

Recreational nightlife in Europe is diverse and complex. This study explores the behaviour and beliefs of young people who participate in recreational life whilst choosing not to use substances or to do so only occasionally and moderately.

The research is empirically based. Statistical and ethnographic data have been collected from a sample of 1,777 young people who were interviewed in recreational environments across ten European cities.

The analyses focus on key issues in the relationship between young people and drug consumption including: gender differences, risk perception, management of finances, leisure, free time, prospects, control of risk and sexuality.

We hope that this work will contribute to the development of new strategies for creating healthier attitudes among young people by enabling greater levels of independence and personal autonomy.

This book and other IREFREA books can be downloaded in www.irefrea.org



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.

Enjoying the nightlife in Europe. The role of moderation

Enjoying the nightlife in Europe. The role of moderation

Authors: Amador Calafat, Cesáreo Fernández, Montserrat Juan, Anu-Hanna Anttila, Ruth Arias, Mark A. Bellis, Karl Bohrn, Regina Fenk, Karen Hughes, Andrea Viktoria Kerschl, Anna Kokkevi, Kristiina Kuussaari, Frank Leenders, Fernando Mendes, Joseph Simon, Maria Spyropoulou, Goof van de Wijngaart, Patrizia Zavatti



Financed with the assistance of the
EUROPEAN COMMISSION



**ENJOYING THE NIGHTLIFE IN EUROPE.
THE ROLE OF MODERATION**

ENJOYING THE NIGHTLIFE IN EUROPE. THE ROLE OF MODERATION

Authors:

Amador Calafat, Cesáreo Fernández, Montserrat Juan, Anu-Hanna Anttila,
Ruth Arias, Mark A. Bellis, Karl Bohrn, Regina Fenk, Karen Hughes,
Andrea Viktoria Kersch, Anna Kokkevi, Kristiina Kuussaari,
Frank Leenders, Fernando Mendes, Joseph Simon Maria Spyropoulou,
Goof van de Wijngaart, Patrizia Zavatti

Collaborators:

Margot Koller, Ana Teresa Olaio, Verein Risiko, Marga Ros, Ioanna Siamou



Financed with the assistance of the
EUROPEAN COMMISSION



This book and other IREFREA books can be downloaded in www.irefrea.org

© IREFREA

I.S.B.N.: 84-931947-3-5

D. Legal: V-2558-2003

Editor: IREFREA ESPAÑA

Rambla, 15, 2º, 3ª E

07003 Palma de Mallorca (ESPAÑA)

irefrea@irefrea.org

Print: MARTIN IMPRESORES, S.L. • Pintor Jover, 1 • 46013 Valencia

IREFREA Network

Irefrea is a professional European network founded in 1988 interested in the promotion and research of prevention of drug and other child and adolescent problems.

IREFREA books can be downloaded in www.irefrea.org

ORGANISATIONS, INSTITUTIONS AND NATIONAL RESEARCH GROUPS PARTICIPATING IN THIS RESEARCH

IREFREA AUSTRIA

Karl Bohrn, Regina Fenk

Institut für Sozial- und
Gesundheitspsychologie (ISG)
Linke Wienzeile 112/4
A-1060 Wien (AUSTRIA)
Tel. +43 1 7861810
Fax +43 1 7861810-77
E-mail: irefrea@chello.at
Internet: www.isg-wien.org

IREFREA ESPAÑA

Amador Calafat, Cesáreo Fernández

Montserrat Juan, Ruth Arias
Rambla, 15, 2º, 3º
07003 Palma de Mallorca-España
Tel. +34 971727434
Fax +34 971213306
E-mail: irefrea@correo.cop.es
irefrea@irefrea.org

IREFREA GREECE

Anna Kokkevi, Ioanna Siamou

Averof 21
104-33 Athens
Tel: +301-8253763
Fax: +301-8225663
E-mail: ektepn@ektepn.gr

IREFREA PORTUGAL

Fernando Mendes

Urb. Construr Lote 6 (7-B)
Predio Bascal
3030 Coimbra - Portugal
Tel. +351 (0) 39 483081
+351 (0) 39 981202
Fax +351 (0) 39 487265
E-mail: irefrea@netcabo.pt

UTRECHT UNIVERSITY

Goof van de Wijngaart, Frank Leenders

CVO Addiction Research Institute
Oudegracht 325
NL-3511 PC Utrecht
tel. +31 30 238 1495
fax. + 31 30 238 1496
franklee@xs4all.nl
addictus@hetnet.nl

IREFREA DEUSCHTLAND

Andrea Viktoria Kersch, Horst Brömer

Lepsiusstraße, 76
D-12163 Berlin (Deutschland)
Tel. 0049 30 79705350
Fax 0049 30 79705352
E-mail: irefrea.d@gmx.de

IREFREA FRANCE

Joseph Simon, Gerard Broyer

10, Av. Malausséna

06000 Nice-France

Tel:+330493926321

Fax: +330493026320

E-mail: *le.plein.soleil@wanadoo.fr*

IREFREA - ITALIA

Patrizia Zavatti, Paolo Stocco

C.T. Villa Renata

Via Orsera, 4

30126 Lido di Venezia - Italy

Tel. +39 041 5268822

Fax +39 041 5267874

E- mail: *irefrea@villarenata.org*

LIVERPOOL JOHN MOORES

UNIVERSITY

Mark A. Bellis, Karen Hughes

Public Health Sector

School of Health and Human Sciences

70 Great Crosshall Street

Liverpool

L3 2AB, UK

www.phslive.com

UNIVERSITY OF TURKU

Kristiina Kuussaari

Anu-Hanna Anttila

Department of Sociology 20014

University of Turku

Finland

Tel +358-2-3336640

Fax +358-2-3335080

E-mail: *liisa.kuussaari@utu.fi*

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Anu-Hanna Anttila.

Master of Arts. Researcher and Teaching Associate at the Department of Sociology in the University of Turku, Finland.

Ruth Arias.

Psychologist, Researcher for IREFREA.

Mark Bellis.

Director of the North West Public Health Observatory, Vice Chair of the National Association of Public Health Observatories, Professor of Public Health and Head of the Public Health Sector (PHS) at Liverpool John Moores University. The PHS undertakes national and international research in Sexual Health, Substance Use, Ethnic Health and Emergency Planning.

Karl Bohrn.

President of IREFREA Austria. Director of the scientific branch of the Institute for Social- and Health Psychology (ISG), clinical and health psychologist, person-centred psychotherapist. Researcher in the area of addictions. Member of the NGO Committee on Narcotic Drugs of the UN Office in Vienna.

Amador Calafat Far.

Psychiatrist and Psychologist. President of IREFREA España. Vice President of Socidrogalcohol. Member of the Monitoring Council of the Spanish Observatory on Drugs. Editor of Adicciones. Expert in prevention and formerly responsible for prevention in Mallorca.

Cesáreo Fernández.

Degree in Industrial and Clinical Psychology, Masters in Drug Dependence, and Doctorate in the Programme of Clinical Psychology from the Universidad del País Vasco. Research responsibilities in Mental Health and Drug Dependence.

Regina Fenk.

Studies in Austria and France, Doctor degree in social and health psychology, clinical and health psychologist, research in the field of drug prevention, evaluation of prevention and other health related issues.

Karen Hughes.

Research Associate, at the Public Health Sector (Liverpool John Moores University) specialising in nightlife aspects of recreational drug use, sexual health and health protection.

Montserrat Juan Jerez.

Doctor of Sociology. IREFREA researcher and Associate Professor at Universidad de Alicante (Spain).

Andrea Viktoria Kersch.

Psychologist, additional degrees in clinical psychology and psychiatry. Psychotherapist and long-term practise and research experience in gender specific work in the field of drug abuse. Researcher at the SPI Research Institute, Berlin and board member of IREFREA Germany.

Anna Kokkevi.

Associate Professor in the Athens University Medical School (Department of Psychiatry), Greece. President of the Greek Organization Against Drugs (OKANA).

Kristiina Kuussaari.

Master of Social Sciences (sociology), researcher.

Frank Leenders.

Psychologist. He started working for the CVO – Addiction Research Centre in 1996 as a fieldworker. Researcher since 1999 specialized in youth subcultures and ethnic minorities.

Fernando Mendes.

Psychologist, President Irefrea Portugal, Vice-president of Instituto Português da Droga e da Toxicodependência.

Joseph Simon.

Doctor of Sociology, Diploma in Public Health, at the Centre Hospitalier Universitaire de Nice, Centre Spécialisé de Soins aux Toxicomanes, and at the Centre de Recherche de Documentation et d'Intervention Transdisciplinaire sur les addictions, General Secretary of IREFREA and CREDIT.

Maria Spyropoulou.

Statistician in the Greek REITOX Focal Point, University Mental Health Research Institute (UMHRI).

Patrizia Zavatti.

Doctor of Medicine. Degree in Legal Medicine and Clinical Criminology. Doctorate in Criminology and Forensic Psychiatry from the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia.

Goof van de Wijngaart.

Is social scientist and professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences at Utrecht University since 1977. In 1984 he specialized on the subject drug use and addiction. In 1992 he founded the CVO – Addiction Research Centre, attached to Utrecht University. CVO is specialized in field research among hidden populations, national and international. Is the chairman of the board of CVO.

**NEITHER THE COMMISSION, NOR ANY PERSON ACTING IN ITS NAME,
IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE USE THAT MIGHT BE MADE OF THE INFORMATION
INCLUDED IN THIS DOCUMENT**

INDEX

	<u>Pág.</u>
INTRODUCTION	015
1. CREATION OF A LEISURE AND RECREATIONAL CULTURE IN EUROPE AND DRUG USE	031
1.1. Presentation	033
1.2. Free time and leisure time	033
1.3. The influence of the industrial revolution	035
1.4. The discovery of the sea and the beaches	037
1.5. From leisure to the fiesta and from the fiesta to the disco. From an industrial society to a consumer society	038
1.6. The search for pleasure	043
1.7. The young of today	045
2. USERS AND NON-USERS OF DRUGS IN THE WEEKEND NIGHTLIFE	049
2.1. Introduction	049
2.2. Personal characteristics	054
2.3. Management of weekend recreational life	059
2.4. Social and family environment	065
2.5. Attitudes, risk perception and expectations relating to drugs	071
2.6. Overall model and drug use prediction	080
2.7. Conclusions	083
3. “NON-USER” THE UNIDENTIFIED SUBJECT: SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS, FAMILY LIFE AND PEER GROUP	085
3.1. Social characteristics	085
3.2. Family life of non-users in comparison to users	090
3.3. Peer group	101
3.4. Conclusion	122
4. USER AND NON USERS IN RELATION TO RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES	125
4.1. Introduction	125
4.2. Nightlife – Clubbing	125
4.3. Reason for using drugs	132

	<u>Pág.</u>
5. HAVING FUN AND STAYING SOBER?	135
5.1. Introduction	135
5.2. The young european non-consumers	135
5.3. Culture matters	138
5.4. How to survive under social pressure?	143
5.5. Conclusions	147
6. GENDER RELATED ASPECTS ON DRUGS CONSUMPTION IN RECREATIONAL TIME	151
6.1. Introduction	151
6.2. Results	154
6.3. Risk perception of consumption	162
6.4. Motivation for taking drugs while going out	164
6.5. Risk-taking behaviour in relation to gender	170
6.6. Gender, consumption and social background	172
6.7. Drug consumption and partnership	175
6.8. Substance use by parents compared to own substance use	176
6.9. Family, social integration and consumption in relation to gender	177
6.10. Consumption in relation to occupation and gender	179
6.11. Conclusions	180
7. MANAGEMENT OF CONTROL IN RECREATIONAL LIFE	185
7.1 Introduction. Risk perception and drug use	185
7.2 Are drugs an effective technology?	186
7.3 Fatalism versus self-tecnology?	192
7.4 Control, a subjective attitude to drugs	193
7.5 Caring for health	196
7.6 Inclusion versus exclusion from the group	197
7.7 Conflicts in the family and between couples	198
7.8 Use and abuse, a virtual frontier	200
7.9 Control and setting	202
7.10 Conclusions	205
8. SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR - EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE ROLE OF SUBSTANCE USE	209
8.1 Methods	210
8.2 Sexual experience and substance consumption	210
8.3 Same sex relationships	213
8.4 Age of first sexual experience	215
8.5 Looking for sexual partners in night time environments	218
8.6 Use of condoms	219
8.7 Satisfaction with sex life	223
8.8 Discussion	224
8.9 Conclusions	229

	<u>Pág.</u>
9. MANAGEMENT OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES	231
9.1 Economic developments among adolescents and young adults	231
9.2 IREFREA survey: going out and finance	236
9.3 Who is at risk?	245
9.4 Peers and money for alcohol and drugs	249
9.5 Managing finances and recreational life	251
9.6 Conclusions	252
10. REVIEW OF PREVENTION PROGRAMMES IN RECREATIONAL SETTINGS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION	255
10.1 Introduction	255
10.2 Purpose of the review	259
10.3 Results and discussion	262
10.4 Conclusions	281
11. CONCLUSIONS	285
Young people and having fun at the weekend: diversity of interests	285
Use of drugs and moderation in weekend: diversity of interests	286
Hegemonic Recreational Nightlife Model (HRNM)	289
Fast-pleasure and fast-leisure	293
Non-users under fast-leisure pressure	294
Legislation and control	297
Gender differences	298
Risk behaviours	301
Finances	302
Final reflections directed at prevention	303
Non-users, moderate users and women as collectives of reference in prevention	305
Preventive orientations	305
ANNEX 1: (questionnaire)	311
ANNEX 2: (field work report)	325
BIBLIOGRAPHY	327

INTRODUCTION

YOUNG EUROPEANS AND DRUGS

In order to understand and prevent new patterns of drug use among young people it is necessary to refer primarily to recreational life. For several years, there was an intuitive feeling that new styles of drug use were related to the dynamics of entertainment and having fun, and to the places where young people go to enjoy themselves. This intuition has since been corroborated by a wide range of different studies carried out in the last few years¹. Results from such studies have shown much higher levels of drug use among young people who visit night clubs than among young people in the general population. In Greece, for example, a country with a low prevalence of drug use, around 20% of young people visiting night clubs report using drugs compared with just 1% of young people in the general population. At the other extreme, in England, up to 90% of clubbers use drugs compared with less than 10% of young people in the general population (EMCDDA, 2002).

The attitude of young people today towards substance use is not homogeneous, and there are many young people who choose not to use substances or to do so only occasionally or moderately. Nevertheless, for those who participate in recreational life, substance use is almost the norm. It becomes difficult to go to bars and clubs, listen to music and be with friends without drinking alcohol, smoking tobacco or cannabis or using other drugs; to such an extent that substance use has become almost a structural element in enjoyment itself. In some European countries such as England and Spain, this process is more evident than in others such as Finland or Greece, where use of drugs is lower, although these countries are also showing evidence of this trend.

Young Europeans are constructing a new mode of entertainment. The weekend has become a space in which relationships with friends, new experiences and escape from the social constraints of the rest of the week play a substantial role in defining their personal and social identity. One of the most important elements of identity in recreational life is related to whether or not an individual chooses to use drugs.

Looking at the collective of young people who visit night clubs is an indirect but complementary way of approaching drug use. It is also a strategy for making those who

¹ In the EMCDDA report for 2002, the differences are shown between the use of drugs by the young population in general and the use by those who take part in nightlife (EMCDDA 2002: 13, diagram 4).

do not use drugs more visible. Much research concentrates on the motivations and problems of drug users, yet one consequence of this approach is that non-users disappear in the social discourse. This study approaches the reality of the diverse and complex collective of non-users who participate in recreational life. It is hoped that this work will contribute to the development of new strategies for creating healthier attitudes among new generations, enabling greater levels of independence and personal autonomy and with a greater capacity for collective implication. Knowing how non-users or moderate drug users form their identity is very important under the present circumstances as it allows preventive initiatives to be implemented in a positive rather than negative way. In other words, rather than concentrating on endeavours to ensure that young people do not use or abuse drugs, the positive aspects of how young people construct their identities without the necessity of drugs can be explored.

Existing data do not currently give rise to much optimism since drug use among young people, seen from a global viewpoint, is widespread and has continued to increase in Europe over the last decade, particularly in recreational environments. However it is necessary to continue to evaluate the differences and convergences between countries, and the evolution of the use of different substances. The variations seen among users that commence treatment are indicators of how trends in use and misuse of substances are changing. Taking into consideration the information from the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addictions (EMCDDA, 2002:17-18), the number of heroin users who are requesting treatment for the first time appears to be stabilising or decreasing. On the other hand, the number of people requesting treatment for cannabis use appears to be increasing in almost all countries, particularly in Germany and Denmark. The same trend is seen for cocaine use, which has increased considerably in some countries. The greatest demand for cocaine treatment occurs in Spain and the Netherlands.

A Eurobarometer Survey in 2002² studied the use and opinions of substances among 7,687 young Europeans aged 15 to 24 years from all the countries in the European Union³. The high use of cannabis was quite noticeable, with an average of 11.3% of respondents having used it within the preceding month. Although the figures referring to each country should not be taken as being anything more than a guide, there were notable differences. In this survey, countries such as the United Kingdom, Spain and the Netherlands stood out from the other countries regarding their use of cannabis while Ireland follows suit with its use of other illegal drugs. Greece, Sweden and Italy, however, are notable for their low levels of use.

What attracts most attention from this survey is the ease with which most young Europeans say they can obtain illegal drugs, since this is an indication of their deep

² Eurobarometer 57.2, Special Eurobarometer 172 (October 2002) by The European Opinion Research Group (EORG), entitled "Attitudes and opinions of young people in the European Union on drugs".

³ In total 7,687 people were questioned, that is, on average, some 450 people per Member State, except in Germany (900 people) Northern Ireland (200) and Luxemburg (200).

penetration in society. Likewise (Table 0.1), of importance is that these young people not only reported that it is easy to obtain drugs in parties, pubs and clubs but that it is also easy to obtain them in school or close to their homes. Surely this is an indicator of the low social rejection of substances, with these buying and selling situations arising from the widespread acceptance of recreational drugs by a significant sector of young people?

Table 0.1: Ease in obtaining drugs in a variety of places for young Europeans

It is Easy to get drugs	Tend to agree %
Near where I live	61.9
In or near my school or college	54.9
At parties	76.0
In pubs/clubs	72.3

Source: Eurobarometer 57.2 (2002)

This study has also produced interesting information on the reasons why young people experiment with drugs. The principle reason given for trying drugs was curiosity, reported by 61.3% of the sample. Many researchers have confirmed the importance of this curiosity (Hawkins et al., 1992; Kammesies, 2000). Other fundamental reasons were peer pressure (46.4%), thrill seeking (40.7%), problems at home (29.7%) and the expected effects (21.5). The question is inevitable: why do young people feel such curiosity and expectation towards the effects of drugs? Apart from the difficulty in interpreting the response of having difficulties at home –since many studies show a lack of actual confrontation between children and parents in families nowadays– we see that the remainder of the motivations are centred around the perceived close association between drugs and recreational life (i.e. curiosity, thrill seeking, expected effects of drugs). The reasons why young people use drugs is an issue that has been examined by both the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of this study.

Risk perception of drug use is one of the most important factors in determining whether or not to use. Therefore, it has been one of the central themes in the study of this research, examined from the perspectives of users and non-users. The following Table (Table 0.2) shows the percentage of young people in this study who consider that there is little or no danger in the use of different substances.

Legal substances and those with the most widespread use are obviously the ones considered not to be dangerous by the greatest percentage of young people. There is a large increase in the perception of danger between cannabis and other illegal substances. It is very noticeable that 11.5% of young Europeans consider that cannabis is a totally innocuous substance, more so than legal drugs such as alcohol and tobacco. This is not by chance, but the result of cultural campaigns that lead young people to associate cannabis with positive symbols such as health, ecology, individual liberty, human rights, transculturality and spirituality (Calafat et al., 2000). Studies are

Table 0.2: Young Europeans who consider drugs to be of little or no danger.

Drugs	Not very dangerous	Not at all dangerous	Total
Alcohol	43.4	7.4	50.8
Tobacco	41.3	9.6	50.6
Cannabis	36.6	11.5	48.1
Doping substances	16.6	1.6	18.2
Glues or solvents	11.3	1.1	12.4
Amphetamines	9.3	1.1	10.3
Morphine	6.2	0.7	6.9
Ecstasy	4.7	0.1	4.8
Cocaine	3.0	0.2	3.2
LSD	2.7	0.1	2.8
Crack	2.5	0.3	2.8
Heroin	0.7	0.1	1.8

Source: Eurobarometer 57.2 (2002)

appearing that accentuate the normalisation of cannabis and the importance of the substance in the formation of personal identity and in the creation of present-day youth culture (Hammersley, 2001).

RISK IN POST-MODERN SOCIETIES

The relationship with risk is one of the structural components of individual and social life. The effort made to confront risks acts as a techno-scientific driving force and as an incentive for legislative changes; it promotes preventive strategies and streamlines control systems. A great deal of modern technological development has been directed at overcoming risk situations. Examples can be found in the development of medicine-sanitation, agro-industry, meteorology, urbanism, the justice system and diplomacy; these are all spheres where progress in relation to the desire to overcome risks is very visible. Nevertheless, and in spite of this big effort to control risks, as our society has been transforming and modernising itself so new situations of risk, new challenges and new needs have continued to appear.

The concept of risk is a relatively new one. It appeared in the Middle Ages to define situations of intrusion into new spaces, in particular in reference to sailing unknown seas. It was the Portuguese and the Spanish who first began to use the term in their wanderings across unexplored lands and seas. In the beginning, the idea of risk referred to space. Later it was applied to operations in time, such as capital investment and financial affairs. Centuries earlier, the concept of risk was linked to the idea of discovery, adventure and daring (Giddens, 2000). Today's risks have the characteristics

of being more manufactured, internal, and inherent in our lifestyle as they emerge from the same dynamic of evolution. Socio-economic development has encouraged risks as well as a new management and distribution of these (Beck, 1992).

At the same time, as we shall see at greater length in the following Chapter, the activities of leisure, entertainment and pleasure seeking are some of the characteristics that best define society at the beginning of the twenty-first century. This concerns the appearance of a large recreational space, increasingly more central to our societies, and one which is associated with use, identity definition and the status of people, particularly the young.

Risk is also present in recreational activities, with drug use being the most visible face of this 'need' to be associated with risk and pleasure, this dynamic having been converted into a very central aspect in the socialisation and formation of the identity of the young. How this situation has been reached, whereby drugs and recreational activities are so closely united and have become such essentials for the social dynamic, has some connection with the way in which roads to pleasure have been opened up socially. Pleasure can be defined in different ways, with different contents, and achieved through diverse experiences. But the way in which it is being structured within our societies is converting pleasure into an experience associated with passivity, escape, defeatism, intensive consumption and social control (Brukner, 2000; Sissa, 2003).

The hidden and invisible risk for most people is another characteristic specific to our time. Ulrich Beck (1992) refers to this characteristic of actual risk when he analyses risks of an environmental kind or the chemical alterations of food. The risks of modernity are only detectable by experts in biochemical sciences and remain hidden from the rest of the population. When talking of social risks, we must presuppose that something similar could occur, as these are risks that, in spite of being created by the lifestyle of modernity, can escape the common sense of people. The reasons why a risk is made socially invisible should be analysed and better understood. Here, the subject is only being touched upon for the relationship it could have with this process, in the low risk perception observed when examining young people's drug use in recreational life. What we do know is that the work of experts plays a primary and basic role and that, subsequently, the media contributes to its definition and social transmission.

Another feature of modern risk management, following the Beck analysis, is that risks can be detected, analysed and controlled only when their consequences are already being experienced. Prior to this, they are only hypothetical risks. The risks may be predicted but it is difficult for there to be any scientific basis until they occur and materialise. What is indeed possible is that, once detected, studied and analysed, efforts can be taken to ensure that they have less impact and expansion, in other words by creating braking systems.

The possibility of the predictability of risks led to the drawing up of the *precautionary principle* (Giddens, 2000: 44). According to this, there should be a brake on any new action (experiment, trend, dynamic) if there exists any possibility of risk

even when there is no absolute scientific evidence⁴ to support it. This method for the prevention of hypothetical risks is being applied at present to such situations as the production of transgenic food, although there is serious controversy between countries and between experts. There are quite a few professionals who consider that the precautionary principle could result in one of the best preventive strategies in relation to the complexity of techno-scientific development and its consequences for public health in present day society. Its application to drug use in the recreational world, being dependent upon our present knowledge, and awaiting future research, would seem to be a matter to take into consideration. Nevertheless, there is some controversy about these risks and their consequences and about the preventive measures to be instigated.

At the same time, drug use associated with having fun and the recreational arena is with us already, and is part of modernity or post-modernity. It is undeniable that drugs are used because they have positive effects, are a very effective technology in relation to having fun and pleasure, and contribute to a heightened and more intensive experience of sensations and emotions. They adapt well to new lifestyles and even to the new economic structure (Rifkin, 2000). Therefore, questioning their use is an increasingly controversial issue. A thorough analysis of the risks associated with drug use is fundamental within the social project that we are looking at, in which one has to learn to become acquainted with drugs and understand all their different dimensions.

Although the risks associated with the generalised use of drugs (such as alcohol and opium) have been experienced throughout history in different societies and collectives, the changes in the context in which they are used, the type of substances used, lifestyles, populations affected, financial resources, social acceptance and so on, means that the situation is always new and the consequences unforeseen. Current drug use is accompanied by new risks and new social consequences for users. Until only a little more than a decade ago, the normalisation of drug use in the young population was only something that was predicted. Now it is upon us, and its biophysical consequences are already being quantified and measured. Drug use also implies significant changes on the socio-cultural plane, both in its capacity to potentiate entertainment as well as its risks. In this dimension, the controversy between experts is even more intense due to the difficulties of measuring and quantifying the less tangible aspects, such as the way in which these changes affect such aspects as values, beliefs, autonomy and independence. The risks on the socio-cultural plane are less visible and demonstrable; or to put it another way, such analyses are more related to the subjectivity, ideology and the value system of researchers. The society in which we live is increasingly complex and analysing drug issues is not an easy task.

⁴ Sánchez, E. (2002) "The Precautionary Principle: implications for public health" in *Gaceta Sanitaria* 16: 371-373. According to the principle, when an activity represents a threat or danger for human health or the environment, precautionary measures must be taken even when the cause-effect relationship has not been scientifically demonstrated conclusively.

Drugs may be defined from different subjective positions and this makes the scientific task more difficult. Therefore, it should be noted that there are many authors who have demonstrated that the research dynamic is strongly influenced by ethical conditions, interests of a specific nature and even the political positions of experts in all scientific spheres (Woolgar, 1991; Latour, 1992). In the social science field, this bias (unavoidable and necessary) is simply more visible than in other disciplines. The real truth is that, on many occasions, it is difficult to make analyses that diverge from the dominant paradigm. For the benefit of a scientific approach that presumes a bias of subjectivity, here, the decision was made from the very beginning to define a critical position in respect of the trend to legitimise the normalisation of drug use and, specifically, of the function that drugs are exercising in the sphere of youth and entertainment.

It does not mean denying what is obvious, in other words, that frequent drug use is occurring in recreational spheres within a climate of social acceptance and normality. But acceptance of these facts does not also mean automatically accepting that we must uncritically accept the situation of weekend night time entertainment and the irreversible nature of the drug use situation. Such a widespread expansion of this kind of entertainment is a relatively recent event (ten or fifteen years) and we are in a position to analyse how this phenomenon has been produced and what circumstances are notably facilitating the leisure industry to achieve such success.

In this sense, Shields (1999) notes again, following an important qualitative work with different Hollywood professionals (writers, actors, directors, producers, executives, and others), that the norms and values of well known people in show business transmit and condition perceptions and attitudes to drug use. This should be taken into consideration if we wish to understand the influence that is being exercised by the leisure industry and the way in which norms and beliefs are being constructed around leisure, having fun, fashions and drug use. For young people, fashion is an element of great importance in their decision making, to such an extent that a good number of them state that they take illegal drugs because it is in fashion (Kemmesies, 2001).

This does not mean denying that for a large number of young people, drug use and its relationship with risks supposes a stage within their personal maturation or that there are people who maintain a relatively comfortable and controlled relationship between drugs and risks. However, for many others this relationship - even more so when drug use is taking place within the recreational world - is a perverse relationship and one with negative consequences which, at the very least, impedes the learning of other methods of achieving basic objectives such as relating to others and enjoying oneself in the recreational sphere. The addictive capacity of drugs added to their social use by the young enables these substances to be defined as tyrannical and perverse elements in having fun. Substances considered to be drugs have the capacity to progressively eliminate other strategies to achieve the necessary learning that enables a person to move towards creative leisure, maturity, a greater personal autonomy and to participate

within his or her peer group. Drugs are associated with a need for having fun and the experience of compulsive and passive pleasure (Sissa, 2000).

NON-USERS AS POINT OF REFERENCE IN THE RECREATIONAL WORLD

In 2000, IREFREA continued its research into the recreational world by initiating a new exploratory project. Its objective was to find out more about those young people who, in spite of taking part in night life, choose not to take drugs or do so in a much more moderate way. This study is based on a comparative study of non-users and users. The non-users and the moderate users are part of the recreational social network but the actual social network does not give them any prominent role; they are, in some sense, an invisible group but one which, in reality, coexists with the young who do use drugs. They share the same spaces and pursue similar ideas when they go to clubs and discos - they are with friends, they enjoy the music, the dancing, flirting and new experiences.

In general, it is normally the recreational scene, the use of drugs and the relationship with risks from the point of view of users that is studied. This detracts from the possibility of being able to understand other logics that try to explain and provide responses to these situations. Non-users and moderate users attempt to reach their individual or social objectives in terms of relational entertainment without drugs being a necessary technology, and this is an issue on which to concentrate our interest. Apart from broadening our understanding of a group that merits our attention, this study also confronts us with the challenge of seeing if, from the point of view of prevention, there are lessons to be extracted from this group of non-users that could be useful in approaching the user collective. At the same time, and of no less importance, this change in orientation permits a breach to be made in that monolithic view we have of the recreational scene as a place for having fun linked to drug use.

From this perspective, the real situation is seen as having little dynamic and value for prevention. In effect, some adults believe that the penal attitude towards the entire recreational scene fits and is one which presses for a more repressive and restrictive attitude. On the other hand, however, others believe the opposite and defend the 'normalisation' of the situation, which presupposes that the only visible recreational reality is the culture created by the majority of young people and that, as such, it should not be subjected to criticism -as this would be acting directly against the young- but rather that it should be accepted as a social fact as institutionalised as any other.

In any case, concerning ourselves with the non-using population, knowing their habits, their preoccupations and their difficulties, how they confront risks, what they like and what their aspirations are, could assist in correcting an extremely important error that is being committed in practice. The interest of both the professionals and the media normally focus on the same group, on the users - and particularly the most problematic - which means that it is the values and interests of these users which are present in the social discourse and which end up serving to define youth. This an error that has fatal consequences, since the entire youth population - including those who do

not take part in the recreational scene - is frequently seen and described as a homogenous whole, which is obviously incorrect. There are big differences between those who take little or no part in recreational activities - a significant sector of youth - and those that do take part. In addition, there are also big differences between those who do frequent the recreational scene, who are not homogenous in either their uses or their interests. In a previous study (Calafat et al., 2000), we referred to the different groups of young users that make up the recreational scene at a European level, and we have seen that they are differentiated by age, musical interests, drug use patterns and so forth. The present study will focus on the non-users and very moderate users in comparison with the other collective, the users.

