretical model was not available with which to develop this scale, which couldhave assisted in weighting each variable. In its place, we selected certain behaviours that show us diverse aspects of the risk behaviours related with drug use which is intended to cover a broad spectrum of possibilities. The present scale groups nine items:-those relating to drunkenness bouts during the last month, driving under the influence of alcohol or other drugs, continuing to take a drug in spite of having had problems with it and, and use of cannabis, amphetamines, ecstasy, cocaine and LSD at relatively high frequencies. The most debatable aspect of this selection would be the inclusion of the high frequencies of use of diverse illegal substances. However, lacking a more precise definition of the risk behaviours, it was considered appropriate to use those behaviours that show the highest frequencies for each type of drug.

Description of the variables that form the Scale

• *Drunkenness bouts during last month.*

61% of this sample had drunk to excess on at least one occasion in the preceding month and one in every four of those interviewed had drunk to excess at least once a week.

Figure 6.13: FREQUENCY OF DRUNKENNESS IN LAST MONTH

Another three indicators included in the Risk Behaviours Scale relate to the inadequate or problematic use of drugs:

1. Continuing the use of a substance after having had problems with it (Problematic Use).

2. Having driven under the influence of alcohol, and

3. Having driven under the effects of drugs other than alcohol.

Almost half of those interviewed acknowledged that they had driven under the influence of alcohol, and approximately one in three acknowledged having driven under the effects of other drugs, and approximately one in five continued to use drugs despite having had problems with them.

The following diagram shows the distribution of these three variables:

**Figure 6.14: THREE INDICATOR VARIABLES OF INAPPROPRIATE OR PROBLEMATIC DRUG USE**
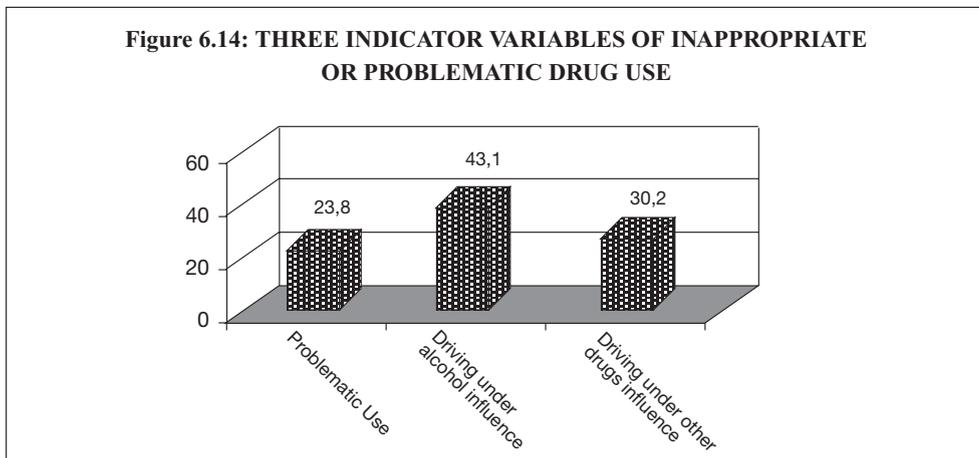
Finally, five more indicator components of the Risk Behaviours Scale refer to the relatively frequent or harmful use of determined illegal substances - cannabis, amphetamines, ecstasy, cocaine and LSD. The operative definition of a harmful or frequent use of these substances in the present study is as follows:

1. Use of cannabis one or more times per week, including daily use.

2. Use of amphetamines, ecstasy or cocaine one or more times per month.

3. Use of LSD to any degree.

The following diagram shows the percentages observed in our sample relating to these harmful uses of the above five illegal substances:

Probably what we have defined as a "harmful" use of these substances is more frequent in our sample than in the general population or among young adults in their cities of origin (see the chapter on use and abuse in this book). Somewhat more than one in four of those interviewed maintains a relatively frequent use of cannabis, and around one in ten a relatively harmful use of the other illegal drugs.

**Figure 6.15: PERCENTAGES OF HARMFUL USE OF VARIOUS ILLEGAL SUBSTANCES**
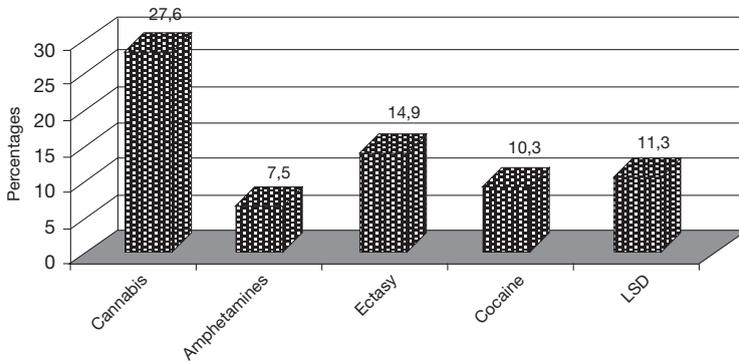
Scale Characteristics

The previous paragraph describes the behaviours us to develop a Risk Behaviours Scale grouping the frequency of the behaviours. The result was that the mean correlation between these nine variables is 0.26 and the alpha coefficient reaches an acceptable value (0.72). Therefore, these values surpass the minimum necessary to confirm that *these nine indicators may be used as a scale*, since they measure aspects of the individual's behaviour that are substantially theoretically and empirically interrelated. After obtaining a total score on this scale, we show its distribution graphically with a frequencies histogram.

The above histogram shows that the highest frequency corresponds to individuals who have never engaged in any risk behaviour and that this frequency reduces gradually as the value indicates that the individual engages in one or more of the risk behaviours. The behaviour in respect of drunkenness bouts has been computed for three values.The individuals who have been drunk with the highest frequency in the last month and who engage in all the other risk behaviours have the highest score (= 10).

The factor analysis detects two factors or principal components that explain half of all the variances. One is associated with the relatively frequent use of illegal drugs and the other comprises the variables relating to drunkenness bouts, persisting in the use of some substance in spite of having had problems with it, and driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

In short, as was the case with the other scales, the use of an overall scale in respect of dangerous behaviours and the two more specific ones can be defended theoretically and empirically. The first subscale relates to the frequent use of diverse illegal drugs and the second is formed by the remaining variables (drunkenness bouts, driving under the

Figure 6.16: HISTOGRAM OF RISK BEHAVIOUR FREQUENCIES
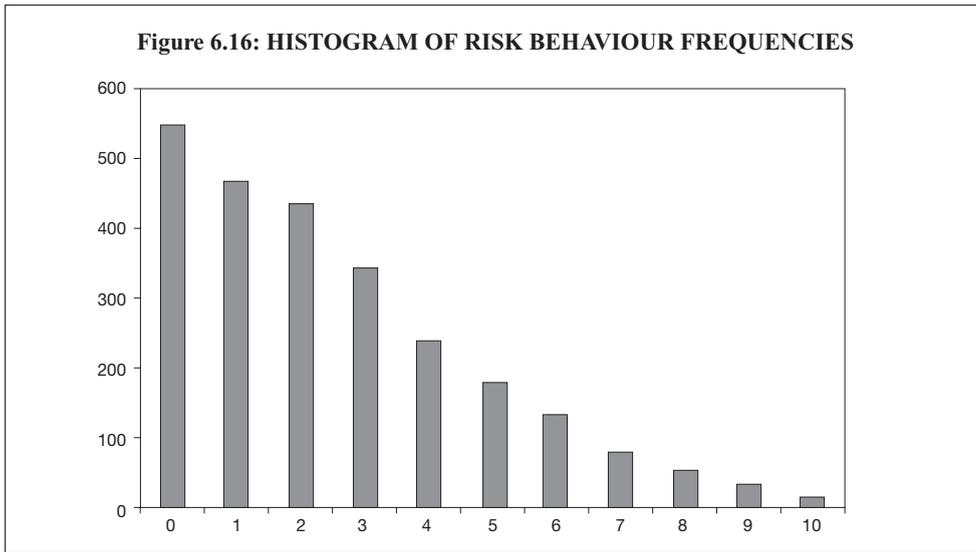
influence of alcohol or drugs and continuing to use a drug in spite of having had problems with it).

The two subscales are significantly and consistently correlated (r = 0.47; p = 0,000), indicating that as the score rises on one of them, it also tends to increase on the other. After identifying individuals with High and Low Risk Behaviours on the two subscales by their mid-point (median), we went on to compare their degree of coincidence.

Table 6.21: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW LEVELS BETWEEN THE RISK BEHAVIOUR SCALE SUBSCALES

Driving vehicles and other variables subscale		Frecuency using illegal drugs' subscale		
		Low	High	TOTAL
	Low	1356 (78,9 %)	362 (21,1 %)	1718 (100%)
	High	293 (37 %)	498 (63 %)	791 (100%)
	TOTAL	1649 (65,7%)	860 (34,4%)	2509 (100%)

In this Table, it can be seen that the degree of coincidence between the subscales is higher even when we compare the Risk Perception and Risk Predisposition Subscales. In other words, the individuals who have a high or low level of Risk Behaviour on one of the subscales also have more probability of having this same level on the other than on the Perception and Predisposition Subscales.

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Differences associated with risk behaviours levels

As we did with the Risk Perception and Predisposition Scales, the individuals can be divided into two groups according to whether they scored high or low on this Risk Behaviours Scale. The group with the lower score will be the ones whohad a low scorel on the two subscales and vice versa - a high score equals a high score on the two subscales. In this way 1854 individuals (69.4%) can be included in the comparative analysis. Of these, the majority (1356; 73.1%) have a low score on the two risks behaviours subscales and approximately one quarter (498; 26.9%) have a high score for risk behaviours. Below we will see the comparison between these two groups against the usual variables:

Gender

As is habitual, the men more frequently have a high level of risk behaviours than the women.

Table 6.22: ASSOCIATION[12] BETWEEN RISK BEHAVIOURS AND GENDER

Gender	Risk Behaviours		
	Low	High	TOTAL
Men	650 (63,8 %)	369 (36,2 %)	**1019 (100%)**
Women	704 (84,5 %)	129 (15,5 %)	**833 (100%)**
TOTAL	**1345 (73%)**	**498 (27%)**	**1852 (100%)**

Age group

The different age groups also show different probabilities of having high or low level of risk behaviours. As age increases, the probability of a high level of risk behaviours increases. It should be taken into account that minors have not had sufficient time or the occasion to engage in some of these behaviours (such as driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs).

Table 6.23: DISTRIBUTION[13] OF RISK BEHAVIOURS AMONG
THE DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS

Age group	Risk Behaviours		
	Low	High	TOTAL
Up to 18 years	335 (81,9 %)	74 (18,1 %)	**409 (100%)**
19-23 years	607 (75,7 %)	195 (24,3 %)	**802 (100%)**
24-28 years	275 (762,1 %)	168 (37,9 %)	**443 (100%)**
29 years or more	134 (71,7 %)	53 (28,3 %)	**187 (100%)**
TOTAL	**1345 (73%)**	**490 (27%)**	**1841 (100%)**

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[12] The relationship is statiscally significant, Pearson's Chi-square= 135,1 f.d., p=0,001.

[13] The relationship betwwen these variable is statiscally significant, Pearson's Chi-square= 46,2, 3 f.d., p=0.001.

Nevertheless, if we eliminate the under-19 age group from the analysis, the differences continue to be significant, indicating that the 24-28 age group tends to show a higher level of risk behaviours with a higher probability than the other two larger and smaller groups.

Social class

Although the differences are very small, they are significant, and indicate that those in the lower class tend to show a high level of risk behaviour with a higher probability than those in the middle class:

Table 6.24: ASSOCIATION[14] BETWEEN RISK BEHAVIOURS LEVELS AND FAMILY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Age group	Risk Behaviours		
	Low	High	TOTAL
Upper	418 (71,3 %)	168 (28,7 %)	**586 (100%)**
Middle	743 (75,5 %)	241 (24,35 %)	**984 (100%)**
Lower	194 (68,8 %)	88 (31,2%)	**282 (100%)**
TOTAL	**1355 (73,2%)**	**497 (26,8%)**	**1852 (100%)**

Family control

Family control is also significantly associated with risk behaviour levels. As on other occasions, those who come from families where there is no control show the "worse results" followed by those who come from families perceived to exercise excessive control. Those from families with considerable but not excessive control have the lowest probability of a high level of risk behaviours.

Table 6.25: ASSOCIATION[15] BETWEEN RISK PREDISPOSITION LEVELS AND PERCEIVED FAMILY CONTROL OVER GOING OUT HABITS

Family control over going-out habits	Risk Behaviours		
	Low	High	TOTAL
None	490 (65,7 %)	256 (34,3 %)	**746 (100%)**
Slight	519 (75,1 %)	172 (24,9 %)	**691 (100%)**
Considerable	305 (685,2 %)	53 (14,8 %)	**385 (100%)**
Excessive	41 (71,9 %)	16 (28,1 %)	**57 (100%)**
TOTAL	**1355 (73,2%)**	**497 (26,8%)**	**1852 (100%)**

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[14] The relationship between these variables are statistically significant, Pearson's Chi-square= 6,5, 2 f.d., p=0.039.

[15] The relationship is statiscally significant p=0.04.

Education

Educational level is also significantly associated with the probability of a high isk behaviour level. Those with a low level of studies have a greater probability of reaching a high level of risk behaviours than those that have completed or are in the process of intermediate or superior educational studies.

Table 6.26: ASSOCIATION[16] BETWEEN RISK BEHAVIOUR LEVELS AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Educational level	Risk Behaviours		
	Low	High	TOTAL
Primary	91 (61,9 %)	56 (38,1 %)	147 (100%)
Secondary	600 (73,2%)	220 (26,8 %)	820 (100%)
College/Uni.	649 (75 %)	217 (25%)	866 (100%)
TOTAL	1340 (73%)	493 (27%)	1833 (100%)

Self-evaluation as a student is also significantly associated with this variable. Those who consider themselves to be poor students have a greater probability of having a high level of risk behaviours than average or good students.

Table 6.27: ASSOCIATION[17] BETWEEN RISK BEHAVIOUR LEVELS AND SELF-EVALUATION AS STUDENT

Self evaluation	Risk Behaviours		
	Low	High	TOTAL
Good student	611 (77,7 %)	175 (22,3 %)	786 (100%)
Average	638 (73,9%)	225 (26,1 %)	863 (100%)
Poor student	103 (52 %)	95 (48%)	198 (100%)
TOTAL	1352 (73,2%)	495 (26,8%)	1847 (100%)

Going out a lot

As is to be expected, those who have a high level of risk behaviours go out almost twice as much as those who have a low level on this scale.

The differences between these means are statistically significant at a level of .001 according to the t test.

Table 6.28: COMPARISON BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS WITH HIGH AND LOW RISK BEHAVIOUR LEVELS IN THE VARIABLE INDICATOR "GOING OUT A LOT"

Going out	Risk Perception	N	Mean	S.D.
	High	480	44,4	38,2
	Low	1320	22,4	21,7

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[16] La Chi cuadrado de pearson= 10,9, 2 f.d., resulta p= 0.004.

[17] The relationship between these variables are statistically significant, Pearson's Chi-square= 6,5, 2 f.d., p=0.039.

Origins (City)

With the usual reservations that need to be made when comparing the cities - different sizes, different criteria used on occasion to select the subgroups that comprise the sample, etc. - we can say that notable differences are to be observed between the samples of these cities in relation to the risks behaviours scale. Manchester, Berlin and Palma score more highly on this scale than the other cities.

Table 6.29: COMPARISON[18] OF DIFFERENT CITIES AND RISK BEHAVIOUR LEVELS

| CITY | Risk Behaviours | | |
	Low	High	TOTAL
Palma de Mallorca	114 (52,8%)	102 (47,2 %)	**216 (100%)**
Vienna	194 (88,6%)	25 (11,4 %)	**219 (100%)**
Coimbra	220 (89,8 %)	25 (10,2%)	**245 (100%)**
Nice	159 (75 %)	53 (25%)	**212 (100%)**
Modena	190 (79,5 %)	49 (20,5%)	**239 (100%)**
Manchester	59 (40,7 %)	86 (59,3%)	**145 (100%)**
Berlin	76 (44,2 %)	96 (55,8%)	**172 (100%)**
Untrecht	140 (75,7 %)	45 (24,3%)	**185 (100%)**
Athens	204 (92,3 %)	17 (7,7%)	**221 (100%)**
TOTAL	**1356 (73,1%)**	**498 (26,9%)**	**1854 (100%)**

In short, when we cross this risk behaviours scale with certain variables we find ourselves with results that are mostly predictable. Males, older individuals, those from the lowest socio-economic group, those who have a lower educational level and those who consider themselves as poor students, those who have had less family control and, lastly, those who go out more often are the ones who score higher on this scale.

Which predicts risk behaviours mor effectively: Perceptions or Predispositions?

Given that the last step in the assumption of risks is the risk behaviour in itself, we need to probe the predictive capacity of risk behaviours, in this paragraph, using risk perception and risk predisposition as predictors. To do so, we will use the two subscales that constitute the Risk Behaviours Scale (frequent use of illegal drugs and driving vehicles under the influence of drugs and other variables) as criteria variables (to predict), and five subscales; the two Risk Perception Subscales (on legal and illegal drugs) and the three Risk Predisposition Subscales (Sensation Seeking, Social Deviance and Importance of Drugs in going out) as independent variables (predictors).

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[18] The relationships between Risk Predisposition Scales and Cities of Origin are statistically significant: Pearson's Chi-square= 305; 8 d.f.; p=0,001.

The procedure we applied comprised a stepwise multiple linear regression model where a variable that was significant for the prediction of the criterion variable was included at each step until not another variable could be included in said model. The following table shows the variables that form each model, the standardised beta regression coefficient of each variable and the multiple squared correlation (which indicates the % of the variance of the variable criteria explained by the model). A constant has been included in all models.

Table 6.30: PREDICTIVE CAPACITY OF THE RISK PERCEPTION AND RISK PREDISPOSITION SUBSCALES ON RISK BEHAVIOUR (OVERALL SCALE AND TWO SUBSCALES)

RISK BEHAVIOUR SCALE (TOTAL): R Square = 0.48	
VARIABLE	**Coefficient (Standardised Beta)**
Predisposition - Drugs	.44
Risk Perception - Illegal Drugs	.22
Predisposition - Sensation Seeking	.15
Predisposition - Social Deviation	.09
Risk Perception - Legal Drugs	.04
RISK BEHAVIOUR SUBSCALE (DRIVING AND OTHERS): R Square = 0.28	
VARIABLE	**Coefficient (Standardised Beta)**
Predisposition - Drugs	.24
Risk Perception - Illegal Drugs	.15
Predisposition - Sensation Seeking	.14
Predisposition - Social Deviation	.13
Risk Perception - Legal Drugs	.12
RISK BEHAVIOUR SUBSCALE (FREQUENT USE): R Square = 0.50	
Predisposition - Drugs	.54
Risk Perception - Illegal Drugs	.24
Predisposition - Sensation Seeking	.11
Risk Perception - Legal Drugs	-.06

The results obtained using these models must be interpreted with caution, given the exploratory nature of the study and the nature and distribution of the variables included in the models. Summarising the results obtained with these models by means of the multiple regression models and shown in the Table, they indicate the following:

1. The Risk Perception and Risk Predisposition Subscales, both separately and jointly, are able to explain a large part of the variance of Risk Behaviours, be it on the total scale (where they explain almost one half: 48%), on the Driving under the Influence of Drugs or other variables subscale (almost 30%) or the frequent use of illegal drugs subscale (half of the variance). In short, *Risk Perception and Risk*

Predisposition were found to be very relevant determinants of Risk Behaviour in our study.

2. Taking into account the relative weight (indicated by the beta coefficients for each variable) of the different subscales when explaining the variance of the Behaviours, our results indicate the following:

   a. When explaining the variance in the overall Behaviours Scale, the three Predisposition Subscales jointly ($0.44 + 0.15 + 0.09 = 0.68$) make a relative contribution that is more than double that made by the Perception Subscales ($0.22 + 0.04 = 0.26$).

   b. When explaining the variance of driving vehicles under the effects of drugs and other variables, the Predisposition Subscales jointly also make an explanatory contribution ($0.24 + 0.14 + 0.13 = 0.51$) which is almost double the explanatory capacity of the Perception Subscales. ($0.15 + 0.12 = 0.27$).

   c. When explaining the variance of the Behaviours relating to the "frequent" use of illegal drugs, the joint contribution of the Predisposition Subscales ($0,54 + 0,11 = 0,65$) is also double the relative explanatory capacity relating to the Perception Subscales jointly ($0.4 + 0.06 = 0.30$).

3. In the three preceding points, we have summarised the fact that in our study the Risk Predisposition Subscales explain a larger part of the Behaviours than the Risk Perception Subscales. Looking at the subscales separately:

   a. Of the five subscales included as independent variables, the one that shows a more notable explanatory capacity for Behaviours is the Predisposition to Drugs as reasons or motivations for going out and choosing recreational venues. This result is eye-catching, both if we take into account the notable differences to be observed in respect of the other four subscales, and if we bear in mind that this subscale is formed by two items only.

   b. The subscale that seems to take second place in respect of its explanatory capacity is the Risk Perception Subscale relating to the use of illegal drugs, followed by the Risk Predisposition associated with Sensation Seeking.

   c. The Predisposition Subscales associated with Social Deviation and Perception relating to legal drugs, in this order, are the least useful in explaining the variance of the Risk Behaviours Scale and Subscales. Both are included in the models of the total Risk Behaviours Scale and the Driving under the influence of drugs and other variables Subscale, and only the Social Deviation Subscale is excluded from the model on "frequent" use of illegal drugs,which may seem surprising to a certain extent. However, in respect of going out and excessive consumption, we must remember that this is for many young people a normalised social process at this point in their lives.

Overall Risks Scale

Throughout this present study we have been selecting, identifying and describing a number of individual characteristics of an attitudinal, cognitive and behavioural nature as indicators of an overall characteristic associated with Risk. In addition, we have contributed certain data that support these Risk indicators being grouped in dimensions or domains relatively interpretable from either a theoretical and homogeneous perspective or from an empirical point of view in our sample.

To complete the description of the results a final relevant datum in support of the approach to "Risk" that has been adoptd in this study should be provided. The 23 variables that have been taken into account in this study need to be combined in an endeavour to form a Total Risks Scale. An analysis of the internal consistency of the 23 variables considered as indicators of risk, indicate that the alpha coefficient has an appropriate value (alpha = 0,82). Therefore, these data support it being possible and consistent to speak of "risks" among the young Europeans who go out to enjoy themselves at the weekend with the orientation used in this study, not only theoretically but also empirically.

Thus these 23 variables could be grouped on an overall "risks" scale in our sample. Nevertheless, we considered that a study of the distribution of this scale would not provide additional relevant information, given that the Perception, Predisposition and Behaviour Scales have already shown substantially coinciding results in respect of their association with different variables (gender, age, educational level, etc.). We can infer that, in all probability, the total "risks" scale would provide redundant information to that already included in preceding sections.

Summary

In this present study, we have described a number of individual characteristics that may be grouped within a dimension that we can theoretically denominate "risk taking" and which is consistent from the statistical viewpoint of our sample.

Many of the adolescents and young adults that comprise our sample do not see any risk - or at any rate, a very reduced or moderate one - in behaviours clearly dangerous to health, such as smoking a pack of cigarettes per day, taking several alcoholic drinks in a very short space of time, using cannabis habitually or taking ecstasy or LSD on a relatively frequent basis. The risk perception associated with all these behaviours is highly interrelated, to such an extent that a high or low level in any of them tends to be accompanied by the same tendency in all the others. We have observed that risk perception, associated with consumption patterns of legal drugs (subscale) on the one hand, and illegal drugs (subscale) on the other, are associated in a consistent way which indicates that both type of subjective are highly interrelated. However, there is also an important sector that continues to show discrepancies in its perception of the use of legal and illegal drugs.