Historically, research into drug use has focussed on detecting both the risk factors explicative of use and the protective factors, that is, those elements that potentiate healthy behaviours, habits and actions (Newcombe, 1992). Within risk and protective factors, those that are more linked to the individual are more easily studied and ascertained and, in this sense, we know of the importance of such issues of family bonds, school results, thrill seeking, the early initiation into drug taking and religious beliefs. Twenty five years ago, Kandel made a synthesis of the various longitudinal studies – research that studies the same individuals over time in order to ascertain the influence of factors on the evolution of drug use among these individuals - in existence at that time and described a number of risk factors that are practically the same as those we know now (Kandel, 1978). In the last few years, progress has been made, above all, in the knowledge of the interdependence of these factors. “Whereas there are specific theories and explicative models available for alcohol and tobacco on initiation into their use, consolidation and addiction, there are few for the other psychoactive substances (...) That specific models do not exist for the illegal drugs that are acceptable and clear for each one of the different substances shows the great complexity of these behaviours and the difficulty in reaching a good theory or explicative model for each of them” (Becoña, 1999). The fact that alcohol and tobacco are substances used by the majority of people also contributes to there being models available on these substances and to there being many more studies on them than on the other substances. In this respect, some research has been undertaken on why some young people do not use substances such as alcohol (Wynn, 1997; Amadeo, 1998; Bradizza, 1999; Pedersen, 2000), tobacco (Resnicow, 1999; Wang, 2000) or steroids (Schwerin, 1996).

The reality of multiuse and the importance of the use context – in our case the recreational scene - make it very difficult to think that a model for each of the illegal substances could be achieved in the future. In addition, it is not the substances in themselves that define use behaviours – in spite of the fact that at one time there was talk of the ‘ecstasy generation’. It seems much more useful and desirable to draw up a model based on the context in which drugs are used since, in the present situation at least, the recreational context could assist considerably in defining and explaining why people use drugs. The recreational context is considered more central as an objective than any chemical differences there could be between the different drugs that are being used in this context.

This does not mean denying the singularities of each drug and that people do have preferences, but rather that emphasis should be placed on the context in which they are being used and on the styles of use. It is the context that will lead to a better understanding of why and in what way individual drugs are being used. Within this perspective, Traeen (1999) contributes valuable information on the symbolic elements linked to substances. In his research, he shows that alcohol is an ideal substance and utilised to initiate a contact with a person one would like to get to know. Inviting someone for a drink is an established code in our culture so that two mutually unknown people can get together. The same happens with other substances, each of which has been endowed with symbolic elements that convert them into signs of identity, fetishes, amulets or business cards. Ecstasy has been the drug that best demonstrates this deep connection with the context in which it is used. In England in particular, but also in other countries, the spread of its use is connected with the dance party and the rave scene (Collins, 1997; Measham, 1998). Drug use is an element that contributes identity to a group of friends (Hammersley, 2001), and which is linked to the importance of drug use in selecting friends (Wang, 2000).

As neither young people in general nor those who use drugs are a homogeneous group, neither are non-users. In a broad outline, we could distinguish two subgroups. On the one side, we would have the elite, formed by a group of young people with good social abilities who, in a conscious and clear way, decide not to take drugs by choice. On the other side there would be the non-users whose non-use situation is in part a response to difficulties in their personal and relational spheres, such as having less social needs, less curiosity, and greater fears (Evans, 1992). These subgroups have been evaluated in this present study. Both need different social supports to maintain their abstemious attitude and to feel legitimised in the eyes of their contemporaries.

The strategies for saying “no” to drug use opportunities is one of the other themes explored. It is known that there is no formula that leads to immunity from use. Many are the responses contributed by non-users to justify their position, and this has also been reported in other studies (Fountain, 1999). A lack of interest in the effects of drugs is the best explanation for non-use, so that it would be worth knowing what elements favour or do not favour such interest in the different drugs.

ABOUT THIS BOOK

This is the fourth book to be published by IREFREA on its European research into the subject of recreational drug use. Previous publications have been *Characteristics and social representation of Ecstasy in Europe* (Calafat et al., 1998) which studied a sample of ecstasy users in five European cities and compared it with another sample of young people with similar characteristics but who did not use ecstasy, and found that ecstasy users are more likely to be multi-drug users, tend to abuse more and are less interested in prevention. In the next book *Nightlife and recreational use of drugs in Europe* (Calafat et al., 1999) we studied a sample of 2,700 young people in nine European cities, to ascertain the most representative and most widespread recreational

culture in each city. The third book *Risk and control in the recreational drug culture* (Calafat et al., 2001) used the same sample as in the previous publication and studied, among other things, the role of risk and control in young people who use recreational drugs. In addition it proffered preventive proposals for the recreational sphere. As we have already mentioned, this present book is concerned with learning about non-users or moderate users in recreational environments, and this is achieved not merely by studying them but also by comparing them with other young users. The interest here lies not only in describing non-users but also in being able to learn more about the pressures to use drugs that they face as well as their confrontation strategies, with the intention of generating a new discourse on the recreational arena which is not linked only to users, and also to be able to generate new preventive proposals based on the experiences of non-users.

OBTAINING DATA

In the present publication, the samples comprised young people and key informants in ten European cities. Specifically, this study had a total sample of 1,777 young people who were interviewed in recreational environments and who were distributed among ten European cities. All are young people who go out to enjoy themselves in clubs, pubs and discos. One half of the sample comprises non-users or very moderate users and the other half alcohol and other drug users.

The research work consisted of creating data that would allow an in-depth analysis of the non-user or moderate user group, but also a comparative analysis with young people who do use drugs.

Subsequently, qualitative information was created through in-depth interviews and discussion groups. The analysis of these data is what conforms the nucleus of the different chapters of this book.

INTERVIEWS

The interviews were undertaken between March and July 2001 in ten European cities: Athens (Greece), Berlin (Germany), Bologna (Italy), Lisbon (Portugal), Liverpool (United Kingdom), Nice (France), Palma de Mallorca (Spain), Turku (Finland), Vienna (Austria), and Utrecht (Netherlands). The operative sample is 1,777 individuals distributed according to age group, gender and use. In total, eight subgroups⁵ were obtained which were used for basic descriptive analyses and bivariate and multivariate analyses. Use limits were considered in the criteria for inclusion of the individuals in forming the two samples.

⁵ The group of adolescents comprised individuals with a maximum age of 19 (878, 49.4%). Youths are those over 20 years of age, (899, 50.6%). The women are 916 (el 51.5%) and 861 are men (48.5%). Users are 943 (53%) and non-users are 834 (47%).

NON-USERS

Non-users are those who were not current users of any illegal drug, and who had not been drunk on a single occasion during the last year. If they smoked cigarettes, they should not have smoked on more than three occasions during the last month and, when they did smoke, they should not have smoked more than three cigarettes. As for drinking alcohol, they should not have done so on more than four days during the last month and, on each occasion, they should not have had more than two alcoholic drinks. The acceptance of a minimum use of alcohol and tobacco has been considered an attitude of moderate use, very close to abstinence.

Users were considered to be those who, in addition to using alcohol and/or tobacco in a greater amount and frequency than the criteria described in the preceding paragraph, also used some type of illegal drug.

Each member in the working group received a report containing these descriptions and the required distribution of each variable studied in the total sample and by group: according to drug use (consumer / non-consumer), gender and age group. In order to compare the differences between the groups in gender, age group and city, statistics were based on Chi square with exact significance levels (estimated by the Monte Carlo procedure and exact tests); variate and univariate analysis (ANOVA and Univariate General Linear Model), t tests and nonparametric tests (Mann – Whitney and Kruskal-Wallis U test) to compare means. Other multivariate analysis (discriminate analysis) was used to distinguish between drug users and non-users taking into account diverse variables simultaneously (Chapter 2), and logistical regression analysis to analyse the association between diverse variables simultaneously with drug use and sexual behaviour (Chapters 2 and 8 respectively).

QUALITATIVE DATA

Some subjects dealt with in the interview needed to be explored further, so were explored in greater depth using qualitative methodology. Part of the information we were interested in forms part of private and emotional life, and involve beliefs and cultural values. For this reason, this information is more appropriate to a qualitative line of research that complements and assists the analysis of the quantitative statistical information.

The qualitative information was diverse and developed at a different period of time. Prior to carrying out the interviews, there was a great deal of observation work in the recreational spheres in each city to ascertain the zones and venues where the researchers were to work. In every city, the environments chosen were considered to be mainstream and the most popular, and were places where the young went out at weekend nights. In addition, in this same period, informal interviews were conducted with young people to find out more on certain subjects that should be included in the questionnaire. In the stage following the interview, two discussion or focus groups were held in each country, one with young non-users and another with young users (Table 0.3). Each member of

the focus group was individually interviewed, during which the principal issues were covered.

Table 0.3. Participants in the focus groups by country					
	Non-users		Users		Total (N)
	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	
Austria	6	3	4	4	17
Finland	4	3	3	4	14
France	2	3	3	1	9
Germany	3	3	3	3	12
Great Britain	5	2	4	2	13
Greece	5	3	3	7	18
Italy	3	5	2	5	15
Netherlands	2	2	2	7	13
Portugal	1	3	4	4	12
Spain	6	7	3	4	20
Total	37	34	31	41	143

In total, 143 young people were interviewed in the 20 discussion groups, two in each country. Ages varied from 14 to 29 years of age.

The subjects covered were:

- Management of fun and free time
- Management of the night setting for entertainment
- Gender differences in night-time habits
- Management of the friends with whom they have fun
- How they see the “others”
- Management of drug use
- Sexuality and drugs
- Risk, control and health in drug use
- Management of finances for having fun
- Family relationships

Each subject was developed through diverse questions.

Elaboration of the information followed the same criteria in each country. The recorded information on the groups and the individual interviews were transcribed entirely in the original language. Subsequently, each researcher made a preliminary analysis and a selection of information according to the thematic order. This led to ten national reports which were translated into English and distributed to all the researchers in the team. This information has been utilised in drawing up the chapters that form this present book.

Chapter One “Creation of a leisure and recreational culture in Europe and drug use” presents some historical keys that lead to an understanding of the process involving the conception and practice of having fun and leisure time from the Industrial Revolution to the present time. This perspective enables us to see how having fun is basically a very dynamic process of cultural construction with many determinants, which are worth knowing in order to ascertain any likelihood of influencing them. Several models of having fun have converged to arrive at the present situation: created basically from the countries where the industrial revolution took place, where the Protestant ethic was greater, and which generated entertainment of the masses.

And in contrast, there was Mediterranean Europe, with its *fiesta* culture, where non-productive festivities were more easily considered as an important cultural ingredient. It was in the middle of the twenty century when the north began to influence the south and vice versa. Mass tourism, economic development, technological progress - all these contributed to creating the conditions for young Europeans from the centre-north to discover the *fiesta* and the contexts in which to enjoy it. Southern Europeans for their part discovered new musical styles, new subcultures, fashions and uses that fitted in with their lifestyle and their ways of having fun.

There is therefore a cultural diffusion between European youths that leads to a multifaceted syncretism, a map of youth tribes, who coexist in each city and who find their equivalent in all European cities. But it is above all the diffusion of drugs and the growing importance of the recreational industry, which is contributing to its taking a giant stride forward.

Chapter Two presents an overall and comparative view of the 1,777 recreational users and non-users interviewed for this study, using the concepts normally studied by IREFREA: management of recreational life, social and family contexts, personality characteristics and mediator variables in drug use (motivation, expectations, perceptions and attitudes). Using multivariate analysis, the chapter provides evidence of support for the model developed by IREFREA in its studies on recreational life and drug use, demonstrating that the model notably predicts the use of drugs and that management of recreational life is the most relevant variable in the model.

Chapter Three “Non-user, the unidentified subject: social characteristics, family life and peer group”. This chapter examines the social life of the user in comparison with the non-user. This is done by using the questionnaire as a basis and using qualitative information for a more detailed analysis of attitudes. This chapter covers fundamental and intimate aspects of social and family life. Some of these aspects are very closely linked with drug use, such as parental drug use, drug use among siblings, drug use among friends. Other aspects have more to do with social and family integration aspects such as the conflicts in family life, management of relationships with friends, and social activities. This chapter shows the fundamental similarities and differences between young users and young non-users which are already leading to the establishment of analytical guidelines such as the importance of family life, conflict

management, and communication between the young and their parents and the forms of involvement in social life.

Chapter Four “Users and non-users in relation to their recreational activities”. This chapter presents a comparison of non-users and users involved in nightlife activities, most particularly on the basis of the quantitative data. In addition, it establishes comparisons between the Mediterranean countries and the central and northern European countries. In spite of the fact that the groups of young people (users and non-users) share activities and venues for having fun, there are some differences in behaviour and in their view of nightlife. The frequency of going out and the most popular musical styles are the most significant differences between the two groups. The views of one group on the other assists us in understanding the diversity of options involved in having fun.

Chapter Five “Having fun and staying sober”? Qualitative data is used in order to explore cultural matters. The main questions are: who and what kind of people are young European non-users; why are they interested in taking part in nightlife; what are the reasons for them not using substances; and finally what are the strategies that enable them to survive under social pressure. Non-users are, in fact, also representative of ordinary European adolescents. They take an active part in nightlife, meeting friends, listening to good music and escaping from daily routine. But non-users lack any interest in substances, preferring to avoid the problems caused by drug use, and are interested in self-control. Some strategies for surviving under social pressure are given at the end of the Chapter.

Chapter Six “Gender related aspects on drug consumption in recreational time” explores the gender dimension. Gender is a key variable in the structuring of the social world, as we live in a society characterised by a dual-gender system affecting individual perceptions and values. Adolescents are faced with the task of adopting masculinity or femininity for themselves and presenting these attributes in interaction with others. The basic differences in socialisation between men and women, the differing patterns of communication and problem-solving, are confirmed in the areas of drug use. Chapter six analyses the IREFREA 2001 sample according to its gender-typical aspects. Drugs seem to have a relationship with the rising social pressure on the individual to achieve personal and social goals, and this is related to gender.

Chapter Seven “Management of control in recreational life”. The objective in this chapter is to investigate the way in which the young themselves relate to the risk involved in drug use and the strategies they elaborate. The analysis was based on the discourse of the young people, users and non-users, through subjectivity and their experiences. Risk perception in taking decisions on whether or not to take drugs was investigated in addition to how they integrate it in their imagination and the strategies they adopt. Learning to manage and control risk is one of the lessons that the young must learn, with the support and supervision of society as a whole and adults in particular. Taking into consideration the fact that drug use is becoming a normalised occurrence in night time recreational environments, the alternative attitude of the young

who decide not to use drugs or who do so only moderately must be carefully considered. Getting to know this collective and its control strategies better assists in elaborating an alternative view of youth subcultures and in creating specific support strategies for this group.

Chapter Eight explores the relationship between substance use, sexual behaviour and unsafe sex. This chapter takes an in-depth look at the statistical research, looking for similarities and differences between users and non-users as well as the ten cities that took part in the study. The central theme is the relationship between sexual experience and drug use. Homosexual relationships have been evaluated, initiation age of sexual experience, contraceptive use and sexual satisfaction.

Chapter Nine “Management of financial resources”. This chapter explores the financial aspects of the recreational activities of young people in Europe. Firstly, the result of Dutch national studies on the social and economic position of young people is outlined. The Youth 2000 Report published by the *Social and Cultural Planning Office* (SCP) gives a broad-based picture of the living situation and social position of 12 to 24 year olds in the Netherlands. Secondly, the results of the IREFREA research project 2001/2002 is described in respect of the financial aspects of the recreational nightlife of young people in ten European Cities. A comparison is made between users and non-users, age groups, gender and geographical areas.

Chapter Ten “Review of prevention programs in recreational settings in the European Union”. This endeavours to provide an approach to the real situation of prevention in the recreational field in Europe in response to such questions as: what kind of programme is being applied, whom are they targeting, where are they being developed, whether the diversity of youth culture is being taken into consideration and other factors (gender, age type of use or non-use), what theorisation sustains them, what kind of evaluation is being made, what kind of evolution has occurred in respect of other reviews of a few years ago... All this was carried out on the basis of reviewing a sample of programmes principally accessible in the ten countries in which IREFREA normally works. It is, therefore, not an absolutely representative review on what is happening in Europe but it may possibly serve to start a reflection on this kind of prevention. It was reviewed with particular interest as it deals with the central theme of this book - to what extent do these programmes take into consideration the question of moderation, abstinence and control in the young people who go out to have fun. As we will see, this receives little consideration as the dominant paradigm in these programmes is harm reduction.

1. CREATION OF A LEISURE AND RECREATIONAL CULTURE IN EUROPE AND DRUG USE

1.1 PRESENTATION

The construct of enjoyment and entertainment must be understood from an historical perspective. Having fun as we now understand it is, like so many other things, a process of cultural construction. The idea of having fun and the different ways in which fun occurs form part of socially created contexts, respond to organised dynamics and are constructed in terms of social interests and ideals. From an historical point of view, the idea of having fun was elaborated parallel to the idea of leisure time. Nowadays, having leisure time and enjoying oneself is one of the requisites in the definition of quality of life for both adults and young people. In western industrialised societies, the increase in leisure time for large population groups only occurred after a lengthy social conquest.

By examining the question of leisure time and fun in Europe, a differentiation can be made between the two distinct traditions that have contributed to shaping present-day Europe: on the one hand, the Europe of the south, Mediterranean and Catholic and, on the other, the Europe of the centre/north, Protestant and leader of the industrial revolution. Although there is no well-defined frontier between these two traditional cultures, the historical experiences of having fun and the fiesta followed different courses up to the second half of the 20th century, during which there was a cultural transmission between the countries of Western Europe. It was technological and social development, particularly in the means of transport and communication, which allowed the diffusion and a syncretism of traditions with a widespread influence on the ways of having fun and the lifestyles of young Europeans. But this convergence process has done no more than begin and is already extending to countries in Eastern Europe. The current scenario of having fun and the process that has made it possible will be better understood if we attempt to ascertain the logic that went into shaping it. Historical understanding of the present will contribute to creating the future.

Prior to the 19th century, having time to spend as one chose was the exclusive privilege of the 'leisured classes' - the aristocracy or the upper middle-class. For ordinary citizens, time was regulated by work, the climate and the agricultural calendar. Among the country or artisan population, if there was work it was done and if not they rested, which generally meant they did nothing. Having no work was the path to poverty so had no positive connotations and was not considered to be time for leisure or enjoyment. Time devoted to the fiesta was quite exceptional, and was regulated by the

agricultural and religious calendar. The fiesta was conceived as a ritual of celebration and gratitude to the divine for having acquired the necessary products for survival.

With the industrialisation process, the evaluation of time began to undergo modifications. The working day in industry began to organise all time and the daily routine from the logic of production. The search for productive efficiency adapted social life to the needs of industry. There was a higher concentration of population in industrial centres, family relationships were transformed to become the urban nuclear family, and the idea of 'free' or leisure time began to emerge, closely linked to enjoyment and having fun. The definition of 'free time' arose in contrast to the time devoted to work, a time that required effort, responsibility and obligations. The notion of having a time for leisure became increasingly popular and, in addition, became homogenous for the majority of the population in industrialised societies, particularly in large cities, giving rise to the idea of the weekend. As these new concepts of free time and leisure began to emerge so did the need to endow them with significance.

However there was a need for society to organise this free time. One has to place oneself in the environment of the 18th and 19th centuries in the industrialised nations to understand that nothing could have been worse for the individual and for society than leisure (idleness is the mother of all vices). All kind of cultural activities were connected to class: upper class and bourgeoisie did spend their leisure with cultivation and productivity. And although from a current perspective it might seem strange and archaic to us, many of the present-day activities that we employ to enjoy ourselves were born from this moralising objective of filling free time with useful activities from a cultural, religious or health point of view, be they organised holidays, relaxing on the beach or even football matches.

Technological changes made a substantial contribution to driving social changes in the use and interpretation of time. The most important technological development that sustained this revolution was in transport (train, boat and motor car). Another decisive step in the changes relating to free time occurred when a recreational industry was created. It was the American tourism industry, particularly following the Second World War, that so extraordinarily promoted entertainment of the masses, leading to –and simultaneously stimulating– recreational necessities that no longer had to be concealed in subterfuges of culture or health. The leisure industry appeared in the 19th century in response to emerging needs. However, as it consolidated it was the industry itself that became a fundamental factor in the definition of what was amusement and entertainment, in how to occupy leisure time and in actively contributing to the construction of a new scenario, creating new needs and new solutions in response to those needs. In a few years, the scenario of amusement and entertainment underwent a change. The search for pleasure, of having a good time, became a goal in itself. Nowadays, this is so logical that it does not even attract attention. A guide of 6,000 leisure establishments, published recently in Italy and focussing mainly on bars and restaurants, is pointedly entitled "Guide to pleasure and amusement" (Piccinelli 2002). The manner of enjoyment, specific to mass culture, has become so embedded in modern societies that it is surprising to think that it is, in fact, a very recent social experience.

1.2 FREE TIME AND LEISURE TIME

Leisure in Ancient Greece was not synonymous with inactivity or with a holiday period for relaxation from work. For the ancients, the *otium cum dignitate* was something reserved for the privileged, comprising a moment of distension in their private life, a time in which to escape from the pitfalls of laziness and boredom, by exercising their intelligence in the search for personal enrichment. And, in more recent times, this concept of leisure is the one that fitted in with the practices of the European upper classes, particularly the aristocracy. The appearance of both thermal and seaside spas led to an organisation of this leisure, *otium dulce*, which for the gentlemen consisted of a wide range of sporting activities (riding, hunting, cricket, sailing), strolling or meeting important people, while the ladies devoted their mornings to reading, their afternoons to visiting, concerts and walking, and the night was the time for conversation and dancing. In her novel *Northanger Abbey*, Jane Austen describes in the most minute detail the evenings, dances and other facets of the life of the upper middle-class who visited the spa city of Bath in the west of England.

The leisured classes, the upper middle-class or aristocracy, heirs to the classical concept, could permit themselves the luxury of not having to work and were able to devote their free time to intellectual pursuits, to altruistic causes, to travelling and forming international relationships of a personal, political or cultural kind. For other populations, who were living in the cities during this period of industrial expansion, having free time was the result of a long social conquest, no easy feat during the 19th century, and even less so in the 20th. It meant reducing the working day (in 1847, the Ten Hours Act secured the 10-hour day for women and children who were working in the textile industry: in southern countries such as Spain, this regulatory process was delayed until the beginning of the 20th century)¹ and securing and increasing the number of days off work. The arguments against concession –like those for– of holidays for the workers were not only around the economic losses arising from unworked hours but were often based on a far-ranging moral content. On the one hand, there were those who defended an annual paid rest as being essential for the physical and moral health of workers². But, on the other hand, there was doubt as to whether or not these workers would know how to use the free time that was being given to them: there was a fear of leisure in itself – in this case leisure was attributed with the negative connotations of idleness which, according to the saying that was so popular for many years, was the mother of all vices.

In France in the thirties, this idea of having to fill ‘empty’ time was surprisingly similar in all the discourses of militants and experts. Catholics, socialists, communists,

¹ In Spain a Royal Decree of 13 November 1900, regulates the labour sphere. The working day is limited to 12 hours. Another Royal Decree of 1902 regulates ‘the working day’ for women and children, which is reduced to 11 hours. As a comparison, in Finland the working day was limited to 8-hours-long in 1917.

² On this point, it is essential to take into account that at the end of the XIX century *The Right to be Lazy* by Paul Lafargue, brother-in-law of Karl Marx was written in England in 1880 and published as a pamphlet in 1883. This work is a premonitor of a new moral, which took shape at the end of the 20th century in Europe.

trade unionists and employers coincided in the idea that paid holidays constituted a privileged time for the education of the people. Free time should not only be occupied but also serve a fitting purpose - it should contribute to the full development of the individual. There was, however, no divergence on the manner of filling the void, the Catholics insisted on the spiritual dimension of the new uses of the time (spiritual exercises and pilgrimages) while doctors and particularly those with a hygienist background insisted on the importance of physical exercise and sport, whereas those in socialist and communist spheres attributed greater importance to cultural pursuits (Richez 1993). Holiday time should be disciplined, with the aim of ensuring that workers did not fall into the dangers of leisure or the sin of sloth -which had the same meaning for the moralists of that period. The desire to control this holiday time was common both to those who spoke for the upper middle-classes and to those who spoke for the working class, as common to the politicians in democratic states as to those in totalitarian ones, and to the militants, were they Christians, socialists or communists (Richez and Strauss 1996).

More qualitative changes in relation to free time and holidays became widespread in almost all of Europe after the Second World War. There can be found two reasons to the changes. Firstly, it was in the late 1930s, when all the member countries of ILO must have had fixed their national legislation on workers' holidays, and after the Second World War the new legislation showed its force. Secondly, the livelihood of workers did arise step by step after the war, so the new style of mass tourism became more popular. As more annual weeks of holiday were secured, the number of workers who took advantage of their holidays to travel increased enormously, as could be seen at the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties in many countries. . From the beginning of the 1940s a special holiday centre concept has spread from America to Europe, and holiday centres were built in the Northern Europe. The first holiday camps and centres, for example Butlins, were based in Great Britain (Urry 2002). The British were one of the first European organizers of the charter files, and naturally the second step was to built to the Southern Europe special reception centres for visitors. The south of Europe became reception centres for visitors even if, for some time, this free time was organised and was not a true leisure time, both if individuals stayed at home (gardening, DIY...) or travelled. In a few decades this moralist ideal, widely adopted ever since Cook arranged his first organised holidays, dissipated and a consumerist logic took over, changing from the three Ds of social tourism (Distension or freeing from fatigue, Diversion or freeing from boredom and Development of the personality, liberating mental automatisms) to the three Ss (Sea, Sex and Sun) as was pointed out by Richez and Strauss (1993).

In the Mediterranean countries, the evolution was somewhat different and even quite opposite. The industrialisation process came later and, in addition, there was a richer tradition of local fiestas, which had grown in importance with the arrival of industrialisation and, later, the arrival of tourism (Pi-Sunyer 1992). This reinforcement of the festive period in the Mediterranean was certainly in response to diverse logics. If, previously, it was the Church or the religious rites that gave meaning to the majority of

the fiestas, later it was the villages, towns and regions of the Mediterranean that collected the religious celebrations of the Church and strengthened them to suit their own institutional needs and, in addition, to satisfy the need of people in the city to connect with their origins in an important exaltation of traditionalist, regionalist or nationalist sentiments. The tourism phenomenon and the economic bonanza are not very distant from this amplification of festive periods. “The festive time has, traditionally, been a sacred and cyclic time, unlike free time, which emerged from modern working hours, and is considered to be lineal time. These two classes of time must be understood as being founded in the last few years with the survival of the traditional festive model” (Cuenca 2001). These are two logics with sufficient coincidences for them to attempt to coexist. Some fiestas have disappeared or have had to adjust to the working calendar but, as a counterpoint, the great need for free time and the stress of work have reinforced others. The arrival of tourism established a relationship that fits in very well with this Mediterranean dynamic and contributed to empowering festive acts, even more so when they remain inserted in a folkloric aesthetic that is interesting to the visitor. Hence, the entertainment culture is converted into merchandise³.

1.3 THE INFLUENCE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

Pleasure, free time and entertainment are sufficiently important issues for societies to have made an attempt to regulate them. Over the last couple of centuries, the United Kingdom not only promoted the first important development of these practices from a modern perspective but was also “distinguished for a premonitory awareness of the diversity of the social uses of time as well as for an important effort to organise and regulate the amusement of the populace” (Corbin 1996). It meant organising the means to fill free-time, which was seen as being the cause of all ills. There was fear most of all for the collective formed by the working class. The reformist spirits launched themselves with enthusiasm into providing content and controlling this new time, organising travel to the great universal exhibitions, organising the temperance movements, promoting healthy spas and equally healthy visits to the beaches.

It has already been mentioned that, prior to the 19th century, only the aristocracy and the upper middle class had access to free time, which they combined elegantly with business and politics. And it was a courtly conception of entertainment that they exercised in their country mansions during summer (hunting, theatrical performances, balls...), which they combined with their sojourns in the city during winter, a time that they used to their advantage, for business negotiations but also for going to the theatre

³ Greenwood, D. J. shows in his anthropological study in Fuenterrabía (Guipúzcoa) the ritual transformations that went from having a local significance to becoming a tourist attraction. In “La cultura al peso: perspectiva antropológica del turismo en tanto proceso de mercantilización cultural” in Smith, V. L. *Anfitriones e invitados*, Madrid: Endimión (281-300).

and society balls, “in this way, the city for leisure time came into being” (Porter 1996). Quite a few years were to pass before Paris would be transformed into the city for fun, entertainment and free time par excellence for a large number of the European upper middle-classes, occupying an important place in the collective imagination.

For the remainder of the English social classes, the lowest in particular, there was no such refined free time strategy nor did the conditions and places exist to develop them in the short time surplus to a hard working life. The fiestas and fairs were times for local sports, for animal fights and for drinking. The arrival of the industrial revolution imposed harsh changes on the habits of the poorer classes. Working days were long, and there was a very powerful moralising current that demanded more responsibility, dedication and punctuality from them, and which criticised their tendency to drunkenness, their promiscuity and their ways of enjoying themselves. At the same time, feast days were decreasing. Whereas, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Bank of England enjoyed forty-seven feast days, in 1808 it had dropped to forty-four, in 1825 to forty and in 1830 to eighteen, to dwindle to only four in 1834.

Face to face with this puritan reality orientated towards production “a utilitarian line of thought began to emerge suggesting that occasional liberation from oppressive work could effectively lead to a rise in the performance and productivity of workers” (Porter 1996). This was why, in 1870, a law introduced an obligatory annual day of rest which was known as a ‘bank holiday’ and, then, by the end of the 19th century, a whole week of holidays began to be common in the English textile industry. But much time would have to pass and two world wars would have to take place before this annual week became a contractual right, it being estimated that in 1945 it would be recognised for some 80% of workers. It should be taken into account, here, that holidays were not among the principal demands of the unions who were more concerned with wage increases and security of employment (Porter 1996).

After the first stage of the Industrial Revolution, the harsh conditions of life began to ease for one section of the working class. A new middle-class began to grow and with it the advantages of modernisation and consumerism began to spread to increasingly wider population groups. The changes in the manner of interpreting free time and entertainment owed a great deal to technological progress (railways and steamships), and to changes in the industrial organisation of free time. In 1835, before the construction of the railways, it is estimated that 117,000 travellers arrived in Brighton by road, whereas 73,000 passengers passed through its railway station in one single week in 1850 (Porter 1996).

The first organised holidays to use the railway as a means of transport had a moralist purpose. Thomas Cook, who was an activist in the temperance movement, thought that the railway could be an important element in spreading his message and, in 1841, he arranged his first organised trip by railway to attend the Grand Temperance Gala -with tea and sandwiches included- reaching prominence with his organised tours to the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London. For Cook, tourism opened doors to personal

development and the guide was considered to be a kind of preceptor to his clients (Corbin 1996).

1.4 THE DISCOVERY OF THE SEA AND THE BEACHES

The beauty of the sea as a place for holidays was the fruit of a long, but relatively recent, process of discovery. Looking at this will illustrate how the modes were construed and how contradictory the use and view of undeniably pleasurable pursuits had been in the past, as seen from the perspective of the present. Nowadays, both the sea and beaches are associated with holidays, relaxation and entertainment. But in the 'classical age', with rare exceptions, the fascination of beaches, of the excitement of the swimmer breasting the waves and the pleasure of summer by the sea were ignored (Corbin 1988). Over the centuries there have been many images warning people of the dangers of the sea. The Bible, in particular, is filled with references to chaos, such as the Flood, but even ancient literature such as the *Odyssey* favoured this image of danger. Sailing the seas was also an inexhaustible source of Dantesque images of storms and shipwrecks that are reflected in paintings and literature as a demonstration of the fragility of life and human institutions in the face of nature. It was the sea that brought the incursions of pirates to Mediterranean coasts and, for this reason, many coastal villages located themselves some kilometres from the shore.

At the end of the 18th century, artists and those fascinated by the ancients discovered the southern Italian coast. But, with medical backing, the general current of thought saw nothing but disadvantages in these warm and transparent waters. According to the description of many travellers, the Mediterranean coast and beaches roused sadness if not repulsion⁶ in their foreign visitors. Little by little, and particularly with the arrival of the Romantics, images of the beach and sea began to change. The poets and Impressionist painters became increasingly interested in these spaces, the symbology associated with them changing as a result; the aristocracy legitimised the therapeutic use of the spa towns which grew up around the sea first in England, and later in France. With this, the aristocracy opened up a path that would later be trodden by the upper middle-classes. This was the beginning of the second home or residence near to the sea.

During the 17th and 18th centuries this negative view of the sea very slowly changed. In the aesthetic mode fostered by the ladies of the aristocracy, a white fine skin was still considered more beautiful than the rough brown skin of the women who worked the fields in the open air. But a certain exodus of people to the beaches began, in search of their therapeutic remedies for melancholy or tuberculosis. Modern doctors of a hygienic tendency promoted the open air as a remedy for epidemics and miasmas.

⁶ According to Doctor Thouvenel in his work 'Traité sur le climat de l'Italie considéré sous ses rapports physiques, météorologiques et médicaux' he considers the waters of the Tirreno to be greasy, thick, humid, filled with vapours, stagnant, inert, fetid, fermented, corrupt, mouldy, suffocating, prostrating, with a claustrophobic atmosphere, in contact with alien miasmas, etc. Quoted by Alain Corbin (1988: 11).

Melancholy, or spleen, as it was known at the time, was particularly common among the English aristocracy⁷. According to Burton, “diet, fresh air and exercise “ were essentials. All passions and perturbations of the spirit should be cured with the same remedies”⁸, as well as through the correct choice of the place to inhabit together with other hygienist methods. Burton defended the importance of physical exercise and sport, including sea bathing, which up to that time were rather uncommon and, in any case, the pursuits of only uncultured people. The therapeutic bath became fashionable, as a rediscovery of ancient thermal baths, and consequently thermal stations became obligatory places of reference for the upper classes. Subsequently, beneficial properties were also attributed to the sea, overcoming the ancestral fears awoken in the collective imagination by the sea. Another reason for the search for the beaches and the countryside was to escape from the towns contaminated by the chimneys.

The appearance of modern means of transport was essential in producing these changes. The spur to the discovery of the sea, as has been shown already, was the railway which brought the population of the huge industrial cities closer to such spa towns as Brighton, Blackpool, Biarritz or San Sebastián. In the beginning, these centres arose as successors to the thermal stations although they went on to increase in popularity and ended up eclipsing the original model. The idea of social encounters in these therapeutic spaces soon gathered force and forms of varied entertainment began to appear in these cities, what we nowadays call the ‘complementary supply’, which for many ended up by becoming the main objective of their journey, gradually replacing the initial therapeutic idea. The aristocracy, fleeing from the saturated English spas, and beginning to visit the French Côte d’Azur, facilitated this change of viewpoint.

1.5 FROM LEISURE TO THE FIESTA AND FROM THE FIESTA TO THE DISCO. FROM AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY TO A CONSUMER SOCIETY

From leisure to the fiesta and from the fiesta to the disco. From an industrial society to a consumer society

The ‘need’ for holidays, weekends and public holidays is an essential core of our present culture, in such a way that more than being a right, it has become a social and individual obligation. We have entered into a new organisation of time and space that allows travel to the Caribbean in winter or to the mountains in summer. There is a wide variety of ways of utilising free time. Many people use their free time to relax, to play sport, to deal with pending matters in their home or to go and visit friends. Productive needs are complemented by consumer needs. The occupation of leisure time has

⁷ Robert Burton, in 1621, approached the subject with his “The Anatomy of Melancholy”. This work was re-published frequently in the XVII century, its influence declined somewhat in the XVIII but there were still several editions during the XIX century.

⁸ Burton, Robert (2002) *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (translation of the original of 1621). Madrid. Asociación Española de Neuropsiquiatría. (Tomo III, pag.395)

become one of the principal consumer spaces giving rise to an important industry responsible for organising free time. One of the crowning moments of this leisure time was and continues to be that devoted to the fiestas, which are its most complete and elaborated expression. This is the reason for the rise in the demand for the fiesta that “is the transgression by automacy which breaks drastically with obligation, daily routine and the seriousness of work” (Rodríguez 1999). Resting from too much work or enjoying oneself without rest because one has worked so hard are two forms in which our society is being confronted with the mandate –contradictory and complementary at the same time- of working and enjoying oneself. The fiesta has become a preemptory and compulsive necessity for a good part of the population and, in particular, for many young people.

The fiestas have always been moments of exception, eagerly awaited and linked almost always to extraordinary events, military victories or religious rites. The sun and the moon are also the origin of some of the most important festivals as an example of the dependence and admiration of the human being for nature. A relationship of continuity is being maintained between the pagan festivals of old and the present Mediterranean festive model. Christianity plays a key role and one of modulation in all the primitive or pagan celebrations. Many of the most important festivals were ‘revamped’ and so the summer solstice became the fiesta of San Juan, widely celebrated in the Mediterranean, and the winter solstice became the birth of Jesus Christ. With the Counter Reformation, the Catholic countries made much of the festivals to affirm their presence and their power whereas in counter position, the Protestant cultures reacted in exactly the opposite way, leading to the disappearance of many of their fiestas and even the very idea of a fiesta. Protestantism also put a stop to almost all matters associated with earthly pleasures as part of its ethics.

The explosion experienced by some countries around the hippy fiestas of the sixties, and the raves and house culture of the eighties is, in a certain sense, a reaction to the repression of expressing pleasure so common to Protestant cultures. The periodic holiday contact of a good part of the central and northern European population with the Mediterranean fiesta led them to an awareness of the ‘festive deficiency’ that they were suffering secularly. The youth of the central European countries reacted with the zeal of those who have discovered a new religion, in an attempt to recover lost time, justify more spaces and more occasions for the fiesta, and search for more pleasure and a greater emotional contact at whatever cost

In the 19th century, the young English aristocrats made what was known as the ‘Grand Tour’, visiting Italy and France most particularly, in a kind of initiation journey, marvelling at and learning from the contrasting cultures. The ‘Grand Tour’ at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the next made by young English and Central Europeans (no longer reserved only for the upper classes at this new historical period in time) also had an initiatory nature. It consisted of visits, year after year, to places on the Mediterranean coast, which enabled them to come into contact with the electrifying

experience of the night and the fiesta, not only in the discos but also in the squares and streets of the tourist towns.

The festive capacity of the Mediterranean people has always been notable and in the last few decades has continued to grow. If, in order to understand the spread of free time – above all linked to the masses – we have to allow ourselves to be guided by the English and American model, in order to understand the fiesta we have to be ruled by the Mediterranean festive model which is by far the more deep-rooted and elaborated. “The Mediterranean culture has been characterised by transforming leisure time manifestations into a show, united to the spontaneity, the merrymaking and the primitive purity of the fiesta. It is a leisure model that is characterised by the deepness of its roots in the society in which it is being developed, by being a deep and processual experience that has learned to adapt the ancient ritual experiences to the new aesthetic and leisure groups, maintaining itself in a society with its own values which separate it from the proposals of the Market Society” (Cuenca 2001). It has taken centuries to elaborate a complex paraphernalia in which what is important is the participation, aesthetics, ritualisation, the sense of spectacle, the exaltation of the senses, entertainment, religious expression, the sacred, the dance, the externalisation of personal and collective conflicts... All these through a wide variety of models from the pilgrimages to the fiesta of the bulls, to the religious processions particularly during Holy Week –which the techno Love Parade in Berlin, Zurich or more recently in Barcelona or Bologna attempt to imitate– or the popular street festivals among many others.

One of the issues that attracts most attention is how the fiesta is in full expansion in an increasingly industrialised and urban world instead of becoming a recessive and more and more marginal issue (Moreno 1999). Modern society led to a work ethic and created large cities and industries organised in terms of productive efficiency. Post-modern society discovered that the fiesta came to cover the shortfall derived from its new urban lifestyle but, in addition, it was an exceptional consumer space⁹. Obviously, the fiesta and its functionality are reinterpreted in each epoch and in each society and, in this sense, the new society needs as much or more than before – although there may be certain distinct motivations- from the fiesta. Even the sacred elements that characterised the fiesta in ancient time do not have to be missing in their more modern versions. As Moreno says “what characterises real modernity is not the absence of the sacred but is precisely the plurality of the sacred, the fragmentation of the sacred and not its disappearance” (Moreno 1999). According to him, in our societies we are witnessing a development of the irrational, the tribal and the supernatural.

Tourism has influenced to the cultures, life styles and everyday life in the Southern Europe in many ways (see more e.g. Urry 2002). When the tourist masses from the

⁹ In Ritzer, G. *The macdonaldisation of society* (1999) there is (chapter VII) an extensive description of the integration of the spectacle and having fun in commercial marketing strategies. The McDonalds fast-food chain is an example.

Northern and Central Europe would travel to the Southern holiday centres in Greece, Italy, Portugal or Spain, they would bring their leisure time habits with them. In the tourist centres the leisure activities are bound with the needs of the tourists, who like to spend their holiday with fun. In the tourist centres the ideal leisure time using does not follow the normal timetables of every day life rather opposite: it has been question about “the other dream world” with really carnivalesque atmosphere. Nowadays having fun has meant heavy drinking, cannabis smoking or E-tabs consuming to have fun all around the clock. For that reason tourism has influenced to the native people’s daily free-time using.

Certainly he is not without reason since although the traditional religions are losing some of the cultural protagonism they once had, we are witnessing an unprecedented apogee of people who consult the tarot or their horoscope, who are interested in alternative medicines, who are looking for truth in other exotic religions or who take drugs in a search for the magical or at the very least, for the irrational. The loss of collective rituals inherent in urban life and in a laic society accentuates the need for the fiesta and other manifestations where the emotional can be vehiculised. Hence, the importance in our societies of the great sporting, musical or other type of spectacle, since they are necessary occasions in order to be able to participate, to mix and blend in with others, to be able to express our joy or our frustration or aggression beyond the economic interests that generate and sustain them.

The recreational industry is expanding, it contributes to defining what leisure is and creates a wide range of activities and consumptions to fill this space. Some of these activities have something to do with the night, weekends, music and dancing. All these elements lead to an entertainment culture defined by a wide variety of styles that have some association with clothing, scenes, music... an element common to all the different styles of entertainment is the consumption of alcohol and the use of drugs, although each scene also adopts its own consumption style.

In order to reach a better understanding of the way in which the young Europeans of today search for entertainment, it is edifying to read what happened during the final decades of the 20th century. The central Europeans discovered the Mediterranean fiestas during their summer incursions to these tourist centres. The meeting of the two Europes, which led to a new context of entertainment, has been masterly compiled by Matthew Collin (1997) who analyses the significance of the incursions in Ibiza by the young lower-class English clubbers in the eighties. At first, they only showed an interest in the cheap beer in San Antonio, principal English enclave in Ibiza, and for dancing in small grimy discos. But very soon they discovered other discos such as Pacha and Amnesia that had emerged during the hippy period or the more modern Ku, which, although they preserved some relationship with their origins, had become more sophisticated and elegant venues. These new spaces responded to a totally different style from that of the discos that they frequented in their own country. In the Ibiza discos, entertainment was going through a ritual in which aesthetics, music and dancing and social relationships had more relevance. It was a more elitist space with more

emphasis on the atmosphere, with more sense of spectacle. “The clubs in Ibiza have areas for dancing in the open air, illuminated by the moon and the stars, with water fountains, palms, corners furnished with cushions, and an extravagant decor that changes constantly. But the clientele most of all!” (Collin 1997).

The mixtures of ages and nationalities, the gays, the elegant and beautiful people who dressed in varied ways, impressed them. “They were places of fantasy, temples of Dionysus, designed to stimulate the senses and facilitate the expression of their wildest desires” (Collin 1997). They were particularly seduced by the way the music was presented by the local disc jockeys, which they christened with the name of ‘Balearic beat’. What exactly ‘Balearic beat’ means is not well defined and surely refers to a greater freedom to mix styles from a musical point of view but also includes the ability of the disc jockeys to capture “the indefinable magic of the Island at night, the hippy legacy and the hedonist present” (Collin 1997). In short, they discovered the possibilities of arousing emotions and communication in the festive space during the long hot Mediterranean night. The experience of the fiesta –in the form of the disco and other typical Mediterranean condiments- left the young tourists in the Mediterranean enclaves deeply affected and seduced. In order to explain this phenomenon, the English analysts turned to the mythology closest to them and which coincided with the hippy era, the golden age of the sixties, believing that what was happening was a new edition of that era but, in reality, what had been discovered was the Mediterranean fiesta.

For many years, Ibiza and the ‘Balearic’ became a badge of identity for all the initiated who had been to Ibiza. At the end of the eighties, the young who returned to their own countries from Ibiza, experienced the frustration of an unexciting scene on their return to the reality of their cities. Therefore, these ‘initiates’ tended to meet up in specific locales to relive their summer experiences, dressing and dancing as they had in summer: The brightest of them set up clubs in the Ibizan style. And even when there was the whole explosion of house and raves at the beginning of the nineties as a form of popularisation, of marketing and cultural syncretism that included the Mediterranean fiesta, the pioneers and purists felt that they had betrayed the entire founding spirit of the whole movement. These continued to sport the Balearic’ insignia to differentiate themselves, with a certain elitist touch, from the entire commercial current, rejecting the hardcore music, demanding controls on entering their clubs so that people would dress more fashionably, in an attempt to preserve the original Ibizan spirit. But there was no turning back for the hardcore fans and they went on to replace the hearts and roses on the club advertising flyers with distorted psychedelic images reminiscent of nightmares.

But these cultural encounters come and go, and even more so in a globalised world where cultures are increasingly interdependent. In the nineties, the growth of the disco-related industry –particularly the English one- was enormous. And, in the same way as Mediterranean fashions were popularised in England (basically the ‘Balearic’ although certainly there was the influence of the Costa del Sol and other French or Italian Mediterranean enclaves), the same English industry invested in the south and this was

adapted to the tastes of a grateful clientele in such a way that the differences in the discos all over Europe became less and less, and the music and choice of drugs more similar.

In effect, among the most necessary 'technologies' it is the new recreational drugs, particularly ecstasy and similar products that have had most repercussions on this eclosion of the discos, the raves, etc. Ecstasy began to make its presence known in Ibiza around 1987 and became a key element in understanding the fiesta as from this point in time. In this new version of the fiesta, if there is no ecstasy or other products, then for many there is no fiesta. The last decade could be defined by the discovery of drugs as the technology fundamental to entertainment and pleasure. The link created between drugs and pleasure is complex, which is why it is becoming the focus of analysis for certain authors who are trying to understand the impact of the current consumption of drugs by young people (Sissa 2000).

1.6 THE SEARCH FOR PLEASURE

Understanding the position of pleasure and the function it has within free time is something that it would be useful to understand as much as possible. Dumazedier (1978) differentiates between leisure when it is merely a search for a state of satisfaction and which is, therefore, an end in itself, and leisure associated with personal growth. The theoreticians of free time insisted rather on this second option during the 19th century but as the social base that acceded to entertainment widened, and the economic side of such practices acquired importance, particularly after the Second World War, it could now be clearly spoken of as a fun morality which supposes a strong change in values and interests.

In the latter half of the 20th century, we saw how the search for pleasure in itself was elevated to a universal category. Among other duties such as that of working and being successful, we also had a duty to enjoy ourselves, be happy, and experience constant pleasure. What is so bad about working, being successful and enjoying oneself? At first, it seems difficult to oppose this statement, particularly if it is what one wants, but the problem starts when this ends up being a new form of social or individual imposition without leaving any choices to the individual; or when the argument becomes a subtle but very effective social control strategy, sustained by an economic logic that encourages the public to remain passive, inert, submerged in a happy vegetative state. A 19 year old English clubber who returned to London at the end of the eighties after having discovered Ibiza and happiness expressed it in this way: "We were there to dance, dance and dance. We all had the same mentality, which consisted of enjoying ourselves, in trying with all our might not to think about anything else. When we returned to England, I thought that I had had an experience that was a religious one" (Collin 1997). What is notable about this account –undoubtedly not very different from the position and experience of many who go out looking for fun, weekend after weekend, nowadays- is its hegemonic reductionism of the experiential field, the denial of thought. The sense of having to enjoy oneself at any cost. In this logic it has to be

underlined that enjoying oneself, feeling pleasure, is not thinking and no longer being interested in any other thing apart from the search for and experience of immediate pleasure.

Pleasure seeking must have emerged with the first human being. Humanity has been engrossed with this theme since the earliest times. Pleasure is the supreme good, cried Epicurus, but qualified it for us with "neither the banquets nor the orgies celebrated without rest, nor the enjoyment of young men or of women... beget a pleasurable life, but a sober restraint which searches the grounds of choosing and rejecting, and which banishes those doctrines that cause enormous confusion for the soul ... The limit on pleasures has to be the fruit of the wise " (Epicuro, 1994). And this is exactly it, of reflecting on the meaning which we give to pleasure and what is the most appropriate strategy for experiencing it.

Together with the Epicurean search, we also have the Dionysian search. Dionysus was a Greek or pre-Grecian god known in the Roman world as Bacchus. He is associated with wine, with the expression of en-masse emotions and with the celebration of the fertility cult in secret mystic ecstasy. In Athens, there was a spring festival dedicated to Dionysus where theatrical works were performed. Aristotle analysed the role of the tragedy in his Poems and defended the function of freeing irrational impulses through controlled rituals that lead to moments of relaxation and liberation. On occasions, culminating the ritual, there were animal and even human sacrifices as illustrated by the death of Pentheus in Bacchantes by Euripides . It is interesting that, in addition to this relationship with the explosion of pleasure, Dionysus is also associated with death, since in V BC he became the god of death and immortality; undeniable intuition, surely, of the profound relationship between pleasure and death. The Dionysus Myth is fundamental to our culture.

Nietzsche used this same myth for the creation of his Superman as opposed to Apollo, the rational version of the human being. Dionysus also helps us in understanding the fiesta, the great phenomenon so closely linked to the Mediterranean. Certainly, the contradictory nature of things has to be accepted, fiesta and rest, fiesta and prudence, pleasure and suffering, youth and adulthood, weaning and responsibility. The intelligent thing surely would be to understand the dialectic nature, the coexistence of contradictory issues without denying any of the parts. In reality, the norm is that pleasure must be sought more and more and one must flee from pain, suffering and uncertainty. Death and pain are something that does not touch us, confined to the hospitals, outside the daily routine, as if a reality based only on success, health and pleasure were possible. Religions endeavoured to give some meaning to both discourses, searching for compromises that normally included some kind of denial. The philosophies or oriental practices, so in vogue at present in the West, also attempt something similar. As Krishnamurti tells us, "the search for happiness is impossible because there is no such thing as permanent happiness. There are moments of happiness, there are moments of unhappiness but the demand to be in a permanent state of happiness is the enemy of the body," and Shivananda argued that "if the desired

object is not obtained, there is unhappiness. Once achieved, there is anxiety for its potential loss. If never achieved, misery increases. Therefore, the only happiness possible lies in renouncing the desire". Oriental religions are having a certain degree of success among stressed-out adults who discover that success, the accumulation of wealth or security is not giving them the longed-for happiness, but these remedies are far from being understood by the young people confronting those who have opened the 'supermarkets of pleasure' during the weekend. Why should they fight for a dialectic concept of life when, close by them, there is a potent industry offering them the golden calf at reasonable prices?

1.7 THE YOUNG OF TODAY

Emile Durkheim was the first sociologist to see in the community disintegration, and the uncontrolled expression of feelings that is the fiesta, a kind of a search for collective identity, generator of cohesion. It is an antidote against anonymity, a form of ritualisation of disorder that acts to question and also to preserve order. And this is the function of a fiesta as an essential element for collective identity and health.

But do they have the same function these periodic ritualised fiestas, statement of a collective identity, that have up to now been the central pivot of the popular expression like those other fiestas that are being repeated weekend after weekend in so many discos in so many European cities and in the rest of the world? The answer is obviously in the affirmative but, in addition, these repetitive practices respond to other logics such as the subtly created need for material consumerism and of achieving an extensive experience of an empty pleasure, stagnant in a moment of time, without any positive transcendence and, therefore, sterile. Now, it is true that most of the time there is a process of self-correction and that, as the years pass, many young people gradually abandon this need for alienation through an intensive and exclusive devotion to the fiesta and begin to concern themselves with other issues inherent in their new adult role, to be concerned for others and for their world.

But what continues to be surprising is the enormous speed at which these changes have taken place in the last 50 years. In examining it, we believe that one has to understand the consumerist keystone inscribed with many social changes. And with it, a renunciation of other more Epicurean forms of understanding the experience of pleasure. Until not too long ago, most individuals had difficulty in managing to satisfy the basic necessities of food, housing, education... with a little to spare. But the economic boom, technological development, the massive production of goods and the availability of transport systems for almost the entire population, opened up a new perspective and changed the formula in which the equation was written. If up to now, the goal of the industry had been to satisfy the basic needs traditionally shown by the individual on the basis of a specific moment in order to expand, in the words of J K Galbraith, it is the industry itself that must create the desires that it endeavours to satisfy, in other words, new needs for consumption. To do so, the industry is equipped with important instruments such as advertising and publicity, market surveys, etc. but,

above all, it has an unexpected ally that is not sufficiently understood and that is the insatiable need of the human being to consume for the sake of consumerism. The industry obviously tries to extract every advantage from such a discovery. "The culture of modern consumerism rests to a certain extent on the partial satisfaction of needs and appetites, in such a way that when the consumer action has occurred, it remains unsatisfied at some point, which leads the consumer to consume once more" (Lynch 2001). We can find a classical example in fashion; one year skirts are short and trousers tight but, the following year, it has all changed, in such a way that individual satisfaction lasts for a brief time only. This is what is known as planned obsolescence.

It is obvious that the sixties represent something special in our mythology. The Beatles – and many others, of course- the hippies, LSD and marijuana, free love, antimilitarism, antiauthoritarianism, criticism of the patriarchal family... are still elements of reference for all society. For the adults of today, because they signify their adolescence or youth, and one so very different from that experienced by previous generations, and for the young, because they give them explanatory keys to the present changes in addition to bestowing a positive significance on their use of drugs. Paradoxical though it may seem, Pascal Bruckner (2000) attributes much of the responsibility for the acceleration of consumerism to that era. With its slogans of 'All and Now', 'Down with Boredom', it attempted to subvert the established moral order and to create a new order that would open up roads closely linked to consumerism. To a large extent, the social movement of 1968 in Europe led to a sexual liberation, and with it came the exaltation of all kinds of desires that were soon channelled by the industry and the market, thereby losing, of course, any revolutionary function and, on the contrary, facilitating the development of the consumer society.

The request for freedom has become a freedom to purchase almost all in that great supermarket that is the consumerist society. It does not mean denying now the undeniable positive elements of that counter cultural movement to which we all owe a debt, but it does serve as a warning of the perverse development or the mistaken use that was made of this movement. Although parallels exist between the present era and that of the sixties, such as an exaltation of pleasure, the importance of music, the need for entertainment, the use of drugs, etc. there are also many other divergent factors. The context and the collectives involved are not the same. Above all, the movement of the sixties affected a university and social elite, the socio-political context was authoritarian, the financial possibilities of the young were more limited, the use of drugs was more restricted in the quantity and variety of the drugs, the entertainment industry supply was very limited, some of the young people involved in this lively scene had militant or political or ideological positions. As from the nineties, the situation became rather different. For a significant sector of adolescents and young people, going out at the weekend is more an obligation than a privilege; going to discos and clubs has become the almost exclusive activity of mass entertainment, within a totally consumerist context, with a wide variety of supply, drugs among them, which is easily adapted to their needs, with a significant family permissiveness and with the disposable means to go out.

So even if a number of adolescents and young people do not follow these patterns and, therefore, their search for entertainment and pleasure finds other outlets, it is obvious that for a majority of young people, pleasure seeking occurs at the weekends when intoxication from alcohol and other substances is common. We are looking at a consumerist model of pleasure without paragon in earlier times and which merits special consideration.

As Irvine Welsh, the author of the novel *Trainspotting*, said when he described with great realism the vicissitudes of a group of young heroin addicts when referring to the changes experienced since the arrival of the ecstasy culture, "Are we facing an explosive version of the New Age or is it only a more sophisticated version of lifting your depression and having a good time?". We fear there is more of the latter than the former. Certainly it is difficult to understand everything that is happening at the present time without placing it all within the logic of a consumerist society. Leisure and the search for pleasure, since the fifties in particular, cannot be understood unless it is placed in the context of consumerism as a personal collective or economical drive. Without taking this into account, comparing the implications of the present use of drugs as one form of leisure and consumerism with that of previous eras is totally artificial and may even be thought of as a deception. In our society, leisure and our search for pleasure is increasingly linked to consumerist practices in such a way that some ask themselves if 'mass culture' would not be an instrument of suppression and control, although others see in the act of consumerism an act of freedom of the individual (Butsch R 1990). Some accept with pessimism the determinism with which we are controlled by the market, and consumerism as an incontrovertible social fact. According to Richard Hammersley (2002), Professor at the Department of Health and Human Sciences at Essex University, "telling the young not to take ecstasy is as alienating as to be a waste of time".

In England, the honeymoon of those early converts returning from Ibiza and other Mediterranean tourist enclaves extended for several months in 1988 – the year that was christened the "second summer of love" in remembrance of that first summer of 1968- and even to 1989 when the whole acid house had begun to be marketed and the initiative spirit of the first moments became progressively lost. Consequently, some of the pioneers of the self-named "Balearics" travelled to other 'more virgin' countries in search of new spiritual experiences, others searched in exotic religions, in movements and in sects. But many, after realising that the experience was fading and that nothing lasts for ever, "became cultural entrepreneurs, opening pubs, opening record companies, shops and small businesses to serve the show, assisting in the creation of a coherent structure for the dance market that would provide support for it for years. As someone once said, 'Ecstasy makes you think, I could do that, I am going to do that and you do it.'

"Using the new pleasure technology, they managed to take control of their own free time and their destiny" (Collin, 1997). Unlike the Mediterranean countries where all this infrastructure of discos and bars in nightlife was already created, in other European

countries, they had to fight to give expressions to the needs for entertainment and pleasure recently discovered by so many young people with the help of ecstasy and a new and dynamic enterprise structure. Nothing was more certain than that maxim of Saint Theresa -God helps those who help themselves. Once again the Anglo-Saxons began a new industrial revolution, this time in the field of entertainment. This unprecedented commercial growth in a country where up until that time the night time venues were very exclusive and had restricted opening hours was absolutely decisive in achieving that democratisation of pleasure and dancing which is attributed to the ecstasy culture. Some cities such as Manchester understood the message, and as one – municipality and businessmen- decided to promote the city as a "cultural centre for the twenty-first century; a twenty-four hour city". Night life was no longer something to be seen as a problem but as something to be celebrated, which raised the international standing of the city, attracting visitors and making the local economy prosperous" (Collin, 1997). Market analysts estimate that in 1993, the dance industry was worth some 1.8 billion pounds sterling.

And what precisely should be said about the industry? In the new logic, leisure is one of the driving forces of the economy. It has gone from the anterior logic where economic progress was based on work and savings. Now, in addition, everyone must consume and consuming free time is the keystone. All this means that many interests are created when the economy of a city or an entire country rests on promoting entertainment and pleasure. But the present situation does not only depend on the existence of a leisure industry to incessantly promote old and new suggestions but also on individuals- and groups and society – constantly asking for more entertainment and more variety. Therefore, few changes can be expected if the consumer himself does not exercise his analytical and critical capacity facing the leisure and entertainment supply, if the young do not make any search for less immediate pleasure and one which responds more, to a certain extent, to a personal strategy. But, in parallel, there must be a commitment to an in-depth investigation of the industry and the leisure market far beyond mere descriptions of it. We cannot treat this matter with a simplistic Manicheism in which the individual ingenuously falls into the networks of a powerful and heartless industry. As well as being simplistic, this is not certain and would be scarcely operative since it would block reflection too soon. But we cannot forget that the industry is very powerful and is organised whereas the individual is not and has a certain ambivalence to these issues. In short, "there is a need to compromise with business and consumerism, to study them, understand them, influence them, legislate them and take advantage of the advantages that they can offer (Lynch 2001). There is a strange liaison on these issues between ultraliberal and progressive postures, with unforeseeable consequences.

2. USERS AND NON-USERS OF DRUGS IN THE WEEKEND NIGHTLIFE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Recent studies made by Irefrea under the auspices of the SONAR Project (Calafat et al., 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001) provided accumulative evidence in favour of a model on the development of drug use and abuse among young Europeans. This model considers the recreational use and abuse of drugs as a multidetermined behavioural pattern, and its study is approached from a three-dimensional perspective that combines variables relating to drugs, the subject and his environment. Our studies have found cumulative evidence of the association between drug use and determined characteristics of the personality of the subject (associated with risk behaviours, a predisposition for thrill-seeking and social delinquency) within personal characteristics. In a similar way to the findings of other studies, the use of drugs in the Irefrea Study is also positively associated with characteristics of the group and family environments, such as drug use, less social and family integration, less family control, etc. The factors that emerge as the most relevant in the subject-substance interaction in these studies seem to be the functional and instrumental value of drug use in the social integration of determined subjects and, most particularly, their functional and instrumental value as the "nexus" around which the weekend social life revolves in determined cultural environments, tribes and groups of adolescents and young adults. This functional value of drug use in some young adults is characterised by a number of expectations on the effects, the "utility" of taking drugs and of determined attitudes to drugs in the social network of reference and in the community.

The original component of this Irefrea framework of reference is that it combines the study of these ethological factors of drug use (personal, social-family environment, and motivational-cognitive) with the style of the management of recreational life during the weekend.

The general objective of this Chapter is to provide an overall view of the principal factors associated with the use or non-use of drugs among the young adults interviewed by Irefrea in recreational environments during 2001. The principal hypothesis is that drug use among many European youths is associated with a lifestyle orientated towards risk, a search for thrills and a management of having fun that adds the use of drugs as a "tool" to the principal significance. The weekend recreational scenes provide a space where the young users can develop an entertainment style that differs from that of other young people who also devote substantial weekend time to having fun, without

including drug use as a leisure activity, and who have a better orientation towards other daily activities together with an attitude against drug use in their groups of reference and in the community.

The specific objectives to be pursued are as follows:

1. To identify the most relevant factors in their association with the use or non-use of drugs. These factors are grouped in different areas or groups of variables: family-social environments, motivational-cognitive factors associated with drug use, personality characteristics and styles of managing recreational life during the weekend.
2. To construct a predictive model, combining the variables most associated with drug use.
3. To assess the capacity of the model to predict the use of drugs, in the different sectors of the same, defined according to gender and age group.