In addition, almost half of those interviewed admit that drug use is a motivation or reason that has some importance in their recreational life. A good proportion of the young acknowledge that they engage in behaviours associated with sensation seeking in a relatively frequent way and, to a lesser extent, antisocial behaviours. These motivations and behaviours are also substantially interrelated, which indicates that a high level in one of them substantially increases the probability of a high level in one of the others. This certain Predisposition towards the assumption of risks may be segmented (subscales) in dimensions relating to drug use as a motivation for going out, sensation seeking and social deviance.

Finally, we observe a higher than desirable prevalence among the young of risk behaviours such as driving a vehicle under the influence of alcohol or other drugs, the problematic use of substances, alcohol abuse and the relatively frequent use of illegal drugs. Although all of these risk behaviours are substantially interrelated, we observe even greater interrelation between behaviours relating to the frequent use of illegal drugs (subscale) on the one hand, and the remaining behaviours such as driving vehicles under the influence of alcohol and drugs, etc. (subscale) on the other.

We see a very similar pattern in the way that the relatively high and low levels of these Risk Perception, Predisposition and Behaviour are distributed among the diverse social groups. The high risk levels (low Risk Perception, high Risk Predisposition and a high Risk Behaviours frequency) are generally found among men, normally aged between 24 to 28 years of age who have only completed primary education and who consider themselves to be poor students. Very often, these levels of higher risk are present more in young people from families with a very low socio-economic status and particularly from families who have not controlled or only slightly controlled nocturnal recreational habits. Finally it is consistently observed that these high risk levels in the Perception, Predisposition and Behaviours are very much more probable among the young people who are more involved in recreational nightlife, i.e. those who go out more often and who stay out longer.

Our results consistently show that risk perceptions, predispositions and behaviours are solidly interrelated in our sample. And what is more, the first two are capable of jointly explaining half the variance in the values, with the Predisposition to drugs as reasons or motivations for going out and selecting venues, Risk Perception associated with illegal drugs and the Sensation Seeking being the major determinants of Risk Behaviours levels.

Our study provides useful information in ascertaining the extent of "risk" among adolescents and young adults who take part in recreational nightlife. In addition, it assists us in identifying social sectors where these risks are more frequent, which may be useful when targeting educational and preventive strategies. Finally, our study also identifies certain variables that may have a substantial influence on the formation of subjective variables (Perception and Predisposition) and on the behavioural patterns associated with risk - educational maladjustment, slight or non-existent family control over recreational nightlife habits, and high degree of involvement with nightlife. Finally,

our study leads us to consider that the educational and preventive strategies aimed at reducing risk behaviours among these young people must take into account the motivations towards drug use, the objectives of sensation seeking through risk, and the perceptual aspects relating to the risk implicit in substance use. Designing and putting these preventive measures into operation requires studies and research that clarify the processes of learning and engaging in these risk behaviours, including micro-environmental factors (educational, family and social) and individual factors (perceptive and attitude) that determine them.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND CRITERIA FOR PREVENTION POLICIES

The role of risk in recreational drug use is an established fact. Exploring risk is a complex affair in which individual, social, biological, chemical and even ethical aspects intervene, and, investigating it involves ascertaining the dynamic established between all these elements. One premise is that risk-taking is part of life and contributes to the developmental process of human beings. In this sense, it is not surprising that risks are omnipresent and that a great deal of collective energy is directed at controlling risks and at safety. At the same time, the process of social change involves establishing relationships with new forms of risk, and this brings us to our central subject, the trilogy of young people, recreational life and drug use.

The components that intervene in the recreational arena play a central role in the socialisation of the young in detriment to other traditional socialising agents such as the family or the school, particularly during adolescence. Among the diverse activities that are developing within this arena, drug use holds an important position and it is, therefore, not surprising that it is considered a priority subject in the study of risk. Many are the questions that may be raised in this respect. Is taking risks essential and inevitable in life? When does it become dangerous? Up to what point should recreational life be seen as an occasion forrisk-taking? Or even, to what extent must risk-taking be a central component of recreational life? What is the role (or roles) of drugs within recreational life and in risk-taking? Are there alternatives to the dynamic whereby taking risks or using drugs occupies a central place in young people enjoying themselves? Is it possible for them to enjoy themselves without risks or with fewer risks?

Searching for risks may be a road which leads to the use and abuse of drugs, but drug use also entails other risks beyond those specific to it, given that it is associated with other behaviours (driving vehicles, sexual relations, violence). Therefore we find that *the role of risk is as much a cause as a consequence of drug use*. Existing studies looking at this role of risk as an aetiological variable are few.

The central idea that has directed this study revolves round the perception and experience of risk. Firstly, empirical qualitative data were presented from which

mechanisms were detected that assist the young in controlling and neutralising these risk perceptions and experiences. Secondly, there was an analysis based on quantitative empirical data which was used to study the relationship between perception and predisposition to risk and risk behaviours associated particularly with drug use.

In the qualitative section of this study, we were able to verify the central place occupied by risk in the recreational life of and in the use of drugs among young people. The diverse strategies adopted by the young in respect of risk were analysed. Some adopt real risk control measures which lead them to use less. Others do not even perceive the risks, or consider them to be inevitable. Some actually enjoy them - and these individuals may even come to see risk as a component that contributes to their liberation and which renews them, considering risk control policies as an intrusion into their personal life. Other young people believe they are exercising some control of risk on the basis of different strategies such as thinking that the drugs that are really dangerous are precisely the ones they do not take or that the true danger lies not in taking them but in their adulteration. It is undeniable that experience hardens them or teaches them to get round certain risks although, in parallel, it is also preparing them – as they themselves see it - to take further risks or to think that they can get away with their behaviour since the risks are under control. Excluding the most radical who like risk for its own sake - the risk-seekers - in general, they like to have the sensation of exercising some control over their behaviours and the risks they take. Most of the time, this idea of control is not very well-developed and is, as we said, more of a sense of reassurance than a really effective strategy for the prevention of risks.

It is rather surprising that young people involved in recreational nightlife show so little interest in prevention, as was noted in our study on ecstasy (Calafat et al, 1998), when we discovered that, compared with the control group, it was precisely these people who were the least aware of the problems associated with drug use and who were the least interested in preventive measures. This often occurs because of a lack of information on the dangers arising from both legal and illegal drugs but, at times, there are errors in the information so that they tend to identify problems with drugs as only those problems produced in the long term - addiction, depression, etc. and after prolonged use. The lack of real information with a scientific basis is accompanied by little interest in ascertaining this information, since they frequently believe that they already know enough about drugs , or because they decide to experiment and learn to solve the problems from their own experiences and those of their companions.

Certainly the true problem resides in the fact that *the logic of fun and enjoyment is not exactly the logic of prevention*, at least on the basis of the generalised situation in recreation at present. Even those campaigns that attempt to limit themselves to risk prevention encounter problems in reaching their targets since the more they are used the more it responds to another logic. A recent review of current preventive programmes in European recreational settings (Burkhart, 1999) notes that the majority of such programmes are based mainly on providing information and that, contrary to what they supposedly claim, most of the people at whom these programmes are targeted are

abstainers or occasional rather than frequent users. All this leads us to paint a rather pessimistic picture, both for the difficulties of the young themselves in establishing a recreational life with fewer risks and showing greater interest in preventive measures, and for the difficulties of certain preventive aims to reach the young and be effective.

Above all, should prevention intervene prior to the young becoming involved in recreational life and drug use? Do preventive measures, often based almost exclusively on distributing informative brochures on the problems caused by drug use, actually do any good? Should more ambitious preventive interventions be sought that question the construction of the significance given to entertainment that is being promoted by the leisure industry?

Important conclusions with implications for prevention are also derived from the quantitative section of the study. The principal one is the obvious influence exercised by risk perception over individuals in their decision to take drugs and control their use. However, there are other very obvious elemental conclusions such as the existence of very serious misinformation on a very basic level that must be corrected, and in order for more complex or ambitious preventive designs to function, they must deal with these problems first. A large section of the young do not consider smoking a pack of cigarettes a day to be a problem and they even consider the habitual use of cannabis as less dangerous than tobacco! Nor do they see drinking four alcoholic drinks in one session as particularly problematic when it is obvious that it affects - among other things - their ability to drive. All this leads us to think that preventive measures must make a real effort in resolving matters that seem elemental and which involve the most widely used drugs.

Together with this low perception of certain behaviours that objectively imply more dangers than they are aware of, there is also a certain proportion of young people who shows discrepancies in the dangers they attribute to legal and illegal drugs. These results highlight a need for applying early educational and preventive measures directed at adjusting subjective risk perceptions associated with drug use to their level of real harm and danger. Such educational and preventive strategies directed so that the young adequately perceive the risks in drug use must take into account not only the use patterns of illegal substances but also those relating to legal drugs. This is an inescapable task and one that cannot be delayed. This situation of misinformation indicates *the absence or the insufficiency of preventive actions prior to an individual entering recreational life*.

However, there is some optimism in the fact that ecstasy use is seen as problematic by a significant number of young people, which may possibly lead to a greater control over this substance (more data on this class of user may be found in the preceding chapter). Only a few years ago, these results were quite different, in the sense of said substance or its group of substances being considered less problematic. The present situation leads one to think that the stabilisation, and even drop, in the use of ecstasy being shown in epidemiological studies in various countries has some connection with the more negative perception of ecstasy that is found in these countries. This leads us to

reflect on an effective way of producing a preventive influence by resurrecting the idea that transmitting adequate information on drugs would be the best strategy to result in greater risk perception, as a first stage in prevention (Johnston, 1995).

The transmission criteria of preventive messages through the media have been changing. Several decades ago, the transmission of the effects of drug use was based on high-impact messages that exaggerated the dramatic consequences of drugs. Such primary prevention was a failure and it went on to use another format in which there was no specific mention of drugs in order to prevent the messages from being rejected. What has to be decided, is what precisely we mean by 'adequate' information. This work has presented a list of attitudes and arguments with which the young manage to neutralise risk perception or legitimise the risk they take with drug use. Adequate information means responding to these arguments with precise information based on both experience and scientific data.

Faced with the difficulties of preventive action within recreational life itself, it is important to discover and reinforce certain possibilities for action. In this sense, the results point to the importance of gender, family control and educational levels. It is a well-known fact, and corroborated in many research works, that there is a higher involvement of men in the most abusive drug uses - although, it is quite true that the prevalence level of women has been equal to that of men for some time. And, in speaking of gender, it is worth mentioning that the greater involvement of men in abusive drug use is possibly linked to their greater predisposition to risk behaviours. It seems that this characteristic is being maintained as peculiar to the masculine identity. This merits an approach that takes these differences into account, although it would be neither logical nor practical to take separate approaches but it is worth bearing in mind that drug abuse is linked to masculinity. And this acquires a great deal of importance in the preventive field, in creating strategies and policies that underline or highlight those aspects of female identity, sensitivity and lifestyle that should be reinforced in women and be transmitted to men.

As for the subject of family control over young people going out at night, the results are conclusive. There is an obvious lack of family control over children on these occasions. The data show that when there is family control - except when it is excessive - there is a higher risk perception, a lower risk predisposition and less involvement in risk behaviours. This points to the necessity of instigating family prevention programmes that teach the parents to involve themselves in their children's lives. This also implies redefining the idea of parental control and authority, giving it an educational and protective content.

The subject of educational level also merits similar considerations. Lack of interest in studying is related to the diverse aspects of risk that we have been exploring. From this dimension, school is the institution which should be responsible for providing a more adequate response to this situation. The educational sphere is losing ground as a socialising entity, particularly with adolescents, which is a handicap when it comes to the school acting as a transmitter of information, messages and values. It is necessary to

ask oneself what has happened for it to be this way, and to attempt to reinforce the links of positive commitment of young people to the institution.

The quantitative section of the study was able to verify the narrow relationship existing between risk perception, risk predisposition and risk behaviours. This implies opening up a research route into the relationships that are being established between these variables, and this means increasing the possibilities of preventive intervention. We have mentioned the necessity for a theoretical model explaining drug use in recreational settings since peculiarities exist there that are not found in other forms of use (type of people, motivations, types of drug, etc.). It should be a model that gives information on the different personal and environmental variables that are involved, such as how the learning process is produced, what role the use of one drug plays in the use of others, what the implication between sensation-seeking and risk-taking is. It is particularly important to understand the role of the culture itself, generated and nourished by the recreational activity and supported by enormous economic interests within a situation lacking any critical attitude to the problems originating in this context.

Prevention can and must proceed from many initiatives and paradigms and, in addition, it is essential that it should be so, as the variables involved are many. However, it is also necessary for the different preventive strategies to be sufficiently coordinated and to complement one another. This has not been seen to be happening at the present time. The diversity of interests emerging from scientific circles is leading to opposing and confusing debates that do not always contribute to the critical and dialectic construction of knowledge. To do this, it would be necessary to achieve greater coherence in the debate about the significance of drugs and their risks within the professional sphere. This would contribute to giving consistency to the information transmitted from the preventive sphere, facilitating the acquisition of perceptions by the young that are closer to the scientific truth.

For this to occur, debate at a professional level is also necessary, reaching agreements that are both ethical and scientific in respect of drugs in general and each specific substance in particular. Such a debate is without a doubt difficult and complex but it is a necessary and fundamental step. Within the existing medical and biological as well as social and preventive experience, this debate could be based on a solid empirical basis (from science and experience). At the same time, ethical (or bioethical) questions need to be asked , to contribute to the creation collective and individual values with which to define the boundaries between good and bad. There is a large tradition in modern societies of ethical and moral discourse that perhaps it is essential to resurrect in order to confront and face social work and action (Assier-Andrieu, 1999).

There are questions that have already been raised and about which there is already open debate. For example, is there a need to introduce rapid chemical analyses during techno nights in the future? There is no easy answer. If a determined approach seems to be a good idea for secondary prevention strategies, this itself may represent an obstacle to primary prevention in the sense that it may encourage - invite perhaps- some young people to try it because conditions are favourable. What can be done so

that these two strategies can coexist without either negatively influencing the other? In-depth debate on prevention is impregnated with the norms and values that each of us transmit and defend. As a prevention specialist, balancing one's convictions and public health interests is not an easy matter. But does the destiny of prevention not lie here? As Graf states (1997) it is not easy but this does not mean that it should not be attempted and, what is more, the role and authority bestowed on the scientific and professional collective, as guarantors of a society capable of facing up to its problems, depends upon it

Returning to the present study, we have highlighted the principal strategies and arguments that lead to many young people taking risks without their being able to rely on solid and scientific information. The arguments that contribute to eluding risk perception are many, as are the arguments that facilitate drug-related risk-taking, without any serious reflection on the costs of these risks at an overall level of individual and collective existence. Taking these arguments into consideration is fundamental to the development of prevention strategies directed at the young and at the professionals on whom their socialisation and education depend.

Accentuating the risks that individuals perceive and take must not let us forget the other dimension of risks, the one that proceeds from the context itself in which the young act in order to enjoy themselves and have fun and which is approached in other chapters. The concepts of 'healthy settings' or 'safer dancing' refers to the objective of developing health strategies in the night-time recreational establishments. This notion combines the term "set" as a description of the physical and psychic structure of an individual and his social set, with his "setting" which is the physical and human environment that surrounds him. Recreational venues are considered to be places where the young spend a great deal of their time and where they take decisions that directly affect their health. On the basis of this focus new approximations are emerging on health and risks in specific environments (Kilfoyle & Bellis, 1999). The findings presented in this study support the need for a holistic approach to future drugs prevention strategies.

7. CLUB HEALTH

A settings approach to Health
in the Night-time Environment

1. INTRODUCTION

Literally millions of young people throughout the world enjoy recreation across a range of night-time environments. Nightclubs, pubs, discos and bars have become a central point to the social and mental wellbeing of individuals, and dancing can be a healthy and enjoyable form of physical exercise. A lively nightlife can also bring numerous economic benefits to a town or city, including employment, tourism and investment. There are, however, substantial challenges to health that inevitably exist alongside a thriving nightlife. Nightclubs are dark, noisy, unventilated and crowded, and facilities such as clearly marked fire exits and well-maintained washrooms are often inadequate or absent. Consumption of large amounts of alcohol and the widespread use of recreational drugs exacerbate the health risks, with intoxication, accidents and violence creating an array of difficulties for club users, workers and health providers alike.

'Club Health' embraces the many different health issues that can affect people, younger or older, within the context of nightclubs, club culture and the wider night-time environment. Through adopting a 'settings' approach[1] (see Box 1) it seeks to examine the behavioural, social and environmental aspects that influence club-goers' health and the health of those who work in this environment. Furthermore, Club Health aims to help protect both health and fun in nightclubs by encouraging the development of inclusive solutions to health protection and promotion. Such solutions need dialogue and cooperation between a variety of different groups including: club owners, health officials, environmental officers, police, politicians, alcohol and tobacco industries and club goers themselves. Currently, such dialogue is often the exception rather than the rule. Initiatives such as Club Health Conferences (Liverpool 1997, Amsterdam 1999, Italy 2002) seek to promote such dialogue and encourage the exchange of research and good practice within and between countries. The sections below describe some of the health problems, ongoing initiatives and potential solutions highlighted in these conferences and through other aspects of Club Health work.

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[1] World Health Organisation (1997). *The Jakarta Declaration on Leading Health Promotion into the 21st Century*. http://www.who.int/hpr/docs/jakarta/english.html. Accessed 18th September 2000

2. RECREATIONAL DRUG USE

In recent years, the use of recreational drugs has been closely associated with nightclub attendance. All available evidence shows that recreational use of illicit psychoactive substances in nightclubs is increasingly widespread and that the prevalence of drug use amongst club-goers is significantly higher than that of young people in general. **Table 7.1** shows the percentages of young people reporting having ever used selected drug types in three different surveys conducted in the UK: the British Crime Survey[2], covering 16-29 year olds in the general population; the Club Health 2000 survey[3] of 16-29 year olds returning to the UK from Ibiza (a night club resort); and the Release Drugs and Dance Survey[4] of 15-30+ year olds at dance events. Both the Club Health 2000 and Release surveys found prevalence of illegal drug use to be significantly higher amongst young people than those reported by the British Crime Survey. For example, 10% of the general population aged 16-29 in the UK report ever having used ecstasy. This figure rises to 39.2% amongst young people returning to the UK from Ibiza. Many of these individuals will have visited the island to participate in its nightclubs and other nightlife entertainment. Further, lifetime prevalence of ecstasy use rises again to a staggering 85% of young people actually attending a dance club in the UK.

Table 7. 1: PERCENTAGE OF YOUNG PEOPLE EVER HAVING TAKEN SPECIFIC ILLEGAL DRUG TYPES, BY SURVEY

	British Crime Survey	**Club Health 2000**	**Release Drugs and Dance**
Cannabis	42%	51%	95%
Amphetamine	20%	27%	84%
Ecstasy	10%	39%	85%
Cocaine	6%	26%	62%

2 Ramsay M and Partridge S (1999). *Drug Misuse Declared in 1998: results from the British Crime Survey*. Home Office Research Study 197. Home Office: London

3 Bellis MA, Hughes K, Kilfoyle M, Bennett A, and Chaudry M (2001). *Ibiza Uncovered II*. In Press

4 Release (1997). *Release Drugs and Dance Survey: An insight into the culture*. Release: London

The very high percentages of individuals that have used each drug type in the Release survey show that many of the individuals surveyed will have tried several different types of drugs. This supports the opinion that a "pick 'n' mix" culture has emerged in recent years whereby users are taking whatever substances may be available at the time, whether amphetamine, cocaine or ecstasy (British Medical Association 1997). Furthermore, many recreational drug users appear to be engaging in poly-drug use: taking more than one type of drug at a time, and consuming alcohol in combination with other drugs, thus increasing the risks to their health. *The Sonar 98* study (Calafat A et al. 1999) enquired about respondents' poly-drug consumption habits and found that 'alcohol and cannabis' was the most widely used combination, which more than half of all respondents reported using together. Over 10% of all respondents reported using alcohol, cannabis and ecstasy at the same time, whilst almost 8% reported combining alcohol, cannabis, ecstasy and cocaine (see **Table 7.2**).

Table 7.2: DRUG COMBINATIONS USED IN THE SAME NIGHT BY RESPONDENTS TO THE SONAR 98 STUDY[5, 6, 7]

Drug Combinations	% of respondents reporting use
Alcohol + cannabis	50.6%
Alcohol + ecstasy	11.1%
Alcohol + cannabis + ecstasy	10.4%
Cannabis + ecstasy	8.4%
Alcohol + cocaine	7.8%
Alcohol + cannabis + ecstasy + cocaine	7.8%
Alcohol + cannabis + cocaine	2.0%

Drugs have short-term and/or long-term physiological and/or psychological effects. Within the clinical environment this is precisely the purpose of drugs, in treating physical or mental ill health. Prescribed drugs have side effects but if an individual exhibits an adverse reaction to a particular drug, his or her medical supervisor will administer an alternative treatment. However, in relation to illicit drugs, no one is responsible for assessing an individual's suitability for, or reaction to, a particular substance. Furthermore, many kinds of illegal drugs are not controlled because they are manufactured outside of the clinical environment, and are therefore all the more dangerous. For example, a user simply does not know if what they have bought as ecstasy contains any amount of MDMA or what dose of MDMA it may contain. Many tablets seized by the police and clinically tested have contained no MDMA but instead contain different combinations of both active chemicals and substances that have little

5 British Medical Association (1997). *The Misuse of Drugs*. Harwood Academic Publishers: Amsterdam

6 Calafat A et al. (1999). *Night Life in Europe and Recreative Drug Use: Sonar 98*. IREAFREA & European Commission: Spain. ISBN:84-605-9103-4

7 Bennett A (1998). *Thrills, Pills and Bellyaches*, in Kilfoyle M and Bellis MA (eds.) (1998). Club Health: the health of the clubbing nation. Liverpool John Moores University: Liverpool. ISBN:1-902051-04-1

or no physiological effects but which may be more harmful than MDMA itself (Bennett A 1998).

Several countries now operate drug testing and monitoring services, such as the Drug Information and Monitoring Service (DIMS) in the Netherlands[8]. DIMS offers rapid on-site testing of drugs both at dance events and in the organisation's offices. DIMS workers analyse drugs brought to them and can inform the user what is in the drug and explain about the possible risks of consuming it. In this way, users can be prevented from taking drugs that contain dangerous substances. At the same time drugs agencies and the Ministry of Health gain an understanding of what types of substances are in circulation. A detailed database is maintained on the contents of drugs analysed by the service. In the UK, these types of services are illegal, although some groups such as the Green Party Drugs Group have carried out ecstasy testing in underground nightclubs[9]. St George's Hospital in London does have a licence from the Home Office to test pills gathered at the Ministry of Sound nightclub in London, although the results of these tests cannot be disseminated (Winstock, A. and Vingoe, L.1999). In the absence of both quality control at production and quality testing prior to using (in many countries), the variable content of drugs labelled as ecstasy, cocaine and LSD can contribute to ill health on a number of levels. Injury may be sustained through adverse reactions, allergies, confusion, overdose or dehydration, depending on the drug (or combination of drugs) taken.

Even when drugs are not counterfeit, habitual use, particularly of stimulant drugs like cocaine and amphetamine can cause exhaustion and weight loss, which along with mental illness can also weaken the body's defences against infections, and have a generally negative influence on the user's quality of life. Furthermore, the long-term effects of repeated use of new recreational drugs like ecstasy are not yet known although there is some evidence that ecstasy may permanently impair memory[10]. Importantly however, aside from the health risks directly associated with illegal drug use, the effects through the legal status of drugs should not be underestimated. A club-goer in possession of illegal drugs is vulnerable to criminal arrest and charge, even if they are not carrying large quantities of drugs. An individual caught with just a few ecstasy tablets for friends may be treated as a 'dealer'. While it is essential that the acute clinical health costs associated with the side effects of drug use continue to be recognised, the stigmatising effect that a criminal record may have on an individual caught possessing, for instance, cannabis should also be acknowledged.

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[8] Niesink R, Nikken G, Jansen F and Spruit I (1999). *The drug information and monitoring service (DIMS) in the Netherlands: A unique tool for monitoring party drugs*. Proceedings of Club Health 2000, Amsterdam, 10-12 November 1999

[9] *'Clubbers welcome Green Party ecstasy tests'*, (1998). Mixmag, 81, February 1998, p21

[10] Reneman L, Schmand B, de Bruin K, vd Brink W, Gunning WB (1999). *Impaired delayed memory function in individuals who stopped using MDMA* ("Ecstasy"). Proceedings of Club Health 2000, Amsterdam, 10-12 November 1999

Alcohol

The focus on illicit drug use within the club scene has tended to deflect attention away from the most popular drug of all: alcohol. Huge quantities of alcohol are consumed in clubs and other night-time venues. Aside from the long-term health impacts of alcohol use, excessive consumption of alcohol can lead to overdose and alcoholic poisoning and intoxicated individuals can easily fall and injure themselves. Alcohol also affects behaviour. It can enhance aggression, depression and a range of emotions; and hinders co-ordination as well as physical and mental self-control. Importantly in a nightclub setting alcohol can lead to accidents and violence. In the UK, alcohol is strongly linked to violent crime with around 70% of stabbings, 70% of beatings, and 65% of murders being alcohol-related[11]. One in six people presenting at hospital accident and emergency departments require treatment for alcohol-related injuries or problems; a figure that increases to four in five during peak times[12]. In 1998, 1% of all presentations at the Accident and Emergency department in the Royal Liverpool University Hospital resulted from nightclub attendance (almost 1000 cases in a single city hospital). Over half were admitted as a result of assault, whilst most accidental injuries were due to people either falling down stairs in clubs or sustaining glass injuries. At least one third of these cases were noticeably intoxicated by alcohol (Luke, C. 1999).

Both alcohol and psychoactive substances are also strongly associated with increased levels of other antisocial behaviour. The Sonar 98 study found that frequent users of various substances were more likely to engage in antisocial behaviour, as shown in **Table 7.3.** Frequent users of ecstasy were most likely to have both driven without a licence and to have shoplifted, whilst frequent cannabis users were most likely to have been involved in vandalism and to have been in a fight. This is quite surprising considering cannabis is largely perceived as a non-aggressive drug.

Table 7.3: RATES OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR REPORTED IN THE SONAR 98 STUDY

Have you ever… alcohol users	Average	Daily	Frequent cannabis users	Frequent ecstasy users
Driven without a licence?	56%	66%	70%	73%
Been involved in vandalism?	53%	67%	73%	71%
Shoplifted?	61%	65%	74%	76%
Been in a fight?	53%	58%	63%	53%

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11 Alcohol Concern (2000). *Alcohol and Crime*. www.alcoholconcern.org.uk/information/factsheets/crimeinfo.htm. Accessed 21 September 2000

12 Health Education Authority (1998). *Perceptions of alcohol related attendances in A&E departments in England: a national survey*. Alcohol and Alcoholism, 33(4), pp354-361. Cited by Alcohol Concern (2000). Britain's Ruin?: meeting government objectives via a national alcohol strategy. London

Excessive consumption of alcohol within the night-time environment can also contribute to other risk taking behaviour, including practising unprotected sex. A study undertaken in Manchester found that young women were more likely to engage in unprotected sex whilst under the influence of alcohol, despite being aware of the importance of condom use (Farrow R and Arnold P 2000).

Smoking

For many people, tobacco smoking is inextricably linked with socialising and the consumption of alcohol, both of which are major activities within nightclubs and bars. The combined Club Health Surveys of 1999 and 2000 identified 62.8% (n = 1146) of young tourists (aged 16-24) from the UK smoked tobacco while visiting Ibiza. In the UK population surveys indicate that in general only 36% (Office for National Statistics 2000) of 16-24 year olds smoke and consequently clubbing can be seen as attracting tobacco users and/or encouraging tobacco use. The health risks of smoking, including cancers, heart disease and respiratory problems, are widely known. However, even for non-smokers the dangers of passive smoking may be an issue particularly relevant to the unventilated and crowded nightclub/bar environment. More specifically the staff (regardless of smoking status) can be exposed nightly to high levels of passive smoking.

Acute incidents can also be associated with cigarette use. In nightclub surroundings lit cigarettes can easily cause small accidental burns. A typical risk in clubs is associated with those dancing while holding a lit cigarette. Reports for Accident and Emergency Units include individuals with serious eye injuries resulting from being accidentally stabbed in the eye with the cigarette of a nearby dancer. More wide spread fires can also be caused where highly flammable substances are stored or form part of the buildings fabric. A recent fire in Holland led to the death of ten individuals between the ages of 13 and 25 as part of a disco celebration[13]. The types of clothing often worn in clubs are often highly flammable which means that, should a fire break out, the risk to clubbers is increased.

3. SEXUAL HEALTH

Nightclubs provide a social opportunity for many individuals to meet sexual partners. According to a recent study by the drugs agency Release, 54% of club-goers surveyed "had had sex with someone they met at a dance event", with almost 20% reporting having met four or more sexual partners in a club. When asked what they most enjoyed about clubbing, sex did not feature as an important issue for most respondents,

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[13] '*Dutch fire toll climbs to 10 with 17 fighting for life*', (2001). Guardian Unlimited, Wednesday January 3, 2001,

suggesting that levels of sexual activity may be higher due to the disinhibiting effects of alcohol and the reported euphoric effects of stimulant drugs like ecstasy, amphetamine and cocaine. According to the 1996 Health Monitor for England, "almost a third of [18-20 year olds] admitted having unprotected sex during the past year" (Ahmed, K. 1997). Unprotected sex can lead to sexual transmitted diseases (including HIV) and unwanted pregnancies. In 1998, around 101,500 teenage girls in England became pregnant 8Office for National Statistics 2000) one of the highest levels of teenage pregnancy in Europe, and in 1999, 34,452 women in England are known to have had abortions (Office for National Statistics 2000).

In clubs, pubs and elsewhere in the night-time environment the answers to parts of these problems may revolve around simple measures such as making sure condom machines are provided and that they are not poorly maintained (Kilfoyle, M and Bellis, MA (eds.) 1998). Even when condoms are available a night out may still end with unsafe sex and consequently post coital measures such as emergency contraception must be available when most needed. Friday and Saturday nights are usually the most popular for clubs and therefore emergency contraception should be available over the weekend and not just on weekdays (a few days later) when it may be too late.

Safe sex is also an issue for specialist clubbing areas such as those appealing to gay and bisexual men. A recent outbreak of syphilis in Manchester (UK) was associated with gay men participating in nightlife in an area historically associated with the gay scene[14]. Over a period of twelve months 21 gay men (who subsequently developed syphilis) had over 1000 different sexual partners. Importantly, a number of the gay men used drugs (particularly GHB with alcohol) specifically to reduce their inhibitions and worries about unsafe sex so that they could have new sexual partners without worrying about safe sex messages. The interaction between drug use, alcohol and sexual behaviour indicates the strong links between these risk factors and the importance of tackling all issues in a manner that recognises these relationships. The settings approach adopted by Club Health allows these issues to be discussed and tackled together as parts of the night-time experience.

4. THE NIGHTCLUB

Nightclub premises can pose significant risks to the health of both club-goers and workers. Subdued lighting, unsecured fixtures and makeshift venues can cause falls and other accidents. Lack of ventilation and temperature control, crowded dancefloors and inadequate provision of free water can contribute to overheating and dehydration, particularly if club-goers are using illegal substances. The absence of trained staff to

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[14] Clark P, Cook PA, Syed Q, Ashton J, Bellis MA (2001). *Re-emerging syphilis: lessons from the Manchester outbreak*. Liverpool John Moores University. ISBN: 0-902051-23-8

perform first aid and recognise more serious problems can exacerbate the problem, and can place an unnecessary strain on local health services. Extensive lighting and sound systems may be used in non-purpose built premises with faulty electrical systems and poor structural safety posing the risk of major incidences including fires and building collapse. Fire exits may be hidden, blocked or locked and staff may be untrained to cope with an emergency should one arise. Overcrowding of venues can also increase the dangers. In 1996 the owner of a nightclub in the UK was jailed for four months after a head count of club-goers evacuated from his venue (following a fire alarm) totalled 260 when the licensing conditions for the venue stated that numbers must not exceed 160[15]. Had there been a real fire, the consequences may have been fatal (e.g. in Gothenburg, 1998, 60 people under the age of 20 died in a dance hall fire - 400 young people had been crammed into premises which were only licensed to hold 150[16]).

High noise levels in nightclubs can damage hearing, triggering tinnitus (a ringing in the ears) and even contributing to irreversible noise induced hearing loss. Many nightclubs produce sound levels of up to 120 decibels - workplace employees are required to use hearing protection when daily sound levels exceed 90 decibels[17]. There have been reports of music being played in clubs at a peak noise level of 139 decibels, only slightly below the pain threshold[18]. A survey conducted by the Royal National Institute for Deaf People found that 62% of regular club-goers report problems with their hearing[19]. In the USA and Canada, volunteers with the DanceSafe organisation staff kiosks at dance clubs and events from where they distribute free earplugs, as well as condoms and information[20].

Broken glass also poses a major threat to club-goers and club workers alike. A broken glass or bottle can become a lethal weapon in the hands of an aggressive individual, and substance use can increase a person's propensity to violence. Broken glass on dancefloors and elsewhere in clubs can cause accidental injury, particularly if the dancefloor is slippery. The dangers of broken glass are extended to the general public if glasses and drinks are removed from licensed premises. These problems can largely be avoided if venues introduce a policy of using only plastic or toughened glasses and bottles (which shatter into small, blunter fragments).

The number of glass related injuries in Liverpool has started to decline following a campaign launched through a partnership of local clubs, brewing companies, hospitals

15 'Owner jailed for nightclub overcrowding' (1996). Environmental Health News, 6 December 1996

16 '*Swedes mourn teen fire victims*', (1998). CNN News, October 31st 1998. www.cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9810/31/sweden.fire.02/.Accessed 18 January 2001

17 '*Loud music threat to young*', (1999). BBC News, Tuesday August 3rd 1999. http://news2.thls.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/health/newsid_409000/409987.stm. Accessed 16 January 2001

18 '*Loud music threat to young*', (1999). BBC News, Tuesday August 3rd 1999. http://news2.thls.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/health/newsid_409000/409987.stm. Accessed 16 January 2001

19 '*Loud music threat to young*', (1999). BBC News, Tuesday August 3rd 1999. http://news2.thls.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/health/newsid_409000/409987.stm. Accessed 16 January 2001

20 Larkin M (2000). '*Thwarting the agony of ecstasy?*'. The Lancet, v356, no.9231, August 26 2000

and a local drugs information agency (HIT). The 'Crystal Clear' campaign[21] was launched in response to the increasing number of glass-related injuries occurring through violence outside nightclubs and bars in the city. The campaign involved posters, beer-mats and t-shirts being distributed to clubs and pubs, and advertisements and features through the local media. Local licensees were encouraged to pass on the campaign's message to staff and customers to discourage the removal of glasses and bottles from their premises by clientele. As a result of this campaign the brewing companies involved agreed to produce plastic beer bottles for the city.

Club-goers can also contribute to their own personal health risks through their choice of clothing. Heat retaining clothing, including wool and nylon can contribute to overheating and dehydration[22], and synthetic materials used in fashionable clothing can be highly flammable (see above). Some fashion accessories associated with nightclubs can have damaging effects on health including, for example, the recent fad for patterned contact lenses which has led to health warnings regarding both possible permanent sight damage and the risks of infection through swapping lenses. Lack of adequate clothing is also a problem during winter months, when club-goers leave hot nightclubs for freezing temperatures outside. Provision of secure, adequate cloakrooms can encourage individuals to dress sensibly when attending a nightclub[23]. However, the extent of health problems caused by both clothing and violence can be affected by conditions outside the club (see below; the night-time environment).

Door supervisors

Most clubs and also many bars now employ door supervisors, or bouncers, to protect entrance to venues and deal with any violent incidents. However, such employees can sometimes be more of a problem than a solution where there is no statutory requirement for authorities to vet, register, train or monitor door supervisors. Such staff may have inadequate training or experience in dealing with crowd control and emergency situations arising from the combination of large numbers of people, heat, drugs and alcohol. Furthermore, door supervisors may themselves use violence towards clients or may be involved in drug dealing and other criminal activities such as extortion. It is thought that as many as six people have been killed by door supervisors in Britain[24] and many more have been injured; although standards are now improving.

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[21] HIT (2000). *Crystal Clear - June 1999: Reducing glass related injury*. www.hit.org.uk/camp/camp4.htm. Accessed 4th January 2001.

[22] Newcombe R (1994). *Safer Dancing: Guidelines for Good Practice at Dance Parties and Nightclubs*. Lifeline: Manchester

[23] London Drug Policy Forum (1996). Dance Till Dawn Safely: a code of practice on health and safety at dance venues. London Drug Policy Forum: London

[24] '*Doors closing on violent bouncers*', (1998). BBC News, Tuesday, March 31, 1998, http://news6. Thdo.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/newsid_71000/71723.stm. Accessed 16 January 2001

In the UK, there is no legal requirement for local authorities to impose a registration scheme for door supervisors, although the Local Government Miscellaneous Provisions Act of 1986 enables local authorities to introduce registration and sets out guidelines for doing so. In recognition of the problems that can be prevented through door supervisor registration, many local authorities in the UK have introduced registration schemes. These schemes typically involve training on basic first aid, equal opportunities, criminal and licensing law, and dealing with drugs[25]. Registered door supervisors may also be required to wear a badge bearing their registration number so that people may complain about individuals if they feel they have been treated inappropriately. Since the introduction of a door registration scheme in Liverpool, the number of casualties presenting at Royal Liverpool University Hospital's Accident and Emergency Department for treatment after having been assaulted by door staff has more than halved. Examples of good practice are being drawn from local arrangements, and will form the basis of the government's forthcoming national guidelines on door registration. Unfortunately, the current situation of separate 'voluntary' schemes means that an individual rejected for door staff registration in one local authority area can simply move to an area where no or an unlinked scheme exists. Consequently, there is wide support for a compulsory, national registration scheme for door supervisors overseen by central government. In the meantime a stronger network of communications between local authorities, police, and nightclub management might be effective in preventing individuals banned from working in one area simply moving to another.

5. SAFER DANCING GUIDELINES

There is no doubt that nightclubs can pose significant risks to the health of both club-goers and club-workers alike. However, these risks can easily be lessened if nightclub owners and managers adopt a few basic measures. In the UK, several agencies have produced guidelines for 'safer dancing'; highlighting those areas which nightclub operators should act on to provide a safe venue for both club-goers and staff. In 1996, for example, the London Drug Policy Forum published 'Dance Till Dawn Safely' outlining guidelines for licensing authorities and licensees in the London area (see **Box 2**):

Much progress has been made over the last few years in this field, with many large clubs in the UK now following safety advice and providing facilities for their clientele. At the same time however the commercialisation of clubbing appears to be turning many club-goers back to smaller venues[26]. Smaller clubs may have a better atmosphere

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[25] Greenwich local council (2001). www.greenwich.gov.uk/council/publicservices/doorsupe.htm. Accessed 12 January 2001.

[26] Byrom H (1998). '*The future of clubbing*'. The Independent on Sunday, 30 August 1998

and feel more intimate, but they are less likely to be able to provide facilities such as adequate chill out space and first-aid attention due to both financial limitations and available space. There has also been a large increase in the number of 'chameleon' bars opening in the UK which operate as normal pubs throughout the day but as 'mini-clubs' at night. These bars have their own dancefloors and DJs and usually hold late night licences[27].There is often no admission charge to such bars and it is therefore difficult to keep count of how many people are inside the venue; potentially causing overcrowding and problems if an emergency occurs.

BOX 2: Safer Dancing Guidelines (London Drug Policy Forum31)

- **Prevention of overcrowding**
  Ensuring that the maximum capacity of a venue is not exceeded, and that certain areas of a venue do not become overcrowded, particularly passageways, stairways and 'chill out' areas.
- **Air conditioning and ventilation**
  Ensuring there is adequate ventilation and/or air conditioning to maintain a comfortable temperature, and that all systems are in full working order.
- **Availability of drinking water**
  Free and unrestricted access to water should be ensured at all times, and drinking water supplies should never be shut off. Chilled soft drinks should also be available at the bar.
- **Further measures to combat overheating**
  Provision of a cooler and quieter area for dancers to rest and cool down. This area should have adequate seating and should not be allowed to become over-crowded. Secure cloakrooms should be available to leave coats.
- **Other environmental factors**
  Including securing all fixtures and fittings to prevent accidental injury; preventing access to potentially dangerous areas; employing glass collectors; regularly checking electrical systems; and ensuring noise levels remain safe.
- **Door supervisors**
  Adoption of a door registration scheme to ensure all supervisors are suitable for the position and are sufficiently trained.
- **General security measures**
  Including searching all individuals entering the club; CCTV use (if financially viable) to discourage or detect violence and drug dealing; radio communication between staff at larger venues; regular patrols by security staff; washroom attendants to discourage drug use; communication and co-operation with local police.
- **Staff training**
  Covering licensing regulations; first aid; fire safety; drugs awareness; health and safety; environmental health; and legal requirements.
- **Medical and first aid provision**
  All licensed events should have adequate first-aiders. Large events should have additional paramedic cover.
- **Drugs information and advice**
  Distribution of information on drugs and harm reduction measures, possibly through fliers or through allowing drugs workers to operate from the venue.

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[27] Finch, J (1999). '*Death dance of the disco*'. The Guardian, Saturday, 23 January 1999.

The night-time environment

Outside of nightclub premises issues relating to transport and safety on the streets may affect the safety and well being of club-goers travelling to or from premises. Access to public transport is often inadequate during the night hours. Public buses may not run after midnight and taxis may be insufficient or ranks poorly located. There may also be a lack of functioning public phone boxes from which to call home for a lift or for a private taxi. Long queues of people waiting for taxis can create opportunities for intoxicated individuals to act aggressively. Many club-goers will be inadequately dressed for standing in queues in freezing winter nights and if an individual decides to walk home rather than wait in the cold, poor street lighting may make him/her vulnerable to attack. Strict licensing laws can often exacerbate problems. In countries with set closing hours for pubs and clubs (e.g. UK) vast numbers of clubbers routinely appear on the streets at the same time. Taxi ranks and other transport are then overwhelmed. As incidents occur, police become overstretched resulting in violence, sexual assault and criminal damage going unchecked. Furthermore, inadequate public transport facilities may also encourage club-goers to drive under the influence of alcohol and/or other drugs, an action that is both illegal and highly dangerous.

The Sonar 98 study found that the use of public transport to night-time venues is relatively low in Europe, and particularly low in some areas (see **Table 7.4**). Club-goers in Manchester are most likely (40.7%) to use public transport, whilst club-goers in Modena are least likely (1.6%). Many young people use their own or a friend's car to get to nightclubs. Considering the high levels of substance use reported in the Sonar 98 study, this is a worrying picture, as many of these young people will be regularly exposing themselves to the risks of substance-related driving. The study found that the likelihood of an individual having driven under the influence of alcohol increases with the frequency with which the individual partakes in use. For example, 64.1% of daily drinkers reported having driven under the influence of alcohol, compared to 27.9% of occasional drinkers.

Table 7.4: PERCENTAGE OF CLUB-GOERS USING VARIOUS MODES OF TRANSPORT TO ATTEND BARS, CLUBS OR DISCOS

City	Own Car	Friend's Car	Motorbike	Bike	Public Transport	Other
AVERAGE	**35.9**	**28.8**	**5.8**	**6.6**	**17.7**	**5.3**
Athens	21.5	28.1	17.2	0.3	31.1	1.7
Berlin	49.6	34.8	1.6	2.4	10.4	1.2
Coimbra	28.6	50.3	1.6	0.7	9.2	9.5
Manchester	28.8	25.6	-	-	40.7	4.9
Modena	59.7	29.3	6.3	0.7	1.6	-
Nice	61.1	28.9	3.0	0.7	3.0	3.3
Palma	31.9	28.1	16.1	0.6	15.1	8.2
Utrecht	9.2	9.5	0.7	47.9	21.7	11.1
Vienna	35.8	25.8	4.0	4.7	25.7	4.0

Some nightclubs in the UK provide 'party buses' to patrons residing within local areas that are not serviced by late-night public transport. These schemes reduce both the dangers of travelling to and from nightclubs and the problems created by large crowds of intoxicated people gathering in the early hours of the morning. The 'party buses' pick club-goers up from local pubs at designated times and take them to the nightclub. They are then waiting outside the nightclub to take people back throughout the night. Local taxi companies can be made aware of the time the buses return to each pub and provide taxis to take people home if necessary. These 'party bus' services are usually less expensive than most other available forms of transport.

In general, the answers to some of these issues involve better planning of public and private transport at night and require communication in particular between clubs and local authorities. Often simple measures such as locating transport access close to clubs in well-lit areas can reduce violence and remove the necessity for groups of drunk or drug using individuals to roam the city streets or drive while intoxicated.

Provision of Information

One of the greatest dangers to individuals in a nightclub environment is ignorance. Whilst it is generally accepted that the use of illegal drugs in nightclubs cannot be stopped completely, some nightclub operators now provide information on how to reduce the risks associated with drugs, either through the provision of written information or by allowing trained drugs workers to operate on their premises. Equally, the provision of health promoting facilities in a nightclub may not have much effect if patrons do not know they exist or how to use them sensibly. For example, provision of free water at a nightclub may actually cause harm to club-goers if they do not know how much water it is safe to drink. Sublime nightclub in Sydney has tackled this problem by bottling its own water and printing safe consumption levels on the label[28] (the club also provides free water).

The presence of trained outreach workers in nightclubs can assist in increasing the awareness of club-goers, with workers being available both to offer advice and information to individuals and to recognise any potential problems. The University of Central Lancashire in England has developed a 'club-based peer education and outreach programme' called 'Touch' to develop harm minimisation measures specifically centred on drug use and sexual health in one of the University's main club nights[29]. The scheme enlists student volunteers familiar with the nightclub scene, who undertake a training programme on sexual health, drug use, legal issues, confidentiality and, listening and outreach skills. These trained volunteers then work in the nightclub, giving out 'goodies'

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[28] Page S (1999). *Death on the dancefloor*. Proceedings of Club Health 2000, Amsterdam, 10-12 November 1999

[29] Dooris M and Plum M (1999). *Touch: A Club-Based Peer Education & Outreach Programme*. Proceedings of Club Health 2000, Amsterdam, 10-12 November 1999

including condoms, stickers and sweets, talking to club-goers and keeping alert for individuals who may require assistance. The use of fellow club-goers as outreach workers to disseminate information at nightclubs can greatly improve the success of a scheme as individuals are likely to feel more at ease seeking advice from their peers than from an 'authoritative' figure.