The sample described in this chapter comprises young adults interviewed by Irefree between March and July 2001. As a result of the design of the study, the sample is relatively balanced according to the three variable groupings: gender, use / non-use of drugs, and age group.

- The total sample includes 1777 subjects, 861 men (48.5%) and 916 women (51.5%).
- Of the 1777 subjects, 943 were drug users (53%) and 834 (47%) were not. The following Table describes the criteria followed to operationally define the user (consumer) and non-user (non-consumer) subjects.

Consumers and Non-Consumers

For the purpose of this research a consumer is a person who, in addition to using alcohol and/or tobacco, also uses some illegal drug.

A non-consumer is a person who:

- does not use illegal drugs
- has not smoked cigarettes on more than three occasions in the last month
- has not smoked more than three cigarettes in one day on those occasions
- has not drunk alcohol on more than four days in the last month
- has not had more than two alcoholic drinks on any one of those occasions and
- has not been drunk within the last year

Non-consumers may be ex-users or may have tried illegal drugs but not used them since.

- The sample is subdivided into two age groups: one group with a maximum age of 19 years (878, 49.4%) and an age group of over 19 years (899, 50.6%).

The following Table shows the basic statistics of the age variable in these two groups and in the total sample:

	Adolescents (n = 879)	Youths (n = 898)	Total (1777)
Average	17.34	23.32	20.3
Mode	18	21	18
Typ. dev.	1,326	3	3,8
Minimum	13	20	13
Maximum	19	36	36

The most common age is 18 years; the average age is 20 years, with a typical deviation of 3.8 years and extreme values of 13 and 36 years.

Somewhat more than half the subjects in the sample live with their family of origin (59.5%), around one in ten live alone, as a couple or with friends and the remaining 10% live in a residence or some other place.

Living places	Frequency	Valid percentage
Family	1041	59.5
Partner	176	10.1
Friends	151	8.6
Alone	214	12.2
Residence	124	7.1
Other	43	2.5
Total	1749	100
Total	1777	

Occupation	Frequency	Valid percentage
Student	1069	65.2
Temporary work	110	6.7
Permanent employment	326	19.9
Unemployed	61	3.7
Other	73	4.5
Total	1639	100
Total	1777	

Studying is the main activity for almost two in every three interviewed, one in five have regular work, and a small percentage (between 3% and 7%) have temporary work, are unemployed or in another employment situation.

Half of the subjects interviewed are from families with a middleclass socio-economic status, one in three from the middle to upper class or upper class, and around 15% from families from a medium to low or low level.

Table 2.4: Family socio-economic level.		
Socio-economic level	Frequency	Valid percentage
High	119	6.8
Medium – high	489	27.8
Average	887	50.4
Low – medium	207	11.8
Low	58	3.3
Total	1760	100
Total	1777	

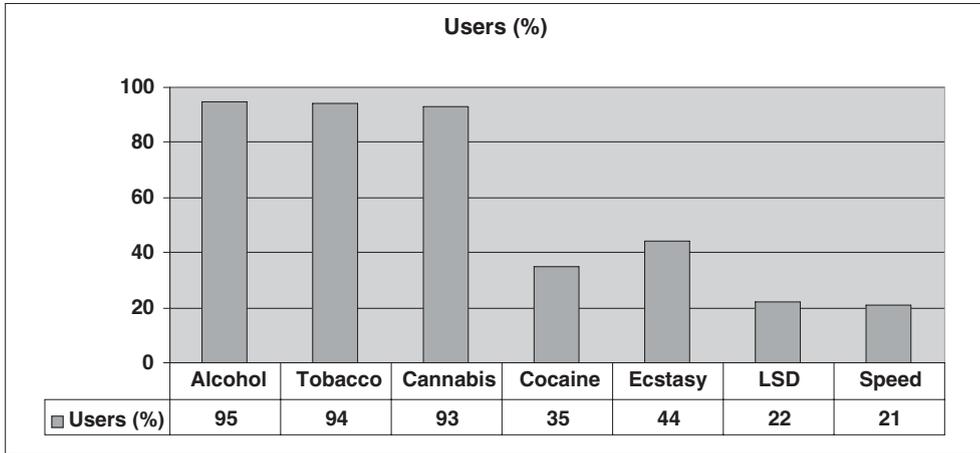
By cities, the sample is relatively balanced, although some of them (Utrecht, Liverpool, Lisbon and Turku) are represented by a lower number of subjects interviewed.

Table 2.5: City of origin of those interviewed.		
City	Frequency	Percentage
Lisbon	167	9.4
Nice	197	11.1
Bologna	198	11.1
Vienna	179	10.1
Liverpool	157	8.8
Berlin	195	11
Turku	161	9.1
Athens	202	11.4
Utrecht	121	6.8
Palma	200	11.3
Total	1777	100

The principal basis of the results in this chapter focuses on comparing the user and non-user subjects interviewed by Irefrea in 2001. As mentioned above, the user subjects are people who have said they are users of at least some illegal drug, in addition to

being habitual users of legal drugs. The following Diagram shows the percentages of user subjects who say they use various legal and illegal substances:

Diagram 2.1: Percentages of users of different substances in the "users" subgroup.



In addition, the large majority of these users (73.3%) admit that they have been drunk at least once, and more than one half (52.9%) on two or more occasions in the preceding month. Thus, when in this and other chapters in this book, we refer to "user subjects", we are talking of a subgroup of the sample interviewed in 2001, formed by subjects almost all of whom use alcohol, tobacco and cannabis, use other illegal drugs in percentages that range between 21% and 44%, and the majority of whom drink alcohol to excess.

Among the useful procedures for achieving the specific objectives established earlier, we have used discriminant analysis and logistic regression according to which the variables that we are using to distinguish those who use and those who do not use drugs are quantitative or qualitative respectively. When we use logistic regression, we present the coefficients of each variable in the logistic regression equation and the statistics reached by the model when 'classifying' each subject according to the group he or she belongs to (drug user or non-user). The interpretation of the logistic regression equation is relatively simple in that the value of the coefficients of the variables is an indicator of the increase in the probability of being a drug user when the variable changes value. Positive coefficients indicate an increase in the probability whereas negative ones indicate a decrease. In the models based on multivariate analysis, the results include the coefficients of each variable in a discriminant function that distinguishes users and non-users, indicating the weight that said variable has in the resultant function. In addition, the results of the model classifying the subjects in a "user" or "non-user" group are also given.

The “a prior probability” of belonging to a user or non-user group is very similar, in such a way that the capacity of each model to classify each subject in his or her appropriate group is attributable to the discriminative capacity of the variables that form it more than to the fact that both probabilities are very distinct. The ‘predictor’, ‘independent’ and “covariate” variables are introduced into the model by following the “step by step” method. In the logistic regression we used the model known as “forward: conditional” for the inclusion of variables. In the discriminant analysis, we used the steps method for the inclusion of the predictor variable based on the Mahalanobis distance.

The only variables discussed are those included in the models with a statistically significant “relative weight”. In addition, all the models commented and discussed below have adequate statistical adjustment and appropriate signification levels to be substantively interpreted.

2.2 PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

In this section, we describe the psychological characteristics of the subjects who were the objective of the study in recent Irefrea research. Other personal characteristics (sociodemographic) are described in chapter 3, in addition to a comparison between drug users and non-users with these characteristics.

In this study of the interviews, four constructs relating to the personal characteristics of the subject have been included, in addition to the basic sociodemographic characteristics:

1. Social delinquency,
2. Risk behaviours associated with driving vehicles,
3. Predisposition to thrill seeking, and
4. Religious beliefs and political ideology.

SOCIAL DELINQUENCY AND DRUG USE

Social delinquency indicators used in the study were as follows, all of them evaluated dichotomically, in response to whether the subject has carried out the following (yes / no):

1. Driving vehicles without a licence,
2. Vandalism (damaging or breaking things in public places),
3. Theft (taking things without paying from shops), and
4. Violence (fighting with people who are not from their family).

These four socially “delinquent” behaviours have been carried out at some time in their life by percentages that vary between 28% (vandalism) and 48% (participation in fights), all being more frequent among users (see chapter 7, Table 7).

The following Table summarises the results obtained with a logistic regression model applied to these behavioural indicators of social delinquency and criminal behaviour:

1. Only the violence is excluded from the model. The first variable introduced is that of having taken part in theft, followed by vandalism and driving vehicles without a licence.
2. The overall model correctly classifies almost two out of three subjects in their appropriate group (user or non-user).

Table 2.6: Social deviation to predict the use or non-use of drugs.		
Personal characteristics		
Social deviation		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Thefts	1	
Vandalism	0.46	
Driving vehicles without a licence	0.29	
Constant	-2.96	
Model that includes the four parameters		65%

The positive sign for the three coefficients indicates that the probability of being a drug user increases if the subject has carried out any of the three delinquent behaviours in his or her lifetime. The possible effect of the association between violence and drug use is explained by the variables included in the logistic regression equation, so that it does not enter in the model.

The magnitude of the coefficients show that participation in theft is clearly the one that best “predicts” drug use out of the three delinquent behaviours, and its relative weight is more than double that of vandalism which, in its turn, is twice as relevant as driving a vehicle without a licence. Overall, the model shows that the history of the subject, related only to these three antisocial and delinquent behaviours, is capable of “predicting” approximately two thirds of the use or non-use behaviour in our sample. In other words, a history of antisocial behaviour by itself alone predicts whether or not 2/3 of the subjects are drug users.

RISK BEHAVIOURS AND DRUG USE

The risk behaviour indicators, all relating to driving a vehicle under the influence of the effects of alcohol and drugs, and evaluated dichotomically in response to whether or not the subject had done so at any time in his or her life (yes / no) were as follows:

1. Driven a vehicle under the influence of alcohol,
2. Travelled in a vehicle driven by someone who was drunk,
3. Would travel in a vehicle driven by someone under the effects of other drugs, and
4. If he/she would or would not prevent a friend from driving when drunk.

The following Table summarises the results obtained with a logistic regression model applied to these risk behaviours when driving vehicles:

1. Three of the four risk behaviour indicators were included in the model. The most relevant indicator is the predisposition to travel in a vehicle driven by someone under the influence of drugs, followed by having driven when drunk, whereas the third indicator is somewhat less relevant.
2. The overall model correctly classified somewhat more than two in every three subjects in their appropriate group (user or non-user).

Table 2.7: Logistic regression analysis applied to risk behaviours and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Personal characteristics		
Risk behaviours		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Would travel with driver under the influence of drugs	1.2	
Has driven when drunk	1.1	
Has travelled when driver drunk	0.8	
Constant	-5.3	
Model that includes the four parameters		70.3%

In chapter 7 (Table 7.6 in said chapter), it can be seen that the percentages of user and non-user subjects that have at some time in their lives carried out these three risk behaviours or who would carry out these three risk behaviours and it can be seen once again that the percentages are significantly higher among the former. The relative weight of these three risk behaviours in the discriminant function is relatively similar among them and the capacity for the model to ‘predict’ who takes drugs and who does not is slightly higher than the model that groups antisocial and delinquent behaviours. A history of having carried out these behaviours once or never having done so, alone, predicts more than 2/3 of the subjects in our sample being either a user or non-user of drugs.

THRILL SEEKING AND DRUG USE

Three sensation indicators have been used, all evaluated with a 6-point scale ordered from lower to higher frequency during lifetime and the preceding year:

1. Doing what you want whatever it may be,
2. Doing something dangerous after being dared to do so, and
3. Doing ‘crazy’ things although they are a little dangerous.

The following Table summarises the results of the discriminant analysis applied to these indicators:

1. Two of these thrill-seeking indicators have been included in the model and the most relevant is the frequency of doing “crazy” things although they may be dangerous.
2. The discriminant canonical function based on these indicators reaches a moderate capacity for correctly classifying the subjects according to use or non-use: somewhat less than two out of three subjects are correctly classified.

Table 2.8: Discriminant analysis applied to sensation seeking and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Personal characteristics		
Sensation seeking		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Doing ‘crazy’ things although they are dangerous	0.96	
Doing whatever you like.	0.64	
Model that includes the two indicators		62.3%

The two items included indicate more frequent behaviours among users than non-users.

RELIGION, IDEOLOGY AND DRUG USE

Religious belief and political ideology were evaluated on a five-point scale, where the highest scores correspond to a subject who is a non-believer and one from extreme rightwing ideology respectively.

The following Table summarises the results of the discriminant analysis applied to these two personal characteristics to predict drug use:

Table 2.9: Discriminant analysis applied to religious beliefs, political ideology and use or non-use of drugs.		
Personal characteristics		
Religiosity and ideology		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Religion	0.98	
Ideology	-0.35	
Model that includes the two indicators	62.6%	

1. The two indicators enter in the discriminant function. Religious belief is the most relevant indicator.
2. The resulting discriminant function correctly classifies almost 63% of the subjects in their appropriate group.

As detailed in Chapter 3, drug users are characterised by less religiosity and a greater inclination to “more leftish” ideologies than non-users. Taking the two variables together into consideration, religious belief is almost three times more relevant when distinguishing users from non-users. The function that combines these two Personal Characteristics also reaches a moderate-low capacity in predicting if a subject is a user or not (in a similar way to the model based on thrill-seeking).

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND DRUG USE

Each of the four previous models allows us to calculate the probability for each subject of him or her being a drug user. These four personal attributes (social delinquency, risk behaviours and religiosity-ideology) have been combined in a model based on discriminant analysis whose overall results are summarised in the following Table:

Table 2.10: Discriminant analysis applied to Personal Characteristics and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Personal characteristics		
Overall model		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Risk behaviour	0.79	
Social delinquency	0.51	
Religion and ideology	0.49	
Thrill seeking	0.48	
Model that includes the four indicators	73.8%	

1. These four personal attribute indicators are included in the Overall Model. The most relevant characteristic is carrying out risk behaviour and thrill seeking. Social delinquency, religious belief and ideology and thrill seeking have a very similar relevance.
2. This Overall Model almost achieves classification of three out of four subjects in their group (user or non-user).

A lesser religious belief and a higher orientation towards 'leftish' ideologies are associated with a higher probability of having carried out the three risk behaviours, higher probability of having carried out the three social delinquency behaviours and a higher orientation to thrill seeking.

To summarise, being a person with a lifestyle characterised by an inclination to risky and delinquent behaviour, with low religious beliefs and with a 'leftish' tendency is substantially associated with drug use. Conversely, not having had any risky or socially deviant behaviours, maintaining some degree of religious belief and a "centre" or conservative political ideology and not being inclined to the uninhibited search for risks and sensations is substantially associated with being a non-user of drugs.

To conclude, our results on the 'personality' of adolescents and young adults and their association with the use or non-use of drugs confirms the results found in the most recent Irefrea studies (Calafat et al., 1998, 1999, 2001) and substantially supports the predictions formulated on drug use from the explanatory models based on problem behaviour. The factors studied are situated among the personality characteristics that were considered as "risk factors" in drug use established after several reviews of the scientific literature (Hawkins, Catalano y Miller, 1992; Petraitis, Flay y Miller, 1995; Becoña, 1999, Rhodes, Lilly, Fernández et al., 1999). Thus, the use of drugs in our sample is found to be substantially associated with assuming not very conventional social values, a greater distancing of religious values, a greater need for independence, antisocial behaviour and thrill seeking through risk and unconventional behaviour.

2.3 MANAGEMENT OF WEEKEND RECREATIONAL LIFE

The indicators that define the recreational life of the subject in the study of the interviews in the Irefrea Survey in 2001 are grouped into three areas:

- Implication in recreational life or the intensity with which the subject is involved in recreational life at the weekend,
- Motivation for going out to have fun, and
- The locations preferred by the subject for having fun and where he or she develops his or her recreational life at the weekend.

IMPLICATION IN GOING CLUBBING AND DRUG USE

The implication in clubbing has been quantified through five indicators, although the first two are combined to obtain one only:

1. The number of weekends that the subject went clubbing in the last month,
2. The number of nights that the subject normally goes clubbing at the weekend. These two indicators were combined to achieve an indicator of the number of nights that the subject goes clubbing each month.
3. The number of hours that the subject normally devotes to going clubbing.
4. The total money that the subject spends on clubbing during a weekend on diverse items, and
5. The percentage of disposable income that the subject spends on clubbing, arranged into four categories (less than 25%, from 25%-50%, from 50%-75% or more than 75%).

The following Table summarises the most relevant indicators of the discriminant analysis applied to these indicators of the implication in going out to have fun:

1. The four indicators have been included in the model and are positively associated with the discriminant function and one that constructs a positive indicator of the implication of each subject in going clubbing.
2. The variables with greater relative weight in the discriminant function are the total amount of money (in) spent on clubbing during the weekend, followed by the percentage of disposable income spent by the subject on going out. The other two indicators relating to the frequency and duration of going clubbing have the same relative weight in the discriminant function.
3. The discriminant function that combines these four indicators correctly classifies 69.2% (somewhat more than two thirds of the subjects in the appropriate group (user and non-users of drugs)).

Table 2.11: Discriminant analysis applied to the implication in going clubbing and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Clubbing		
Implication in going clubbing		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Money (in €) spent on going out and having fun at the weekend	0.76	
Percentage of income spent on clubbing	0.75	
No. of nights clubbing each month	0.44	
No. of hours normally spent clubbing	0.44	
Model that includes the four indicators		69.2%

The two economic indicators of implication in recreational life are substantially more relevant (almost double) than the ‘temporal’ indicators of this implication. A

detailed analysis and discussion of the financial clubbing indicators and their association with drug use can be found in chapter 9.

Our results show that the subjects that use drugs go out more weekends per month, on more nights per weekend and are out for longer each time they do go out than non-users (see chapter 4). Nevertheless, this does not signify that non-users do not go out to have fun; the large majority (66.4%) go out two or more weekends per month, almost all (85%) go out at least one night per weekend (one third go out two or three nights per week) and they most commonly devote six hours to these recreational activities every time they go out. In short, the time that they devote to having fun during the weekend is not the most relevant indicator of implication in going out to have fun when distinguishing those who take drugs from those who do not. In addition, the difference does not lie in the fact that those who do not use drugs do not devote a substantial period in their lives to enjoying themselves at weekends but that a good percentage of users place these recreational activities in a predominant position in their lives (Calafat et al., 1999, 2001).

MOTIVATION FOR CLUBBING AND TAKING DRUGS

The motivation for clubbing was quantified through nine indicators; dancing, getting to know new people, meeting up with friends, listening to music, looking for a partner of the opposite sex, looking for sex, breaking from the daily routine, drinking alcohol, taking drugs. These indicators are evaluated on a four-point scale (from 1= very important to 4= not important).

Table 2.12 summarises the most relevant results of the discriminant analysis applied to these motivation for going clubbing indicators:

1. Although the model includes five indicators, only the importance that the subjects bestow on drinking alcohol and other drugs (in this order of importance) has a substantial weight in the discriminant function.
2. The discriminant function correctly classifies four out of five subjects in their appropriate group (user or non-user).

Table 2.12: Discriminant analysis applied to motivation for going clubbing and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Going clubbing		
Motivation for going clubbing		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Taking alcohol	0.90	
Taking drugs	0.70	
Listening to music	0,12	
Looking for partner of opposite sex	0.06	
Meeting up with friends	-.01	
Model that includes the five indicators		81%

The subjects that use drugs bestow more importance on the items that are included in the model with a positive sign as is described in more detail in chapter 4 and 5.

There are two most notable results of the model:

1. Recreational life does not appear to have a different significance for users and non-users in such essential components as meeting up with friends, dancing, listening to music, getting to know people or breaking with the daily routine. The opportunity to take alcohol and drugs in a recreational context that “regulates” these uses seems to be a specific motivating component for drug users.
2. Secondly, it is notable that these items have such as high predictive capacity of drug use (four-fifths), higher than the personal characteristics (in isolation and together) mentioned above and than the implication itself in going clubbing.

In a few words, the significance of having fun for users is not basically distinguishable from the significance it has for those who do not use drugs. Rather it is that users ‘add’ the opportunity of using alcohol and drugs to the basic significance of having fun at the weekend. And it is this ‘extra’ motivation for going out that very effectively distinguishes users from non-users.

PLACES FOR HAVING FUN AND DRUG USE

The locations preferred by the subjects for going out to have fun and where they develop their night time recreational life was operatively defined through a four-point scale that evaluates:

1. Their preference for places without tobacco,
2. Their preference for places without alcohol,
3. Their preference for places free of illegal drugs,
4. The perceived frequency of violent incidents in these places,
5. The preference for places with accessible and cheap non-alcoholic drinks,
6. The perceived accessibility to drug-free places,
7. The preference for places with very loud music,
8. The preference for places crowded with people,
9. The preference for places with a “neglected” aspect,
10. Accessibility to contraceptives in these places, and
11. Cleanliness in the areas reserved for hygiene (washrooms).

The following Table summarises the most relevant results of the discriminant analysis applied to these indicators:

1. Only five enter into the model that discriminates drug users from non-users:
 - a. Preference for places without smoke and for places where illegal drugs are used are the most prevalent.

- b. Preference for places with accessible non-alcoholic drinks and preference for places with a “neglected” aspect have less importance. The former is higher among non-users and the second among users.
2. In total, the discriminant canonical function that groups these five characteristics correctly classifies four out of five subjects in their appropriate group (user or non-user of illegal drugs).

Table 2.13: Discriminant analysis applied to the places preferred for going out clubbing and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Going clubbing		
Places for going clubbing		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Places without tobacco	0.83	
Places without illegal drugs	0.73	
Places with ‘neglected aspect	-0.31	
Places with accessible and reasonable non-alcoholic drinks	0.25	
Frequency of violent situations in these places	0.03	
Model that includes the five indicators		80%

Once again, two attributes of recreational places that are directly linked to legal and illegal drug use seem to explain the greater part of the differences between users and non-users. It can also be seen that this component of recreational life has a very substantial capacity to “predict” drug use and is superior to the personal characteristics that were studied and to those implicated in clubbing.

The characteristic of the physical context of clubbing that distinguishes the significance that clubbing has for users and non-users is the availability of drugs and the existence of user models. It seems that users “need” the existence of such models and the availability of these substances to enjoy themselves, whereas non-users demand drug-free recreational spaces.

OVERALL MODEL RELATING TO CLUBBING AND DRUG USE

The results of the model based on the discriminant analysis function that combines the three functions relating to clubbing and their association with drug use are summarised in the following Table:

1. The three discriminant functions studied previously are included in the model. The most relevant function combines the preference for places for going

clubbing, followed by motivation for clubbing associated with alcohol and drug use. The implication in clubbing has a lower discriminatory capacity.

2. The discriminant function that groups these three attributes of the recreational life of the subject correctly classified almost nine out of ten subjects in their appropriate group (user or non-user).

Table 2.14: Discriminant analysis applied to clubbing and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Clubbing		
Implication in clubbing		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Places for clubbing	0.79	
Motivation for going clubbing	-0.72	
Implication in clubbing	0.45	
Model that includes the three discriminant functions	86%	

What distinguishes users from non-users when managing their entertainment is not so much the time they devote to it. We remind you that the time devoted to going out clubbing has a lower “discriminatory” capacity than the motivation for going out and the context where the subject goes to have fun. Instead of this, our results show that what distinguishes those who use drugs from those who do not is, and in this order of importance, the **context** where they develop their weekend recreational life (preferring places with smoke, illegal drugs, not so well cared for places, etc.) and the **significance** that this leisure has for the former where the use of alcohol and drugs becomes a component that adds to the fun and socialisation in their recreational life. Finally, it is notable that with these components of the subject’s recreational life, we can predict in almost 90% of the cases if the subject uses or does not use drugs when other traditionally considered “key” factors (personality characteristics, group and family context, motivational and cognitive factors, etc.) have a lower predictive capacity, as we will see in this chapter.

Consequently, our results indicate the necessity for preventive and educational measures in drug use and abuse to include the decoding and construction of the significance that having fun has for adolescent and young adult drug users. These measures must analyse and show the weak points of the discourses that link having fun with the inevitable use and abuse of legal and illegal drugs when we can see the example of many adolescents and young adults who are actively implicated in weekend entertainment without needing to use drugs. Simultaneously, the construction of having fun without the added component of drug use lies in the development of having fun in

surroundings free of legal and illegal drugs as a more normalised activity that our communities place within reach of young people.

2.4 SOCIAL AND FAMILY ENVIRONMENT

The study of the interviews included the following four constructs relating to the social and family surroundings of the subject:

1. Drug use between first degree family members,
2. Drug use among friends,
3. Attitudes to drug use among friends, and
4. Social and family integration.

DRUGS IN THE FAMILY AND DRUG USE BY THE SUBJECT

The use of alcohol, tobacco, cannabis and “other” illegal drugs in a parent or sibling was evaluated using a dichotomic scale (yes/no). The following Table summarises the results of the logistic regression model:

1. Cannabis use by a sibling was the most relevant result, and alcohol use by one parent also entered into the discriminant function, although with less relevance.
2. The discriminant function correctly classified almost two out of three subjects in their appropriate group (user or non-user).
3. The use of alcohol, tobacco and illegal drugs tended to be more frequent among members of user families (see chapter 3). The variables included in the model have a stronger association with drug use in the subject, explaining the association between the other variables and drug use.

Table 2.15: Logistic regression analysis applied to drug use by first-degree family members and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Family and social context		
Drug use in the family		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
A sibling uses heroin	1.7	
A parent consumes alcohol	0.8	
Constant	-4.2	
Model that includes the three parameters		64.6%

To summarise, the function that discriminates the subject according to his or her use / non-use of drugs indicates that drug users have a greater probability that one of their siblings uses cannabis and that one of their parents consumes alcohol, the first variable being twice as relevant as the second one.

This discriminant function has approximately the same capacity to predict drug use as social delinquency, somewhat more than thrill seeking and religiosity-ideology, and somewhat less than risk behaviour mentioned above. In our study, the predictive capacity of drug use in the family is lower than that seen in the three components associated with going out clubbing.

DRUGS AND DRUG USE BY FRIENDS

The use of drugs, alcohol in excess, tobacco and cannabis, cocaine, ecstasy and “other” illegal drugs by friends was evaluated, using a four-point scale to describe the proportion of friends that consume frequently (from none to the majority). The following Table summarises the results of the model based on discriminant analysis:

1. Of the seven indicators, five were included in the model and refer to uses that are more frequent among friends of users. The uses not included in the model are also more frequent among the friends of users (see chapters 3,6 and 7). Nevertheless, on being included in a multivariate model they do not form part of the function that distinguishes drug use because their association with this is less than that of the variables that do enter into the discriminant function.
2. The most relevant variable is the proportion of friends that use cannabis frequently. After cannabis use, the proportion of friends that get drunk frequently and that frequently use legal drugs (alcohol and tobacco) and ecstasy shows a very similar relevance, although less than the frequent use of cannabis among friends.
3. These five drug uses by friends indicators form a discriminant function that correctly classifies four out of five subjects in their appropriate group (user or non-user).

Table 2.16: Discriminant analysis applied to the frequent use of drugs by friends and the use or non-use of drugs		
Family and social context		
Use of drugs by friends		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Portion of friends using cannabis frequently	0.94	
Portion of friends using ecstasy frequently	0.54	
Portion of friends using tobacco frequently	0.52	
Portion of friends using alcohol frequently	0.44	
Portion of friends drinking too much frequently	0.43	
Model that includes the five indicators		80.8%

The capacity of this model to distinguish users / non-users is very similar to that observed in the two principal components of going out clubbing (motivation and preferred places) and greater than that reached by drug use in the family and the attributes relating to personality together. In short, we could predict four out of every five times that a subject is or is not a drug user on the basis of his or her having more or fewer friends who frequently use cannabis, ecstasy, tobacco and alcohol.

ATTITUDES TO DRUG USE BY FRIENDS AND DRUG USE BY THE SUBJECT

A four-point scale was used that evaluated the degree of agreement with statements on attitudes to the potential use of drugs in a person close to the subject (intimate or partner):

- Acceptance of the friend “as is” although he or she is a user,
- Would attempt to change his or her attitude,
- Would break off the relationship if the drug habit continued, and
- Would not initiate a relationship with a user.

The following Table summarises the results of the discriminant analysis applied to these four indicators:

1. The four indicators have been included in the discriminant function:
 - a. The most relevant indicator is the refusal to have a close relationship with a user.
 - b. The non-acceptance of use in a person close to the subject and the determination to break off the relationship if the use continues reaches intermediate relevance whereas the determination to bring about a change in the other person has less relative weight.
2. The discriminant function correctly classifies two out of three subjects in their appropriate group (user or non-user).

Table 2.17: Discriminant analysis applied to the attitudes of acceptance or rejection of drug use in intimate friends and the use or non-use of drugs .		
Family and social context		
Attitudes to drug use by a friend		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
I would not start a relationship with a drug user	0.90	
I would end the relationship.	0.73	
I accept / would accept he / she “as is”	-0.68	
I would try to change his / her attitude	0.49	
Model that includes the four indicators		66.7%

To summarise, the four items are relevant in distinguishing a number of attitudes among users and non-users (see chapters 3,6 and 7 for more details). The non-users show greater rejection of initiating an intimate relationship with a user and this attitude is more relevant in distinguishing them from those who do use drugs. In the event of initiating a relationship, the non-users show lower acceptance of use in the other person, apply greater pressures to stop use and a greater inclination to end the relationship if this change does not occur. Finally, the capacity of this model to discriminate or predicate is moderate, comparable with drug use among family members and the personal characteristics model and lower than that reached by the variables on going clubbing and drug use by friends.

SOCIAL AND FAMILY INTEGRATION AND DRUG USE

A four-point scale was used that evaluated the degree of agreement-disagreement with ten statements:

- Allowed to take part in family decision making,
- Finds it easy to make new friends,
- Finds it easy to get on with the opposite sex,
- Has a liking for being alone,
- Likes his or her daily activities (studying / working),
- Acceptance of own opinions by friends,
- Taking part in social or voluntary activities,
- Likes to share the housework with the family,
- Likes to spend time with the family, and
- Desires to contribute to a better world.

The following Table summarises the results of the discriminant analysis applied to these ten indicators:

1. The majority of the indicators (seven out of ten) are included in the discriminant function and the overall model has a reduced capacity to classify the subjects in their appropriate groups (user or non-user).
2. The most relevant indicators refer to the altruistic activity and a greater involvement and satisfaction in daily tasks, all being more frequent among non users. The indicators of higher level in users (with negative sign in the function) are less relevant in distinguishing users from non-users.

Table 2.18: Discriminant analysis applied to social and family integration and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Family and social context		
Social and family integration		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Takes part in social or voluntary work	0.56	
Shares happy times with family	0.53	
Enjoys daily activities	0.49	
Finds it easy to get on with people of the opposite sex	-0.38	
Parents allow his / her participation in family decision-making	0.35	
His / her opinions are important for friends	-0.16	
Likes to share the housework with family	0.11	
Model that includes the seven indicators	62%	

Non-users are more involved in altruistic activities, in family interactions and decisions and in daily activities, these characteristics being more relevant when distinguishing them from the users who seem to be perceived as more proficient at heterosexual interactions (see chapters 3,6 and 7 for more details).

Although almost all the items relating to social and family integration enter into the discriminant model, the capacity of this to predict and discriminate drug use is moderate and comparable to personal characteristics such as religiosity-ideology, thrill-seeking or social delinquency and to drug use in the family. The predictive capacity of this social and family integration to discriminate drug use is lower than that achieved by risk behaviours and the different recreational life and the use of drugs by friends indicators.