Health protection may go hand in hand with health promotion. Many aspects of clubbing involve risk-taking, from walking alone to or from a club at night, to consuming illegal drugs or having unsafe sex with a stranger met at a club. Accurate and unbiased information must be available to make club-goers aware of these risks and to enable them to minimise harm to their health and wellbeing. A lot of material has been produced in recent years relating to harm reduction with regard to drugs, various versions of 'safer dancing' guidelines have been compiled and there have been a series of sexual health campaigns. The sheer quantity of this information from such a variety of sources means that there is a risk of contradiction and confusion. Collaboration between agencies and with the club industry is essential and the wider commercial sector (advertising, the media, the fashion and music industries, for instance) can provide useful support in marketing health messages to club-goers in a credible and digestible way.

Nightclub Tourism

Whilst numerous surveys undertaken over the last few years confirm the links between drugs and clubbing, in reality a wide range of individuals go to an equally diverse range of clubs. At these, most drink, many smoke and substantial numbers (but not all) take drugs. Generally, the risks inherent in these nightclub environments are similar although tempered in different fashions by local regulations, licensing policies and initiatives. Historically, individuals would have predominantly attended nightclubs around their locality. However, the advent of cheap international travel has added a further dimension to Club Health as young people (in particular) travel between countries to experience different club scenes.

Every year, vast numbers of young people seek holiday resorts abroad that offer similar dance and social opportunities to those available at home. However, substance use and the night-time environment abroad can often carry disproportionate risks to health (Bellis, M.A. et al, 2000). For instance, drug supplies abroad may be less reliable increasing the dangers from consuming unexpected substances[30]; hotter climates along with risk of gastro-intestinal infections increase the risk of dehydration[31]; and a holiday

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30 Sherlock K, Wolff K, Hay AW, and Conner M (1999). Analysis of illicit ecstasy tablets: implications for clinical management in the accidents and emergency department. Journal of Accident Emergency and Medicine, 16, pp194-197

31 Department of Health (1995). *Health information for overseas travellers*. HMSO: London

binge mentality[32] may lead to consumption of all things in excess. Furthermore, many protective measures such as condoms may not be easily available or tourists may simply not know where to purchase them . Unlike major clubs in the UK, venues abroad may not have or even know of safer dancing codes, with water from club bars commanding prohibitive prices, harm minimisation literature rare and peer intervention groups or first-aiders seldom available. Finally, when emergencies occur, health and judicial systems are often already stretched to breaking point as some specialist dance resorts with only small indigenous populations try to accommodate millions of tourists.

Paradoxically within such foreign settings, young peoples' risk taking is likely to increase as individuals escape the social constraints of family and workplace. A study undertaken on young people returning to the UK from Ibiza found that young people were consuming drugs with much greater frequency whilst in Ibiza than they would normally whilst at home[33]. (see **Table 7.5**). For example, in the UK only 2.9% of ecstasy users reported taking ecstasy on 5 or more days a week, a figure which rose to 42.6% whilst in Ibiza, a 15-fold increase. Individuals using ecstasy in Ibiza were taking a median number of two tablets on a night, meaning that a significant number of young people were consuming at least 10 ecstasy tablets per week whilst on holiday.

Table 7.5: PERCENTAGE OF YOUNG PEOPLE USING SELECTED DRUGS ON 5 OR MORE DAYS PER WEEK IN UK AND IN IBIZA, 1999

	% using on 5 or more days per week in UK*	% using on 5 or more days per week in Ibiza
Alcohol	24.8	87.4
Cannabis	29.2	53.9
Cocaine	6.8	21.3
Ecstasy	2.9	42.6
Amphetamine	2.0	24.8
LSD	1.0	31.0

* Comparisons are limited to individuals using each substance in one or both locations. Thus 42.6% of ecstasy users use five or more days per week in Ibiza

In a climate of international travel, harm minimisation measures such as educational leaflets, information on seeking medical assistance abroad and easy access to condoms are essential steps in protecting the health of young tourists from all countries. The basic safety features relied upon in one country may not be available in another. Club Health and HIT have produced an information brochure on drugs, sex and other health issues for individuals from the UK visiting Ibiza. The effective distribution of such materials relies on new partners in Club Health collaborations such as tourist companies, airlines,

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32 Smeaton GL, Josiam BM and Dietrich UC (1998). College students' binge drinking at a beach-front destination during spring break. College Health, 46, pp247-254

33 Carter S (1997). *Taking sexual risks while away from home*. MRC News. Autumn 1997, pp38-39

hotels and clubs and other venues abroad[34]. Moreover, the endorsement of such materials by popular youth venues and brand names should improve the appeal of health measures and use of protective measures such as condoms[35].

Healthy Nightclubs

The concept of 'healthy nightclubs' creates a context within which club health issues may be examined, the health needs of club-goers and those who work in and around the night-time environment assessed, and pro-active measures discussed. Through this holistic approach, effective measures can be taken both to minimise the health risks of clubbing and to promote club-goers' wellbeing. Co-ordination between a large number of agencies, at international level, at national level, at local level and between the public and private sectors is needed.

In 1999, the first international Club Health conference was held in Amsterdam. The conference brought together academics, police, health representatives, local authorities representatives, club owners and promoters and, club-goers themselves from around the globe and offered an opportunity for debate and the dissemination of information and ideas. The second international Club Health conference is to be held in Italy in 2002[36]. Club Health provides a forum for the exchange of research, policy and practice. It should encourage future planning of services and initiatives that take account of the wide range of lifestyles, environmental factors and roles of public and private bodies that impacts on health in the night-time setting.

Finally, the benefits of clubbing must not be forgotten. It is a leisure activity important in the relaxation and pleasure of millions. Clubbing forms a community which 'crosses many social and cultural boundaries' in a fashion which few other social activity can. Quality leisure time and good nightlife facilities can also promote good health both mentally and perhaps even physically through the activity of dancing[37] (which compares favourably with more sedentary popular pastimes such as computer games). The nightlife industry has a positive impact in providing employment and boosting local economies which themselves have proven relationships with public health. What regulations and health measures are brought to bear on nightclubs and nightlife must also protect the fun which attracts individuals to this environment. Handled properly nightclubs can act as a focal point for a number of health initiatives, both for protecting the health of young people, promoting social activity and regenerating income in the local environment.

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[34] McKee M (1996). *Travel associated illness*. British Medical Journal, 312, pp925-926

[35] Bellis MA and Ashton JR (2000). *Commercial advertisements are needed to create a condom culture*. British Medical Journal, 320, p643

[36] For further information contact Professor Mark Bellis, Public Health Sector, Liverpool John Moores University - e-mail: m.a.bellis@livjm.ac.uk

[37] Gaule S (1999). Moving beyond the drugs and deviance issues: Rave dancing as a health promoting alternative to conventional activity? Proceedings of Club Health 2000, Amsterdam, 10-12 November 1999

8. DEMAND REDUCTION ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF SINTHETIC DRUGS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

1. INTRODUCTION

In the 90s, an increase in the consumption of drugs like Ecstasy and amphetamines was observable in most of the states in Europe (European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction EMCDDA, 1997, Griffiths & Vingoe, 1997, IFT Institut für Therapieforschung, 1996, Schuster & Wittchen, 1996, Power, 1995, Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence, 1995, Rehm, 1995, Yoshida, 1997). According to these studies, it can be assumed that currently about 5-10 % of all 16-25 year-olds, especially in western European countries, have had experience with synthetic drugs.

In a European study on the drug-using scene, in which more than N=3.500 visitors of Techno parties were surveyed (Tossmann, Boldt & Tensil, 1999), it was shown that the consumption of synthetic drugs during Techno parties (in the metropolis Amsterdam, Berlin, Madrid, Prague, Rome, Vienna and Zurich) is similarly widespread. In all of the metropolis it was also shown that users of Ecstasy and amphetamines have a comparably high drug affinity to other illegal substances like cannabis, hallucinogenics and cocaine (Tossmann, Boldt & Tensil, 1999, see also Ayer, Gmel & Schmid, 1997, Rakete & Flüsmeier, 1997, Tossmann, 1997, Tossmann & Heckmann, 1997).

Although the health risks involved with the consumption of synthetic substances have to date not been studied exhaustively, these new trends in drug consumption behaviour present a major health-political challenge in which the question arises as to what preventive actions (on a national as well as international level) are suitable in the effort to reduce the consumption and involved risks.

For this reason, the *European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction* EMCDDA commissioned the Centre for HIV/AIDS and Drug Studies, Edinburgh in 1996 to prepare a preliminary overview on the "*demand reduction activities* related to new synthetic drugs in European Union member states" (Lewis & Sherval, 1997). In the scope of this study, a total of 15 preventative projects were included and documented for the first time. The group of experts involved in the study summarise their conclusion with: "*Most Member States run, or are planning to run, activities specifically related to synthetic drugs. In general, the number of activities organised follows the rough prevalence of synthetic drug use. (...) The education of legislators, policy-makers and planners about the complexities of recreational and dance drugs will become an*

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increasing priority in the future" (Griffiths, Vingoe, Jansen, Sherval & Lewis, 1997, p. 90/91).

2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

With the study at hand, the objective was to first – two years after the preliminary research – update the research. With this, the *demand reduction activities* in the field of synthetic drugs which are currently being implemented within the European Union were to be collected. A differentiated picture of the goals that these projects/programs follow and which target groups are being addressed was to be compiled. A further aim was to present the measures/methods which were implemented in the scope of the *demand reduction activities* and which measures in the field of synthetic drugs were considered to be especially important. A focus for the study at hand was to assess the current status of the *evaluation*. Here the point was to see if the implemented measures were being evaluated as to their acceptance, practicability, and effectiveness and if the evaluation guidelines prepared by the EMCDDA are adequately known about or had even proven to be helpful in the evaluation of the projects.

On the basis of the current data and the information from the first studies to *demand reduction activities* in the field of synthetic drugs, it should become clear which conceptional or methodological changes are observable. Finally, based on the information and insights gained from the study of the current demand reduction activities, an assessment of adequate preventative strategies should be made possible. This assessment will be able to, for example, uncover the goals and methods of the prevention in connection with the consumption of synthetic drugs which seem adequate and with which preventative messages the target groups are reachable.

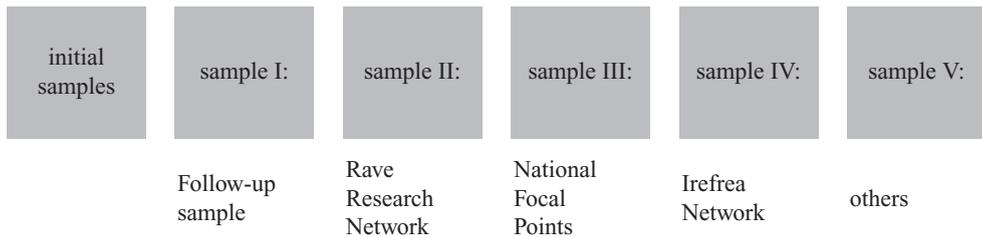## 3. METHODS

Recruiting strategy

In order to achieve a comprehensive overview of the current *demand reduction activities related to synthetic drugs*, two methodological principles were followed:

- The variance of access to the object of study
- The method of snowball-sampling

Considering the comparably tight time schedule for the project (1. January.1999 – 30. June.1999), the combination of both of these recruitment principles enabled the

concurrent usage of many levels, or rather networks, for acquisition of relevant information.

In all, five different accesses or rather initial samples were selected. All accesses represent specific information carriers, from which a competency in the field of *demand reduction activities* can be assumed. The first initial sample (follow-up-sample) was composed of those projects or rather organisations which had been included in the scope of the first study in 1996/97 (Lewis & Sherval, 1997).

initial samples	sample I:	sample II:	sample III:	sample IV:	sample V:
	Follow-up sample	Rave Research Network	National Focal Points	Irefrea Network	others

The second access to the object of study was made possible through the 'Rave Research Network'. This network is composed of the co-operation partners from the authors' previous study of *Drug affinity amongst youths within the Techno party scene in European metropolises* (Tossmann, Boldt & Tensil, 1999). The following organisations were included:

- Institut für Sozial- und Gesundheitspsychologie, Vienna
- Verein Wiener Sozialprojekte, Vienna
- Institut Genus, Barcelona
- Agencia Antidroga de la Communidad de Madrid
- Gruppo PARSEC, Rome
- Gruppo Abele, Turin
- Institut für Suchtforschung, Zurich
- Addiction Research Institute, CVO Universiteit Utrecht
- National Institut of Public Health, Prague

The sample III was brought together from the 'National Focal Points' of the EU member states. It consists of 16 members of the European Information Network on Drugs and Drug Addiction. The IREFREA Network (sample IV) consists mainly of social scientists, youth and drug researchers from France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, who have continuously been researching new drug consumption trends.

All those persons and organisations, which became known to the authors in connection with research- and practical projects in the field of synthetic drugs (in

particular those initiatives which were completed in Germany), were assigned to sample V.

Sampling procedure

In order to produce the most comprehensive overview of the status of current projects, all organisations and persons from the initial samples (sample I – sample V) were questioned not only in regards to their own project profile, but also to any further *demand reduction activities* related to synthetic drugs which were known to them. This strategy (*snowball sampling*) thus produced information about further relevant organisations/projects, which could be included in the study (2nd level sample). With these newly acquired samples, the same procedure was applied: All named organisations were asked to give information about their project(s) in the field of synthetic drugs and about further initiatives in this field which were known to them. This procedure was continued until a saturation was reached, that is, until the number of repetitions was larger than the naming of previously unknown initiatives.

A very important aspect of the study was to find the most effective procedure for the survey in terms of a high compliance and responsiveness of the contacted persons. For this reason we developed a procedure which was time efficient and easy to handle for the contacted persons. This provided a high number of returns and therefore new contact addresses.

This procedure is called the *rapid-info-fax* procedure, in the course of which all contact persons from the address-pool, and for whom we had a fax number, were sent a fax. This fax consists of two pages: page no. 1 provides some information about the study. Page no. 2 was designed to be returned immediately. On that page we simply asked two questions: a) Do you work in the field of synthetic drugs? and b) Do you know of other projects working in this field?

Information about further projects was then immediately placed into the existing databank and the effort was made (by using the *rapid-info-fax*) to contact the respective organisation. Those organisations that confirmed (via fax) that they had been working in the field of synthetic drugs within the last 12 months, were immediately sent a questionnaire.

Questionnaire

In order to capture relevant information about those programmes that work in the field of synthetic drugs with *demand reduction activities* and the programmes which they conduct, a questionnaire was developed (languages: English, French, German, Italian, Spanish), which collects data from the following areas (annex):

Implementing organisation

- Name, address, contact person
- Project dealing with synthetic drugs

- Publications on synthetic drugs

Objectives of the project

- General purpose
- Specific objectives
- Evaluation of the project

Main characteristics of the project

- Target group
- Measures and activities
- Persons involved

Evaluation

- Description of the evaluation
- Results
- Problems
- Evaluation guidelines

A large part of the data from the questionnaires was transferred into electronic data processing (SPSS 8.0 for Windows) and was used for the interpretation of the study.

4. RESULTS

Demand reduction activities in Europe

The European-wide questioning (via rapid-info-fax) proved to be a quick and efficient research tool. From the 135 contacted institutes, 91 responded to the question regarding their own conducted projects in the field of synthetic drugs. In all, it was possible to identify a total of 74 organisations and institutions which conduct projects in this field.

The following overview map should give a rough idea of where in Europe such specific programmes are currently being conducted. Every star stands for at least one organisation. The exact number of organisations is not ascertainable from the graphic, since in several of the cities (e.g. Barcelona or Berlin) several organisations are conducting several initiatives in this field.

A differentiated overview on the collected demand reduction activities in the EU member states can be taken from the following table which lists according to country.

From the table it becomes clear that not the same amount of organisations (which conduct specific measures in the field of synthetic drugs) were registered for each EU member state. Even when the project group was able to, in one or another country, achieve an (almost) complete registration of all currently conducted programs (e.g. in France, Spain, Germany), it can be assumed that in the other countries a larger number

of organisations in this field of drug prevention are active than are actually documented in the scope of this study. The fact that the inclusion of a large number of German institutions was successful is surely attributable to the contracted and conducting Institute's (SPI-Research) own work over several years in the field of synthetic drugs, which has produced a wide range of contacts to other organisations also working in Germany.

On the other hand, it can also be assumed that not all of the EU member states are affected by the spread of synthetic drugs in the same way. Differences in regards to the number of implemented preventive measures can thus be reasonably seen as a reflection of the actual need in prevention.
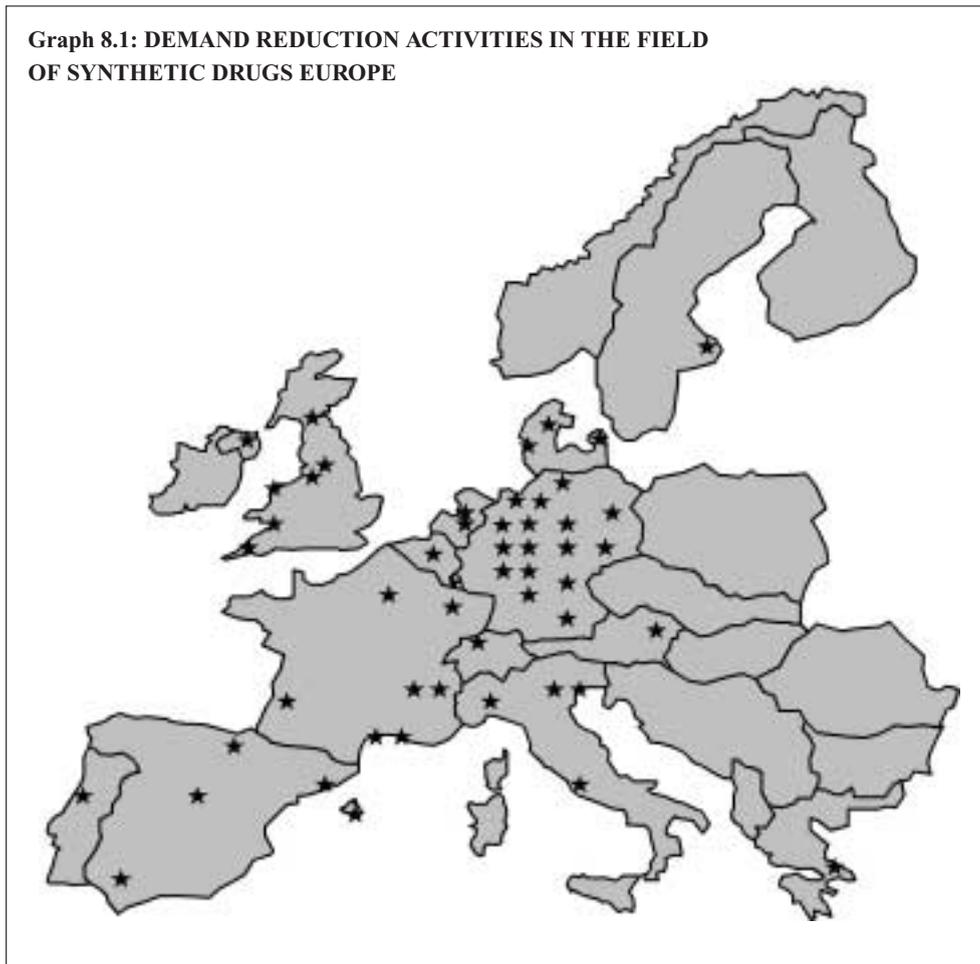
Graph 8.1: DEMAND REDUCTION ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF SYNTHETIC DRUGS EUROPE

Table 8.1: ORGANISATIONS THAT CONDUCT DEMAND REDUCTION ACTIVITIES

Austria	
Dornbirn	SUPRO – Werkstatt fur Suchtprophylaxe
Vienna	Risiko – Verein für Prävention und InterventionVerein
	Wiener Sozialprojekte
Belgium	
Brussels	Concertation Toxicomanies Bruxelles
Denmark	
Copenhagen	National Board of Health (Sundheddtyrelsen)
Esbjerg	Center for Misbrug i Ribe Amt
Galborg	Youth Center „BIXEN"
France	
Bordeaux	Comité d'Etude et d'Information sur la Drogue (CEID)
Chambery	Association LE PELICAN
Lyon	Centre National de Documentation sur les Toxicomanies (CNDT)
	Keep smiling
Marseille	Le Tipi
Metz	Service écoute accueil échange
Montpellier	Techno Plus pays d'oc
Nanterre	Techno Plus Nanterre
Paris	Forum Européen pour la Securite Urbaine
	Médecins du Monde – Mission Rave
	Techno Plus Paris
Germany	
Aachen	Chillout e.V. Aachen
Berlin	Boa – Jugend- und Drogenberatung e.V.
	Drogennotdienst
	Eclipse
	Eve & Rave Berlin
	Therapieladen e.V.
	Way & Sun
Bielefeld	Universität Bielefeld, Fakultät für Gesundheitswissenschaften
Bochum	Krisenhilfe Bochum e.V.
Bremen	Institut für Suchtprävention und angewandte Pädagogische Psychologie
Collogne	Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung
	Eve & Rave NRW e.V. Köln
Essen	Krisenhilfe Essen e.V.
Frankfurt/Main	Safe Party People
Hamburg	Büro für Suchtprävention der Hamburgischen Landesstelle gegen die Suchtgefahren
Hannover	drobs Hannover
Kassel	Eve & Rave Kassel
Leipzig	Drug Scouts Leipzig
Mönchen-Gladbach	Netzwerk
	Suchtberatung Eschweiler (Rave Shuttle)
Munich	MINDZONE

Münster	Eve & Rave Münster
	Koordination und Information für Partydrogen (KIP)
Nuremberg	Mudra
Saarbrücken	Aktionsgemeinschaft Drogenberatung
	Stabsstelle Gesundheitsförderung
Great Britain	
Belfast	Falls Community Council
Cardiff	Inroads Street Drugs Project
Edinburgh	Crew 2000
Leeds	D 3
Liverpool	HIT
Manchester	The Lifeline Project
Redruth	Cornwall Community Drug Team
Greece	
Athens	STROFI
Italy	
Padove	SERT 2
Rome	Associazione onlus "La Tenda"
	Cooperativa il cammino
	Cooperativa Magliana '80
	PARSEC
Torino	Gruppo Abele
Venice	Irefrea Italy
Luxemburg	
	Centre de Prevention des Toxicomanies
	Ministère de la santé, Service d'Action Socio-Thèrapeutique (AST)
Portugal	
Coimbra	Irefrea Portugal
Spain	
Barcelona	Associació Bienestar y Salut (Energy Control)
	Grup A.B.S.
	Institut Genus
	Plan de Acción sobre Drogas de Barcelona
Bilbao	Edex
Madrid	Agencia Antidroga de la Communidad de Madrid
Palma de Mallorca	IREFREA Spain
Sevilla	Comisionado para la Droga de la Junta de Andalucía
Sweden	
Stockholm	Ministry of Health and Social Affairs
Switzerland	
Solothurn	Eve & Rave Schweiz
The Netherlands	
Amsterdam	Jellinek, Preventie en Consultancy
Utrecht	Trimbos-instituut

Sample of the study

Subsequent to the rapid-info-fax research, questionnaires were sent to those organisations which had stated that they conduct demand reduction projects in the field of synthetic drugs. From the 74 organisations and institutions, which had, through the rapid-info-fax, stated to be conducting projects in the field of synthetic drugs, 41 took part in the subsequent written survey and gave detailed project information. Since some organisations had conducted or still were conducting several projects, data from a total of 52 projects was able to be collected.

In the following, those 52 projects which were registered through the questionnaire, will be presented in an overview. Subsequently, the results of the analysis will be described. The results may not be, because of the selective data collection and the small case number, interpreted to be a representative study of the situation of demand reduction activities. The results, though, can give insight into the characteristics of projects in the field of synthetic drugs.

Table 8.2: OVERVIEW OF THE PROJECTS REGISTERED IN THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Austria	Projects
Risiko – Verein für Prävention und Intervention	1
Verein Wiener Sozialprojekte	1
Denmark	
Center for Misbrug i Ribe Amt	2
National Board of Health	1
France	
Comité d'Etude et d'Information sur la Drogue (CEID)	1
Forum Européen pour la Securite Urbaine	1
Service écoute accueil échange	1
Germany	
Aktionsgemeinschaft Drogenberatung	2
Boa – Jugend- und Drogenberatung e.V.	1
Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung	2
Büro für Suchtprävention der Hamburgischen Landesstelle gegen die Suchtgefahren	2
Chillout e.V. Aachen	1
drobs Hannover	3
Drogennotdienst	1
Drug Scouts Leipzig	1
Institut für Suchtprävention und angewandte Pädagogische Psychologie	1
Koordination und Information für Partydrogen (KIP)	1
Krisenhilfe Bochum e.V.	1
Krisenhilfe Essen e.V.	1
Mudra	3
Netzwerk	1
SPI Forschung gGmbH	1

Stabsstelle Gesundheitsförderung		1
	Suchtberatung Eschweiler (Rave Shuttle)	1
	Therapieladen e.V.	1
	Universität Bielefeld, Fakultät für Gesundheitswissenschaften	1
	Way & Sun	1
Great Britain		
	Cornwall Community Drug Team	1
	Crew 2000	1
	D 3	1
	Falls Community Council	1
	Inroads Street Drugs Project	1
	The Lifeline Project	1
Luxemburg		
	Centre de Prevention des Toxicomanies	1
	Spain	
	Agencia Antidroga de la Communidad de Madrid	2
	Associació Bienestar y Salut	1
	Comisionado para la Droga de la Junta de Andalucía	1
	Edex	1
	IREFREA Spain	3
Sweden		
	Ministry of Health and Social Affairs	1
The Netherlands		
	Jellinek, Preventie en Consultancy	1

Target groups

Preventative measures orient themselves in their aims and methods, in most cases, on the age and life context of the chosen target group. Those projects which were documented in the scope of the study to demand reduction activities in the field of synthetic drugs focus with their programs, for the most part, a specific age group. Only a few projects address a more heterogenic target age group. The prioritised age group for the programs currently being conducted are youths or rather young adults (table 3). Since the questionnaire allowed more than one answer in regards to the age of the target population, absolute numbers in **Table 8.3** cannot be summed up.

Table 8.3: AGE OF THE TARGET GROUPS (N=52)

	Age	Frecuency
Children	<12	1
Teenagers	13 - 18	29
Young adults	18 - 25	41
Adults	>25	9

The two most commonly named age groups for the *demand reduction activities* which were conducted in EU member states are young adults between the age of 18 and 25 years (n=41) and the teenage group between the ages of 13 and 18 years (n=29). These age ranges correspond fairly well with the time frame in which the consumption of alcohol and illegal drugs is most likely (Silbereisen, 1985). Only one project deals with children under 13 years, whereas at least 9 of 52 projects also address adults over 25 years of age.

Besides the definition of the age ranges which a project concentrates on, the status which the target group shows in respect to the current usage of illegal drugs, is also a relevant criteria for the characterisation of a demand reduction project. For example, one can differentiate consumers from non-consumers, and then further differentiate the former. First, the question was what target group was actually being addressed, irregardless of the projects possible focus on them. **Graph 8.2** gives an overview of the number of projects which address the respective target groups.

The group of non-consumers and the occasional consumer are respectively named by 42 projects as being the target group. In 38 projects, consumers using drugs regularly are aimed at in the measures. So, in almost every project non-consumers are addressed as well as consumers. As is shown further down, the differing concentrations are manifested within a project through various offers, which, on the one hand inform and support abstinent attitudes. On the other hand, harmful effects are worked against by offering various services to the consumers. If one takes a closer look at the projects in regards to their target groups that are mainly being addressed, then a somewhat different picture emerges.
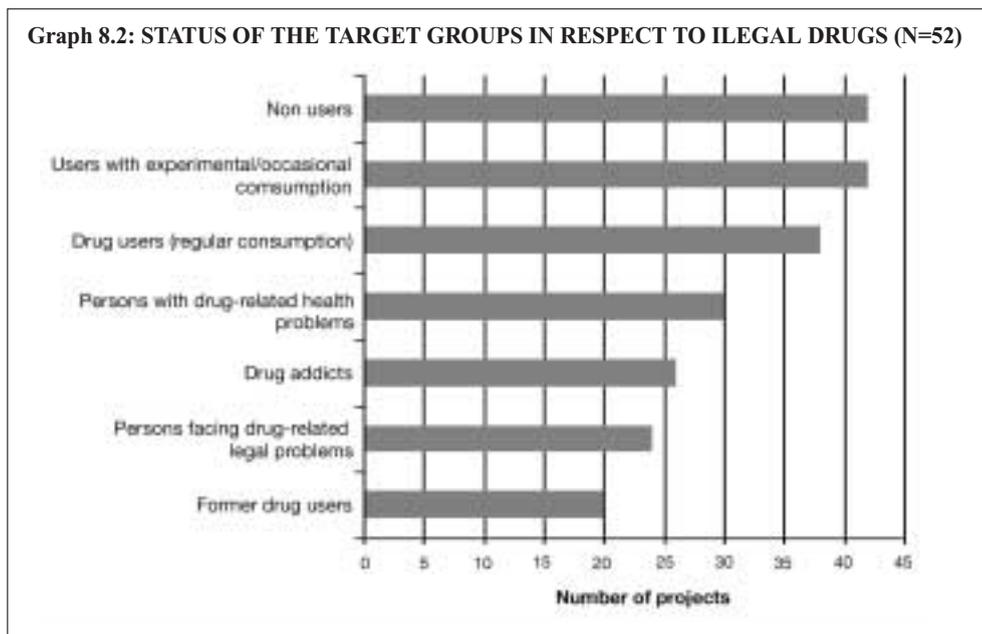

Graph 8.2: STATUS OF THE TARGET GROUPS IN RESPECT TO ILEGAL DRUGS (N=52)

Table 8.4: ORDER OF THE MAIN TARGET GROUPS

1	Users with experimental / occasional consumption
2	Drug users (regular consumption)
3	Non users
4	Drug addicts
5	Persons with drug-related health problems
6	Persons facing drug-related legal problems
7	Former drug users

The analysis shows that occasional- and regular consumers, but not drug addicts, make up the main focus of the measures in the field of synthetic drugs. Non-consumers also enjoy increased attention, whereas persons who have legal or health problems are seldom the focus of the efforts. Former drug consumers are barely given, if at all, in the scope of the implemented measures in the EU member states, consideration.

Objectives of the projects

In the scope of the study, those projects, programs and initiatives that work in field of demand reduction in regards to synthetic drugs in the EU member states were questioned. One of the differences between the approached projects is their personnel and financial situation, their perspective of time/running time and their institutional bindings. This heterogeneity is also found in their set aims. For example, an initiative that evolved out of the Techno scene in Berlin has made it their aim to hinder the growing misuse of synthetic drugs in the Techno culture by supporting drug-free raves. On the other hand, the aim of a state subventioned school prevention program, being implemented by the Agencia Antidroga in Madrid, has reduction of drug consumption as well as the minimisation of risks involved in consumption as its aim.

In the following, the similarities and differences in the objectives of the projects will be summarised. The respective objectives can be categorised in these three groups:

- Prevention
- Treatment and Help
- Research

Prevention

For the most part, the projects involved have taken responsibilities which can best be described by the term *prevention*. As an especially important instrument of the summarised measures, the distribution of objective and current information about drugs

as well as the education about drug consumption was named. It was often emphasised that the presentation should be as neutral as possible (without questioning the actual consumption of drugs). This is seen as very important in respect to the target group's acceptancy level.

Another group of objectives can be summarised as *development of concepts and programmes* for the prevention. Here, very specific objectives, such as an early detection system for consumption trends, which the Office for Addiction Prevention in the Hamburger State Office for Addiction Endangerment set up, can be found. A French project in Metz, in comparison, has the goal to better understand the connection between new drugs and new music. With this knowledge they plan to develop the appropriate preventive measures. A further preventive objective which can be found here, is seen in e.g. the project conducted by IREFREA Spain which aims to gain an exact understanding of the trends in the scene and their relationship to drug consumption in five Spanish and nine European cities. The Comité d'Etude et d'Information sur la Drogue, in contrast, organised an international meeting of experts in Bordeaux/France in an effort to develop preventative programs and/or harm reduction programs.

Another focus in the field of prevention is *communication* in all thematic areas concerning drugs. Here, in the most general terms, the initiation, support and improvement of communication is meant. Thus, several of the questioned projects, e.g. the Jugend- und Drogenberatungsstelle ‚drobs' (youth- and drug counselling centre) in Hannover/Germany, made it their aim to improve the dialog between youths and adults or also between consumers and non-consumers of drugs. Another project, the Webpage ‚drugsmart' from the Swedish Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, was established to offer a forum in which aspects of drug consumption can be discussed and arguments presented.

The two largest groups of aims can be categorised into the areas of primary prevention and secondary prevention. All of the objectives which can be summarised under the term *prophylactic*, belong to the area of primary prevention. In general, it deals with the improvement of drug education, since the aim is to improve the knowledge about drugs and to renew and strengthen drug education. The project „Ecstasy und neue Drogen – Was tun!?" (Ecstasy and new drugs- what to do!)? from the Psychosozialen Beratungsstelle für junge Menschen in Saarbrücken/Germany (Psycho-social Counselling Centre for young people) has gone beyond the pure distribution of knowledge by also educating/training parents, teachers and multiplicators in factual, practical and inter-relational competencies in an effort to improve their interaction with synthetic drug consumers.

Another strategy in the field of primary prevention is used by several projects in the area of primary prevention: offering alternatives to drug consumption. Several projects have made it their aim to offer alternatives to the usual leisure activities involved in the Techno field (parties and drugs), like e.g. drug-free raves. The ‚Synthesis Project' of the Communitary Resouces Centers EDEX' in Bilbao/Spain, on the other hand, aims at

reducing the interest of youths in synthetic drugs and supports an alternative drug-free lifestyle. A CD-ROM, which contains information about drugs, young people and lifestyles as well as didactic units for teachers, was produced especially for this. The club „Way & Sun" in Berlin/Germany which developed out of the Techno scene, offers e.g., in the scope of its work as a contact and counselling centre, workshops in which the basis and prerequisite for electronic music, the computer, is approached creatively. Through this, a transformation from a consumption-oriented attitude into the role of a creative producer should be successful and thus show that the vitality of the Techno movement is also possible without drugs.

A third aspect in the area of prophylaxis is the *promotion of health*. The project ‚Rave Shuttle' from Eschweiler/Germany, for example, is a converted bus whose front part now serves as an information centre and the back as a chill-out room. One of the objectives of this mobile project, that offers information at the scene as well as assistance in a crisis situation, is to enable the consumers to responsibly consume drugs and to furthermore take care of their own bodies and their health. Other projects, like the ISAPP „party-project" from Bremen/Germany, focus on very specific aspects in the spectrum of health prevention like e.g. the support of abstinent behaviour in regards to party drugs.

The second emphasis of objectives in the field of prevention lies within the area of secondary prevention. These projects address young people who are currently consuming illegal drugs. Projects that have the reduction of consumption or/and the minimisation of harm through drug consumption as an aim belong in this ‚*Harm Reduction*' group. The Counselling centre for synthetic drugs and cannabis in Bochum/Germany, for example, aims to work against, on an individual and structural level, tendencies to develop an addiction. For youths that do not wish to live abstinently, the project focuses on encouraging a self-determined, pleasure-oriented consumption. The project ‚Energy Control' in Barcelona/Spain has a search approach. They carry out their preventive work on location, in an effort to reduce the harm which results from drug consumption. Another large-scale Spanish project ‚Attention Pills' has made it its aim to prevent the increase in the distribution of synthetic drugs in Andalusia. Since 1995 they have produced, among other things, comic-brochures, flyers, posters, T-shirts, videotapes as well as a CD-ROM and have placed announcements in radio and television. The Jellinek-Zentrum in the Netherlands has been carrying out, since 1996, the project ‚Unity', whose goal it is to increase the safe usage of drugs and to reduce potential harm. The Organisation of Viennese Social Projects in Austria works towards a reduction in harm involved in the consumption of party drugs by using the method of ‚drug checking'

Treatment and Help

All of the project objectives summarised in the area of treatment and help refer to therapeutic and medical offers of counselling and treatment. They are mainly aimed at youths and young adults who have turned to the appropriate centre because of problems

that have arisen during their consumption of party drugs. Three emphases were identifiable: *help in a crisis, therapeutic work with the consumers as well as establishment and improvement of a helping system*.

The objectives of several projects was to first *establish and improve the helping structure* in the area of synthetic drugs. This dealt with the creation of new offers and the identification of new groups at risk. For example, the aim of the organisation ‚mudra – Alternative Jugend- und Drogenhilfe‘ in Nürnberg/Germany is to establish offers which exist between the lines of youth help and drug help. The objective is to offer a wide range of help for youths and young adults who pursue experimental or dangerous consumption of synthetic drugs. An example for the re-organisation and networking of the given structure so as to better serve the new target group of party drug users is seen in the work of the drug-emergency-unit in Berlin. By using media campaigns, contacting other counselling centers in the country, contacting clubs and being present with a Chill-out area on the Love Parade, the drug-emergency-unit has been able to market its party-drug-hotline and with that has made the target group aware of its offers of assistance. Another goal of the already mentioned ‚Rave Shuttles‘ is to register the high-risk-groups in the area of party drug consumption and to make ties between these persons and the given assisting infrastructure.

Projects in the area of crisis help are mostly intervention programs and thus work mainly on the scene. Their objectives are mainly individual counselling during an actual drug-specific problem as well as offering a quick referral to emergency services. One example of a project that works on-the-scene is ‚D_‘ from Leeds/Great Britain, one of whose goals it is to give practical and psychological support to consumers with psychological or emotional problems arising from drug consumption as well as the appropriate aftercare.

The third group in this section is likewise designed for cases where problems during the consumption of synthetic drugs have already arisen. Thus, these projects aim, with appropriate objectives, at doing *therapeutic work with the consumer*. An example for this is the ‚Therapieladen‘ in Berlin, which has as a goal out-patient therapeutic treatment of misuse and addiction problems within the spectrum of party drugs. A very specific problem within the circle of party drug consumption is the focus of the Cornwall Community Drug Team from Great Britain. This team has been specialising itself, since 1992, on the treatment of intravenous amphetamine misuse.

Research

Some of the registered projects and programs have less of a practical approach to the issue of *demand reduction activities*: Instead, they deal mainly with the research of all phenomena involved in the issue of synthetic drug consumption. Objectives in this area are, for one, concentrated on evaluating former measures. In this respect, the Forum Européen Pour La Sécurité Urbaine in Paris/France, for example, is interested in examining the relevancy of current preventative messages for synthetic drugs for

children, youths and other risk-groups. The Project ‚Ecstasy Prävention' at the University Bielefeld/Germany has a very strong scientific approach. It deals with the conceptual development, practical implementation and scientific evaluation of an educational unit for party-drug-prevention with an emphasis on ecstasy.

Another aspect in the area of research is documenting the current status of research in a country. The National headquarters for health education in Cologne has in this respect published a booklet with the title „Prävention des Ecstasykonsums – empirische Forschungsergebnisse und Leitlinien" (Prevention of ecstasy consumption – empirical research results and guidelines).

Very specific and locally limited is, in contrast, the objective of the Spanish IREFREA group, that has the evaluation of problems for the general health and safety of Mallorca through the party-leisure-lifestyle as its focus.

Measures and actions

In the following, the methods or rather measures for achieving the above formulated goals of *demand reduction activities* in the field of synthetic drugs will be presented. The next overview (**Graph 8.3**) clearly shows the breadth and the frequency of the activities which are implemented in the area of synthetic drug consumption prevention.

Graph 8.3: MEASURES AND ACTIONS OF DEMAND REDUCTION PROJECTS (N=52)

300
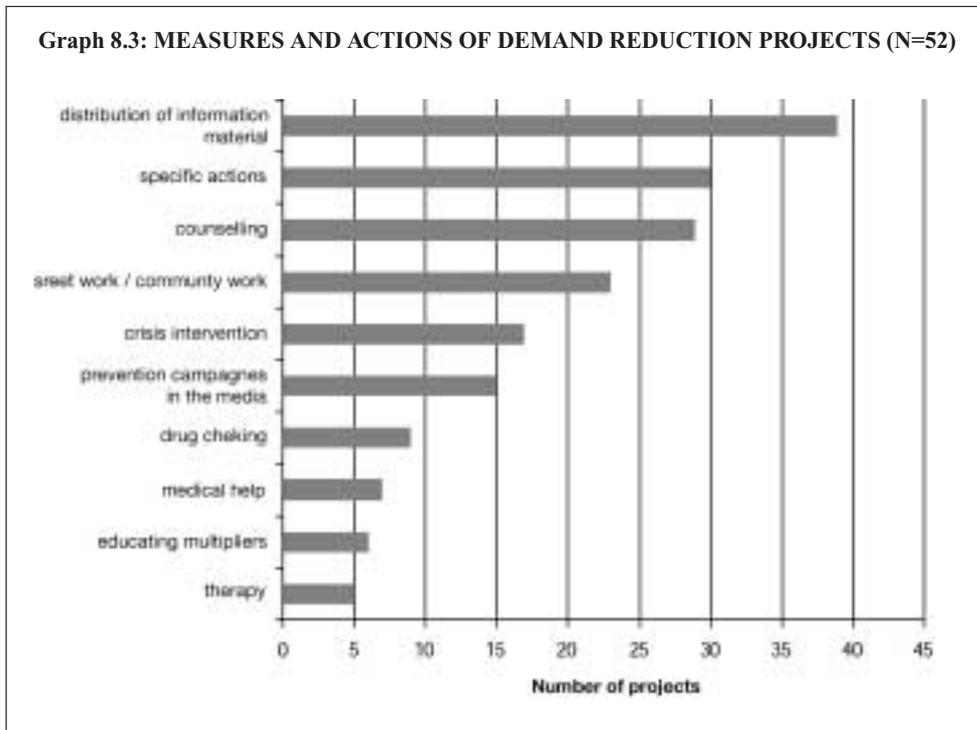
According to this overview, the distribution of informational material has the most significant importance in the field of demand reduction. 39 of 52 projects claimed to implement these measures in their programs. In 30 projects specific activities are organised and 29 projects offer counselling. Drug Checking is a measure which is specifically oriented towards ecstasy pills. Its priority is, through analysis of the contained substances, to screen the quality and purity of the illegal drug. It is a service especially for youths who (want) to consume ecstasy in connection with their attendance at a Techno-party. It is done to protect the consumers from ‚bad' pills and to have a way of making initial contact with the target group of synthetic drug consumers. The Drug Checking is offered comparably seldom, but this is probably attributable to the problematic legal situation of such programs.

Medical help and therapy are offered the least. This isn't very surprising considering that these measures can be counted as part of the *demand reduction activities* in more general terms and have, in comparison, probably somewhat less of a demand or rather are used less often.

Professions of the people responsible for the project

Next, the professions of the people involved in the measures to demand reduction will be presented. As one can see in **Graph 8.3**, most of the projects are implemented by professional prevention personnel. Social workers (n=30) and psychologists or rather sociologists (n=28) make up the main professional group. In 18 or rather 15 of the questioned projects, non-professionals as well as peers and ex-users are working.

Drug consumers may be the least represented, but they play a role in nonetheless 11 of the 52 projects. Not considering the self-organised projects like e.g. Eve & Rave or Techno Plus - which are exclusively made up of consumers and scene-insiders - professionals and non-professionals usually work together.

Estimated demand

Besides registering the characteristics of projects, the study presented here was also used to ask the experts working in this field of prevention about the actual demand for *demand reduction activities* in the field of synthetic drugs. Contact persons were thus asked to determine the importance of different measures as seen from their point of view.

In the following, the importance of the individual measures will be described. Subsequently, further needs in the field of synthetic drugs that are of importance as seen from the gathered experience of the experts will be named.

Graph 8.4: PROFESSIONS OF THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROJECT
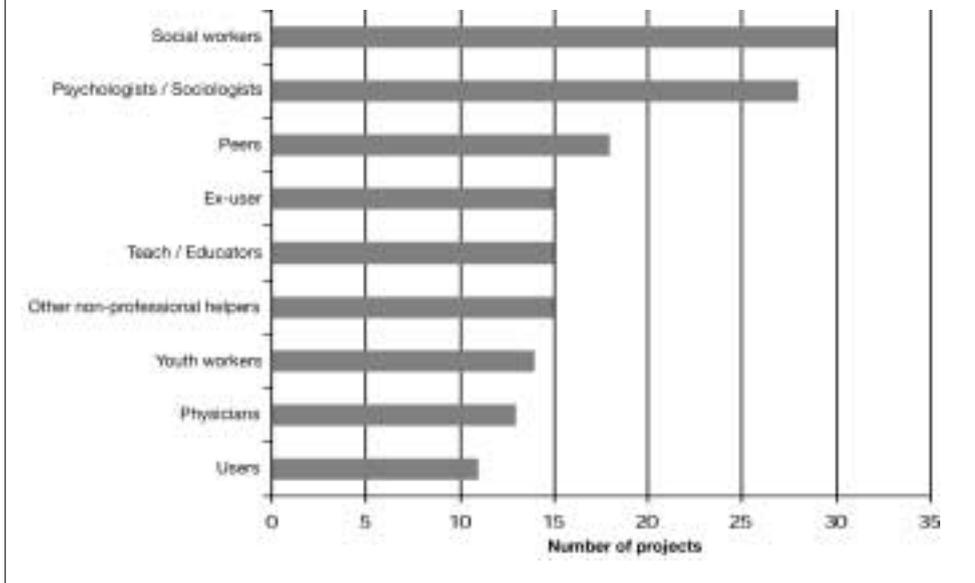
Importance of the measures

In table 5 the statements that rated the respective need as important and very important are summarised. The statements were taken from 52 projects, but only from 38 different people. So as not to weight the individual opinion more because of his/her representation of several projects, double namings were removed from the analysis.

35 of the 38 qualified personnel that were questioned estimate the need for counselling and scene-work as the most important part of prevention work. Although the differences between the frequency of namings are not so significant, taken together the needs in the ranking 1 and 2 imply the need for a scene-oriented contact to the (potential) consumers of synthetic drugs. This hypothesis is supported by the „last position" in the need-ranking-list where media campaigns that are relatively non-specific and addressed to the general public, are estimated as being the least important. If one recalls the frequencies of the implemented measures then it becomes obvious that, in respect to counselling and scene-work, but also in respect to the organising of specific actions, a relative congruency between the frequency of what is being offered and the estimated importance of the needs prevails[1].

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[1] A more exact analysis comparing the differences between the needs and the measures actually being implemented would be interesting at this point, but statistically, due to the small of the sample, not very sound.