SOCIAL AND FAMILY ENVIRONMENT AND DRUG USE: OVERALL MODEL

The discriminant and regression functions relating to drug use in the family, the frequent use of drugs by friends, the attitude to drugs by an intimate friend and social and family integration (as described previously) are included in the Overall model. The following Table summarises the discriminant analysis used to distinguish users from non-users:

Table 2.19: Discriminant analysis applied to the social and family context and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Family and social context		
Overall model		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Frequent use of drugs by friends	0.95	
Attitudes to drug use in an intimate friend	-0,44	
Drug use in a first-degree family member	0.43	
Social and family integration	-0.32	
Model that includes the 4 models		82.6%

Once again, it can be seen that the four discriminant functions mentioned separately above play a relevant role in distinguishing drug use. As was to be expected, the most relevant variable (twice as discriminative than the following ones) was the frequent use of drugs among friends. In summarised form, we can predict four out of five times if a subject is or is not a drug user on the grounds of his or her having more or fewer friends who use cannabis, ecstasy and legal drugs, and who accepts drug use by a partner or intimate friend. It can assist us in this prediction if we also take into account whether or not he or she has a sibling who uses cannabis, if either of the parents consume alcohol or not, and if he or she has a lower or higher level of satisfaction with the daily life and family interactions and is involved in altruistic activities to a greater or lesser degree. Finally, it should be pointed out that the model based on social and family context does not reach the discriminative or predictive capacity observed in the model relating to going out clubbing in spite of it being habitually considered one of the major key factors when predicting drug use.

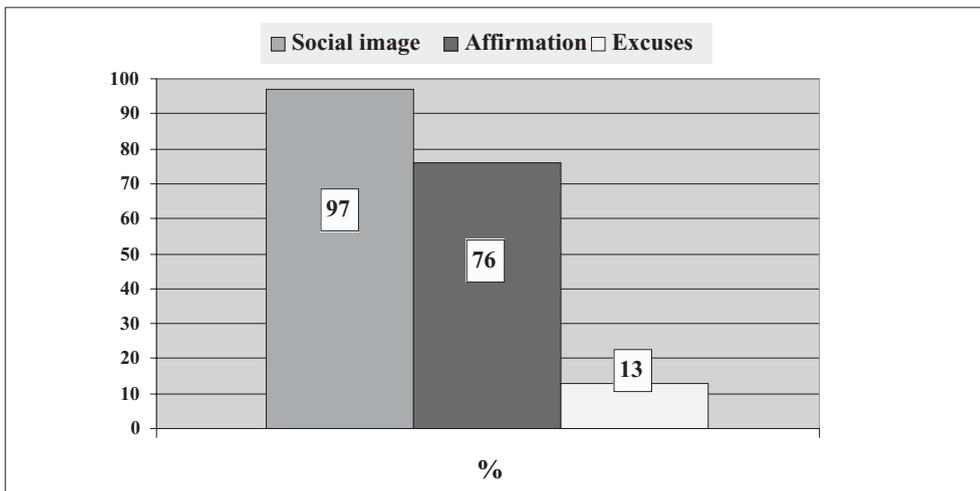
In this section on social and family environment, evidence is once again found that shows the key relevance of these factors in the recreational use and abuse of drugs. Not only does the frequent use of drugs not develop and remain isolated from the environment of the adolescent or young adult but, in the majority of cases, it becomes in itself a criterion for the active inclusion or exclusion in the social network and a component of the psychosocial identity of the subject.

Scientific literature on the subject, which establishes the theoretical bases for drug use prevention and diverse reviews, have already established the relevance of drug use in couples and families as a risk factor in the use and abuse of drugs (Becoña, 1999; Rhodes et al., 1999). The substantial contribution of our study consists in demonstrating that drug use comes to be tolerated in someone close to the user -in a couple or an intimate friend- although it is considered to be a behaviour that must be modified and

its eradication is attempted (see chapter 7). This process of including drug use as a component of the group and personal identity is not present among non-users, which constitutes a discriminatory element and possibly a preventive agent.

Our study also shows the relevance of certain aspects of social and family life when predicting drug use. Our results coincide to a certain extent with the statements of certain authors who consider drug use as part of a group of behaviours associated, in turn, with intra-personal values (which are orientated more towards personal interest) Conversely, non-users would, according to these authors, maintain a hierarchy of values characterised by a greater relative importance for interpersonal or social values, orientation towards other valuable life areas for the subject, including pro-social behaviour and self perception or “the self” (Rokeach, 1979; Peele, 1987; Pettet, 1993). In our study of non-users, we also found evidence consistent with this identity component that comprised being defined socially and personally as a non-drug user. The following diagram shows that the majority of non-users state that their friends know that they do not use drugs or alcohol (image), that they have publicly stated that they are non-users (affirmation) and that there are very few who make use of excuses not to use drugs (excuses).

Diagram 2.2: Components of identity (“self”) of non-users.



2.5 ATTITUDES, RISK PERCEPTION AND EXPECTATIONS RELATING TO DRUGS

Items relating to the following five constructs were included in the study of the interviews:

1. Perception of the motives why some people do not use drugs
2. Perception of the motives why some people do use drugs when they go out to have fun
3. Perception of the image those who use drugs have of those who do not

4. Attitudes to social and legal regulation of drugs
5. Perception of the risks associated with drug use.

MOTIVES FOR NOT USING DRUGS

Subjects were asked about their degree of agreement or disagreement with ten statements that expressed reasons why some people do not use either legal or illegal drugs. The majority of the ten “motives” for not using drugs contributed to distinguishing users from non-users (see chapter 7). The following Table summarises the results of the discriminant analysis applied to these ten motives with the aim of distinguishing users from non-users:

Table 2.20: Discriminant analysis applied to the perception of motives for not using drugs and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Attitudes, risk perception and expectations		
Perception of the motives for not using drugs		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Because only those who don't know what they want from life take drugs	0.63	
Because they haven't tried yet	-0.57	
Because they believe the world would be better without drugs	0.38	
Because they are not interested in them	0.32	
Because their parents / partners disapprove (s) of drug taking	-0.20	
Because taking drugs is expensive	0.18	
Because they are afraid of becoming an addict	-0.18	
Model that includes the 7 indicators	68%	

The results reached by the discriminant analysis may be summarised in the following points:

1. Among the seven motives included in the discriminant function, the non-users considered the use of drugs to be more a lack of interest in oneself, that it only belongs in lives “without meaning” and that the situation of the overall community worsens. Conversely, users argue that drugs are not used because of a lack of knowledge of their effects and “from fear of the negative effects of use”.
2. These perceptions of the motives that lead to non-use are relevant in predicting and discriminating users from non-users (almost 70%). Their capacity is comparable with that reached by social delinquency, risk behaviours and the

involvement in going clubbing, more relevant than thrill seeking, religiosity ideology, and than the use of drugs in the family, and social and family integration. The capacity to distinguish use is clearly less than that of the use of drugs by friends, and the motivation and environment of recreational life.

MOTIVES FOR USING DRUGS

Subjects were asked their degree of agreement or disagreement with seven statements that expressed motives why some people do use legal and illegal drugs when they go clubbing at the weekend. The following Table summarises the results of the discriminant analysis applied to these seven motives with the aim of distinguishing users from non-users:

1. Four motives are relevant and reach a predictive capacity identical to that seen in the motives for not using drugs.
2. All are perceived as more motivating among the users. Two of the most relevant motives are the implied “instrumental value” of drug use to achieve life goals (life satisfaction and feeling of well-being) and the other two (one with little relevance) refer to the implied ‘instrumental value’ of use in more specific situations (particularly recreational life).

Table 2.21: Discriminant analysis applied to the perception of the motives for using drugs and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Attitudes, risk perception and expectations		
Perception of the motives for using drugs		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Drugs help people to have a fuller experience of life	0.74	
You experience the music and dance more intensely	0.72	
Taking drugs can make you feel good	0.66	
They help you to get away from your problems	0.04	
Model that includes the four indicators		67.6%

The majority of users are in agreement in stating that drug use is useful in achieving their goals in a wide range of situations, whereas it is generally half or less of the non-users that are in agreement in stating that drug use is useful for those who take them to achieve their goals in such situations. (see chapter 7).

In a few words, we can predict two out of three times whether or not a subject in our sample (where the probability of being a user or not is very similar) is a user or non-

user of drugs when considering if drugs do or do not improve the life experience, assist in experiencing music and dance and help towards feeling better.

SOCIAL IMAGE OF THE NON-DRUG USER

In the study there was also a question on the degree of agreement or disagreement with seven statements on the image that users have of those who do not use legal or illegal drugs:

1. They can't party for as long as others can,
2. They enjoy themselves less,
3. They have less friends,
4. People respect them more,
5. They feel better about themselves,
6. They are less conflictive, and
7. They are seen as being odd.

The following Table summarises the results of the discriminant analysis applied to these seven components on the social perception of non-users. The most relevant results can be summarised in the following points:

1. Three of these statements are relevant, and the non-users show a higher degree of agreement with these three statements.
 - a. The two items with greater relevance are the "negative" components of the image of the non-user for those who do use drugs: non-users enjoy themselves less and have fewer friends.
 - b. The positive component (they are less conflictive) is less relevant. In conclusion, those who do not use drugs perceive, in a greater measure than the users, that their image of the latter is associated with a lesser enjoyment and social integration.
2. The relevance of the model for predicting the use of drugs is moderate and slightly lower than that of the motives for using and not using drugs.

Table 2.22: Discriminant analysis applied to the perception of the image of the non-user of drugs by those who do use drugs.		
Family and social context		
Drug use in the family		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
They enjoy themselves less	0.78	
They have less friends	0.77	
They are less conflictive	0.56	
Model that includes the three indicators		64.1%

More than 60% of the non-users are perceived by those who do use drugs as people who “can’t take the pace” as long and who enjoy themselves less, and approximately 40% of the users confirm this. A minority (30% of non-users and 15% of the users) believe that those who do not use drugs are perceived as people with less friends by those who do use drugs.

ATTITUDES TO PREVENTION AND LEGAL REGULATION OF DRUGS

The subjects interviewed indicated their degree of agreement / disagreement with seven statements relating to the social prevention and regulation of drugs:

1. I am aware and well-informed about the law on drug and alcohol,
2. Illegal drug use must be regulated
3. Driving under the influence of alcohol must be punished
4. There must be restrictions on consumption and sale of alcohol to under 18s
5. Drinking alcohol in the streets should be an offence
6. The use of illegal drugs in public should be an offence
7. The legislation on drugs in general should be less strict.

Drug users are distinguished from non-drug users by a less favourable attitude towards strict legislation on alcohol and drugs (31% v. 71% respectively) and on illegal drugs in particular (63% v. 73%). Their attitude is also less favourable to restrictions on the sale of alcohol to minors (58% v. 74%), to punishment for the public use of illegal drugs (37% v. 72%) and alcohol (26% v. 51%), and, to a lesser degree, to information on the legislation on alcohol and drugs (71% v. 81%).

The following Table summarises the results of the discriminant analysis applied to these seven components of the attitudes towards social regulation of drugs:

Table 2.23: Discriminant analysis applied to the social regulation of drugs and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Attitudes, risk perception and expectations		
Attitudes to social control of drugs		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
The legislation on drugs in general should be less strict	0.79	
The use of illegal drugs in public should be an offence	-0.70	
Drinking alcohol in the streets should be an offence	-0.53	
I am aware and well informed about the laws on alcohol and drugs consumption	0.24	
Model that includes the four indicators	73%	

On all being introduced into the discriminant model, only four attitudes relating to penalties for the public use of alcohol and drugs, the legal regulation of these and knowledge of the relevant legislation were relevant. These attitudes also “predict” the use of drugs most substantially, in a similar way to the perception of risks associated with use (see following point) and the characteristics relating to overall personality. Their predictive capacity is higher than that of drug use in the family, attitudes to drug use in an intimate friend, social and family integration, and the other motivational and cognitive factors mentioned in earlier points. Nevertheless, they are not as capable of discriminating drug use as the use of drugs by friends and the most relevant components of going clubbing.

PERCEPTION OF THE RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH DRUG USE

The subjects interviewed indicated their perception of the degree of danger associated with:

1. Smoking a packet of cigarettes a day
2. Smoking marijuana regularly
3. Taking ecstasy every weekend
4. Taking cocaine once a month
5. Taking LSD one a month
6. Having two alcoholic drinks daily
7. Having four alcoholic drinks on one single occasion
8. Getting drunk once a month

The following Table summarises the results of the discriminant analysis applied to these eight perceptions of the risks associated with drug use:

1. Of the eight types of use, five are relevant in distinguishing drug users, and they are all perceived as being more dangerous by those subjects who do not use drugs (see chapter 7). The uses that do not enter in the model also tend to be perceived as more noxious by those who do not use although their association with drug use is “explained” by the five components of the model.
2. Approximately three out of every four subjects are correctly classified in their group (user / non-user), in a very similar way to that seen with the attitudes to the social regulation of drugs.

Table 2.24: Discriminant analysis applied to the perception of the risks of drug use and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Attitudes, risk perception and expectations		
Perception of risks associated with use		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Smoking cannabis regularly	0.86	
Getting drunk monthly	0.54	
Taking four alcoholic drinks at the same time	0.51	
Taking cocaine monthly	0.50	
Smoking a pack of cigarettes daily	0.19	
Model that includes the five indicators		72.4%

In a similar group to our sample, we can predict in three of every four cases if a subject uses or does not use drugs, depending on whether he or she sees it as less or more dangerous to use cannabis frequently, drinks alcohol until drunk or uses cocaine occasionally.

ATTITUDES, RISK PERCEPTION AND EXPECTATIONS: PREDICTION OF DRUG USE

The five discriminant functions were introduced together in a new discriminant analysis to distinguish drug users from non-drug users. The following Table shows the results obtained:

1. Once again it can be seen that the five concepts are relevant in distinguishing the subjects according to whether or not they use drugs:
 - a. The attitudes to social and legal control of drugs and the perception of risks associated with use are the most relevant in distinguishing subjects according to their group.
 - b. The perception of the motives of many adolescents and young adults for not using drugs and the motives that lead some subjects to use drugs when clubbing reaches an intermediate level in classifying the subjects in their appropriate group (user or non-user).
 - c. The perceived image of the non-user by those who use drugs is less relevant than the other four constructs.
2. Overall, this discriminant function that groups perceptions, expectations and attitudes to drugs is capable of correctly classifying four out of every five subjects, better than that of personal characteristics and slightly less than the family-social context, and the management of clubbing model.

Table 2.25: Discriminant analysis applied to perceptions, expectations and attitudes to drug use and the use or non-use of drugs.		
Attitudes, risk perception and expectations		
Overall model		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Social control of drugs	-0.72	
Perception of risks associated with use	0.72	
Motives for not using drugs	0.57	
Motives for using drugs	-0.53	
Social image of the non-user	0.39	
Model that includes the five parameters		80.8%

The principal utility of this model consists of it being formed by dynamic variables susceptible to being modified through education and preventive interventions. We note the possible utility for education and prevention of drug use that we find in our results of the two most relevant concepts of those that form the model: a) attitudes to regulation and perception of the risks associated with use; b) the motivation for using or not using drugs.

The most relevant result found in this section refers to the attitude of users against the social regulation of drug use and their low perception of the risk associated with the use of legal and illegal drugs. The subjects who use illegal drugs are generally conscious of the many noxious effects of drugs (for example that they can reduce driving capability), and the users in the sample state that they would prevent a friend from driving when under the effects of alcohol and that they are in favour of the implementation of penalties for driving under the influence of alcohol. At the same time, many of these subjects recognise that drug use is clearly linked to driving: they drive to acquire drugs, they frequently use drugs inside the vehicles, they are less interested in the illegality of their behaviour and, in many cases, have driven without a licence. This phenomenon of perceiving the risk in using drugs oneself as being less than that perceived for others is known as “optimistic bias” or “feeling of invulnerability” (Leigh, 1999) and is present in many young users. Coinciding with our results, there is cumulative evidence showing that drug users tend to undervalue the negative consequences of use and the probability of risk (Aitken, Kerger and Crofts, 2000) and have, in particular, a kind of “temporal myopia” that consists of denying their long-term consequences.

Although the perception of risks and vulnerability to damage are aspects central to many of the psychological theories on risk behaviour (Cummings, Becker and Maile, 1980; Rogers, 1984; Weinstein, 1993), it is still difficult to explain the factors that

determine the low perception of risk associated with dangerous behaviour. Cognitive psychologists and researchers into the decision processes have given a number of impediments that make it difficult to take rational decisions (Leigh, 1999). The capacity of people to calculate risks is poor. Even more so, people often underestimate their own vulnerability to a number of mishaps, including the dangerous consequences of using alcohol and drugs. This tendency is even stronger for the most stigmatised events and for the results that are thought to be more controllable, and the consequences of using alcohol and drugs combine both characteristics. These biases and the deficit in the perception of risks associated with drug use may also be a consequence of distortions in the processing of information, and be affected by the regular use of alcohol and other drugs. In addition, they seem to be resistant to change through the exposure to educational interventions on drugs.

The perception of risk associated with drug use is also the basis of a more favourable or less favourable attitude to social regulation of use, at least for a large number of users. Although it does not seem easy to achieve an increase in the perception of risks associated with drugs among adolescents and young adults, this task constitutes the challenge for drug prevention. Other evidence shown in this and other chapters indicates that a large number of drug users also show a greater inclination to risk behaviours associated with “low intensity delinquency” (theft, vandalism, violence, etc.), and to thrill-seeking associated with several dangerous behaviours. In these, a low perception of the risks associated with drug use and an attitude against any social control of drugs through regulatory laws would be associated with an inclination to problematic behaviour in general (Jessor, 1993; Jessor et al., 1995). In these users, increasing the perception of risks associated with drug use and acceptance of the social control of this use requires the modification of a generalised model favouring risk and one that forms part of their lifestyle.

A second block of relevant results refers to motivation for use and for non-use of drugs, such as is perceived by users and non-users. Understanding of the motivation for using or not using drugs may be useful for the preventive logic. Preventive messages directed at impeding initiation, experimentation and avoidance of the risks and consequences of abuse “fits in” better within the logic of users not to use drugs, although (in their case) this discourse does not seem to have been sufficiently effective. Conversely, the “preventive discourse” that characterises non-users is directed at the lack of sense and utility of drug use in their lives and on improvement to the world in which they wish to live. Perhaps the message it underlines is that prevention should be directing its objectives more to emphasising the non-users as behaviour models who, in addition, retain a control and rejection attitude to drugs, maintaining their life objectives focussed on spheres of activity far from and substantially incompatible with drug use. Analysis of this lifestyle where use has no point or does not fit in could be presented as an element of comparison with the lifestyle of many users. What do both understand by a “fuller” life and why drugs are useful or necessary in achieving it? What do both understand by experiencing the music and dance and why do only some appear to need drugs to do so? Perhaps part of the answer lies in the immediate orientation of many

users towards risks, over stimulation and thrill seeking, disinhibition and less conventional values.

2.6 OVERALL MODEL AND DRUG USE PREDICTION

In order to evaluate the relative weight of the above models together a final discriminant model was constructed grouping the different groups of variables. The following Table shows the results of this final model:

1. The four discriminant functions have a relevant contribution in distinguishing the subjects according to their drug use:
 - a. Preferred locations, motivation and implication in clubbing form the most distinctive component.
 - b. The frequent use of drugs by friends and family, acceptance of this use and social and family integration are the second most relevant component of the model.
 - c. Attitudes to social and legal regulation, risk perception, use motivations and the image of the non-user form a third component of the model, less relevant than the two preceding ones.
 - d. The relative characteristics of personality are less relevant in the overall model than in the three previous functions.
2. The capacity of the model to distinguish the appropriate group (user / non-user) may be considered high: almost nine out of ten subjects are correctly “classified” in their group.

Table 2.26: Discriminant analysis applied to the overall model resulting from the study and the use or non-use of drugs		
Overall model		
Variable	Coefficient	Classification capability
Clubbing	0.85	
Social and family environment	-0.75	
Attitudes, perception and expectations	0.66	
Personal characteristics	-0.47	
Model that includes the four indicators		88.3%

Whereas the previous Table shows us the relative association that exists between the four groups of variables and the use of drugs, the following Table gives us information on the meaning and significance of the interrelationship between the four more specific models. Partial correlation coefficients are used in the two discriminant functions, regulating the other two.

Weekend recreational life may or may not acquire an additional significance as an activity associated with drug use that is developed in physical surroundings that are favourable to this use and take on an “extra” relevance in the life of some of these adolescents and young adults. The manner of managing weekend recreational life that would appear to be the most determinant in use or non-use of drugs seems to be related in turn to:

1. A social and family network formed by more or less frequent legal and illegal drug users and a greater or lesser orientation to gratification through daily interaction in other situations (work, social activities and family life). This social network may favour reinforcing and maintaining a reciprocal motivation towards a style of having fun that does or does not integrate drug use as one more significant component.
2. A more or less favourable attitude to social regulation of drugs, a greater or lesser perception of the risks associated with legal and illegal drug use and a greater or lesser perception of the utility of drugs that motivates the use or non-use of them. These attitudes would be formed and reinforced and maintained through social learning processes within a user / non-user peer group. At the same time, these attitudes favour integration in a user or non-user peer group.
3. The management style of recreational life does not appear to be substantially associated with a personality characterised by a greater or lesser orientation to risk behaviours, conventional social values and thrill seeking through delinquent and risk behaviours. Nevertheless, this lifestyle favours the development of attitudes, perceptions and expectations and motivations of several kinds mentioned earlier, as well as integration in a peer group with a greater or lesser orientation to one or the other lifestyle and towards drug use or a moderation close to abstinence from drugs.

Table 2.27: Partial correlation coefficients (in absolute values) in the four discriminant functions.

	Social and family environment	Attitudes, perception expectations	Personal characteristics
Clubbing	0.36 (*)	0.35 (*)	0.09 (**)
Social and family environment		0.35 (*)	0.27 (*)
Attitudes, perception and expectations			0.20 (*)

(*) = p (two way) < 0.001; (**) p (two way) < 0.01.

EVALUATION OF THE ADJUSTMENT OF THE OVERALL MODEL

As an addition trial of the adjustment of the model according to gender and age group, analyses were carried out on the basis of the contingencies table, crossing the prediction made of the subject as a user or non-user (correct or erroneous) with gender and age group. The subjects where the model did not correctly predict their appropriate group (user / non-user) were 50.5% men and 49.5% women. In other words, gender is not significantly associated with the adjustment of the model (Chi square corrected for continuity = 0.07, with 1 degree of freedom, p bilateral = 0.79). The subjects with an erroneous prediction by the model were the youngest with 47% and the group over 19 years of age with 53%. Therefore, there is no significant association between the adjustment of the model and the age group (Chi square corrected for continuity = 0.017, with 1 degree of freedom, p bilateral = 0.90). In conclusion, the Overall model is capable of predicting with a notable capacity (close to 90%) whether or not a subject is a user or non-user, irrespectively of whether or not the subject is a man or woman, adolescent or young adult.

Finally, an analysis was made of subjects with an erroneous prediction in order to ascertain if they presented different characteristics from those subjects in their group (user / non-user) whose group of reference had been predicted correctly by the overall model. The results are as follows:

1. **In the user group**, those subjects that had been classified as “non-users” by the overall model:
 - a. They were subjects who had more probability than the others of not having tried alcohol or of only having tried it (Chi square = 18.1, with 3 degrees of freedom; p exact, two-way = 0.004).
 - b. They had a greater probability of not having tried tobacco or of being ex smokers than the other users (Chi square = 12.6, con 3 degree of freedom; p exact, two-way = 0.010).
 - c. They had more probability of not having tried cannabis, having merely tried it or of being ex-users than the other users (Chi square = 30.3, with 3 degrees of freedom; p exact, two-way = 0.000).
 - d. They had more probability of not having tried cocaine (Chi square = 17.7, with 3 degrees of freedom; p exact, two-way = 0.001). The same occurs with ecstasy (Chi square = 15.6, with 3 degrees of freedom; p exact, two-way = 0.002), LSD (Chi square = 11.2, with 3 degrees of freedom; p exact, two-way = 0.013), speed (Chi square = 15.7, with 3 degrees of freedom; p exact, two way = 0.002) and “other illegal drugs” (Chi square = 19.3, with 3 degrees of freedom; p exact, two way = 0.001).
 - e. In conclusion, the drug users who had been classified by the overall model as “non-users” were significantly lower legal and illegal drug users than the other drug users.

2. **In the non-user group**, those subjects who had been classified as “users” by the overall model:
 - a. Had more probability of being ex-users or users of alcohol than those who had been correctly classified (Chi square = 9.6, with 3 degrees of freedom; p exact, two-way = 0.022).
 - b. Had more probability of being smokers (Chi square = 12.3, with 3 degrees of freedom; p exact, two-way = 0.012).
 - c. Had more probability of having tried cannabis or being ex-cannabis users (Chi square = 17.1, with 2 degrees of freedom; p exact, two-way = 0.001). The same occurs with cocaine (Chi square = 38.1, with 2 degrees of freedom; p exact, two way = 0.000), ecstasy (Chi square = 49.9, with 2 degrees of freedom; p exact, two-way = 0.000), LSD (Chi square = 29.2, with 2 degrees of freedom; p bilateral exacta = 0.001), speed (Chi square = 57.1, with 2 degrees of freedom; p exact, two-way = 0.000) and “other drugs” (Chi square = 20, with 2 degrees of freedom; p exact, two-way = 0.006).
 - d. In conclusion, the non-drug users who had been classified by the overall model as “users” were significantly higher users of legal and illegal drugs than the other members of their group.
- 3 **In conclusion**, analysis of the 12% of subjects that had earlier been erroneously classified by the overall model showed that they resembled the “opposite” group significantly more in their drug use history than the other members of their group.

2.7 CONCLUSIONS

The chapter compares those who use and those who do not use legal and illegal drugs, in a sample of 1777 young adults and adolescents interviewed by Irefrea in 2001 in ten European cities, which is relatively balanced by gender and age group (adolescents and young adults).

The variables studied are grouped in four areas: family context and friends, characteristics relative to personality, motivational and cognitive variables relating to drugs (attitudes, perceptions, expectations and motivations) and management of weekend recreational life. The four areas studied and the majority of the variables included in each of them are relevant in distinguishing those who use legal and illegal drugs from those who do not. An overall model, which combined these four areas, was constructed on the basis of discriminant analyses to distinguish both groups. It suggests that the weekend going out styles are the most relevant in predicting drug use together with the factors relating to drug use in couples and in the family. The model correctly classifies almost 90% of the subjects as users and non-users, irrespective of gender and age group.

It is suggested that educational and preventive interventions must take into consideration the management of weekend leisure time and make it a priority as an essential and primordial factor in the etiology of drug use. It is necessary to disassemble the “myth” that having fun and drug use are an indivisible bionomy in which the use of drugs has to be justified, on occasion, through a concept of having fun associated with

thrill seeking associated with risk, disinhibition and opposition to all conventional norms. Prevention and the studies that comprise its base could learn much from the management of the weekend made by many adolescents and young adults non-users, and the educational campaigns should also turn their focus on these experiences that demonstrate that a high involvement and enjoyment of the weekend is possible without drugs and is present in our communities. It is also necessary to favour the development of physical environments in response to the necessities of many adolescents and young adults who demand places where having fun can achieve their essential and genuine objectives (socialisation, stimulation, escape and partying) without being mixed with drug use. Without the generalisation of these experiences, it will be much more difficult to achieve this genuine entertainment and one that is a reasonable aspiration of many young adults.

Secondly, it is necessary to take into consideration that drug use is initiated and maintained through models and interactions with peer groups. The use of drugs is justified on occasion, through the affective vehicle (with family members, friends and intimates in a kind of conceptual parasitism” similar to that occurring with the concept of clubbing) and even becomes a criterion for inclusion and exclusion in the social network of the subject. Prevention of drug use requires the development of messages that assist young adults in discerning between the relevant aspect of an affective relationship and the use of drugs as a circumstantial accessory. Part of the association between drug use and these two basic life areas (having fun and affective vehicles with significant people) is explained by a lifestyle orientated towards nonconformity with social norms, problem behaviour and risks in general and a distancing from conventional values. Support for drug use is also based on biases in the perception and evaluation of the utility of drug use, motivation to use them and the associated consequences. Many adolescents and young adults present cognitive deficits that impede evaluation of the risks associated with drug use (particularly in the medium and long-term) and this deficit (together with personal characteristics orientated against conventional values) leads, on occasion, to rejection of social control and regulation of use. Many young drug users distort the motives of other young adults for not using drugs and attribute such behaviour to “defensive” causes that are no less relevant than other causes related to a life style orientated to a conception of self and of the community where drug use has no meaning, utility or does not fit. Some adolescents and young adults present cognitive biases consistent with attributing effects to the use of drugs that run from the instrumental (particularly in the recreational arena and interpersonal relationships) to the almost magical (improving personal well-being and life experience, etc.).

The modification of these cognitive schema and biases that represent a vulnerability to the use of drugs and their associated risk and the encouragement of a genuine and drug-free entertainment may prevent drug use in many young Europeans. In other cases, prevention also requires modification of lifestyles where the use of drugs forms part of an orientation towards a more generalised problem behaviour, risk taking and a lack of self-control.

3. “NON-USER” THE UNIDENTIFIED SUBJECT: SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS, FAMILY LIFE AND PEER GROUP

In this chapter, we are going to create a picture of the social life of non-users. Some questions we will ask and try to answer are: How do they spend their lives? What is the consumer behaviour of their families? Who are their friends? How do they spend their leisure time? How do they feel about themselves and their involvement in family and society?

One of the main issues during adolescence is the question of independence: during this period, young people try to gain more and more independence from their families and on the other hand, their parents must learn to obtain a good balance between control and autonomy. This process influences and is in turn influenced by several fields of life such as leisure, employment, family relationships and peer groups. Employment and “earning money on their own”, leading to material independence (see also chapter 9), is a very important factor in adolescence and figures from across Europe appear to indicate that more and more young people are working at least some hours a week. This is also true for students who try to earn some money alongside their studies.

Family relations generally change during adolescence as parents leave more freedom and choice to their children. Nevertheless, parents but also siblings remain role models even if their influence diminishes in favour of the peer group. Consumption and behavioural patterns of those two social groups have a strong influence on the behaviour of adolescents. As the peer groups become more and more important during adolescence, we will complement quantitative data by citations from the focus groups to get a better insight into social mechanisms that rule the social functioning in user and non-user groups as well as the contacts between users and non-users during night-life. In conclusion, we will create a picture of the social characteristics and environment of a “typical non-user”.

3.1. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Previous research in the IREFREA Network has provided evidence for associations between socio-demographic variables and use/misuse of legal and illegal substances. Beside gender, the most important variable has been ‘occupation’: “Students are probably using/misusing licit and illicit substances less frequently than people both studying and working, and these are using/misusing licit and illicit substances less frequently than individuals who are working or ‘in other occupations’” (Calafat et al. 2001: 61). Another significant variable was ‘housing’: “Individuals living with relatives

are probably using licit and illicit substances less frequently than individuals living with friends, alone or in other accommodation” (Calafat et al. 2001: 61). In addition to these important variables the present questionnaire also asked for “socio-economic status”, “political ideology” and “religious attitude” in order to explore their possible influences on drug use.