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Table 8.5: RANKUNG OF THE ESTIMATED DEMAND (N=38)

1	counselling	35
2	street work / community	34
3	drug checking	32
4	distribution of information material	31
5	specific actions	30
6	crisis intervetion	28
7	medical help	22
8	therapy	20
9	prevention campaigns in the media	15

In a rough comparison, the *drug checking does* not fit in with the rest. This measure for reducing harm is actually implemented significantly less often than one would expect given the experts estimated need for it. It can be assumed that this is attributable to the missing legal requirements in all of the states of the EU. Although it is a service for ecstasy consumers and a possibility to come into contact with consumers, the measure belongs to the category of scene-oriented measures for (potential) consumers. The *distribution of information* as an instrument for education is offered the most often, but in respect to the importance it is comes after the above mentioned actions. The relatively good supply of information in the field of synthetic drugs is probably the reason why this measure is given such a low priority.

The need for *crisis intervention* is also estimated as being comparably important. In comparison, *medical help and therapy* do not seem to possess a particular priority. Can one assume that the consumers really rarely need help of this kind or is the need simply considered less important because it does not fall into the area of a social workers duties? According to previous studies, consumers of party drugs[2] estimate the health risks involved in consumption as high, but if one asks them about their personally perceived susceptibility for serious problems which could develop from usage, then most of the users do not see themselves as being at risk or only at a minimum risk. According to them, they are safe from risk since they have the consumption under control and can discontinue usage at any time. (Tossmann, Boldt & Tensil, 1999). As a result, only a small percentage of the consumers take up offers of medical help on account of their consumption (compare Tossmann, 1997). Seen in this way, it becomes understandable that the need is assessed here as being less important.

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[2] The term partydrugs includes not only Ectasy, Amphetamines and LSD but also natural hallucinogenics (e.g. Psilocybin) und Cocaine.

Taken as a whole, one can observe that the majority of the questioned prevention experts still see a large demand for demand *reduction activities* in Europe, with an emphasis on counselling and scene-oriented work.

Further needs

In the scope of the questionnaire survey, the qualified prevention personnel was asked which further needs in the area of drug prevention or rather help in connection with the consumption of synthetic drugs, as seen from their perspective, still exist. In answer to this question, a variety of activities and measures were named. They will be presented in the following. The named needs can be categorised into the areas of *research, further development of previously done prevention work and new measures*.

Research

Several questioned experts formulated the need for continual scientific assessment of their drug prevention programs. The need for a stronger evaluation of implemented measures is seen as very important in respect to the measures that focus on the relatively new phenomenon of party drug consumption. The questioned qualified personnel see a necessity to conduct studies to the effectiveness of preventive messages as well as studies to the appropriateness and effects of interventions in the scene. There is also an obvious need for current drug-specific scientific knowledge, like e.g. about the effects of continual consumption of synthetic drugs.

Further developments of previous preventative work

A majority of the perceived needs concern the various changes and improvements for currently implemented prevention work. A part of the recommendations are towards adjusting the prevention measures so that they are better suited for the new target group of consumers of synthetic drugs. In order to do this, the inclusion of youths and also of the consumers in the development of prevention messages is encouraged. This should increase the acceptance level in the target group. Beyond this, other institutions and administrations or also event organisers should be involved. Other demands called for the appropriate changes in the treatment and helping facilities so that they can reach the new clientele of party drug consumers. In general, co-operation and the networking of the drug-assistance-infrastructure was wished for. Since the phenomenon of party drug consumption is mainly characterised by new substances, new forms of consumption and consumption forms as well as new consumer groups, it is clearly necessary to tailor the prevention work and treatment/help structure to this phenomenon. The needs which the experts expressed are an indication of this.

New measures

A large part of the additionally given needs for the prevention in the field of synthetic drugs are recommendations for new measures and activities that should be implemented. On the one hand, these are recommendations for creating facilities presumably accepted by youths such as meeting points (club houses) and places for youths to go (Chill-out-Cafés and Internet-Cafés). Also included in this conception is e.g. the usage of new media like the Internet. This access should enable preventative measures to become embedded in the everyday life of the target group of consumers.

Other needs concern the further professional training of multiplicators especially in regard to the new consumption patterns for illegal drug consumption. Not only the inclusion of youths as multiplicators is promoted but also the schooling of bar/pub/night club personnel for emergency situations and as multiplicators for the prevention. Furthermore, in view of the changing drug consumption forms, the further development of addiction prevention programs in schools is considered important.

Evaluation

Measures in drug prevention must also be answerable to the question (as is any social-political program) of whether the aims which their measures were trying to reach were actually reached. Only in the last few years did *demand reduction activities* in the field of synthetic drugs begin to develop. Until now, they have barely been studied. In the scope of the study presented here, the effort was made to determine the quality/type of evaluations.

Self assessment of the projects

The contact persons for the respective projects were asked to, independent of the status of the evaluation (see next section), estimate how successful the project in regards to the set objectives were. It was possible to respond on a scale from „not successful" to „totally successful". **Graph 8.5** depicts the result of the self assessment.

In sum, 36 of 38 projects that had responded to this inquiry, declared that their project was successful. 12 projects were even rated as very successful. Only 2 projects make restrictions in their assessment of the success and none of the questioned projects rate themselves as „not successful". One could possibly allege a lack of differentiation and a tendency to certify ones own efforts. This more intuitive form of evaluating social work – the subjective self assessment through the persons responsible for the project – does not fulfil the criteria that must be used in the scope of quality management for social interventions.

Graph 8.5: SELF ASSESSMENT OF THE PROJECT (N=38)
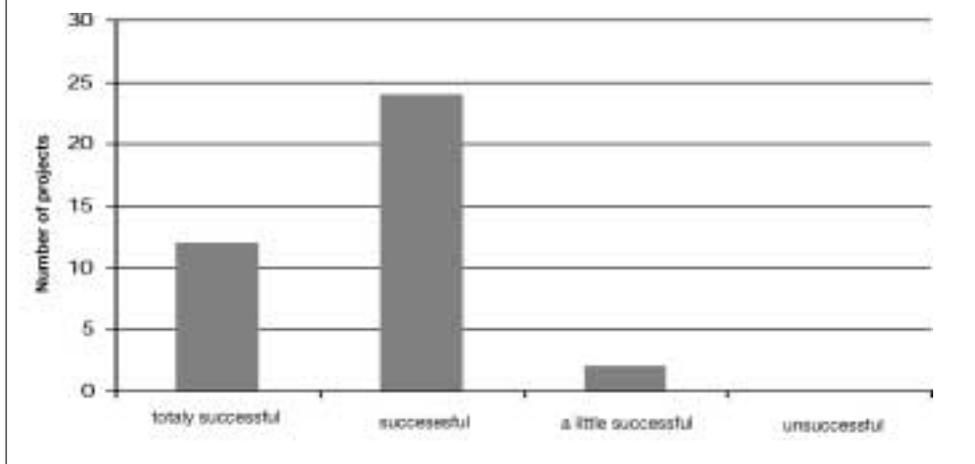

Systematic evaluation of the programs

In the scope of this study, the included demand reduction projects were questioned about the goals, target groups, methods and, lastly, to the current status of the evaluation. Evaluation was defined as „*the systematic and scientific collection, processing and analysis of programme implementation data in order to ascertain the effectiveness of a programme*". Using this definition, the contact persons of the respective projects were to report on evaluations (being) done.

According to the questioned contact persons, 30 of 51 projects were (being) evaluated. This number can be estimated as comparably high, since the evaluation of a project demands additional resources. One must assume, though, that a *selection effect* falsifies the results of the study. This effect always arises when the participation in a study is voluntary. One must assume that the non-respondents of the study systematically differ from those that take part. In regards to the study presented here, the projects that implemented an evaluation were probably more willing to take part in the survey. This seems to be even more probable considering that the method of evaluation was explicitly and specifically asked about in the scope of the questionnaire-survey.

Table 8.6: STATE OF EVALUATION (N = 51)

Evaluation	n
has been carried out / is in progress	30
has not been / is not carried out	21

Graph 8.6: THE PREVENTION PROGRAM WAS/IS NOT BEING EVALUATED BECAUSE…
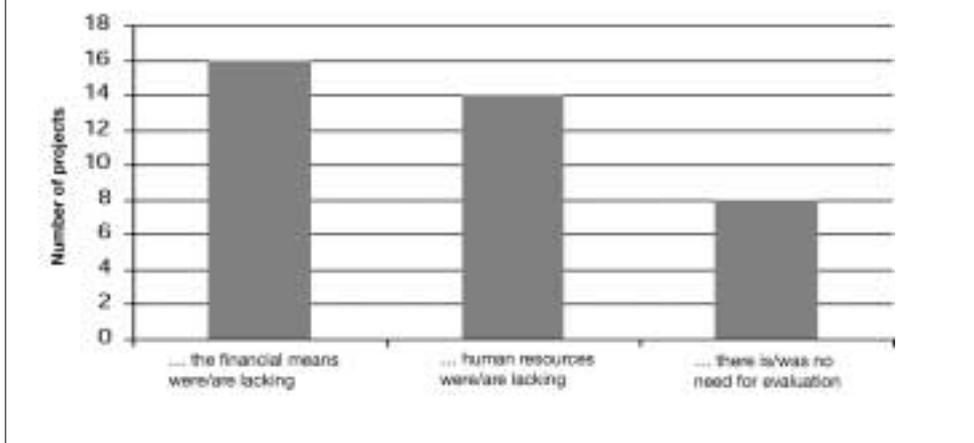
Nevertheless, 21 projects or rather 41% percent of the questioned persons stated that their projects have not been evaluated. If one wants to research the progress in the field of evaluation, then the reasons for not having implemented an evaluation are also of interest. **Graph 8.6** presents the most common named reasons.

Predominately, financial reasons hindered the evaluation of a project. It is also possible that scientific evaluation possesses a lower priority and that, if need be, costs are saved in this area. If personnel reasons were made responsible, then these are surely confounded with the financial reasons. The relevant qualifications and instrumental competencies which are needed to conduct an evaluation may also be missing. For 8 projects, the evaluation of the program was not regarded as being necessary.

How necessary or superfluous an evaluation actually is in each individual case can not be determined. What is important is the fact that, in almost all cases where a program was not (being) evaluated, a *lack of resources* was made responsible. In order to further develop the scientific evaluation of *demand reduction activities*, better financial support seems to be, on the one hand, necessary. On the other hand, it is also worth considering a targeted promotion of specific dual practice-evaluation-programs which would strengthen the competencies necessary for an evaluation.
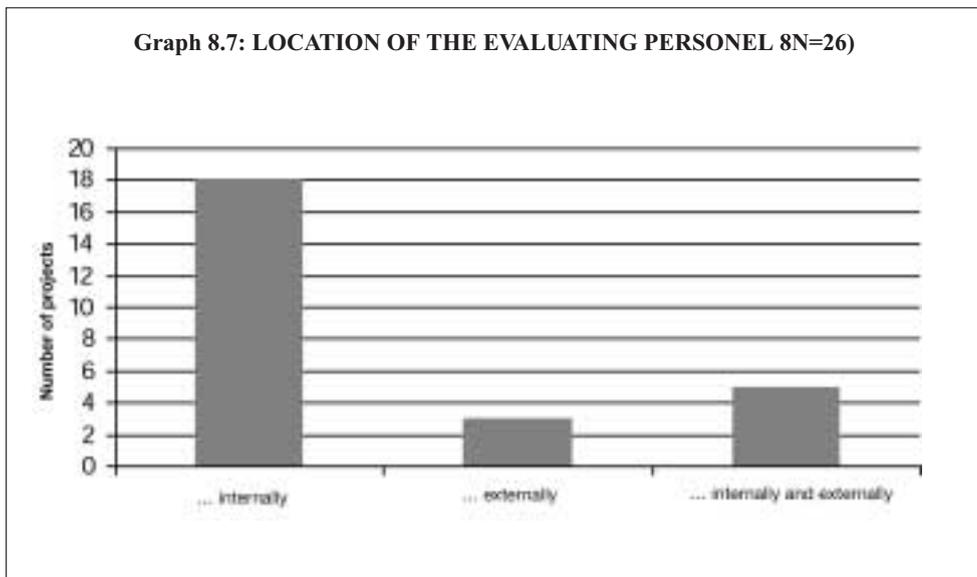
Evaluating personnel

Through the questionnaire, a definition – as stated above – was given. But it can not be guaranteed that the projects really followed this definition. Perhaps they advocate a different interpretation of what is meant by professional evaluation. But a certain

standard is necessary in this area, otherwise the evaluation of the effectiveness of measures underlies random standards and a comparative discussion is not possible.

In regards to the „goodness" of a evaluation, besides the systematic approach in the evaluation of program-planning, the process and the results, the question as to whether the program was implemented by project personnel or an external institute/external person should be a decisive one. Taking this into consideration, the participants in the demand reduction study were asked to name the conductor of the project evaluation.

As becomes clear in the following graph, 18 of 26 projects stated that their project was evaluated internally. Only 3 of the projects stated that an external institution had been contracted to conduct the evaluation. 5 projects were evaluated both internally and externally. The majority of the questioned projects were thus evaluated by persons from the same organisation.

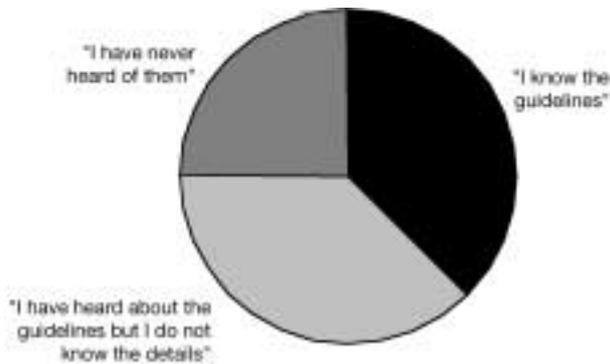**Graph 8.7: LOCATION OF THE EVALUATING PERSONEL 8N=26)**

The fact that the majority of the evaluated projects were evaluated internally by project personnel lets one assume that also here the above mentioned resource deficits played a role.

Guidelines for evaluation

In connection with a further question of interest in this study, it should be determined if the guidelines which EMCDDA proposed for the evaluation of measures to addiction prevention were known to and if they were implemented by the projects in the field of synthetic drugs. Answering these questions also gives an indication as to

"I have never heard of them"

"I know the guidelines"

"I have heard about the guidelines but I do not know the details"

whether the project evaluations meet the given scientific quality standards. **Graph 8.8** shows the distribution of the degree of familiarity of the EMCDDA guidelines.

Of the 41 questioned contact persons, 31 or rather 75% are familiar with the EMCDDA-guidelines. However, about half of these persons state that the guidelines are only vaguely known to them. 10 of the questioned, though, have never heard anything about the guidelines.

In view of the implementation of the guidelines, it was shown that all 15 persons who were responsible for a project and familiar with the guidelines stated that the projects have „partially" oriented themselves on these. To the question as to how useful the guidelines were perceived to be, only one person answered "not at all useful". For 10 projects the guidelines were somewhat useful. For 4 of 15 projects they were even seen as very useful. Graph 9 shows the degree of familiarity as well as the usefulness of the guidelines.

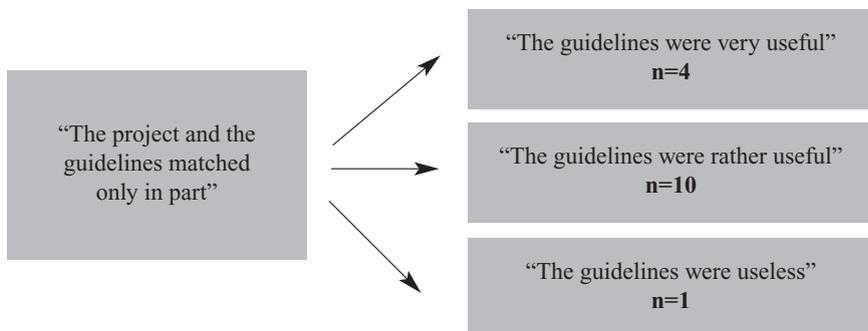**Graph 8.9: USEFULNESS OF THE EMCDDA-GUIDELINES**

"The project and the guidelines matched only in part"

"The guidelines were very useful" **n=4**

"The guidelines were rather useful" **n=10**

"The guidelines were useless" **n=1**

Table 8.7: DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIARITY OF THE EMCDDA-GUIDELINES IN EUROPE

	interviewed contact persons (N=41)	„I know the guidelines" (N=15)
Austria	2	2
Denmark	2	0
France	3	1
Great-Britain	6	0
Germany	19	5
Luxembourg	1	1
Spain	5	5
Sweden	1	0
The Netherlands	1	1

Finally, the question remains open as to how well-known the EMCDDA-guidelines are in the EU member states. **Table 8.7** depicts the distribution of the degree of familiarity in the EU member states in relation to the number of the questioned contact persons.

Some organisations claim to be responsible for several projects, but one and the same contact person always answered for the projects of one organisation. In the question as to how well-known the EMCDDA-guidelines are, double statements from one person had to be taken out of the statistic so that, in total, only 41 persons (as representatives of their organisation) gave information and were included in the analysis.

If one compares the number of persons that are familiar with the guidelines with the total number of questioned persons from the respective countries, then large differences between the countries are ascertainable. Once again it is to be emphasised that these results are not to be taken as representative results, since the selection effects have to be taken into account and the sample is comparably small. But it is interesting to note that in Spain all 5 questioned persons are familiar with the guidelines whereas in Germany only 4 of 19 questioned persons are familiar with the guidelines. As to the distribution, one can at least state that the guidelines are known in several countries.

Seen as a whole, the evaluation of *demand reduction activities* can not be seen as a matter of course. Although more than half of the studied projects were evaluated as to their effectiveness, an independent, external evaluation is still more of an exception. Certainly, even an external evaluation does not guarantee the reliability of the results. But a scientific training/education is definitely a necessary prerequisite for the evaluator. For one thing, a scientific evaluation is recognisable by its precise use of terminology which first makes a communication/discussion of the results at all possible.

But it can be assumed that even the term 'evaluation' is interpreted differently and that the evaluations thus took place on different levels with different standards.

A scientific standardisation in the field of evaluation does not seem to exist in Europe. A uniform standard, with the guidelines of the EMCDDA, which were specifically developed for this, as a basis, would be advisable. The analysis of the results shows that the familiarity of the guidelines is relatively high. But half of those who are familiar with the guidelines have (according to their own statements) never actually read them. Even if they are known, they are only partially being implemented. But if one considers that the survey sample is distributed across all of Europe and the implementation of the guidelines is a question of personal initiative, then the numbers could be seen positively. But if one wants evaluation of *demand reduction activities* to be the norm and unitary guidelines to be used, then efforts in this field are still necessary. Amongst these would be e.g. improving the financial and personnel resources.

Results of evaluation ?

One of the goals of this study was to assess the current status of evaluation and to see how well-known and wide-spread the EMCDDA-guidelines are in areas within the EU-member states where projects for synthetic drugs exist. Beyond that, it is naturally of interest to ask what *results* the evaluations have come to.

If one is to make reliable statements about programs or rather interventions and their effects, then two methodological methods can be selected from: The undoubtedly most reliable approach is the direct and professional evaluation of a project. Ideally, this evaluation through independent experts begins with the project planning and includes all of the further processes of the project and results of the program which occurred during the implementation of the measure. Another possibility is a meta-analysis, where all available data from concluded evaluative studies are brought together and analysed systematically in order to evaluate the goodness and validity of the results. An appraisal of the methods which were used plays an important part. The study at hand, though, had neither the objective to evaluate projects nor to carry out a meta-analysis with the given data from the evaluations.

Based on the statements which the surveyed project participants gave, it is only possible to give an *overview* which outlines, from the perspective of the project workers, the experiences which have been made with the measures. The questioned contact person was thus asked to briefly summarise the results of the evaluation.

As was described previously, 30 from a total of 52 demand reduction projects stated that these had also been evaluated. But only about half of these projects (18 of 30) made statements about the results of the evaluation. Although it remains unclear why, in these cases, incomplete statements were given, one can assume that there is a systematic distortion here. That means that an answer to the more detailed question could only occur in those cases where the project evaluation, for the most part, followed the

EMCDDA criteria. Since many of the projects were evaluated internally, that is through project co-workers whose qualifications lay in the implementation and not the evaluation of the project (compare Salvador-Livina, 1998), one can assume that the measures used for the evaluation of the projects do not meet with the standard of quality which one can, for example, expect when dealing with an external research institute.

Beyond that, it is plausible that project co-workers are quite able to critically scrutinise their own work or rather their own programs, but that in the end – also with the pressure of legitimisation – are more likely to search for information which confirms their own work.

A further indication for the many definitions of evaluation can be seen in the finding that the EMCDDA guidelines were known to only 9 of the 30 evaluated projects. Even in the cases where they were known, they were only partially applied. One can thus assume that most of the internally implemented evaluations are, in comparison to a strict evaluation, more like a feedback-analysis of the target group. If the evaluation is meant to serve the further development of the project, then this type of evaluation is completely legitimate. But, in the end, it is not a reliable source in answering the question of the effectiveness of the measure.

But the restrictions for the goodness of the evaluation which have been mentioned are probably due to an inherent problem which stems mainly from the project's financial situation, since a project usually does not have additional research funds which would allow for an external evaluation. For example, in those cases where an evaluation did not take place, the most commonly given reason was the lack of financial and personnel resources (see p. 26). The internal evaluation of a project may be a reasonable alternative, but the absolute necessity of using qualified personnel cannot be ignored.

So what do the results look like? In summary, one can ascertain that in almost all of the projects, success in terms of reaching certain goals was confirmed, but the success was not further quantified. In analysing what exactly success means in the realm of the demand reduction projects, it becomes clear that effectiveness in terms of a consumption reduction or abstinence is not meant. Instead, criteria like implementation, familiarity or acceptance were used. For example, it was discovered that Flyers with safer-use information were very popular and usually also seen as being useful and good. If co-operation with club managers was the objective, then the respective persons, who offer their co-operation, were usually found. The attempt to establish *networking* among rave organisers and peers in order to use them as multiplicators, was usually successful. But after, for example, the Danish project ‚Safe rave' discontinued its involvement, the network also broke apart. Projects that worked without the co-operation of insiders (people involved in the scene) generally had a problem with credibility, since they were perceived as coming ‚*from outside*' and especially drug consumers react upon that sceptically.

In all, although the quality of the measures was evaluated, results which would allow inferences regarding the effectiveness of certain interventions, were rarely named. Surely, acceptance belongs to one of the criteria that should be studied in an evaluation.

But whether or not the intervention actually has an effect on the target group and which consequences this leads to, it cannot be inferred from this criteria. The question as to whether or not the behaviour or the consumption of synthetic drugs was influenced in one way or another, must therefore (at this point) stay unanswered.

5. DEVELOPMENTS IN DEMAND REDUCTION ACTIVITIES

If one compares the current status of preventive measures for synthetic drugs being implemented in the EU, one must first realise that there are a variety of different projects in most of the member states. Without a doubt, the number of specific projects is today a great deal higher than two years ago. One could say that the specific prevention programs have developed in the course of epidemiological trends and that, in the meantime, they represent an elementary part of the catalogue of measures.

It is also ascertainable that the *demand reduction activities* in the field of synthetic drugs have become diversified. The current measures prove to be comparably heterogeneous in regards to the addressed target group, the project goals as well as the methods of the projects. Unlike a few years ago, one can today find not only a large amount but also a large variety of measures in the field of drug prevention for synthetic drugs. Besides the distribution of relevant information, a series of other preventive measures are implemented in the EU member states. For example, scene-embedded, scene-oriented psycho-social and medical counselling or the educating of relevant multiplicators who are working with youths.

It is also important to note that there has been observable progress in regards to the evaluation of prevention projects in the field of synthetic drugs. Maybe this progress is seen less in the actual number of evaluated projects, but more in the fact that the organisations which were studied here did not doubt the necessity of a professional evaluation of the measures. Of course, this process should be optimised and qualified in the near future.

At this point, in conclusion, the question should be asked as to whether the current preventive measures adequately meet the standards and which problems demand reduction activities in the field of synthetic drugs must solve in the future. In connection to this, let it be pointed out that the majority of the currently implemented projects address drug-abstinent youths or casual drug-consumers. The important question to ask is which measures must be undertaken so that specific groups with especially risky consumption of synthetic drugs can be addressed. Especially here, there seems to be a necessity for intervention.

The second aspect which we want to point out deals with the high-priority implementation of information distributing measures. As was shown, 39 of 52 of the here studied prevention projects produce and distribute material that pertain to drugs

and to the dangers involved in drug consumption. And this, although the questioned experts considered the scene-oriented contact and counselling work to be much more important (compare chapter *Estimated demand*). Especially vulnerable groups of drug consumers should be able to profit more from more personal-communicative measures than from information.

The need for harm-minimisation measures (such as drug checking) which the questioned qualified personnel named is most probably a fought over issue politically. In order to objectify the discussion about the preventive potential of such programs, it would be advisable to systematically analyse the experience which has been made with such Drug Check Programs. In connection to this, the question of *behavioural relevancy* of measures should be answered in addition to the question of *acceptancy*.

If one views the current status of the evaluation of demand reduction activities in the member states of the EU, then one must point out a great necessity for further development. Although, at present, a greater acceptance and readiness in evaluating own social-pedagogical programs can be ascertained, there are still large deficits in the area of implementation. Still missing are necessary competencies or rather material as well as personnel resources. One can also assume that the standards for evaluation which were published by the EMCDDA are still relatively unknown to most organisations and projects. In the scope of this study, it also became clear that even if the standards are known, it in no way means that a professional evaluation is being implemented.

If the implementation of evaluations of demand reduction activities should be developed further, then specific *development programmes* seem to present a suitable method for achieving this. These could consist of, for example, large scope training measures, but also implementations of individual good-practice-projects. In both cases, one can assume a multiplicative effect.

Summary and general conclusions:

CERTAINTIES AND QUESTIONS ON PREVENTIVE IMPLICATIONS

This study was begun with ambition and humility at the same time. Ambition to undertake a social analysis solidly supported by theory and empirical data but one that would also go beyond this and contribute at a practical level to informing intervention strategies for drug use in recreational settings. We have also undertaken the study with humility because we are only too aware that we are only contributing grains of knowledge in a task that requires a strong collective enterprise. In observing the growing use of drugs within the youth population, it is inevitable to conclude that there is a reluctance to take responsibility. The formative knowledge people are currently receiving lacks the measures that might enable them to take on the responsibility for protecting for themselves, and this is occurring at different levels within population groups, among young people themselves, in the educational system, within families and in the professional fields responsible for quality of life in our society. Looking at this aspect, Morel (2000: 37) proposes that "the whole difficulty lies in the state of a society at a given moment and in taking into account its level of knowledge and the concerns of its public opinion, in finding the point of balance between safeguarding liberties and security, in finding the most positive commitment so that dangerous behaviours can change and so the means of protecting the collective from all likelihood of aggravating conflicts..."

As we said in the Introduction, understanding the current situation in which a large segment of young people feel an increasing need to use drugs to enjoy themselves is a complex matter. By qualifying it as complex, we are stating that it is a subject beset with many difficulties when attempting to understand and explain it. It is a subject where glib explanations are inadequate, and which requires co-operation between very different branches of knowledge that constantly overlap to provide an explanatory construct. Accepting the reality that we are faced with a complex problem places the research that has been presented here, within corresponding limits. Undoubtedly, the data and ideas presented will contribute to the understanding of the drug phenomenon, but they will also act to raise further questions and dilemmas. We are looking at a subject in relation to which it is essential to see the realities as interrelated with each other, so much so that, in order to understand a single fact, it is necessary to look at the overall situation. This is the reason why an attempt has been made to link the analysis of drug use among young people to other aspects such as identity, the need to belong to a collective or tribe, the social division of time, the relationship with risk-taking, the search for success and prestige, technical and scientific development, post-modernity, etc.

In some chapters, we have referred to drugs as a technology, a socially constructed artifice that has become part of social life, and one which is used by individuals to facilitate social interactions, particularly in recreational situations. Looking at drugs as an artifice allows us to take a more tangible approach to the subject. Drugs are not something that nature has made available explicitly for our enjoyment - such a notion evades responsibility, both individual and social. Societies develop drugs, manufacture them, define their qualities and their uses, and all of this provokes controversy - as is the case throughout Europe at present - which helps to bestow an identity on these substances and guide the use that is made of them. Referring to this 're-creation' we make of certain substances I order to convert them into drugs, Freud explained it thus, "such is the beneficial nature being attributed to the action of narcotics in the struggle for happiness and the prevention of misery, that both individuals and nations have reserved a permanent place for them in their libidinal economy" (quoted in Sissa, 2000). Therefore, it is a social fact that drugs exist, are needed and are used, and they should therefore be explained in these terms. None of this contradicts the fact that drugs have a very real effect on our brain, our biophysical characteristics and our behaviour and that there are specific cerebral receptors for opiates, cannabis, etc. All these conditions are necessary, but not sufficient in themselves, for a drug to become socially defined as such. Nevertheless, the physical qualities of those substances we call drugs and their effects on the human organism must be taken into very careful consideration, as Sissa (2000) pointed out, in order to understand the fascination that these substances hold and their influence at a molecular level on sensations of pleasure.

In Europe, which appears to be advancing towards a situation where medication - both prescribed by a doctor and self-administered - and the services supplied by medics and alternative therapies, and drugs are becoming of pivotal importance. Although the use non-prescribed drugs is beyond the control of the medical system, it may be said that the latter contributesto this logic of self-medication. The pharmaceutical industry and the medical system, with the connivance and complicity of all society, has promoted the use of pharmaceuticals as the fastest, most effective and most appropriate solution to the most diverse disorders and anomalies. Drugs, some of which are illegal, are part of this same logic, and, whether they proceed from the laboratory or from nature, are an effective and rapid way of attaining changes in mood, modifying the senses, getting an individual in the party spirit, improving relationships with friends, ensuring that the body keeps going longer, or overcoming fears, among many other things. Drugs, in short, are the sophisticated 'technology' of a highly technological society where the facile achievement of objectives is valued, without thought for the means being used, as long as they are effortless and accessible. According to this Machiavellian reason, what counts is the end and not the means, and we offer the following comments from different drug users by way of explanation

"I smoke a joint in exactly the same way as somebody else would have a coffee or a valium. I use a little bit of it to get out of a bad mood or to communicate better at the weekend. If I'm going crazy one day or a problem is too much for me, then I smoke one, it calms me down and helps me a great deal. In the same way, I smoke one when doing

boring things that I can't stand doing, to get through them. For example, if I have to spend two hours in front of the computer, it helps me and I can distance myself from it." (female, aged 30).

"Thinking of my parents, of the people around me, we've been taught to take something in order to do something: 'you're not feeling well, take an aspirin; you want to feel better you take some vitamins…'. We can also find this cause and effect relationship at parties: 'you want to have fun, you get pissed'. That's how it is." (male, age: 21)

"I see it as the search for an opportunity to express oneself, to communicate, to be more quickly, more easily, in a joyful state that enables you to live it up. Personally I see several aspects to the use of dope: it can be a way of having a great time, of entering some game that changes your usual context, with people from different backgrounds. It can be festive but also spiritual: you can consume during the party, be like the others, or be yourself on a personal trip with the others to reach certain goals; for me it will be working the visual. You can also take substances because you're tired, to keep on partying with the others." (male, age: 21)

"I think that having fun is almost automatically linked with using stuff of some sort. It is entertaining! The notion of living it up has always been linked with alcohol; it allows me to be in harmony with myself and with the others, to have wilder discussions, but other products can also be used as substitutes for alcohol to have fun. From experience, the parties where I took an ecstasy, I was able to experience the party more intensely and to have discussions I wouldn't have had if I had been on strychnine; it makes you hyper; you feel great, you communicate more easily, you are more alert, it flies in your head." (male, age: 22)

The young people who normally take part in recreational life are not in any way representative of the marginal layers of society. Quite the contrary, in fact, as we find ourselves looking at a very socially active sector, from well-integrated families that are financially and socially active. They are young people who are aware that an important part of their socialisation takes place through recreational activities. Chapter One presented their characteristics as a social group, the greater presence of males being notable. The average age of the sample being studied is 22 years of age although this varies from city to city. We find ourselves looking at young people ranging from adolescents of 15 years of age, who already play an active part in recreational settings and take drugs, to adults of 30 years of age or older. The dominant socio-economic status is middle and upper middle class; those who consider themselves to be lower middle or lower are in the minority. The majority are students or are working - they are not unemployed or out of work - and are living with their families, particularly in the countries of Southern Europe. Their work and/or their family finance their somewhat expensive recreational activities. This money facilitates the development of a buoyant recreational industry created around young people. The settings where the sample was recruited were the most characteristic of each city and the diversity of recreational life formed by a wide variety of subcultures was taken into account, and this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 of this report.

The majority of the young people in the sample are drug users and, although some only take legal drugs, many take and combine legal and illegal drugs. Frequencies of use vary, showing a wide spectrum that runs from a moderate and controlled use to an abusive one. Chapter Two presented the data and analyses used to explore that difficult boundary between use and abuse as explained through the individual and social characteristics of the young. Correlation analyses found significant and positive relationships between thirteen indicators of substance use and misuse, including frequencies of using legal and illegal substances and some indicators of substance abuse and misuse. Bi-variate analyses found several associations among legal and illegal substance use/misuse and several socio-demographics such as gender, age, studies, occupation, family status and family control, and age of onset of legal and illegal substances. Nevertheless, multivariate analyses included only the following variables as substantial predictors: age, age of onset of legal and illegal substances, and lack of a steady occupation (studies/work). Bi-variate and multivariate analyses found strong relationships between legal -illegal substance use and misuse with indicators of a higher involvement with recreational nightlife activities, providing further support to the hypothesis relating recreational nightlife and substance use and misuse. Also, motivations for going out that revolve around drug use are factors that emerged as good predictors of substance use and misuse, revealing another indicator of substance use as an intentional behaviour among our sample. Finally, bi-variate and multivariate predictive analyses in our study found a strong relationship between legal and illegal substance use/misuse with some indicators of sensation seeking and social deviance behaviours, indicating that some intrapersonal variables can be substantial contributors in learning and developing substance use/misuse patterns among youth in recreational environments.

Drug use must be understood within the context of a broad cultural journey of construction and considered, as such, subject to interventions of one sort or another. The enormous importance of the social division of time in the young population means that the weekend is a period defined in very positive terms for it contains an association with 'freedom', which is understood in terms of lack of commitments, obligations and responsibilities. At weekends they are looking for time out with structure and they are the period when they aim to search for new and immediate experiences. Friends and relationships are also a substantial component of the weekend. It is a period that the young enjoy as their veryown and they feel that they are the ones who define it. Weekdays, on the contrary, mean time for formality and obligations. This is when they take part in routine activities and work towards long-term goals. Chapter 3 looked at precisely this, the significance that the young give to these two periods of time, with particular emphasis on those who take part in rave parties, as this is one of the most popular recreational scenes among young Europeans, and one where drug use is significant and where there is a more abrupt break away from the formal activities of the week. Since switching between activities is the norm and recreational activities are popular, for many youngsters raving is an ideal form of relaxation. It makes them forget their daily routine for a while and brings them into a world where all that counts is

sensation. Moreover it enables them to forget the character(s) they have to be during the week: here they need only be themselves. It is not surprisingly then that youngsters feel more 'real' when raving.

We evaluated the context and the group in which the young participate as an entity that exercises influence in deciding whether or not they take drugs. In Chapter Four, we defined five European environments patronised by the young when they go out to enjoy themselves on weekend nights. Music is the central element of the night and defines many of the scenes and forms of enjoyment. House music is very important, particularly in the 'techno-rave' and 'teenage' scenes, but also in the 'university and professionals' and 'mainstream' scenes (these terms refer to the main scenes identified in different European cities in our study). Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that recreational scenes are continually changing. In this sense, the techno or house music label embraces many substyles and subcultures that are constantly reinventing themselves and occupying a different social arena. Some house music is already commercialised music, whereas some is elitist and underground. The data presented show that friends and the social group are vital for young people in their learning processes and in shaping them as social individuals. Drugs influence inclusive and exclusive relationships depending on whether or not they are used and the style of use favoured by the scene. There is no doubt that the young choose, and that they are using their ability to choose, when to join a group and a scene. Therefore, it is not that they are mere victims of influences, since they have the other options. It is a matter of the dialectics of the two dimensions, individual choice and the influence of the group and the context.

The data presented confirm that illegal drug use takes place in all the scenes as part of 'living it up' and having fun. At the same time, this use varies in respect of each substance and frequency of use. The young on the techno-rave scene are those who are notable for being the highest consumers of all substances. It is on this scene that recreational drug use becomes a central component and probably makes it more difficult for other enjoyment strategies to be developed. And it must be underlined here, that this is the majority scene in Europe, the one that most young people belong to and the one where drug use has a central position. What is important is that the samples of 'adolescents' studied share many of the characteristics of techno culture, which would lead one to think that they will end up socialising within this culture with a greater affinity for drugs.

The drug use under scrutiny her forms part of the experience of music and dancing and it allows young people to experience a kind of fun closer to sensations than to words and ideas. In this sense, drugs are the integrating element of the group, of the collective trip, of the search for new experiences. Drugs are just one more element to be added to a list of self-medication products except, that in this case, they are not treating an illness but being used for fun through changing the emotional state of the user. In this sense, drugs can become a component that exercises a certain tyranny, since they contribute to the young abandoning other strategies for attaining their objectives of entertainment and socialisation.

The influence of the group also intervenes in the strategies that the young adopt to control their own lives and dynamics. With the data presented in Chapter Five, it may be concluded that drug, set and setting all have an essential role in the personal control of ecstasy use and other drugs. Patterns of ecstasy use are socially constructed. There are different kinds of social sanctions around ecstasy use for limiting it to an 'appropriate' level. Users of ecstasy apply cultural recipes for ecstasy use in the internal maxims, principles and rules they apply in order to regulate their drug behaviour. They are seeking fun and pleasure and they are trying to avoid the potentially harmful consequences of the drug. However, as often stated in the interviews, it is hard to control the drug variable. The level of personal control over ecstasy use seems to depend on the subjective values and principles of the person and his or her family, but also on the local drug culture.

Another aspect closely linked to control is the function played by risk, the subject of Chapter Six. Often when we speak of the risks associated with drugs we are referring to the risks being run when using drugs, some of which can be avoided if an individual adopts certain precautions. This focus has given rise to different treatment programmes and also prevention programmes, within the field of what we call harm reduction. Yet there is more to the subject of risk-taking than this. On the one hand, taking risks is, to a certain extent, an intrinsic aspect of life, and forms part of the learning process of every adolescent. Within this learning process, recreational life and drug use occupy an important place for many. The association with risk is a complex one for many adolescents, both desired and feared at the same time. They have different attitudes towards the significance and experience of risk, ranging from those who see it as a positive thing which makes them feel alive and free - we could speak of 'risk seekers' here – to those who see it as something inevitable, and those who use various tactics to keep it at a distance - the really dangerous drugs are the ones they do not use, the danger of drugs lies in their adulteration - or those who exercise or try to exercise a real and direct control over risk behaviours by not using drugs or by using less. The personal construction of risk made by each individual influences the formation of the risk perception that we attribute to each drug. This risk perception is the result of various psychological and social processes and does not depend uniquely on the availability of specific information. In fact, these perceptions are formed within a cultural environment in which the discourse on drug use is diverse and, as well as playing an important part in and having a great deal of influence over youth subcultures, legitimises use to a great extent. The most well-known and powerful of these is undoubtedly the pro-cannabis movement, since it is the most vocal at all levels and enjoys support from very varied and influential sectors (Calafat et al., 2000ª). These discourses tend to link the substances to positive cultural values and, in addition, represent them as innocuous substances, lacking danger; they even suggest that taking the risks that may be involved in their use is an inevitable part of the life experience. Above all, they are attempting to legitimise its use culturally. These very extensive strategies that socially legitimise drug use conflict with other potential values of the

young such as moderation, exercising self-protection, other forms of entertainment or searching for internal and external experiences, etc.

The qualitative analysis of risk is complemented by a statistical analysis that permitted the development of three important scales to measure risk. The first measures the risk perception associated with the use of legal substances (alcohol and tobacco) and the use of illegal substances (cannabis, ecstasy and LSD). A second scales acts to evaluate the risk predisposition associated with determined personality traits or generalised predispositions to risky behaviour, and a third scale evaluates the risk behaviours associated with drug use (excessive use of illegal drugs, drunkenness, behaviour after taking drugs, etc.). One immediate conclusion which may be derived from the data is that misinformation exists at the very basic level. In fact, a large number of young people do not consider smoking a packet of cigarettes each day as problematic and, worse still, they consider the habitual use of cannabis to be less dangerous than tobacco. Nor do they consider it particularly problematic to consume several alcoholic drinks in succession in spite of this being one pattern of substance misuse that is causing most social alarm - totally well-founded we believe – because of the the high number of substance-related road traffic accidents. We feel that this low perception of the dangers involved in the use of substances may have some connection with the increase that is occurring in drug use prevalence (Johnston and O'Malley, 1998). Unlike what is happening with regard to other drugs, the positive image of ecstasy of some years ago has deterioratedas a result of the sensationalist publicity around the deaths relating to its use,and other information about the effects of this substance. As a consequence, it is now perceived as a problematic substance by a significant proportion of young people, and this may have led young people to decide for themselves not to take, which in turn has led to a levelling off in demand or a fall in its use at the European level (EMCDDA, 2000). This also shows the effective role played by risk perception in determining drug use.

Chapter Seven presents an analysis of the setting in recreational life in terms of its significance for risk prevention. It covers the different types of risk that may be controlled and dealt with by creating healthy contexts or settings. This perspective focuses very directly on preventing harm without disparaging recreational life in doing so. A 'healthy settings' approach can be conducive to preserving those scenes where the young can engage in creative activities in a way that is appropriate to their development. It is, therefore, necessary to detect and address the dangers that make this arena into such a booby-trap for the young with its close association with drug use.

Chapter Eight consists of a study developed under the auspices of the EMCDDA in which some of our research team took part. It presents information on prevention programmes and other projects carried out in European countries in the field of synthetic drugs. Data was obtained from 74 organisations, one of the additional objectives of the study being to analyse the evaluation system of their programmes of activity. The aim was to assess whether the measures measures were being evaluated in terms of their acceptance, practicability, and effectiveness, and whether the evaluation

guidelines prepared by the EMCDDA were adequately known about or had even proved helpful in the evaluation of the projects.

The most notable feature of this Chapter is that the prevention programmes used in Europe basically consist of providing information on the effects of drugs. An unexpected consequence, and quite the opposite of what was intended by those responsible for the programme who specifically wanted their harm reduction messages to reach those users most at risk , was that the actual recipients of the information were mostly casual users and drug-abstinent youths. Another aspect worth mention is that there is no evaluation of the effectiveness of these programmes in terms of their results. In other words, the success of the preventive programme is evaluated in respect of reaching certain objectives (number of brochures distributed, acceptance of message by the young...), but there is no measurement of an effective reduction in use or of the real adoption of harm reduction behaviours. When evaluating the programmes, emphasis was placed on their application, familiarity and acceptability. For example, it is known that flyers with 'safer-use' information were very popular and usually perceived as being useful. If co-operation with club managers was the objective, these individuals were found to be co-operative on the whole. The attempt to establish networking among rave organisers and peer groups in order to use them as disseminators of information was usually successful. One of the more notable conclusions of this study is that there the need for working with the support of those involved in the recreational scene. It also highlights the need for credibility and adaptability, as it would appear that drug users respond with some scepticism to local campaigns.

Unlike a few years ago, today one can find not only a large number but also a wide variety of measures in the synthetic drugs field of drugs prevention work. It is also true that demand reduction activities in the field of synthetic drugs have diversified. It is important to note that there has been observable progress with regard to the evaluation of prevention projects; the organisations that were studied here did not doubt the need for professional evaluation drugs prevention measures. The questions that need to be asked is whether current preventive measures and demand reduction activities meet adequate standards. The majority of the projects currently being implemented are inadvertently targeting drug-abstinent youths or casual drug-consumers. The most important question to ask is which measures need to be implemented so that those groups with the most risky patterns of drug use, are targeted. Secondly, vulnerable groups of drug consumers should profit from more personalised measures than from information alone.

It is worrying that the greater part of prevention work currently being carried out consists mainly of transmitting information on the effects of drugs, when research showed this strategy to be inadequate quite some time ago. This does not mean that such information does not occupy a place within prevention since, as we have seen, there is an appalling lack of knowledge about the harmful effects of drugs. What must be considered is complementing this information with other preventive practices that improve the effectiveness of programmes and introduce other objectives in addition to

harm reduction such as moderation in use or abstinence. It is also important to ensure that this information is transmitted to younger age groups and, at the same time, more interactive prevention programmes must be drawn up on the grounds of their demonstrated effectiveness. The other serious problem that must be addressed is how to ensure that those who already use drugs - and above all those who abuse them - take an interest in prevention. Diverse data from the SONAR Survey show that it is precisely those who use less who have a less positive view of drug use and who are most interested in prevention. This is a good thing but the crux of the matter still needs to e resolved - how to reach those drug users who have drawn up various legitimisation strategies that they use as an armour against preventive measures?

1. IMPLICATIONS FOR PREVENTION. CERTAINTIES AND QUESTIONS

Edgar Morin illustrates the collective need for prevention as a basic requirement for the preservation of all living species and not only of human beings as follows: "A short time ago it was discovered that there was communication between trees of the same species. In an experiment carried out by sadistic scientists (how could a scientific researcher be otherwise?) all the leaves were stripped from a tree to study its reaction. The tree reacted in a foreseeable way, in other words it began to secrete sap more intensely to replace the leaves it had lost as quickly as possible. In addition, it secreted a substance to protect it from parasites. The tree knew that a parasite had attacked it, except it thought it was an insect (poor thing!). It was not to know it was the biggest of all parasites - the human being. But what is interesting is that the neighbouring trees of the same species also began to secrete the same anti-parasite substance as the threatened tree." (Morin 1994:79).

If there is any sector of the population that requires protection in respect of drugs in our societies it consists of young people, adolescents and children. The European Union has recently published a document in which it recommends that the Commission utilises its powers and resources to further support effective action to promote health and prevent disease in Europe (Boddy 1999). For directing this in terms of drugs, we will look at the key messages for prevention that have arisen from the present study.

We will commence by highlighting those preventive matters that we consider to be of general interest before moving on to some more specific considerations. In both the investigative work and the analysis, and now in making recommendation , our objective has always been to contribute further knowledge to promote demand reduction. In the sphere of prevention, this pursuit has a double purpose - to influence the group of young people who have not yet started to take drugs or whose use is infrequent, and also the group that already uses. These are two collectives with different needs. Objective nº 8 of the document Reduction of iIlicit Demand for Drugs, drawn up at the 42nd Session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs at the United Nations in 1999 has been closely

borne in mind. This Objective encourages the creation of programmes targeting different population groups, taking into account their specific needs and cultural diversity. We believe that a real priority for the immediate future is to address the preventive needs of non-users or casual users, since in focusing always on users we are constructing a discourse exclusively on use as if the other young people, those who do not use drugs, did not exist.

Delaying the age of initiation into recreational activities most associated with drug use.