OCCUPATION

One of the most important parts of young people’s lives is their current occupation: this is the place where they spend the majority of their time – generally in their work place or their school. Occupation also influences the peer group in which young people are included: this is not only true for the time they spend in their occupation but students will probably also interact with other kind of people during their leisure time more than working young people will do. For example we can cite “...of those young people who participate in rave parties or visit after-hours, almost half are in full-time employment and 19.4% study as well as work. Only one quarter are students. Compared with young clubbers, ‘ravers’ tend to be working, whereas those involved in other scenes are mainly students” (Calafat et al. 2001: 96).

Occupation also might influence the time young people can spend going out and the hours they go out. For example, as stated in a previous publication of the IREFREA Network: “Being student often offers the opportunity for a lot of free time” (Calafat et al. 2001: 96). Some oral statements of young people indicate a difference in the habits of “going out”: Students tend to go out also during the week while working young people generally only go out at weekends – probably because lectures at university may start later in the morning and students have a more liberal timetable than working young people.

Table 3.1: Current occupation by drug use behaviour

Current occupation	Consumer (n=865)%	Non-consumer (n=774)%
Student	59.5	71.6
Temporary work	8.9	4.3
Permanent employment	22.3	17.2
Unemployed / looking for job	4.0	3.4
Other	5.2	3.6

As we see in this table, in the sample of non-consumers we find a larger majority of students while among consumers, more have permanent or temporary employment ($\chi^2 = 30,394, p = 0.000$). One reason for this finding could be money: compared to students, workers will earn more money and probably have more money to spend when going out (and for buying drugs). This aspect of finance is developed in another chapter of this book.

Another reason is parental control: from a study in Austria we know that working adolescents enjoy more freedom regarding alcohol and nicotine use as well as leisure time activities than adolescents who are still in school. In addition, working adolescents appear to be subject to other risk factors as well:

- Parents want them to be independent earlier, maybe too early.
- A larger proportion had to face failure(s) during their school career.
- Relationships with friends and partners are more important for them than for adolescents still in school.
- They consider their leisure time to be too short and therefore might tend to adopt more “extreme” behaviour including drug (ab)use.

In fact working adolescents try psychoactive substances later but consumption (especially problematic consumption patterns not linked to pleasure or fun but to cope with a difficult life situation) is more common (Bohrn et al. 2000).

HOUSING

Current housing situation influences both going out behaviour and drug use: young people who are still living with their family generally face more control over their socialising habits and maybe also on possible (ab)use of different substances than young people who live on their own. Moderate parental control has been identified as a protective factor for drug use.

Housing situation	Consumer (n = 928)%	Non-consumer (n=821)%
Family	53.4	66.4
With a partner	10.3	9.7
With friends	12.2	4.6
On his / her own	13.8	10.5
Hall / residence	6.7	7.6
Other	3.6	1.2

Actually, we see that among non-consumers 66% live with their families compared to 53% of users. ($\chi^2 = 55,219$, $p = 0.000$).

The difference between users and non-users is especially remarkable for young people living with friends: 4% of non-users live with friends compared with 12% of users. Possibly users are living with friends who also use drugs? Possibly they go out together and do not only share the apartment but also some consumption habits. This may particularly apply to “social drugs” such as cannabis. In any case, they are more

able to act how they want without fear of their parent’s criticisms and sanctions and less likely to need to conceal their behaviour.

The current living situation is certainly linked to “Occupation” and “earning money on your own”. When you earn money on your own with a permanent job, you are more likely to live either in your own apartment or with your partner, while students are more likely to still live with their parents, also for economic reasons

Table 3.3: Housing by occupation

Housing	Occupation %				
	Student	Temporary work	Permanent work	Unemployed	Other
Family	73.5	6.3	14.5	3.3	2.5
With a partner	28.4	9.3	47.5	6.8	8.0
With friends	68.8	8.0	18.2	3.6	1.5
On his / her own	43.5	8.0	34.3	4.0	10.0
Hall / residence	85.0	3.7	4.7	1.9	4.7
Other	55.0	2.5	15.0	7.5	20.0

In fact, the correlation between housing and occupation is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 239,353$; $p = 0.000$). Among students, 73% still live with their family compared to just 14% of those with a permanent job.

FAMILY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

For the variable “socio-economic status of family” we find no influence on drug use: around 30% of both users and non-users classify themselves as being of medium-high socio-economic status, and the majority (47% of users and 53% of non-users) as being of medium socio-economic status (not significant).

This finding is supported by previous IREFREA research (Risk and control in the recreational drug culture) where socio-economic status also had only a weak

Table 3.4: Family socio-economic status by drug use behaviour

Socio-economic status	consumer(n=932)%	non-consumer(n=828)%
High	7.6	5.8
Medium / high	27.9	27.7
Medium	47.9	53.3
Medium / low	13.0	10.4
Low	3.6	2.9

relationship with use: the highest and lowest statuses were more likely to use illicit substances than the average statuses.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

For political ideology, we find the same difference between consumers and non-consumers; the result is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 29,009$, $p = 0.000$).

Political ideology	Consumer (n=855)%	Non-consumer (n=785)%
Extreme left	10.8	7.6
Left	34.4	24.8
Middle	43.2	52.4
Right	9.4	13.0
Extreme right	2.3	2.2

Among the consumers, more young people rate themselves as belonging to “left-wing ideologies”, while non-consumers tend to rate themselves in the “middle” position. Consumers may have more liberal ideas than non-consumers.

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

Several studies identify religion as a protective factor, underlining the influence of religion on attitudes and behaviour concerning drug use – we can mention Jessor, Donovan and Windner (1980) and more recent Brunswick, Messeri and Titus (1992).

From a more general perspective, Brook et al. (1990) suggested that parental internalisation of traditional values leads to a stronger bonding between parents and children. This bonding promotes the internalisation of these values by the children – and this leads to the fact that children choose groups with the same norms which are generally non-using groups.

Hawkins et al. (1992) underlined the importance of bonding with family, school and peers as a protective factor against adolescent drug (ab)use. Between the elements of social bonding they also mentioned regular participation in social or religious activities.

As for social life, commitment to some religious belief will have several influences: belonging to a religious community or group can be understood as a protective factor for drug use. Young people who belong to a religious community may share other values and participate in other kinds of activities more than young people who do not belong to such groups. Control of and commitment to non-use will also be stronger.

We can also propose that coping with difficult life events will be different when comparing young people who have religious beliefs with those who do not. Possibly

general feelings about life and future are also different. In our questionnaire, religious feelings were defined as “feeling attached to some religious belief” without differentiating between different religions or beliefs.

Religious attitude	Consumer (n=923)%	Non-consumer (n=820)%
Strong believer	6.1	21.0
Believer	12.2	18.9
Middle	22.4	25.1
Little believer	18.0	12.9
Non-believer	41.3	22.1

When comparing consumers to non-consumers, nearly four times more non-consumers say they are “strong believers” than consumers.

With non-believers the evidence is also strong: 41% of consumers but only 22% of non-consumers rate themselves in this category. This finding is significant ($\chi^2 = 144,429$, $p = 0.000$).

Nevertheless we should be careful in drawing conclusions even if they seem evident. Influences between religious attitude and drug use seem to be much more complex than one can see at first glance. Some of these considerations can be found in the following article: “*Prevention and the search for spiritual support as a family coping dimension: a psychoanalytic perspective*” by G. Broyer, published in “Family: the challenge of prevention of drug use” Calafat et al (2001).

These results should induce further research on this topic that could give a better understanding of the links between religion and drug use.

In the next part of this chapter will have a closer look at the immediate social contacts and the use patterns inside families (parents and siblings).

3.2. FAMILY LIFE OF NON-USERS IN COMPARISON TO USERS

When looking at the social life of young people, it is important to bear in mind that adolescent behaviour will be influenced by several groups of people, namely:

- Inside the family:
 - the parents (belonging to another generation)
 - the siblings (belonging to the same generation)
- Outside the family:
 - the friends (generally belonging to the same generation).

Even if the parents’ influence weakens during adolescence, they will still have an input, especially when the adolescents still live at home. In every case, they have shaped

their children's behaviour, habits and attitudes throughout childhood (socialisation process).

On the other hand, the peers' influence will get stronger as children grow older.

In the following section we will present findings on parents' and siblings' drug use as it has been recorded by the sample. Some findings about the peer group follow in section 3, "Drug use among friends".

PARENTAL DRUG USE

Parents are important because they act as role models and are responsible for the education of their children and will therefore also influence their children's attitudes towards substance (mis)use. Parental behaviour concerning alcohol and drugs has been identified as one of the risk factors of adolescent drug (ab)use. Johnson et al. (1984) found that parental cannabis use increases the risk of children using other illegal drugs.

An Austrian study found that imagined or perceived parental drug use influences adolescent alcohol consumption, prevalence of cannabis and problematic use patterns (Bohrn et al., 2000). We should also note that parental drug use/abuse could cause intense stress for children and give them worse living conditions and experiences in everyday life (Brown 1989; Roose et al., 1990). Furthermore, parental drug use/abuse will have negative influences on parental and educational attitudes and techniques.

Research also found evidence that the risk of drug use for children increases with the number of persons in a household/family who are using drugs (Ahmed et al., 1984; Robins and Przybeck, 1985).

In conclusion we can say that the model of parental drug use certainly has some influence on their children's use of psychoactive substances. Nevertheless we should be aware when analysing the responses in this section that we are speaking about the "children's" perception of their parents' drug use and not about the real or exact drug consumption of their parents. In fact, it seems that the perception that an adolescent has of his/her own family is more important than what the situation "really" is (Coimbra, 1999: 54)

Nevertheless the influence of parental drug use on children's drug use is rather an indirect one. The Influence of parents on their children when growing up has several dimensions and is never linear: one participant in the Austrian focus group had developed a negative attitude towards alcohol due to having experienced the negative effects of their parents' alcohol use during their childhood:

"When parents consume very much, it can happen that their children do the opposite, because they don't want to be as their parents, I know several people like this" (Female non-consumer, Vienna)

In all participating countries, alcohol is a widespread substance used by adults as well as by young people. Parents of consumers are more likely to consume alcohol than parents of non-consumers. This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 80,569$ $p = 0.000$).

Table 3.7: Parental drug use by substance and drug use behaviour of their sons and daughters

Substances	Parental drug-use (%)	
	Consumers	Non consumers
Alcohol	69,5	48,7
Tobacco	60,6	47,3
Cannabis	6,0	1,0
Other illicit substances	2,2	0,9

A recent Austrian study (Bohrn and Bittner, 2000) found that 78.9% of adolescents who reported that their father or mother drank alcohol several times a week or everyday had consumed alcohol, while among adolescents whose parents did not drink only 47,4% had tried alcohol.

Apart from alcohol, tobacco is the second most widespread substance – because it is also legal. As for alcohol, Parents of consumers are more likely to smoke than parents of non-consumers. This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 32,804, p = 0.000$). In comparison to other drugs, cannabis is often considered a “soft drug”, “as less dangerous than ecstasy or heroin”. Even if prevalence is much lower than for tobacco and alcohol, the difference between parents of non-consumers and consumers is still observable. This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 34,264, p = 0.000$). The last question concerned all other illicit substances including heroin, cocaine, and ecstasy. Despite the lower incidence among consumers’ parents, the result is still highly significant ($\chi^2 = 7,894, p = 0.019$).¹

FAMILY INTEGRATION

Besides parental drug use other aspects of family life are living together and shared time and activities. Good communication and an open climate in the family during childhood have been identified as protective factors against drug use as well as parental control over leisure habits and activities.

In this research, we focused on the present family, that means the family in which the respondents actually live (or their family of origin, if they have left home already).

PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY DECISIONS

We see that there is nearly no difference between consumers and non-consumers: Half of them strongly agree that they are involved in family decisions and another

¹ For all the variables on parental drug consume, we didn’t find any important difference between males and females.

30-35% agree. Only around 15-20% do not feel integrated in family decisions. Nevertheless, statistically, this result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 31,448$, $p = 0.000$) mainly due to the large percentage of non-consumers who agree. Consumers feel less integrated in family decisions.

Table 3.8: Participation in family decisions by drug use behaviour		
Participation in family decisions	Consumer (n = 932) %	Non-consumer (n = 829) %
Strongly agree	42.5	46.8
Agree	30.9	36.9
Disagree	15.9	11.3
Strongly disagree	10.7	4.9

If we consider only those who are still living with their families, we find similar differences between the two groups (Strongly agree: consumers (n=474) 43%; non-consumers (n=545) 46%). The result is also significant.

LIKE TO SHARE HOUSEWORK

From research within the IREFREA “Family Project” (Mendes et al., 2001) we know that the sharing of tasks between members of the family is sometimes a conflictive process for the parents. To find the right balance – one that fits every member of the family and combines the different needs – is an ever-renewing developmental task and experience for the whole family, if we consider it from a systemic point of view.

The answers of the “younger generation” underline the feeling of the parents; there is at least some reticence against homework. We find the same results as for family decisions: Approximately a third of both consumers and non-consumers strongly agree and around 40% do not like to share housework within their family. However, the result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 13,800$, $p = 0.000$): the significance seems to be mainly due to the higher number of consumers who strongly disagree.

Table 3.9: Like to share housework by drug use behaviour		
Like to share housework	Consumer (n=924)%	Non-consumer (n=826)%
Strongly agree	31.4	30.9
Agree	28.6	30.4
Disagree	19.3	24.0
Strongly disagree	20.8	14.8

For the whole sample (consumers and non-consumers) we find no sex difference among consumers, whilst among non-consumers slightly more girls strongly agree (35% girls versus 25% boys). This question applies less to consumers as more of them already live on their own so we should only consider those living in their families. Nevertheless, the results remain the same: For those living in their family, among consumers (n=474) 20% and among non-consumers (n=545) 24% strongly agree ($\chi^2 = 0.00$).

But housework is not always a duty; sometimes it can be considered time that young people share with their families:

“I cook, clean or have discussions with my parents” (Male consumer, Athens)

“We cook, watch television, read books, take walks or go for excursions” (Female non-consumer, Athens)

SHARE HAPPY TIMES AND LEISURE ACTIVITIES WITH THE FAMILY

More non-consumers state that they share happy times with their families: 46% agree with this statement compared with “only” 35% of consumers. The result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 41,245$, $p = 0.000$).

Share happy times and leisure activities with the family	Consumer (n = 929) %	Non-consumer (n = 829) %
Strongly agree	35.5	46.4
Agree	37.4	37.4
Disagree	18.7	12.9
Strongly disagree	8.4	3.3

This result might be linked to the fact that more non-consumers still live with their families. Looking only at those living with their families, the result is still highly significant: 32% of consumers (n=474) compared with 44% of non-consumers (n=545) strongly agree. But those who no longer live with their families can also share happy times with their parents and siblings so we continue with the whole sample.

First, sharing leisure activities with parents is a matter of age. At 14-18, young people want to decide about their activities and have other needs and priorities apart from their parents.

“In fact, I don’t like to share any leisure time activities with my family because what they will do, doesn’t interest me at all: bicycle and hiking. This is nothing to do at my age!” (Female non-consumer, Vienna)

Considering time spent with the family as “good time” increases with age: both older users and older non-users enjoy time with their families more.

When analysing by sex, we find a big difference between boys and girls²: Among non-consumers 40% of boys and 51% of girls strongly agree – therefore girls seem to enjoy spending time with their families more than boys. This might be due to the fact that boys prefer more active or sporting activities with their friends and also might have more freedom, while girls tend to spend more time at their families’ homes. This finding is supported by the focus groups: The older participants (users and non-users) have less contact with their families, they have more independent lives as they earn their own money and live in their own apartments. With increasing independence, problems with the family decrease but sometimes more open relations result from the bigger distance, and older participants like to share some activities (like going out eating) with their parents.

“Well, family is very important to me too. Family comes first place and then the rest. Not only my parents and brothers, but cousins, grandparents and aunts and uncles as well. I spend a lot of time and energy with my family, organising family events, like barbeques and such things. Not that it’s all peace and glory, of course, but the bonds are tight” (Female non-consumer, Utrecht)

For some respondents, spending time with the family is part of their “usual” (leisure) activities:

“My free time includes visiting the family, making music” (Male non-consumer, Berlin)

“I try subdividing my spare time so as to devote time to myself and time to my parents. With them I share sports: I often ride my bike with my brother” Andrea (Female non-consumer, Bologna)

“I visit them occasionally, go sailing with my father. Yeah, it’s fine. They accept me as well now” (Male consumer, Berlin)

Social events as well as holidays are also a good occasion to share a good time with the family.

“Sometimes, I may go with my parents to a social event but «that’s all»“ (Male consumer, Athens)

“Unfortunately, I don’t share many things with my parents due to the lack of time, but I do my best to spend some time with them” (Male non-consumer, Athens)

“I don’t share any particular activities with my family except music and concerts with my brothers. I don’t know which kind of hobbies I would like to share with my parents” (Female consumer, Bologna)

² For all the other variables of this chapter, we do not find statistically significant differences between girls and boys.

While at least some young people like to share certain activities with their parents, parents are excluded from weekend activities – certainly because young people want to be among themselves and enjoy their freedom:

“No, I pass only the week with my family. During the weekend I do what I want“
(Male consumer, Bologna)

“I never go out with my family” (Male consumer, Athens)

“On Saturday and Sunday I want to have fun so sometimes I don’t go to them”
(Female non-consumer, Bologna)

However some parents were different and some young people would like to share their nightlife experiences with their parents.

“I wish I could share more with my family on drug use and going out. The mother of a friend of mine is like that; she sometimes joins us when we go to a big party. She is really loose; everyone’s on E and she just drinks a cognac. Everyone adores her, she is cool. I don’t see my mother do such things” (Female consumer, Utrecht)

Activities that young people would like to share with their families are the same as those that others already share with their families, such as:

“Doing something together. An outing or something” (Female consumer, Berlin)

“What I’d really like is for us to go on holiday together” (Male consumer, Berlin)

Generally drug users seem to have more difficult relations with their families than users and also have less contact with their parents. From our data we cannot say if this situation influenced the onset of drug use, but in any case, drug use influences activities with family (see also: “Drug use: Reactions of families”)

“(…) that you can’t tell your dad what you’ve done because all you’ve done has been drug-related, so you have to either convert it into drink and then it doesn’t seem to make as much sense as you’re still up at 4 in the morning, so it kind of cuts that social aspect off as well” (Female consumer, Liverpool)

GOING OUT: FAMILY REACTIONS

The main two areas of conflict with parents that emerged during the focus groups where “going out” and “drug use”. This sections examines these issues in more detail.

As long as young people live at home, parents have the chance to know what their children are doing in their leisure time and how they spend their evenings. Reactions of parents to their children’s nightlife behaviours vary. Some respondents say that their parents do not really care while others have problems and quarrel with parents over these issues:

“Since I have a moderate behaviour, I have no problems with my parents concerning my way of entertainment. I suppose that they did the same things when they were at my age” (Female non-consumer, Athens)

“Even though my family doesn’t understand my way of having fun, I have no problems with them on this issue” (Female non-consumer, Athens)

Reasons for quarrels are generally related to what young people call the “generation gap”:

“No, they couldn’t understand me. I used to have many problems at home: constant quarrels, anger, and violence...” (Male consumer, Athens)

“My family isn’t so understanding. My parents are very traditionalist and they don’t like that I go out with certain “miches” or I come back too late” (Female consumer, Bologna)

Going out does not seem to be the only problematic issue, but also being out too late, needing money from parents or, for users, drug consumption:

“Usually they are understanding. We wrangle only when I stay out until late or I ask for money: Perhaps they are afraid I shag down” (Female non-consumer, Bologna)

To escape from their parent’s criticisms or sanctions some young people choose not to inform their parents about their leisure activities. This is probably the case when drug use is part of these activities.

“My family wasn’t aware of my way of entertainment. I used to tell lies to them” (Male consumer, Athens)

“Well I’ve had to actually lie to my mum because she’s said to me ‘have you taken such a thing?’ and I’ve just said no, but that’s kind of its bad in a way because it causes problems because you don’t want to lie to your parents but I think if I tell my mum the truth about what I’ve done she’d be absolutely distraught, she’d blame herself thinking, ‘oh I’m a bad mother’” (Female consumer, Liverpool)

“I do lie a lot about where I go out, if my mum knew I went to certain clubs she wouldn’t let me” (Female consumer, Liverpool)

“My parents don’t know that I go out. I think my mum suspects but they don’t know that I go out, although I think my mum does and I think they know that they can sort of trust me, that they’ve brought me up the right way” (Female non-consumer, Liverpool)

Some comments from the different groups suggest that young men have less problems with their families than young women. Men’s behaviour is accepted easier by parents (for a deeper analysis of differences between men and women see chapter 6).

This difference has also been found in the study of Bohrn and Bittner (2000), which asked about parental control over going out and substance use. In all categories and all age groups boys enjoyed more freedom than girls.

“I don’t have any problems regarding my nightlife activities, probably due to the fact that I am a boy” (Male non-consumer, Athens)

“Yes, my family is important to me, or my mother is. My grandparents are more important. They don’t live here. But actually my friends are my family, my substitute family. (...) There isn’t much understanding. They live in a different world” (Female consumer, Berlin)

Generally when young people grow older they lead more independent lives or move away from home. So there is less contact, less control and less problems.

“I see my family seldom because I live in another town. So no problems and no intrusions” (Female non-consumer, Bologna).

“I live away from my parents, so they are not aware of my way of having fun” (Male consumer, Athens)

DRUG USE: FAMILY REACTIONS

Parent’s reactions to their children’s drug use are very diverse.

From a study of Bohrn and Bittner (2000) we know that 38,5% of adolescents who use cannabis state that their parents (at least one) possibly knew about their consumption; for ecstasy users this was 20,7%.

43,4% of respondents said that their siblings knew about their cannabis consumption, 29,7% about ecstasy consumption. The highest knowledge was found for friends where 83,9% knew in fact about cannabis and 78,3% about ecstasy use.

These results show that cannabis is still the most socially accepted “illegal” substance and that parents come far behind friends as far as knowledge about drug use is concerned. Friends certainly know more about use because it happens when young people are out with their peer group and takes place together with friends.

Participants of focus groups reported different reactions from their parents. Some parents break relations with their children when they discover about their drug use:

“My parents got really angry when they caught me drinking the first time. When I did drugs they broke with me. But at present we’re in good terms and I’m calling and e-mailing weekly to my family. They are living on the other side of the country” (Male consumer, Turku)

“First my mother broke up with me when she figured out that I was doing drugs. She threw me away from home when the fifth time she caught me from cannabis. Now we are ok. I’m in detoxification and my mother likes it. I’ve been in brake over 20 times. I have to be in good terms with her because she’s taking care of my child” (Female consumer, Turku)

“Usually we talk about how we’re doing and so on. [...] When I stopped doing drugs my relations to my mother improved and I understand it. Who wants to watch some drug addicts?” (Male consumer, Turku)

While others accept their children’s lifestyle – at least, to some extent:

“I would never go home – to my mothers’ house – under the influence of cannabis. Perhaps once a little tipsy, this is different. She knows probably already that I “smoke cannabis”, but she thinks that I only smoke it occasionally. It is o.k. for her, as long as she that I’m doing well and that I follow my goals. But I would have much too much respect of my mother and it would be totally unpleasant me to sit in front of her under the influence of cannabis” (Female consumer, Vienna)

“My parents are very liberal and free. They know almost everything about my drug use; they know I started smoking joints once in a while from my 13th year. It’s not that I abuse the freedom they give me, it’s the other way around, if they would prohibit drug use it wouldn’t help, I probably would use more. My dad is a sports medical doctor, he informs me about drugs when needed. He says it’s better to take ecstasy than go binge drinking. He also informs me about GHB. But he also knows that I have to take it easy, my parents talked to me in times I used too much, they somehow knew. Or the issue of drinking and driving. I used to drive a car while on E, but that’s over. I won’t get the car to go to a party. It’s cool to have an open-minded relationship with your parents” (Male consumer, Utrecht)

“My parents are also from the ‘hippie age’, love and freedom and stuff. But some things I used to do in my leisure time, like drug use, I kept to myself. They know about my use, my dad used to smoke joints too, and sometimes he still does. I started smoking cannabis at 12. I’ve had my period of problematic use, but now my parents visit me and it’s all swell. But still, of course, I just won’t tell them about my latest psychedelic experience about seeing the sky splitting open or things like that...I just don’t share everything” (Male consumer, Utrecht)

“My parents and I talk about drugs, they’re interested in my use. They want to know what drugs look like, what it does and stuff. But they don’t know how much and where I use. I prefer not to go home when I’ve used, because it also hurts them. When I still lived with my parents, they once found speed in my room. They asked me to leave the house. Since then they knew I used, but it really scares them. No, we agreed that when I use I can’t come home. When I go out they want me to have fun, but I see them thinking: ‘oh don’t let her die.’ But since we talked about drugs now and then, they’re more comfortable about it. Except for one thing, they really don’t want me to smoke cigarettes. They hate that. So I don’t tell them I do, although I think they have to know” (Female consumer, Utrecht)

And others just prefer not to know about:

“I never talked about my drug use with my parents. But sometimes, when I’m stoned they look at me, like what’s wrong with you. My impression is that my father used to be just like me, he liked pot too, but we don’t really communicate about my drug use. However the relationship between us is fine” (Male consumer, Utrecht)

“I think they’ve got an idea.... You know he reads things about, its just come out about 30% of teenagers have taken ecstasy and things like that” (Male consumer, Liverpool)

DRUG USE AMONG SIBLINGS

In the preceding paragraphs, we painted a picture of actual parental substance consumption. But parents are not the only persons who influence their children’s behaviour: A study conducted by Brook et al. (1988:123-161) shows that the substance use of older brothers had even more influence.

Siblings who belong – in some way – also to the peer group are important role models as the results of the study from Bohrn and Bittner (2000) show: 44,3% of adolescents follow the example of their siblings and consume alcohol several times a week if their siblings do so. Among those whose siblings do not drink, only 13,3% consume alcohol regularly. The same influence has been observed for smoking experience, excessive nicotine use and abuse of medical drugs.

The Sonar questionnaire did not ask for the age of siblings nor for their number; nor for the amount of substance use or the setting (we can imagine situations where siblings go out together and consume together) – the idea was just to get an overview of the substance use of siblings to complete the picture of family and peer group.

Table 3.11: Siblings use of drugs by drug use behaviour

Substances	Consumer (n = 838) %			Non-consumer (n = 762) %		
	Yes	No	Not Aplic.	Yes	No	Not Aplic.
Alcohol	67.9	27.4	4.7	43.6	49.1	7.3
Tobacco	57.5	37.8	4.7	39.8	53.3	6.9
Cannabis	39.5	54.4	6.4	9.9	82.5	7.7
Other illicit substances	15.1	78.0	6.9	7.8	84.3	7.8

As with parents, siblings of consumers also tend to drink alcohol more often than siblings of non-consumers. This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 96,321$ p = 0.000). The same is also true for tobacco: Siblings of consumers smoke more often than siblings of non-consumers. This result is also highly significant ($\chi^2 = 49,784$, p = 0.000).

With cannabis, the difference is more obvious than for other substances: 40% of siblings of consumers use cannabis, but only 10% of siblings of non-consumers. This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 30.409$; $p = 0.000$).

Also for other illicit substances (like cocaine, heroin, XTC) siblings of consumers are consumers more often than siblings of non-consumers. This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 19,842$, $p = 0.000$).³

As a third major influence on adolescents' behaviour – beside psychosocial characteristics and family - we can consider the peer group.

3.3. PEER GROUP

DRUG USE AMONG FRIENDS

Even if in earlier childhood family is the most important influence on a child's development and behaviour. Children also start to socialise very early in other groups such as kindergarten, preschool and school. In addition, groups develop who spend their leisure time together and share activities such as sports or other hobbies or just "hang around".

With increasing age the influence of peer groups and friends increases to reach a peak in adolescence. What is true for parents and siblings is also true for friends: they are role models especially when they are older than the subject.

In an Austrian study 47,2% of adolescents said that they belong to stable group of friends ("clique") and that 41% go often out with their friends. Substance (ab)use patterns are influenced by friends: among those adolescents who belong to a "clique" 26,5% drink alcohol several times a month, 16,9% have tried cannabis and 4,9% ecstasy. Among those who are not member of a clique only 15,5% drink alcohol several times a month, 9,9% have tried cannabis and 2,8% ecstasy. (Bohrn and Bittner, 2000).

But there is one difference between family and friends: one cannot choose his/her family but generally you can choose your peer group, at least to some extent.

Influence inside a peer group will generally be a double one: "peers" or friends will exercise some influence on the individual, whilst on the other hand the individual will also have his word to say in the group (except very rigid groups or very "weak" individuals). Of course, these influences exist for all kinds of behaviour (such as dressing, music, food) as well as for drug use.

Group norms can incite drug use as we see in the following citation:

"Your social circle... provides a role model. You orient yourself around it, imitate things and try out the things the others are doing. (...) It has to do with group identification" (Female consumer, Berlin)

³ No important differences were seen between males and females for all variables concerning drug use of siblings.

But a group can also protect from drug use if no one uses drugs:

“No, my friends share my opinion. None of them use drugs” (Female non-consumer, Vienna)

Quantitative data for friends give us some information about the closer social environment of our respondents: They were asked the proportion of their friends who use the different psychoactive substances. Answer categories were “the majority”, “half of them”, “few” and “none”. Compared to items concerning parents and siblings, substances here included cocaine and ecstasy.

Qualitative information from the focus groups provide a deeper insight into what is going on inside the groups and the motivations of users and non-users to associate themselves to groups as well as on how they deal with their consuming and non-consuming friends.

DRINKING ALCOHOL

Going out in the evening and during the night is generally associated with alcohol consumption. When looking at our sample we see that there are practically no young people who do not have a friend who drinks alcohol.

Proportion of friends	Consumer (n=897)%	Non-consumer (n=825)%
Majority	84.8	50.3
Half	10.6	25.3
Few	4.2	21.5
None	0.3	2.9

Among consumers, a large majority (84%) say that most of their friends drink alcohol.⁴ And among non-consumers, a large percentage of 22% (nearly a quarter) states that only few of their friends drink alcohol. Despite the fact that half of the non-consumers have a majority of friends that drink alcohol they find ways not to drink alcohol themselves.

A lot of participants in the focus groups agreed that alcohol is a “social drug”: It makes contacts with others easier because inhibitions are weakened under the influence of alcohol.

The majority of participants also agreed that one simply has to drink if he wants to have a good time with people who are tipsy or drunken.

“For me it’s like this: when people are drinking, I have to drink too to be on the same wavelength” (Male consumer, Berlin)

⁴ This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 260,805, p = 0.000$).

Therefore the group pressure for alcohol is also higher than for other drugs:

“With alcohol it is not accepted, if one does not consume it. [...] It is often the case that the pressure of the group for drinking with the others is higher” (Male consumer, Vienna)

Apart from avoiding going out with people who consume alcohol, some of the non-users have found other ways to resist:

“However one can also simulate well, if you drink only one little glass and feel the atmosphere and then you can enjoy a lot also and everyone will think that you’ve drunk...” (Female non-consumer, Vienna)

And for them, not consuming drugs can even be more fun – this seems to be an important reason of not using drugs.

“You can also have fun without drugs, for example when watching other people who have taken drugs or drunk alcohol” (Female non-consumer, Vienna)

GETTING DRUNK REGULARLY

In the preceding paragraph we have already seen that there are larger proportions of individuals who drink alcohol regularly in the peer groups of consumers than in the peer groups of non-consumers.

Here we go a little further and consider “being drunk regularly”.