It is well known that one of the risk factors with highest predictive value on the use and abuse of drugs is early initiation into their use. This complements to our earlier point. Delaying the age at which the young start to go out to clubs and discos looking for fun and a good time therefore, come into early contact with drugs and forms of socialising where drugs occupy a central place. To a certain extent, it may be said that the younger they are when they start participating in independent recreational activities, the more likely young people are to meet their need for new experiences, wholly appropriate to adolescence through the limited range of opportunities offered by these settings. One of the novelties and rites of initiation into the recreational scenes is through the ritual of using different drugs. The younger they are when they begin to involve themselves in these scenes, the greater their tendency or need for drugs as intermediaries to address their social and entertainment requirements. Age of initiation into clubbing has been shown to be an important factor in initiation into use as well as into abuse. It would be beneficial for adolescents to have greater opportunities for socialising and participating in contexts where the use of drugs is not a central element.

Preventive strategies must not only be appropriate to but must also influence youth subcultures.

Another important aspect to be taken into account in preventive strategies is the influence exercised over young people by their social group and scene. Although decisions are made by the individual, his or her group of friends exercises considerable pressure, so much so that preventive messages must take this seriously. The young are sociable, they need to feel integrated and protected by the group and by the scene to such an extent that the majority assumes the dominant position. Strategies should not only focus on the impact on the individual but also on the scene. They should influence the media, the music industry, advertising, and the symbolic elements that reach the young in these settings. Tools must be created (symbols, discourses, ideas, images) that permit the young - individually or collectively - to evaluate or reconsider the role of drugs in their forms of entertainment and fun.

This adaptation of prevention to take account of youth subcultures must go beyond the adoption of messages aesthetically acceptable to the young, as has been the main effort up to now. This does not only involve delivering messages in the same language

and images with which the young express themselves so that the latter are receptive to the information . It means also concentrating on influencing the evolution of these subcultures. In the same way that specific subcultures seek to legitimise specific drugs (the techno culture and ecstasy, rock and cannabis...), prevention will have very little success if it does not intervene in how debate is generated and in drugs' social representation It is not enough to de-legitimise drug use. The prevention of recreational drug use must be supported by a creative dynamic. It must construct a new paradigm to support the young and - it goes without saying - they must contribute to this construct. Although this idea may be considered utopian it cannot be disregarded. There is no alternative to redefining positive values such as entertainment, freedom, leisure, pleasure, etc. in terms different to those in use at present, in terms that permit the young to control their own lives, take decisions, develop themselves and take part in social transformation. Freedom for the young should not be associated exclusively with the chance of escape and breaking away from the mundane but also with commitment and responsibility. The need to 'be oneself' must be achieved through the learning and effort involved in achieving maturity, rather than through integrating oneself into environments where anything goes, cloaked by anonymity and sporadic relationships. It is quite true that risk is part of life but in the learning process risk management needs to ensure that this is not experienced through drug use alone.

Legal and illegal drugs are used in all the subcultures that we have analysed in this study, but there is no doubt that the techno scenes are notable for a higher use and a greater capacity for the abuse of drugs. This subculture, particularly through ecstasy, which was the 'star' drug for years in these scenes, has promoted excessive use, related directly to music and dancing. The participants in the techno scenes also contribute to promoting drug use as a requisite for belonging in the scene. Those who do not use feel left out and out of place . These are settings where use is dominant. This subculture is growing in all European countries, and it may be said that it is the majority subculture among young people and adolescents. The contexts in which techno culture holds sway are diverse (raves, discos, private parties, etc), and it is even part of the mainstream scene. We would emphasise that from our study it appears that adolescents are inheriting and promoting this subculture, suggesting that it is far from dying out. In fact its expansion may even be forecast.

Attention must be paid to gender as a vehiculator of drug use.

Gender is central to drug use. In European countries a progressive increase in drug use is being seen in the female population, which began with tobacco and alcohol but is now affecting other forms of substance use. Although it continues to be true that abuse behaviours are more typically masculine, frequencies of use of alcohol and tobacco among female adolescents are already higher than among their male counterparts in some countries as Spain (Institute of Women 2000).

In an earlier IREFREA survey (Calafat, Amengual, Palmer, Saliba 1997) of 1,300 students from 13 to 19 years of age, it was demonstrated that the male sex is more

associated with 'acting-out', drug use and other deviant behaviour, whereas the female sex is associated with depression. These findings coincide closely with the experience of other researchers (Kandel and Davies, 1982; Kashani et al., 1987; Robins and Rutter, 1990). Robins (1990) is also in agreement that males show a higher rate of behavioural problems than females and that this explains the predominance of males among drug users. However, this raises the point that while the number of behavioural problems has remained constant, as many women as men have used drugs. The structure of the gender differences may contribute to the large-scale design of different strategies. Nevertheless, the approach taken must take account of the fact that this structure is subject to the dynamic of change that is taking place.

Gender differences, defined in terms of inequalities, have over the last decades led to the development of unidirectional equality policies. Nowadays, women are moving into what have historically been considered masculine areas and valued highly by the dominant classes. This dynamic may be understood as 'masculinisation', since in practice it is translated into a tendency to imitate certain activities culturally labelled as being for men, and to appropriate their symbols. Smoking cigarettes is one of these habits that symbolically refers to independence, self-confidence, achievement of social status and other values defined positively. The media has had an enormous share in the responsibility for reinforcing these symbolic links in a very effective and subtle way (Shields 1999). In addition, advertising has been very active in defining the modern and independent woman, bestowing on her a broad capacity for consumption and the courage to do those things 'forbidden' to her gender such as smoking and drinking (Gallego 1992). In the space of a few decades, this process of equality and liberty has not only been reduced to a myth, a kind of booby-trap (Rivera 1997) but also co-opted by the androcentricism since Aristotle[1].

What is worth highlighting here is the positive aspect of the gender differences. In this study it has been seen that women use less and when they do use substances they do so more moderately. Thus, analysing and understanding this difference may be a key. It means recovering that other dimension of an equality, lost, forgotten or devalued. As Héritier suggests (1996 : 290) when referring to the feminine presence "it does not only mean considering the specificity of woman but of making the 'feminine and domestic dimension intervene in public affairs' so that it may be said that we are approaching equality when society reveals and positively values the specific sensitivity of the feminine outlook". At a very pragmatic level and to return to the subject that concerns us here, it has been seen that women do go out less and this is perhaps because they

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[1] An androcentric doctrine established by Aristotle that held that all that was masculine was hegemonic and any quality that deviated from the model was evaluated as a defect. (Amparo Moreno 1986, Sissa 1991). The female role, limited and devalued on the basis of andocentric logic, continued for centuries and even in the 20th century role differences are defended (Sopeña 1996, Ramón and Cajal 1982, Nájera 1961) at the same time as socio-political processes aimed at equality are being shaped. In some European countries, these processes may be seen as popular movements, in others directed by a State feminism like in Spain (Valiente 1994).

have other entertainment strategies. Perhaps more needs to be understood about these areas, about this other invisible culture. It may be that the values assumed by women and which act as their protection need to be analysed using alternative criteria. Perhaps the greater control the family exerts over women should be valued more positively. Finally, perhaps men should try to be a little more like women - at least in these matters - and that the latter should strive be a little less like men.

The association between socialisation and the search for social success and drug use needs to be weakened.

Another fundamental aspect arising from the research is that the possession, the use and the abuse of drugs act as elements on the road to social success. Analyses of the connections between drugs and marginalised groups and with a causal relationship with social exclusion are redundant in understanding the drug use of the youth of today, particularly within recreational settings, in European countries. Having ecstasy or cocaine in one's pocket to offer to friends is an element of prestige. Just like having a high performance car or dressing in designer label clothes. As has been underlined throughout this study, drugs are a technology very consistent with the consumeristic style of society and adapted to it. However, this relationship with social success also relates in part to the effects of drugs. Taking drugs helps an individual to become more sociable, more expansive, more innovative and daring or to prosper, in accordance with modern measures of social success. In addition, all of this forms part of the new rituals involved in substance use, which must be deconstructed or at least queried in any prevention programme.

Perhaps an explanation of the social trend towards the normalisation of drug use must be more closely linked to the social changes that occurred throughout the 20th century. Changes favouring individual freedom; a democratisation of pleasure and fun; and the advent of a technological consumerist as the ideal strategy for satisfying one's needs and desires. The use of alcohol, tobacco and drugs and sexuality, hither to considered benefits restricted to spheres of power, were adopted for this very reason, as symbols of liberation, by the progressive and left-wing movements of the 1970s and 1980s. Control of the body and pleasure is a key theme in power relationships and very effective as an instrument of social control (Foucault 1989, Turner 1989). This instrument is still used today; it is only the way in which it is utilised that has changed. Access to pleasure is no longer limited by moral norms and stigmatising sanctions but is conditioned by market rules that respond to an attitude favouring an increase in consumption. In the pursuit of entertainment and fun and pleasure, it is necessary to have the best fashion, environments, cars, body care, drugs, etc. Pleasure is the expected reward for appropriate consumption. Now, access to pleasure and fun is no longer forbidden or associated with sinning but is defined as a necessity, an obligation to meet.

Reshaping relationships between adults and the young so that they adapt to the new format in which the young of today enjoy themselves.

The young of today have been born into a society in which sexuality and entertainment are defined and experienced as needs and not as something forbidden. Within the recreational context they attempt to satisfy these needs themselves and with their peers. In order to do so, they turn to the solutions offered to them by society; the most sophisticated technology; what is closest symbolically to the idea of progress and liberation, such as the car, music, the manipulation of the body and identity through dress styles, piercing, tattoos; and, also, the transformation of the mind through drugs.

Nevertheless, this rapid incorporation by the young of these new ways of enjoying entertainment, sexuality, personal relationships or drug use and the strategies to attain these new objectives all take them to a point never reached by an earlier generation, who did not normally have access to the pleasures of recreational entertainment at such an early age. These pleasures , very often, were the result of an arduous personal and social conquest. As a consequence of these differences in the access of the two generations' to entertainment, there is a superimposition of planes and logics. For the adult generation, access to pleasures and entertainment settings was a late achievement in their own lives - which in some European countries is associated with the full flowering of democracy - something that was socially censured or financially difficult to access, which became possible only as a result of socio-political changes and battles and which, in their lives, is just one goal among many. It is all very different for the young of today. For them, this access to the pleasures of fun and entertainment is a need they have the right to satisfy and in doing so use the tools that are available, and drugs are a very powerful and effective instruments in achieving these objectives. This superimposing of generational logics is incorporated in the media and in the social commentary that shapes messages that, while they make sense from one generation's perspective, are misinterpreted at times as trying to intervene - or not intervene - in the affairs and behaviour of the other generation. The results of this situation are the suggestions of complicity in many adult messages - and the media - in the drug use by the young or excessive overprotection with an inability to resituate the affairs of the young.

A positive product from the last few decades is the growing capacity for co-existence between the two generations. This is obviously the fruit of an increased tolerance among adults of the young and vice versa. It may be said that conflict in family life is decreasing, the result to a certain extent of less parental/familial interference in their children's lives. This is, without any doubt, a good sign but very often this reflects a lack of responsibility and dedication on the part of adults rather than pro-active parenting . We have seen in our study the little family control there is over the going out habits and friendships of children, and how this is linked with higher levels of use.

An important aspect is that adults project their desires onto the young, their as well as their unresolved frustrations. On occasion, it is the adults themselves who create the social scenes and positive comments on drugs. Through this process, the adults transmit

their dreams and aspirations and the young make use of them, later, giving them different significances to suit their own needs. One example of this can be seen in the pro-cannabis culture which responds, to a great extent, to a way of thinking in one sector of the adult population and which is also promoted by adults, and which ends up influencing the use patterns in the very youngest who, at the same time, are experiencing a recreational culture that has little in common with 'cannabis culture'. (Calafat, et al. 2000ª).

In short we cannot be so naïve as to believe that youth culture is defined exclusively by the young themselves and that, therefore, as adults we should leave them alone to their task. Many interests converge in the defining free time and, in this respect, it suffices to mention here, the important interest that the leisure industry has in defining this culture. We have seen the ease with which youth cultures cross national boundaries, and the enormous importance of the techno culture in the socialisation of adolescents and young people. So it is also necessary for adults to reflect on the type of society they want for their youth. This reflection must direct the policies that influence the young. It should be a priority to draw up a blueprint for a society that guarantees a way of life that enables everybody to participate in a healthy lifestyle and develop a greater sense of responsibility both to themselves and to the people around them.

Intergenerational relationships must be redefined, not only between parents and their children but also on a wider level between socialising agents (educators, media, families) and young people. We need to create socialisation systems that take into consideration the transmission of values and that shape the ethical and moral boundaries so that young people can take a critical view of destructive activities, both at the individual and collective level.

Need for establishing a consensus in the scientific and professional field on the significance and prevention of recreational drug use.

It is not the objective of this study to enter into an in-depth discussion of this subject although we consider it to be an important one. The cultural and other differences between countries often make mutual understanding difficult. Neither does the disparity in the laws of different nations favour agreement, since countries where illegal drug use is not penalised lie others where such use is sentenced severely, causing some professionals to brand such repressive measures as excessive and counterproductive. These professionals highlight the contradiction existing within society of the use of illegal drugs becoming more and more socially normalised while drug laws excessively penalise users.

The opportunities for preventive action in this field are significant as can be seen in the study undertaken by the EMCDDA, but this also notes that there is no proper evaluation made of such actions, particularly in respect of their effectiveness in influencing use, and that many of these preventive projects are very specific and often consist solely of providing information to young people. It is common for these projects

to be based on the intuition and opinion of the professionals themselves, without sufficient consideration given to the vast scientific literature on prevention that exists. It is be expected that in scientific work there are controversies and opposing paradigms but, as in any discipline, it is also necessary to reach consensus in order to facilitate progress. Such agreements need to take account cof social facts such as the drug use and require a multi-disciplinary dialogue. There is research and practical lied experience on this subject that, while certainly still insufficient, does provide enough material with which to open up the discussion and reach basic agreements on developing consistent strategies with ethical values. It is important to learn from the capacity for consensus which professionals working in the treatment field make much of and which even enables them to transform the low success rate that they do, in fact, reap into 'coherent victories'.

Need for researching and reaching a consensus on an explanatory theoretical model of recreational drug use.

It is essential to construct an explicative theoretical model of drug use in recreational settings since it has peculiarities that are not found in other forms of drug use (type of person, motivations, type of drug, etc.). It should be a model that provides information on the different personal variables and scenes involved. It should pay attention to the way in which the learning process is developed, the role of the use of one drug in the use of other drugs, the relationships between this drug use and personality development and between sensation seeking and risk- taking. It should also define what is understood by use and what is understood by the misuse or abuse of each substance. It is particularly important to understand the role of the culture generated by and involved in recreational life, which is supported by far-reaching financial interests, and by the dogmas of our own particular epoch and history which exist within the absence any critical attitude to the problems generated within this setting.

A theoretical model founded on a strong empirical base would be a huge step forward, and would enable exchange between the professionals working in the field. As is demanded in other prevention fields, , when analysing a programme need to know the theoretical model that sustains it: what aspects of this model the programme or the preventive action is intended to influence , and what means are being utilised in order to achieve it. Moving in any other direction will delay progress in prevention and make it easy for both the public and decision-makers not to take prevention seriously.

Improving the implementation of preventive programmes and the importance of evaluation.

In addition to the need for a theoretical model, as specialists working in prevention we are responsible for ensuring that our preventive programmes in the recreational arena are implemented properly, if they are to attain very clearly defined objectives more effectively. On occasion, it seems that the important advances that have been made in

other areas such as the school, the family or the community are not being taken into consideration. It is quite true that recreational prevention is enters a new setting that is much more difficult to cover than, for example, the educational one. However, we cannot put programmes into operation without taking into consideration the wealth of accumulated experience. Only in this way, will we be able to determine the role within our programmes that should be played by information dissemination , for example, what is expected from specific actions, , what is the purpose of a campaign, what will happen if the information does not reach the targets of the campaign, or what happens if a programme is discontinued inforced at the end of a specific period, etc.

Evaluation is always a difficult subject in Europe. Much of the available research on prevention corresponds to North American cultures, where programmes are often introduced with abstinence as the goal. In Europe we must focus our energies on evaluating programmes in accordance with our own cultural circumstances.

Development of specific information on the effects of legal and illegal drugs.

We have been surprised by the misinformation on the effects of drugs - particularly the negative ones - among the young. We are well aware that having information does not automatically lead to the adoption of behavioural changes. Nevertheless, it is more difficult for someone to introduce changes in their life if they do not have at least the minimum information on the reasons for doing so. We all know the limitations of information that can lead to it being disregarded.

We should look at the issue of information in reverse, in other words not from the a prevention perspective. For quite some time, we saw a deluge of information on the positive effects of ecstasy (although this has ceased now) in the same way we have witnessed positive information on cannabis over a similar period of time. Those responsible in the pro-cannabis organisations carry out a very active publication policy (Calafat, et al., 2000ª). Can we doubt that this information policy has had an effect on encouraging its use? It is significant that a levelling off and even fall in the use of ecstasy coincides with the diffusion - often totally alarmist and inexact - of information on the negative effects of ecstasy.

We propose that there should be more information available to the young particularly on the most used substances such as tobacco, alcohol and cannabis. Obviously this information must accompany other preventive measures and should take into account as much as possible the target population (age, implication in use, gender, etc.).

Development of strategies that increase risk perception, and are compatible with harm reduction relating to recreational drug use.

The importance of developing strategies centred on risk perception must be considered, since it has it is closely related to risk behaviours as we have seen in the chapter on risks in this study, as well as from evidence in other studies (Johnston and

O'Malley, 1998). The young who possess a reduced risk perception adopt risk behaviours more easily. The risk perception debate, and risk perception strategies should be directed at emphasising the most effective forms of prevention.

In particular, some preventive programmes with a strong focus on harm reduction see emphasising the problems associated with drug use as contrary to their interests. Those responsible for harm reduction believe it is very difficult to change the drug use and abuse of young people and feel that use should be considered as normalised and something they cannot influence. Consequently, they are committed only to reducing the problems linked to use. Our position, however, is that this would be quite correct if we were referring exclusively to the very high risk groups but it appears to us that there are certain dangers entailed in extending the same philosophy to prevention in other groups of young people. In our opinion, the more harm reduction is taken into account the better, but this must not invalidate other objectives and, in fact, improving risk perception should also be one of the keystones in prevention.

Improving strategies targeting individuals who already use and abuse drugs.

One of the main difficulties in prevention is influencing those who are already using drugs, even greater if they are abusing them. This is a well-established fact. In a school programme to reduce tobacco use, a significant effect on non-smokers or experimental smokers was observed but use among those who were already smoking continued to increase as they rejected the programme more easily (Ellickson and Bell 1990). It is clear that those who have already begun to use a substance have passed through a process of legitimising their behaviour, which leads them to filter information messages. We have already mentioned that in the IREFREA Survey (Calafat *et al* 1998) on ecstasy users, users were found to be less aware of or less worried by the negative effects of specific substances and, at the same time, less interested in preventive measures -contrary to the rationale applied by some that those with the greatest drug-related problems must be the most interested in taking preventive measures.

The first conclusion to be made is that we need to act preventively before the young begin to use or abuse drugs, since any subsequent action will always be more complicated and offer less certain results. The second is that the programmes aimed at those who already use, misuse and abuse drugs will have to be adapted to address the problems presented by heavy users. Here is not the place for analysing the most appropriate programmes, but possibly those that employ the peer-group format may work.

Endeavouring to make non-use or moderate use a culturally acceptable option in recreational settings.

The difficulties for those who do not use drugs, or are only casual or occasional users, are many when it comes to being accepted within a recreational setting. The pressure of the group is enormous, which makes it doubly difficult when it is taken into

account that non-users so often have fewer of the requisite social abilities than users and are subjected to a continual process illegitimatising their behaviour. It is important, therefore, that there are real opportunities in the environments used by the young for legitimising abstinence. This rarely features in preventive programmes. It would, therefore, make sense to use prevention to reinforce the entertainment lifestyles of those young non-users who take part in recreational activities.

The non-users collective is a minority one but we must consider it as having a real capacity - particularly with appropriate support - to generate a debate on entertainment and having fun without having to use drugs. It is obvious that non-users or casual users are at a disadvantage. As Sissa said (2000), drugs are a substance that are able to make those who try them like them; they are so effective in producing pleasure that they do not require any of the marketing and publicity of other products; they do not need to be sold; they sell themselves. The author contributes two paradigms for finding an antidote to drugs; one comes from philosophy, the other from psychoanalysis. From philosophy, which has dealt extensively with the search for pleasure and its insatiability, the remedy proposed is through the search for commitments in another form of preoccupations. Psychoanalysis suggests that pleasure should be sought through the effort involved in achieving one's personal goals.

In the current situation of urgency faced by drug prevention , these suggestions may appear utopian and even absurd. Those who abuse and who have immediate needs make us lose sight of the overall situation and the long-term. The young are an active collective with the potential for generating new dynamics. We believe that one of these is to create, legitimise and 'normalise' the non-user or casual user. In fact one of the preventive approaches currently being implemented in Spain by certain municipalities involves finding alternatives where use is not present at night, as part of an attempt to promote a recreational setting where the emphasis is not on drug use. These experiences still require proper evaluation.

Creating healthy recreational settings.

Adapting the recreational setting is another fundamental area for focusing preventive action. The objective is to ensure more healthy settings for the young, where accidents may be foreseen and where, if they do happen, adequate assistance is available (Kilfoyle and Bellis 1998). The leisure industry has grown considerably in all European cities, generating significant profits and involving the majority of young people at weekends. As with other industries, it accrues residual costs for public spending, particularly in terms of security, health and hygiene, public transport and medical care. In this sense there needs to be a greater dialogue between public institutions and the leisure industry in favour of recreational settings guaranteeing healthy entertainment, not only for the young but for society as a whole.

There is already some experience in preventive work in this area, particularly in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands and such concepts as 'healthy settings' or 'safer

dancing' are being promoted. The results of research show the existence of a large number of problems associated with young people's health, making it essential that those institutions associated with recreational life assume greater responsibility for harm prevention. (Kilfoyle and Bellis 1999). The concept of 'healthy nightclubs' refers to developing health strategies for night-time recreational settings, involving raising awareness and preventing common health problems in recreational settings, such as minor accidents or drug use, crowd control and strict limits on venue capacity, quiet areas in venues'chill out' rooms, or ensuring that public transport is available, as well as a controlling behaviours arising from substance use (for example driving while inixicated, and violence). This proposal invites the leisure industry to adopt a leading role in the creation of new cultural spaces to achieve these objectives and where the use of substances is no longer so hegemonic.

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This work consists of research into the recreational arena the young inhabit during the weekend, particularly at night. It endeavours to achieve a better understanding of youth subcultures and, as part of this, the use of drugs. The study is supported by quantitative data from a wide survey of 2,700 young Europeans (interviewed in Athens, Berlin, Coimbra, Manchester, Modena, Nice, Palma, Utrecht and Vienna) involved in recreational activities. Ethnographical studies were made twice in each city. The qualitative information was analysed in combination and interactively with the quantitative data obtained from the survey. The main subjects analysed in this work are:

■ The social division of time, the time for fun
■ Subcultures, scenes and tribes
■ Drug use and misuse
■ Personal control over ecstasy use
■ Risk behaviour
■ Prevention and the 'club health' dimension

Earlier works by IREFREA as part of the SONAR Survey are:

■ Characteristics and social representation of ecstasy in Europe
■ Night life in Europe and recreative drug use
■ Salir de marcha y consumo de drogas

This book and other IREFREA books ca be downloaded in
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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.