Proportion of friends	Consumer (n=931) %	Non-consumer (n=827)%
Majority	37.9	11.6
Half	26.1	20.8
Few	29.6	47.0
None	6.3	20.6

Among users 38% said that the majority of their friends get drunk regularly, while only 11% of non-users state this kind of behaviour for the majority of their friends.⁵

Among non-users, 20% said that none of their friends get drunk regularly while only 2% said that none of their friends drink alcohol. To a lesser extent the same is also true for consumers: 6% say that none of their friends get drunk regularly while only 0.3% have no friends who consume alcohol. Apparently a proportion of young people consume alcohol in a controlled way without getting drunk (regularly). Between the friends of non-users this is true for almost 20%. In fact only 11% of non-consumers state that the majority of their friends get drunk regularly. According to our data

⁵ This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 226,896$, $p = 0.000$).

drinking alcohol moderately seems to be the “standard” in non-users’ peer groups. Also, non-users do not like to be with drunk people as we see in the following citation:

“It only gets disgusting and stupid when they’re too drunk, when you can’t talk to each other any more or you get jostled or touched up. I can’t do anything with these people” (Female non-consumer, Berlin)

In the focus groups, non-users underline that - in contrast to users – they do not need alcohol to have fun and a good time.

“The majority of my friends smoke and drink but do not get drunk. When I go out, I drink a beer from time to time, partly because my friends insist but I don’t like to drink more. I think it’s a pity that they have to drink to enjoy themselves” (Female non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

“I don’t know why people drink, perhaps it’s because they’re bored. Some drink and drink without any control, others only want to be high, to drink two glasses and be happy. It’s the same thing with drugs” (Female non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

In addition they told about negative experiences with drunken friends:

“When we began to go out, they also began to drink and in the group of friends fights broke out among them, they used to get really annoyed, even pulling out each other’s hair... When I finished college and went on to the university, I found a different world, with people more like me. The way of thinking changed and I realised that I was fine as I was” (Female non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

TOBACCO

The second legal substance included in our survey is tobacco and we see that consumption is only slightly lower than alcohol consumption.

Going out with friends seems to be a risk factor for smoking: Bohrn and Bittner (2000) showed that between adolescents who often go out with their friends 73,3% have tried smoking while between those who go out less often, this is only 27,2%. What is important is how close the friend is: 12,5% of adolescents whose best friend smokes a lot also smoke a lot compared with only 3,9% of those whose best friend does not smoke.

Proportion of friends	Consumer (n=896)%	Non-consumer (n=827)%
Majority	79.5	42.6
Half	17	26.5
Few	3.3	25.8
None	0.2	5.2

As for alcohol, the majority of consumers (79%) say that their friends smoke, whilst 42% of non-consumers do so.⁶ Here again we see that a large proportion of non-consumers state that the majority of their friends smoke. This shows the importance of internal control of substance use, which allows people to resist “social pressure” from their environment.

CANNABIS

Cannabis is the most widely consumed illicit drug.

The study of Bohrn and Bittner (2000) shows that its use is influenced by the peer group: if the peers consume cannabis, 51,5% of respondents have already tried cannabis while among those in a non-using group, only 5,3% have had this experience. For regular use, 26,6 % consumers have a consuming peer group.

Proportion of friends	Consumer (n=895)%	Non-consumer (n=816)%
Majority	47.7	5.1
Half	27.7	11.3
Few	21.7	37.7
None	2.9	45.8

In contrast to alcohol and cannabis - the legal and accepted drugs - the difference between users and non-users is very striking for cannabis: Among users, 48% state that the majority of their friends frequently use cannabis compared with only 5% of non-users.⁷

Practically all users have at least some friends who use cannabis, while only 55% of non-consumers count a cannabis-user among their friends.

ECSTASY

As with cannabis, ecstasy consumers report more often that the majority of their friends use this substance frequently, although figures are much lower than for cannabis.

40% of users and 86% of non-users do not count any ecstasy user among their friends.⁸

⁶ This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 318,913$, $p = 0.000$).

⁷ This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 736,692$, $p = 0.000$).

⁸ This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 408,630$, $p = 0.000$).

Proportion of friends	Consumer (n=886)%	Non-consumer (n=819)%
Majority	10.8	1.2
Half	14.2	1.5
Few	34.7	10.6
None	40.3	86.7

In addition to the finding that non-consumers surround themselves more frequently with other non-consumers, we see that consumers are only “mixing” with cannabis users, but that the majority only has “a few” or “no” friends who use ecstasy. One reason could be that ecstasy is a “party drug” that is generally consumed at large events and the effects are influenced by the atmosphere as well as by other users. In contrast to cannabis, it is more often consumed in a (very) large group.

“(…). But a drug that affects one can calculate better so that one doesn’t cross the boundary too often and that consequently the party becomes a failure. And also a failure for the people around, because it is not pleasant to be surrounded by thousands or hundreds people with whom one can have no more communication at all, with whom one also cannot flirt, or whatever one wants to do with these persons, one cannot do it, because they are not credible because of their intoxication. They are actually not really comprehensible because of their intoxication and make the party absolutely uninteresting” (Male consumer, Vienna)

Another reason is the composition of our sample: The majority of our interviewed users did not use ecstasy themselves (only around 44% used it while 93% smoke cannabis). Therefore they seem to mix with people who only drink and smoke tobacco and cannabis but not with ecstasy users. Ecstasy users might form a separate group.

COCAINE

The response pattern for cocaine is very similar to the one for ecstasy:

Proportion of friends	Consumer (n=885)%	Non-consumer (n=819)%
Majority	6.4	1.2
Half	9.5	1.2
Few	38.1	12.1
None	46	85.5

46% of consumers and 85% of non-consumers do not count any cocaine-users among their friends.

Even between users, only 6% have say the majority of their friends use cocaine whilst 9% say that half of their friends consume cocaine; around 15% of the sample uses cocaine themselves.⁹

Non-users largely do not have any close contact with cocaine-users (as with ecstasy-users).

At least in some countries such as Austria cocaine use is very closely related to the nightclub scene.

“I have seen a report on television about cocaine and its consumption and it can be seen as the “psychological entrance” if one is “going to the toilet” - it is something you do together, to do “something forbidden together “, often also with persons who you do not know at all. This is something special! This is also part of the whole nightclub life. It is the same at “Volksgarten” in the evening is, where the people go to the toilet one after the other – two go there and three come back, there are already jokes about it. That is something, which you rather do with someone else or in the group, it ties people together” (Male consumer, Vienna)

As it is illegal, this use of cocaine creates a special bond between persons who use it together. Therefore there might be a larger tendency for forming closed groups.

OTHER ILLICIT SUBSTANCES

The last question concerned all other illicit substances like LSD (10% of the sample used), speed (10% used) and others (10% used).

Proportion of friends	Consumer (n=866)%	Non-consumer (n=806)%
Majority	6.6	1.4
Half	10.5	1.6
Few	36.4	14.5
None	46.5	82.5

Among users, 36% stated that they have a few friends using other substances. Only 6% have a majority of friends consuming such substances while nearly half (46%) do not have any friends consuming other illegal drugs.¹⁰

⁹ This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 226,896$, $p = 0.000$).

¹⁰ This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 307,200$, $p = 0.000$).

For those with a majority or half of their friends using some other illegal substance we can imagine that they themselves also use these substances and therefore form a specific group of “users”.

SOME REMARKS ON THE INFLUENCE OF AGE

If we analyse our quantitative data by splitting it in two age groups – the first up to 18 years of age and the second aged 19 and older - we see that there is no big difference in the percentage of friends drinking alcohol. The same is also true for tobacco and cannabis. For these substances, the patterns of use seem to develop before the age of 19 and remain stable.

For ecstasy and other illicit drugs the figures are even lower for the older respondents – the “young adolescents” seem to be trying more substances but maybe do not use them any longer when they are a bit older (“period of experiencing”). However, for cocaine older respondents perceive greater levels of consumption among their friends than younger respondents (this might be a question of money or of “fashion”).

What is true for all substances and all age groups is that non-consumers have a smaller percentage of friends using any kind of psychoactive substances.

Majority of friends using...	Consumer <19 (%)	Non-consumer <19 (%)	Consumer >19 (%)	Non-consumer > 19 (%)
Alcohol	82	46	86	54
Tobacco	82	45	76	39
Cannabis	47	5	47	5
Cocaine	5	1	7	1
XTC	13	2	8	0,5
Other illicit drugs	7	2	6	0,7

QUALITATIVE INFORMATION ABOUT DRUG USE IN THE PEER GROUP

Why do non-users tend to stay in non-using groups while users go out with at least some other users in their group? The focus groups revealed some explanations for this.

Additional information is gained from a small interview study (Boldt, 1997) which asked for subjective explanations why young people do not consume party drugs, with a main focus on ecstasy. Explanations included material facts (such as “too expensive”, “not good for health”) as well as psychosocial facts (“you are not authentic with drugs”, “drugs change your character”).

CIRCLE OF FRIENDS

In the majority of cases users and non-users form distinct groups who do not really mix.

Some users declare, as in the following citation from the German focus group:

“I don’t have any real non-users among my friends” (Female consumer, Berlin)

While others also have some non-using friends:

“I have some friends who do not consume anything” (Female consumer, Vienna)

“I have linked up with people who take drugs and people who don’t and we have had the same friendship, done the same things. Those who don’t take anything, have drunk their ‘cubatilla’ and they’ve had an equally as good a time” (Male consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

One topic that arose in several focus groups was the difference between “real friends” and “acquaintances”. Both users and non-users insisted that nightlife friends have less importance than real, “old” friends.

“There are various kinds of friends; there are the very good friends and the night time friends” (Female consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

“I have some friends, they are my “real” friends and these are people who I know already from former times, who never took drugs - they are my friends. Then there are acquaintances, which one sees again and again, either when going out or on the Mariahilferstraße (main shopping street) by coincidence, but those are only superficial acquaintances” (Male consumer, Vienna)

The closer circle of friends is stable (from childhood, school or hobbies) and stays the same for a longer period of time while the acquaintances are more flexible and change.

“My circle of friends is extremely diverse and it varies a lot. (...) I get along with different kind of people, but I’m very accurate in who I consider a real friend” (Male non-consumer, Turku)

Non-users generally have none or only a very few friends who use drugs; they tend to count these people among their acquaintances:

“Among my close friends, as far as I know, no one uses drugs. In my larger circle of acquaintances, some have tried cannabis, but with those I don’t have close relations” (Male non-consumer, Vienna)

“I don’t have friends who take tabs or something similar. They are all healthy people; they pay attention to their physic and to their head and don’t want to damage themselves. At the most they exceed in drinking” (Male non-consumer, Bologna)

“Personally, I am very selective. It bothers me to be with users. I don’t have friends who use, I know people who smoke joints but they are not my friends” (Male non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

Some non-users have very strong opinions about drug users. They consider drug use to be linked to weak character and therefore do not want to have contact with users:

“I don’t like a friend of mine taking drugs. I think it’s absurd... These persons are ridiculous and weak. This stands also for those smoking cigarettes” (Female non-consumer, Athens)

Others nevertheless differentiate between different kinds of drugs and accept users of “soft drugs” at least as acquaintances:

“I have difficulty in contacting someone who is heroin addict, but I can go around with a person smoking joints from time to time” (Female non-consumer, Athens)

And some have drug-using friends and nevertheless stay non-users.

“I don’t have a problem with people smoking hashish and I also keep company with them. This is not something that affects our friendship. I don’t mind if a friend takes “soft” drugs. (...) My friend just takes drugs, but I don’t” (Female non-consumer, Athens)

“I go out with mainly alcohol consumers. I don’t mind. You notice the difference at the end of the night when everyone is drunk and I’m not” (Female non-consumer, Utrecht)

EXPERIENCE IN NIGHTLIFE

When users go out with users this is generally a good reason for using drugs:

“I haven’t spent a night with my friends using drugs without taking drugs altogether” (Female consumer, Athens)

But this is not always the case. Some users refrain from drugs even if they are surrounded by other users:

“I often go out with people who consume and I not, but this doesn’t matter. (...) Very probably you can sit or talk for hours with someone, who has consumed cocaine and this is not unpleasant for you as a sober person. Whereby someone, who has consumed ecstasy, can be already very exhausting. Someone under the influence of cocaine talks much and does not listen to the other. I have some very good friends, who consume very much coke and I accustomed to the fact that they are always under the influence of it” (Female consumer, Vienna)

When non-users go out with users, they have different experiences:

“It happens that my friends consume and I don’t, but this is not a problem. (...)” (Male non-consumer, Vienna)

Going out in a “user group” is not always very comfortable and easy for non-users especially if there is some pressure towards use. So we can understand that most of the non-users prefer to go out with a majority of non-using friends.

“I have two groups of friends, in one nobody smokes or drinks and in the other one the only person who doesn’t use anything is me and it’s a bit suffocating. It’s

difficult for them to understand that I don't use anything and as there are a lot of them it is a little suffocating I generally drink juice. I used to drink milk but they laughed at me. In the end I decided to drink juice" (Female non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

"I enjoy myself on very few occasions with my friends because when they start drinking like this, they create groups and exclusive cliques. Then I decide to leave and wait for another occasion to be with them. I do not want to get involved in this because I know that I am going to have a hard time and I want to be aware of what I am doing" (Female non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

Some of the non-users have no problems when they go out with users; they are able to adapt their behaviour to the group and their own motivations:

"When I go out with people who do not drink anything at all, I know what I am doing and when I go out with other people, ones who do drink then I also know what I'm getting myself into. I can choose according to how I feel, to go out with one group or another" (Male non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

One participant from Spain told us about a very specific role she adopts when going out with users: She assists them when they start to feel bad and helps them when necessary e.g. for getting home.

"My friends began to smoke joints, drink and take tablets on Fridays and Saturdays, a year ago. In the end, it is my friend and I, who are not users, who are the ones who have to put up with it. At three o'clock in the morning, they are lying on the ground vomiting. More than once it has been us who have had to go with them, out of their minds, by car to their house, or somewhere else so that their parents do not see them. I tell them that if they knew how to drink or get high it would be alright, if they were to take a couple of joints, get high and then stop, I wouldn't mind, but no, not them, they drink and they get as high as they can.." (Female non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

Boldt also cites negative experiences with drug consumers, as in the following citation: "[...] that they can't control themselves anymore (...) she has been lying on the floor moving convulsively and became panicked and maybe she didn't even realise herself what happened with her. And if no one would have taken care of her, who knows what would have happened... who knows.."

"Negative experience" is generally observed when bad effects occur to users – so having some using friends could work somewhat as a protective factor. These negative experiences – group pressure and "bad behaviour" of users - can be an explanation for the fact that non-consumers tend to form groups of non-consumers and do not have many consuming friends.

If sometimes users go out with non-users, their feelings are different: Some users refrain from using drugs when they go out with non-users, but this can be scarified fun:

“I can do without sometimes. It’s always when people are around who don’t take anything. But then I go home earlier. It’s not so much fun then” (Female consumer, Berlin)

While others don’t mind that much...

“I avoid using drugs with my friends, who don’t take drugs, because I don’t want them to be in a spot...” (Male consumer, Athens)

The consumers’ behaviour also depends on the degree of tolerance and the feedback of the non-users:

“I would use drugs with my non-users friends if they accepted this kind of behaviour” (Male consumer, Athens)

Users don’t want to feel uncomfortable because of the prejudice of non-users.

“I think that the majority of non-users are against drug use. Naturally, I avoid keeping company with non-users being biased about this behaviour. On the other hand, I have some old friends refraining from drugs who are not prejudiced. I wouldn’t say that I have less substantial friendly relations with them, but due to my way of life, I rarely meet them” (Female consumer, Athens)

In general mutual tolerance is a key factor in ensuring good relations between users and non-users.

“It doesn’t matter to me whether someone uses or not. Most of my friends don’t, but if someone joins us, it’s okay that he or she smokes, as long as they don’t blow smoke in my face. I respect them if they respect me” (Female non-consumer, Utrecht)

“There are people who go out and get high and others who go out and use nothing. As far as I’m concerned, they can do as they please. I have user friends and I don’t use, nobody tells me that I have to use drugs. I go out with them, I enjoy myself and that’s it. It’s not necessary to take anything to enjoy yourself; everybody has to do as he pleases” (Male non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

FRIENDSHIP AND DRUG USE

The process of forming social groups is determined by two forces: one force of attraction between persons with similar behaviour and interest and one of rejection between persons with different behaviour and motivations.

As already mention in the paragraph about cocaine: using drugs together strengthens the bonds of friendship – because it means doing something illegal together.

“I share more activities with friends using drugs than with my friends refraining from drugs, because I think that drug use strengthens our friendship” (Male consumer, Athens)

“My friends and I used to take drugs during our leisure time, such as in the car on our way to a cafeteria or a club at Friday nights” (Male consumer, Athens)

This is one reason for the fact that users generally form groups with other people who use (the same) drugs. For example, users of illegal drugs generally distance themselves from (heavy) drinkers.

Non-users share this view:

“I think that illicit drug users want to keep company with persons taking drugs in order to share this activity” (Male non-consumer, Athens)

Some informants also reported that their peer group changed when they started to use drugs. A lot of their former friends did not want to be their friends any more.

“When I started doing drugs there were changes in my circle of friends. The first time was quite hard when they shut the door over my nose. I was not welcome” (Male consumer, Turku)

Fortunately this is not always the case as there are also tolerant non-users:

“I take drugs and I have been with people who don’t and I’ve done drugs and it’s not because of this that they’ve stopped talking to me” (Male consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

In the same logic, the circle of friends also changes if a user tries stopping drug use.

“They’re people who have had a drug problem but now they are sober. I’ve met them in places where sober people usually go. It’s clear that you cannot be anymore with the former drug pals. And I don’t even want to, because they’re on a totally different level” (Male consumer, Turku)

On the other hand, users also separate themselves from non-using friends:

“I had a friend who began to smoke joints, then she went on to coke and then pills. I didn’t want to stop being her friend, I told her that I would support her, be near her but that I didn’t like what she was doing. But she stopped being my friend. When people take these things their character changes, they become more self-centred, think about themselves more” (Female non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

DIFFERENT LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Opinions on the question of whether non-users and users form distinct groups in leisure time are divided:

“As far as I am concerned, there are no particular activities that I do with user or non-users. People in my group take drugs occasionally. I think there isn’t a borderline between those who use drugs and those who don’t use drugs” (Male consumer, Bologna)

“I don’t agree with you. I think there are things you basically do with persons that take drugs and other things with people who don’t take them. I mean there are places where you often meet people that take drugs or you go there with them” (Male consumer, Bologna)

Nevertheless, participants believed that to some extent, users and non-users seem to have different leisure activities and to go to different places when they go out.

Generally users seem to go out more often in the evening and the night than non-users. Non-users mention other activities such as going for an excursion in the woods or to the beach.

“With those who drink, I go out more often, because they go out more often. The non-users rather stay at home” (Male non-consumer, Vienna)

“I have many things in common with my friends who use licit substances (cigarettes, whiskey, beer, etc), such as sports, but I don’t go to nightclubs with them very much. On the other hand, I mostly share nightlife activities with close friends who don’t use substances” (Male non-consumer, Athens)

“With addicts I share dancing, music and flirts. With non-addict sports: in the gym, I see more heterogeneous people, not everybody goes to disco on Saturday and not everybody takes tabs” (Male consumer, Bologna)

“There are like two different worlds, which meet each other only for a while at the beginning of the weekend and then they go away” (Male consumer, Bologna)

The fact that non-users go out less than users is one explanation why users who have non-user friends tend to share other activities with them.

For users, non-users appear to enjoy going out less than users, and consequently users have difficulties in “connecting” with them:

“My friends, who don’t take drugs, usually don’t go to discos and if they do they stay aside. They can’t follow the others and have the same rhythm. It’s like they were out of time” (Male consumer, Bologna)

Nevertheless differences in leisure activities are not accepted by all participants:

“The friends that take drugs like to go to the disco; they often take drugs to be high on Saturday night, to dance until the dawn comes. But the activities are more or less the same. There aren’t differences between addicts and non-addicts. The users I know take drugs only on Saturday evening, they aren’t real drug addicts. Sometimes they take some drugs, but they are like other people, they do the same things, they go to the same places” (Female non-consumer, Bologna)

“It seems to me, that users and non-users do more or less the same things. Of course, people who take drugs prefer the disco on Saturday night, instead of other kind of entertainment. So, if we decide not to go to the disco to make an excursion they don’t come and go out with other groups. Then they prefer clubs,

where there is a special kind of music, prevalently techno and hardcore” (Male non-consumer, Bologna)

Another aspect is the method of having fun – so users and non-users can frequent the same places without having the same experience, behaviour and motivations.

“Activities aren’t different; it’s the way you do them. The places where we have fun are more or less the same but the way of conceiving fun is different. Everybody goes to the disco or to the pubs but only somebody think that it’s necessary to take tabs if you want to have fun” (Female non-consumer, Bologna)

“I think you are right. The fact is that users have fewer alternatives” (Male non-consumer, Bologna)

GROUP PRESSURE

One reason for the borders between users and non-users is certainly group pressure and we should be aware of the fact that there can be pressure to “use drugs” but also pressure “not to use drugs” as well.

“When you join a company of drug users, you feel uncomfortable to refuse taking drugs. On the other hand, those who don’t take drugs are highly likely to influence you to refrain from drugs” (Male consumer, Athens)

If some members of the group start taking drugs, the others are pushed to take the same drugs as well because they want to feel part of the group.

“In my company we use almost all drugs in a more or less regular way. (...) For me it is important to take drugs when other people do it. I like to be in agreement with the group, to feel good” (Female consumer, Bologna)

“It’s a part of the ritual taking drugs with my friends. You can’t shag down by yourself. You are a part of the whole” (Male consumer, Bologna)

Drug use creates a specific atmosphere inside the group (e.g. because of altered behaviour) and if one member does not consume he will stay outside the group, just not “catch up with the other”.

“The fact of taking drugs with the others is very important otherwise you are a stranger. You don’t agree with the group and you aren’t a part of the group. You are excluded. In fact, if you don’t take drugs while the other do it you feel like a fish out of water” (Male consumer, Bologna)

We see that drug use creates very strong bonds between individuals in a group and non-consumers will stay excluded just because they do not use with the others.

Boldt cites the following example of social pressure against drug use: “Well not all of my friends would accept [if I started to use drugs]. Some of them would say: Stop it or do something to get out of this! I can imagine that some of them would also distance themselves because they would be disappointed”

The majority of participants in the different focus groups are aware that group pressure exists at least to some amount, but not all agree. They forward arguments such as personality, which helps people to resist.

“It depends on your personality, on how you generally behave and if you are used to thinking on your own” (Male non-consumer, Bologna)

Motivations also help the non user resist peer pressure:

“I think it’s only a matter of the motivations you have. If you don’t care, you can abandon yourself and do all that the others do. If you have at least one good reason you don’t do it” (Male non-consumer, Bologna)

“The more people push me into something I don’t want to do, the more I resist” (Female non-consumer, Liverpool)

“I am not influenced by my friends using alcohol or drugs..., because I know that this does not offer me anything. I hardly drink alcohol. This depends on my mood. In other words, if I want to drink, my friends may influence me, but this is very rare...” (Female non-consumer, Athens)

Age seems to have an impact on group pressure – the older the respondents are the less they feel influenced by the pressure of their peers. On one hand younger people – from thirteen to twenty years – are seen as “weaker” when they act against their friends’ opinions, and they are also seen as less informed.

“Taking drugs because your friends do depends on age” (Female consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

“The problem is age and that people are well informed at that age, in order to be able to refuse” (Female consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

On the other hand social pressure from the peer group towards drug use seems to be especially high at this age and diminishes later:

“Between fifteen and eighteen and even up to twenty, it is totally impossible to say no if your friends use drugs. There are some who say no but the majority can’t do it... Users when they are fifteen/sixteen go up to a non-user and say: ‘look at this kid, the one who doesn’t take anything’, looking down on them” (Male consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

“Later, someone who doesn’t do drugs can even make you feel envious” (Female consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

Young adolescence is a period of live when old groups and bonds weaken and new groups have to be built up. In this period of change, individuals are especially vulnerable and susceptible to peer pressure.

“When you are very young, the family doesn’t exist and the friends of earlier times don’t exist. There is only your group and you don’t leave it” (Male consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

COMMUNICATION

Another topic discussed in the focus groups was “communication”. Users think that communication is better with other users especially if they’ve used the same drugs.

“It’s more that you have to be on the same drugs to get in contact” (Male consumer 28, Berlin)

“When I’m high I can only relate to people who have also taken something” (Female consumer 22, Berlin)

“I also think that users cannot have fun with non-users since they cannot communicate with each other” (Male consumer, Athens)

“It’s not only that you have a good time, it’s simply that those who are taking drugs are on a different wavelength” (Female consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

Boldt also underlines the aspect that communication between users and non-users seems to be difficult: “I remark that I can speak more easily with persons who don’t take drugs. They are just in a different kind of mood, of mental state”

Her study also strengthens the argument that communication between users and non-users might be difficult because of drug-use: “Non-consumers often feel as “left aside” because they experience difficulties in communicating with people who are under the influence of drugs, and on the other hand they see the very good social contacts of their using friends which are even improved (“ecstasy = social drug”) [by the consume]”

STRANGE BEHAVIOUR

As a source of discomfort when being with users, non-users often cited the strange behaviour that people adopt under the influence of drugs:

“I make sure that I go out with people who don’t drink and smoke dope, or in moderation. But it gets on my nerves when I’m just surrounded by people who are out of their brains. I leave then. (...). I prefer to be with non-consumers. They’re more honest somehow. If they get sentimental, for example, it comes from within them and not because they’ve just taken something. It’s more relaxing with people on the same wavelength” (Male non-consumer, Berlin)

“With my friends from college who are users, I also enjoy myself when we are in college because they don’t use anything there. Outside they are a pain, they drink, start to say stupid things, their eyes get red and I don’t like it” (Female non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

“I have something like two opinions, one a close up view and one from a distance. Let me explain, looked at from a distance, even if I see that my friends are slightly out of it, I think it’s funny, but the point where it bothers me is when I try to talk to someone and they do not understand anything, when you can’t talk to anybody, when they take no notice of you, you feel you’re preaching in the

wilderness. But, on the other hand, people who are very shy and when they drink, they change completely, they are like Mr. Hyde. This is what upsets me, I say to myself, “what a pity that they have to drink to be so nice!” I have a friend who since he has been taking cocaine is a great guy, chatty and very cool and before that he was rather difficult and stupid. Now he is friendly and you look forward to talking to him” (Male-non consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

What is interesting in Boldt’s study in regard to our chapter is that several young people cited their experience with drug-using friends as one reason why they do not take drug. For example we cite: “And I always see some changes in the character of my friends or acquaintances ... they become very cool. Sometimes they don’t know their best friends any more. This has nothing to do with arrogance, but they are superficial”

Users (and ex-users) generally do not mind being with people who have consumed drugs, but there are different opinions:

“Very probably you can sit or talk for hours with someone who has consumed cocaine and this is not unpleasant for you as a sober person. Whereby someone who has consumed ecstasy can be already very exhausting. Someone under the influence of cocaine talks much and does not listen to the other. I have some very good friends, who consume very much coke and I accustomed to the fact that those are always under the influence of it” (Female consumer, Vienna)

“For me the people or friends under the influence of cocaine are honestly said too fatiguing, because they talk very much and are very convinced about their self” (Male consumer, Vienna)

“If it is a person who has at least tried it, it influences you more. If it is a person who hasn’t tried it they look at you differently. But if it is someone who has tried it, it’s as if they understand it better” (Female consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

Users think that drugs help you to get a better connected to other people:

“With other drugs it’s more fun if the others are doing them too. If they’re on the same perceptive level. The connection is better then” (Male consumer, Berlin)

SOCIAL INTEGRATION

EASY TO MAKE NEW FRIENDS

Both consumers and non-consumer agree that is it very easy (43% to 36%) or easy (39% to 45%) to make new friends.

We see that consumers describe themselves as a little bit more communicative than non-consumers. Even if this result is significant ($\chi^2 = 10,697$, $p = 0.013$), the difference between the groups is not that important as significance is only due to differences in the first two categories: “I strongly agree” is chosen more often by consumers while non-consumers choose “I agree” more often.

Table 3.20: Respondents finding it easy to make new friends by drug use behaviour		
Easy to make new friends	Consumer (n=932)%	Non-consumer (n=825)%
Strongly agree	42.8	36.9
Agree	38.5	45.6
Disagree	14.2	14.4
Strongly disagree	4.5	4.1

In general, we can say that there is no big difference - this results goes against theories that consumers need drugs to overcome their “shyness”... But we cannot say whether consumers included the effects of their drug taking in their responses: They might become more communicative when they have taken drugs and in consequence, see themselves as more communicative persons.

EASY TO GET ON WITH PEOPLE OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

The next question is a little more specific, being about how well people get on with the opposite sex.

Table 3.21: Respondents finding it easy to get on with people of the opposite sex by drug use behaviour		
Easy to get on with people of the opposite sex	Consumer (n = 933) %	Non-consumer (n = 832) %
Strongly agree	54.6	43.8
Agree	31.1	33.4
Disagree	10.7	19.6
Strongly disagree	3.6	3.2

This result is significant ($\chi^2 = 34,565$, $p = 0.000$) which means that more consumers state that it is easy for them to get on with persons from the opposite sex. The difference between the groups is more obvious here than in the preceding question as 10% more consumers strongly agree and nearly 10% more non-consumers disagree.

As for the preceding questions we cannot know whether consumers included the effects of drug consumption in their answers: ecstasy for example is said to make communication easier and to make a person more “open “ to others.

For non-consumers we find another important difference: women seem to get on better with men than the other way round: 47% of females compared with 36% of males strongly agree, whilst for consumers there was no sex difference.

HIS/HER OPINIONS ARE IMPORTANT TO THE FRIENDS

In comparison to consumers, non-consumers seem to consider their opinions to be a little less valued by their friends but the difference lies only in the first two categories: Consumers more often “strongly agree” while non-consumers “agree” more often. In the two “disagree-categories” there is no important difference.¹¹

Table 3.22: Whether respondents consider their opinions to be important to their friends by drug use behaviour		
His/her opinions are important to the friends	Consumer (n = 930) %	Non-consumer (n = 828) %
Strongly agree	40.9	33.9
Agree	42.8	49.0
Disagree	13.6	14.7
Strongly disagree	2.8	2.6

Possibly consumers form rigid groups with more homogenous opinions inside the group.

LIKE TO BE ALONE

Although consumers were more likely to “strongly agree” that they liked to be alone, more non-consumers answered “I agree” and on the whole, there is no big difference between the groups.¹² What we can say nevertheless is that consumers seem to choose the “extreme” category more often than non-users.

Table 3.23: Like to be alone by drug use behaviour		
Like to be alone	Consumer (n=933)%	Non-consumer (n=829)%
Strongly agree	25.9	21.1
Agree	26.6	34.4
Disagree	29.2	27.5
Strongly disagree	18.3	17.0

This result and the preceding ones seem to go against theories that drug users have low self-esteem and other psychosocial problems.

¹¹ This result is significant ($\chi^2 = 10,177, p = 0.017$).

¹² This result is significant ($\chi^2 = 14, 000. p = 0.003$).

TAKES PART IN VOLUNTARY/ SOCIAL WORK

More non-consumers take part in voluntary or social work. This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 48,682$, $p = 0.000$). Consumers chose “agree” less often and the “strongly disagree” more often than non-consumers.

Table 3.24: Takes part in voluntary/ social work by drug use behaviour		
Takes part in voluntary/ social work	Consumer (n = 931) %	Non-consumer (n = 831) %
Strongly agree	11.8	19.7
Agree	15.6	21.1
Disagree	24.1	25.5
Strongly disagree	48.5	33.7

The consumer sample is slightly older (mean age 20,52 years versus 20,04 for non-consumers) sample but with increasing age more consumers and more non-consumers take part in social work, and therefore the difference stays the same.

To engage in some kind of association seems to have a protective effect on the consumption of legal substances (especially for girls) as shown by Bohrn and Bittner (2000). This is particular true for excessive smoking of older adolescents (boys and girls). As for the use of illegal substances only a slight influence has been observed.

HAS A GREAT TIME DURING DAILY LIFE

Non-consumers seem to spend a better time during their daily life: They disagree more often than non-consumers and agree less.¹³

Table 3.25: Has a great time during daily life by drug use behaviour		
Has a great time during daily life	Consumer (n = 930) %	Non-consumer (n = 829) %
Strongly agree	27.0	35.5
Agree	389.1	43.5
Disagree	24.6	16.8
Strongly disagree	9.2	4.2

Possibly some consumers use drugs to escape from daily routine.

¹³ This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 41,248$, 0.000).

WANT TO CONTRIBUTE TO MAKE THE WORLD A BETTER PLACE

Non-consumers seem to be a little more idealistic – they say more often that they would like to contribute towards making the world a better place.¹⁴

Want to contribute to make the world a better place	Consumer (n = 928) %	Non-consumer (n = 829) %
Strongly agree	40.6	46.1
Agree	31.0	30.6
Disagree	176.4	14.8
Strongly disagree	12.0	8.4

For both consumers and non-consumers, more older respondents strongly agree.

3.4. CONCLUSIONS

If we had to describe the typical non-user we could say that, compared to users, more non-users are students, and therefore a larger part of them still live with their families. They describe themselves as less inclined to left-wing ideologies and are more likely to believe in some kind of religion.

As we see, for all substances the perceived drug consumption of parents is higher for consumers than for non-consumers. Of course, we tend to say that the “bad example” given by parents influences adolescents’ behaviour.

However the large majority of users do not have parents who use illicit drugs – in fact only 6% use cannabis and 2% other illicit drugs. And vice versa, a majority of non-users have parents who consume alcohol and/ or tobacco. So parental drug use can only be one influence in a large picture that modifies the “children’s” drug (mis)use.

Another fact that we should bear in mind is: “The adolescents’ perception of adults substance use, including their parents, is, however (and irrespective of being correct or not) determined more by their own substance use than what is really verifiable” (Coimbra, 1999:54)

So consumers might tend to “over-estimate” their parents’ drug use to justify and explain their own consume patterns.

In further research, attention should be paid to this reasoning (e.g. in also asking parents about their drug consumption) as well as to other aspects that have not been taken in account in this study: For reasons of economy (length of the interview) the

¹⁴ This result is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 8,961$, $p = 0.030$).

present study did not ask for the amount of substance(s) used nor for the feelings that children experienced in their childhood in relation to their parents drug consumption. Here more in-depth data could provide better insight in mechanisms of influence.

For the actual situation with their family, non-users have better relations with their parents: they feel more integrated in family decision, are happier to share housework with the family and on the whole, share more time and activities with their parents.

What we have already said for parents is also true for siblings: consumers' siblings use substances more often than brothers and sisters of non-consumers.

While there is no big difference between parents and siblings for alcohol and tobacco, for cannabis use and other illicit substances differences between users and non-users are more pronounced for siblings than parents. This might be due to the bigger influence that siblings have on their sisters and brothers.

But even for consumers a large majority have no sibling who uses any substance, and among non-consumers, 10% have using siblings. Possibly their experience has been felt in a negative way by respondents and discouraged them from use.

For further research more information about the situation of use would be interesting. The age of siblings according to the respondent's age (if siblings are very young it is more likely that they do not use drugs), the setting of use (home or nightlife), the amount of substances used, the feelings of respondents in regard to drug use by their siblings/ parents.

In conclusion to our data about the peer groups we can say that most of users and non-users say a half to a majority of their friends are alcohol drinkers and smokers.

Non-users know only very few people who take illicit substances. They mainly go out with alcohol consumers and people who smoke tobacco and/ or cannabis. Cannabis seems to be the "cutting point" between accepted drugs – accepted by non-users – and non-accepted ones such as ecstasy, cocaine and heroin.

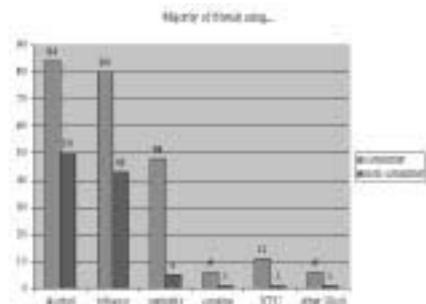
Users also have half or the majority of their friends who smoke cannabis while this is only the case for 16% of non-users.

For all other drugs, a large majority of non-users (over 80%) have no users among their friends; between 10% and 18% know a few users. (For comparison: 40%- 46% of users have no friend who uses drugs other than cannabis, 34%-38% have a few).

The main reasons that non-consumers form groups apart from users are:

- Negative experience with users
- Strange behaviour of users

Figure 3.1: "Majority of friends" using psychoactive substances



- Difficult communication between users and non-users
- Different leisure activities

Group pressure can encourage drug use but prevent use as well, depending on the group norms.

Compared to users non-users seem to be a little less communicative and a bit less integrated in their circle of friends, a larger percentage of them have a better time during daily life.

Non-users take part in social/ voluntary work more often than users, which could be linked to the fact that they describe themselves more often as “believing in some religion”.

They believe that the world would be a better place without drugs.

These findings go in the same direction as what Bohrn and Bittner (2000) found about some psychic characteristics of adolescent drug users:

Adolescents who have tried drugs and consumers are more communicative, more sociable, more accepted and consider themselves more appreciated by their friends. They are also less reserved; in social situations they are less embarrassed than non-users. These findings are in contrast to the widespread theory that “only individuals with problems use drugs to get along with their life”. In fact, good capacities of communication and open behaviour seem to be rather a risk than a protective factor.

ANNEX

Perceived use among friends from ESPAD 1999.

p. 349 - 350	Alcohol (%)	Tobacco (%)	Cannabis (%)	Cocaine (%)	XTC (%)
France	34	51	33	3	2
Greece	61	49	12	3	5
Italy	56	70	37	9	9
Portugal	38	31	17	3	6
United Kingdom	79	41	37	5	6
Netherlands	61	35	20	2	2

4. USERS AND NON USERS IN RELATION TO RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

4.1. INTRODUCTION

“I like going out to meet friends I haven’t seen for a while, but also those I see regularly. I like to meet in a café. Discos aren’t that important to me any more. But getting out of the flat is important.” (Female non-consumer, Berlin)

This chapter deals with the following topics: To what extent are non-users involved in nightlife activities compared to users? What are the alternatives for nightlife apart from going out to a nightclub? Are there differences between the two groups as regards the reasons they go out and the places they choose to frequent? What activities could be involved in nightlife settings in order to enable non-users to enjoy themselves more? What are the favourite types of music among each group? What are the two groups’ views of the reasons related to drug use in nightlife settings? What images have do drug users have about non-users and vice versa? We will also examine if there are differences between Mediterranean and Central/Northern European countries’ users and non users as regards the above mentioned topics.

4.2 NIGHTLIFE – CLUBBING

WEEKENDS PER MONTH GOING CLUBBING

As could be expected consumers go clubbing more frequently than non consumers¹. During the last month 66.1% of consumers compared with 44.2% of non consumers went clubbing three or four weekends. Additionally, 16.9% of non consumers did not go out to a bar or nightclub at all in the last month (table 4.1). There is no difference between male users and female users but only between male non users and female non users (table 4.2).

Consumers not only go clubbing more weekends per month but also more nights per weekend compared to non consumers. Half of consumers, 50.4%, usually go clubbing two to three nights per weekend, while only one third, 33.1%, of non consumers do this². The majority, 60.2%, of recreational drug users under 19 years of age go clubbing two

¹ Pearson Chi square = 100.98; 2 degrees of freedom; p (exact, two-way) = 0.000.

² Pearson Chi square = 45.9; 2 degrees of freedom; p (exact, two-way) = 0.000.

Table 4.1: Weekend clubbing last month, users and non users		
	Users of drug %	Non users %
None	6,1	16,9
1-2 weekend	27,8	38,9
3-4 weekend	66,1	44,2

Table 4.2: Weekend clubbing last month, non users by gender		
	Male %	Female %
None	14,5	19,0
1-2 weekend	37,7	40,0
3-4 weekend	47,8	41,0

to three nights per weekend compared with 41.6% of users over 20 years of age³. There is no such difference between the two age groups of non users (33.2% versus 33% respectively)⁴. Additionally, there is no significant difference between male and female users⁵ and male and female non users⁶ as regards the nights per weekend they usually going out clubbing.

If we compare the Mediterranean countries (France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain) with the Central and Northern European countries (Austria, Britain, Germany, Finland, Holland) that participated in the Sonar project, we see that there are some similarities and differences between them regarding the habits of consumers and non consumers.

There is no significant difference between the countries as regards the number of weekends users go clubbing per month. More precisely, 64.2% of users and 46.9% of non users from Mediterranean countries compared with 68.1% and 40.2% respectively of Central and Northern countries go clubbing three to four weekends per month. Non-consumers from Mediterranean cities go out more frequently than non-consumers from Northern / Central cities⁷.

On the other hand, as regards the number of nights out per weekend, both users and non users from Mediterranean countries go out more than users and non users from Central/Northern countries. That is 51.1% of users and 34.8% of non users from Mediterranean countries usually go clubbing two or three nights per weekend⁸

³ Pearson Chi square = 28; 2 degrees of freedom; p (exact, two-way) = 0.000.

⁴ Pearson Chi square = 1.6; 2 degrees of freedom; p (exact, two-way) = 0.45.

⁵ Pearson Chi square = 2.2; 2 degrees of freedom; p (exact, two-way) = 0.33.

⁶ Pearson Chi square = 4.2; 2 degrees of freedom; p (exact, two-way) = 0.12.

⁷ Pearson Chi square = 4.2; 2 degrees of freedom; p (exact, two-way) = 0.019.

⁸ Pearson Chi square = 21.5; 2 degrees of freedom; p (exact, two-way) = 0.000.

compared with 9.7% and 31.3% respectively from Central/Northern countries (table 4.3)⁹.

Table 4.3: Nights per weekend (2-3 night) going clubbing for users and non users by countries.		
	Users of drug %	Non users %
Mediterranean countries	51,1	34,9
Central/northern countries	9,7	31,3

HOURS GOING OUT

As regards the hours they usually are out for each clubbing session consumers stay out longer (mean hour=7.7) than non consumers (mean hour=5.8¹⁰). Males stay out longer than females among both users¹¹ and non-users¹² and younger respondents (under 19 years old) stay out longer than older respondents (> 20 years old) among both users and non-users¹³ (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Mean hours spent out for clubbing by gender and age group for consumers and non consumers.		
	Consumers	Non consumers
Male	8,1	6,1
Female	7,2	5,5
Under 19 years old	7,8	6
More than 20 years old	7,7	5,6
Mediterranean area	7,4	6,2
Central-northern area	7,9	5,3
Total	7,7	5,8

Consumers from Central / Northern European cities stay out a bit longer than non-consumers (differences in means are not statistically significant for a T-test comparison). On the contrary, non-consumers from Mediterranean cities stay out longer than others from Central / Northern cities¹⁴.

⁹ Differences are not statistically significant: neither for users (Pearson Chi square = 0.31; 2 degrees of freedom; p (exact, two-way) = 0.87) nor for non-users (Pearson Chi square = 4; 2 degrees of freedom; p (exact, two-way) = 0.14).

¹⁰ T = 9.1; 1483 degrees of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

¹¹ T = 2.6; 823.9 degrees of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.011.

¹² T = 2.5; 788 degrees of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.012.

¹³ T = 2.1; 788 degrees of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.032.

¹⁴ T = 3.7; 451 degrees of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

REASONS FOR GOING OUT

The three most important reasons among both consumers and non consumers for going out are first of all to meet their friends (around 90%), secondly to listen to music (around 80%) and thirdly to switch off from the daily routine (around 70%) (Table 4.5). Other important reasons are to get to know different people (around 67%) and to go dancing (around 60%). Moreover, a significant percentage (around 35%) consider looking for a partner to be an important reason for going out.

	Consumers	Non consumers
Going dancing	61,7	59,4
Meeting new people	67,8	66,9
Meeting friend	88,5	90,3
Listening to music	81,6	78,5
Looking for a partner	39,5	35,4
Looking for sex	35,2	25,6
Swiching off from daily routine	73,9	69,9
Drinking alcohol	53,8	—
Looking for drugs	35,1	—

The only significant differences between consumers and non consumers as regards the reasons for going out is that 35.2% of the former consider looking for sex an important reason for going out compared with 25.6% of the latter¹⁵. It is important that drinking alcohol (53.8% of consumers and 7.2% of non consumers¹⁶) and looking for drugs (35.1% of consumers and 4.2% of non consumers¹⁷) are other reasons for going out.

The above similarities and differences exist also between male users and non users and between female users and non users. Additionally, if we compare younger and older users with younger and older non users, we observe the following differences: 77.2% and 70.4% of young (<= 19 years old) users respectively consider switching off from the daily routine and going dancing as important reasons for going out, while the corresponding percentages for young non users are 70.6% and 62.9%. Moreover, there is a significant difference between older (>19 years old) users and non users, with 33.7% of older users compared with 24.7% of older non users considering looking for a partner as an important reason for going out¹⁸.

Examining any differences between Mediterranean and Central/Northern countries as regards the reasons users and non users present as being important for going out we

¹⁵ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 18.2; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

¹⁶ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 385.7; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

¹⁷ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 253.2; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

¹⁸ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 8.1; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.004.

observe the following: 91.4% of users from Mediterranean countries compared with 85.6% of users from Central/Northern countries said that meeting their friends is an important reason for going out¹⁹. Moreover, 32.7% of non users from Mediterranean countries compared with 15.6% of non users from Central/Northern countries consider looking for sex as an important reason for going out²⁰.

PLACES YOU USUALLY GO OUT

As regards the places where club goers go out, the majority of non consumers prefer venues where illegal drugs are not used (75%), compared with 26.3% of consumers²¹. Also, the majority of non-users prefer non-smoking venues (67.4%, by 15.3% of users²²). It is also important to them that cheap non alcoholic drinks are available (76.0%), while only 56.6% of consumers consider this as important²³. Almost half (44.0%) of non users would also like to go to places where alcohol is not sold²⁴ (table 4.6). Additionally, 40.7% of non users and 33.8% of users believe that it is easy to find places where nobody takes illegal drugs²⁵. On the other hand, consumers like music to be played very loud in venues (64.9%²⁶) and the clubs and discos to be full of people (61.2%²⁷) while the relative percentages for non users are lower (55.1% and 55.8%, respectively). Male users (62.4%), and younger users (68.0%) prefer to go out in crowded places more so than male non users (52.4%), and younger non users (59.5%). The above difference is not visible between female and older users and non users.

Table 4.6: Preferences of places to go out for users and non users as regard the substance

	Consumers	Non consumers
Non smoking venues	15,3	67,4
Places where alcohol not sold	11,2	44,0
Places where illegal drug not used	26,3	75,0
Places where cheap non-alcoholic drinks available	56,6	76,0

Almost half of consumers (49,8%) prefer places which are a little “seedy”, compared to 27.1% for non users²⁸. Moreover, around one third (29.2%) of both users

¹⁹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 7.2; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.007.

²⁰ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 25.6; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

²¹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 418.8; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

²² Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 444; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

²³ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 73.4; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

²⁴ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 215; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

²⁵ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 8.9; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.003.

²⁶ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 17.6; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

²⁷ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 5.2; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.022.

²⁸ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 93.7; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

and non users claim that in the areas where they usually go out, it is easy to come across violent situations such as robberies and fights. As regards health and safety issues, 43.5% of users and 38.6% of non users believe that it is easy to buy condoms in clubs and discos, while only 26.2% of non users and 21.4% of users say that, in the majority of the clubs and discos which they usually go, the toilets are clean.

Non-consumers seemed to feel that there were plenty of alternatives to going to pubs and clubs. For them going out is less related to clubbing. Not that they don't go to clubs or parties, but it is less dominant as part of their leisure time.

“For me going out is actually the outdoor life I live next to my study and work, time I spent with friends and family. This means going to the movies, eating outdoors or going to a bar, as long as it is relaxing. But also going to a party at a friends' house...” (Female non-consumer, Utrecht)

Some consumers also felt there were alternatives, but they either were not interested in them or did not think that their friends would be interested in them. Most of the users also said that they did not have hobbies.

“...I have plenty of leisure time. However I don't have any hobbies. During the week my mind is focused on the weekend, on going out clubbing...” (Female consumer, Utrecht).

Examining if there are differences between Mediterranean and Central/Northern countries as regards the places users and non users usually go out we observe the following:

1. Non-users from Central / Northern cities (72%) are more oriented to choose non-smoking venues than the ones from Mediterranean cities (64%)²⁹
2. Users (35%) and non users (37%) from Mediterranean countries believe that it is easier to come across violent situations such as robberies and fights in the areas where they usually go out, compare with users (23%)³⁰ and non users (18%)³¹ from Central/ Northern cities.
3. Moreover, 81.3% of non users from Mediterranean countries express that it is important to them to be able to buy cheap non-alcoholic drinks compared with 68.6% of non users from Central/Northern countries³². Among consumers, 61% from Mediterranean and 22% from Central / Northern cities expressed the same preference³³.
4. As regards the volume of music, 68.3% of users from Central/Northern countries prefer the music very loud compared with 61.79% of users from Mediterranean countries³⁴.

²⁹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 4.4; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.037.

³⁰ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 14.6; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

³¹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 32.4; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

³² Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 16.9; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

³³ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 7.1; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.008.

³⁴ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 4.3; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.039.

5. Additionally, 47.8% of users and 28.6% of non users from Mediterranean countries like places which are a little “seedy” compared with 51.7% of users and 24.9% of non users from Central/Northern countries. Differences are not statistically significant.
6. On the other hand, from the answers of both users and non users, we conclude that in Central/Northern countries it is easier to buy condoms in the clubs and discos: From Mediterranean cities, 30.7% of users and 30.8% of non-users agreed with this statement, compared with 56.7% and 50.3% of users and non-users from Central / Northern cities³⁵.
7. In Central/Northern cities the washrooms are cleaner in the clubs and discos than in Mediterranean cities: From Mediterranean cities, 9.9% of users and 15.8% of non-users agreed with this statement, compared with 33% and 41.2% of users and non-users from Central / Northern cities³⁶.

FAVOURITE MUSIC STYLE

“A successful night out for me is to have a good company and listen to music at my favourite bar”. (Female non-consumer, Athens)

Concerning their favourite music style (table 4.7), more consumers (39,9%) than non consumers (19,5%) prefer electronic music (acid jazz, hardcore-house, house, rhythm and bass, techno, trance and goa-trance). While non users (26,7%) tend to prefer pop music (chart music and pop), this music is only appreciated by 6,3% of consumers. As regards rock music (rock, metal, thrash metal and indie) around 23% of both users and non users prefer this music style. There is also a significant difference between users and non users as regards their preference to reggae music. More precisely, 4,6% of users prefer this style of music, while only 1,9% of non users have the same preference.

Music styles	Consumers	Non consumers
Electronic	30,9	19,5
Pop	6,3	26,7
Rock	24,9	21,3
Reagge	4,6	1,9

³⁵ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 62.6 and 30.6 for users and non-users respectively; 1 degree of freedom and p (two-way) = 0.000 in both comparisons.

³⁶ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 72.7 and 75 for users and non-users respectively; 1 degree of freedom and p (two-way) = 0.000 in both comparisons.

As regards the group of non users, more males prefer electronic music, 26.7%, while more females prefer pop music, 33.3%. In the group of users, younger users (≤ 19 years old) prefer electronic music (38.7%) while older users (> 19 years old) prefer rock music (31.4%).

Comparing the Mediterranean countries with Central/Northern countries, we observe some differences as regards the musical preference of users³⁷ and non users. Among users, there is not any difference between people from Mediterranean and Central / Northern cities in preferences towards pop music, however users from Mediterranean cities show more preference for rock music, and users from Central / Northern cities are more orientated towards electronic music and rap – hip hop. Non users from Mediterranean countries did not show any significant differences in favourite music when compared to non users of Central/Northern countries.

4.3. REASONS FOR USING DRUGS

“I like going out to meet friends I haven’t seen for a while, but also those I see regularly. I like to meet in a café. Discos aren’t that important to me any more. But getting out of the flat is important.” (Female non-consumer, Berlin)

The majority of users (80%³⁸) think that people who take illegal drugs, alcohol and tobacco when they are going out at weekends do so because taking drugs can make them feel good. Moreover, 73.9% of users believe that when they use substances they experience music and dancing more intensely³⁹ and 72.0% said that the use of substances helps people to enjoy themselves more⁴⁰. However only around half of non users believe that the above are good reasons for someone to use substances. Moreover, 56% of both users and non users think that substances help people to get away from their problems. As regards other less important reasons to take substances when going out, around half of users (51.9%) believe that drugs enable you to get on better with friends and help people to have a fuller experience of life⁴¹ (49.9%) while only 42.8% and 21.2% of non users respectively have the same opinion. Additionally, 34.8% of users and 16.2% of non users think that substances help people to improve their sex life⁴².

If we compare the views of younger (≤ 19 years old) and older (> 19 years old) users as regards the reasons they take drugs, the most significant differences that we observe are the following: Younger users are more likely than older users to believe that drugs help people to have a fuller experience of life (54.5% of younger compared to 45.7% of older users⁴³), that drugs help them to improve their sex life (39.1% of younger

³⁷ Pearson Chi square = 12.2; with 5 degrees of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.027.

³⁸ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 137.4; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

³⁹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 128.2; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

⁴⁰ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 93.4; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

⁴¹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 153.9; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

⁴² Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 76.7; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000.

⁴³ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 6.7; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.010.

compared to 30.8% of older users⁴⁴), and that drugs help people to experience music and dance more intensely⁴⁵. Younger drug users tend to agree that drugs help people to get away from problems (59.2%) more than older users (52.9%)⁴⁶.

Most of the users considered an important reason to use legal or illegal drugs at night was to have a good time.

“It’s hard to party without. Although I tried three times I think that drugs are still needed at parties. However, increasing my self esteem and getting into the music and people are not the most important reasons for drug taking. Most of all it’s the absolute lovely, amazing feeling of it. The drugs’ effect on my body and mind.”
(Female consumer, Utrecht)

Some users see drug use as in ‘you have to try everything at least once in your life’. In general, users agree that their drug use has an additional value to the way they spend leisure time. Drug use is conceived as mainly positive, but some admit there are also drawbacks to drug use.

Non users think that drug users are looking for different experiences. They think that the use of alcohol or drugs is a way to forget - they release the pain at least for a moment. Drug use is a learned habit, a social act, a way to identify oneself in a subculture. Non users explain their decisions to be sober. Most of them mentioned that they simply don’t like the taste of alcohol. They thought also that the effects of alcohol were mostly negative. Non users were quite active in society. It was also pointed out that people are more genuine when they are sober. Non-consumers believed they enjoyed themselves more because they were able to be themselves and get a ‘natural high’.

Comparing the Mediterranean with Central/Northern countries’ users, as regards their views about the reasons people take substances we observe the following differences: Users from Central/Northern countries believe more than users from Mediterranean countries that drugs and alcohol help people to enjoy themselves more (76.4% of Central/Northern countries’ compared with 68.2% of Mediterranean countries’ users⁴⁷), and that drugs enable you to get on better with friends (55.8% and 48.3% respectively⁴⁸). Users from Mediterranean countries were less likely than those from Central/Northern countries to agree that substance use helps to improve sex life (30.6% and 39.0% respectively⁴⁹), and that substance use enables people to have a fuller experience of life (46% versus 54%⁵⁰).

Both groups considered the people they went out with to be the most important factor in determining a good night out. Going dancing is attractive to both groups, but

⁴⁴ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 6.4; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.011.

⁴⁵ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 5.6; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.018.

⁴⁶ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 32.4; 1 degree of freedom; p (one-way) = 0.030.

⁴⁷ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 6.9; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.008.

⁴⁸ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 4.9; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.027.

⁴⁹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 6.9; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.008.

⁵⁰ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 5.7; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.017.

for non-users it is not the central free-time activity. They enjoy it, but it is not something that has to be done every weekend. Consumers did not say they needed alcohol or drugs to have a good night, although none of them mentioned choosing to go out without alcohol, particularly not at weekends

“Dance is vital for me in order to escape from the daily repression.”(Female consumer, Athens)

“I think that for me going out is definitely about dancing, which means forgetting my everyday life. Getting high without drugs...” (Male non-consumer, Berlin).

DRUG USERS' IMAGES ABOUT NON USERS' PERSONALITY AND COMMUNICATION ABILITY

The majority of non users (62,4%) say that drug users believe that non users cannot party for as long as users can and that they enjoy themselves less (61.6%). Moreover, around half of non users believe that users see them as a minority, (54.4%) and think that non users feel better about themselves (53.3%).

On the other hand, the majority (62.0%) of users think that non users enjoy themselves at least the same as them and that they can party for as long as others can (56.9%). Additionally, less than half of users believe that non users feel better about themselves (44.4%) and that they are seen as being rare (43.6%).

5. HAVING FUN AND STAYING SOBER?

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Comparative cultural research is always a great challenge. Lifestyles vary from culture to culture, from society to society and, naturally, from person to person. For this reason it is hard to compare people living in different cultures and societies, their different ways of living and thinking and different ways of communicating. This is not only related to how individuals and groups behave but also to the conscious and unconscious cultural conventions, the so-called cultural context, which influences us.

In this chapter we are focusing on young European non-consumers, who do not use any substances. We have constructed four specific research questions. At first, we would like to know who and what kind of people young European non-consumers are? This question is quite simply answered by the data. The other research questions are –more or less– connected to the cultural context as well as the individual’s decision-making. Secondly, we are interested in why they like to go out at weekends. Thirdly, we aim to find out why or for what reasons they do not use any substances at all. And finally, because the European cultures are quite substance friendly, we will explore what might be non-consumers’ strategies to survive under social pressure.

5.2 THE YOUNG EUROPEAN NON-CONSUMERS

This Irefrea study has reached more than 800 young European non-consumers from ten countries. The data has been constituted, firstly, of the survey data, which was collected in spring 2001, and secondly, of the focus group interview data, which was collected one year later in spring 2002. The quantitative data include 834 non-consumers, and the interviews include 71 young people. The sample was collected in recreational settings. The sample and methodology of the study are more deeply presented in Chapter 2.

In the survey data, the mean age of the young people was 20.3 years, and about half (51.5%) of them were female. The majority of these participants (65.2%) were students. Only about a fifth (17%) of them were permanently employed. In profiling the young European non-consumers, we have used information from the survey data as well as the focus group data.

In the focus group data, the majority of non-consumers were students, and the youngest ones were studying at secondary school. Only a few non-consumers were

permanently employed. There were, for example, hairdressers, teachers, and an ADP designer in the group. Besides this, there were a few unemployed people. It appears that most of the non-consumers in the survey were still looking for their place in the labour market. On the basis of employment it is possible to say that most of the non-consumers represented people from lower and middle socio-economic groups. About half (52%) of the non-consumers were female. Table 5.1 shows the number of interviewed non-consumers by sex and country.

Table 5.1: The non-consumer focus group data by sex and country			
	Female	Male	Total (N)
Austria	6	3	9
Finland	4	3	7
France	2	3	5
Germany	3	3	6
Great Britain	5	2	7
Greece	5	3	8
Italy	3	5	8
Netherlands	2	2	4
Portugal	1	3	4
Spain	6	7	13
Total	37	34	71

The sizes of the different focus groups have ranged from 13 to 4 people. The largest group was in Spain and the smallest ones in Portugal and the Netherlands.

Table 5.2: The non-consumer focus group data by age		
	Age scale (years)	Mean age (years)
Austria	16-30	20
Finland	21-29	25
France	18-25	20
Germany	18-30	25
Great Britain	19-25	22
Greece	17-26	20,5
Italy	16-24	19
Netherlands	20-23	21,5
Portugal	14-27	21
Spain	18-25	21,5
Total	14-30	21,5

Table 5.2 shows that the mean age of non-consumers was about 21, 5 years, but as we can see, the age scales are quite wide: the youngest non-consumer was a 14-years-old Portuguese girl. The oldest ones were two 30 year old men from Germany and Spain and a woman from Austria. In the Italian focus group four of the interviewees were 16-18-years old, and the others were 20-24-years old. For that reason the mean age of the Italian group was as low as 19 years. The oldest interviewees came from the Finland and Germany: the mean age of these focus groups was as high as 25 years.

Figure 5.1: The age and sex of the non-consumers

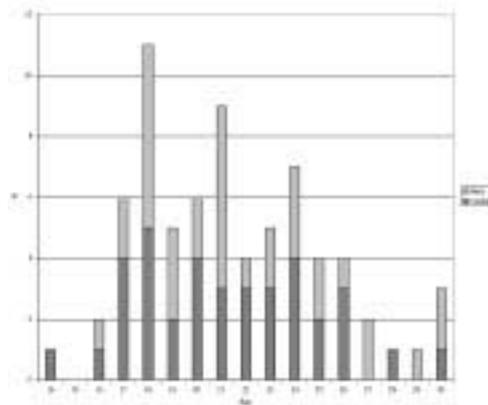


Figure 5.1, which illustrates the focus group by age and sex, shows that 18-years-olds formed the largest group and 21-years-olds the second largest. The focus groups were different not only by their size but also by their age and sex scales in the participating countries. For example in the Austrian focus group 6 women and 3 men were interviewed. Their age varied from 16 to 30. In comparison in the Finnish focus group were 4 women and 3 men, whose age differences were not so wide, ranging from 21 to 29 years.

The opinions and interpretations of these young Europeans can be analysed from the qualitative data. But unfortunately, the data needed to be translated into English, and many of the nuances of the arguments were difficult to translate, which makes the analyses more complicated. It was not possible to analyse the dynamic interaction inside the groups due to the reporting system, which included only summarised discussions. Only a few of the young people involved in focus groups were friends or had met before. Thus the only connection between them was this organised group interview situation. As we know, age and sex do matter when people are discussing in groups, and we have assumed that they would matter even more if people were only meeting for the first time. The unnatural situation of these discussions also influenced the atmosphere of the group.

In the survey the questions of the race and religion were not asked, but in the interview data these dimensions did come out. In the focus groups there were a few participants from non-European ethnic backgrounds and one European exchange student.

5.3 CULTURE MATTERS

In the following analyses we have divided our multicultural data in to three parts. Southern Europe, which includes France, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, Central Europe which includes Austria, Germany and the Netherlands, and Northern Europe representing Great Britain and Finland. A half of the informants are from Southern Europe, about a third from Central Europe and more than a fifth from Northern Europe. Using this rough division we explored how the cultural differences might “talk inside” the comments of the informants.

The attitudes towards alcohol and other substances differ culturally from each other. In Southern Europe –especially in France, Italy, Spain and Portugal– wine drinking has traditionally been a part of the culinary art. But in the Northern Europe the so-called drinking culture has led to excessive consumption of spirit and beer –without eating or art. (Davies & Walsh, 1983). Unhealthy leisure time activities have been connected with working-class culture. For example, Great Britain and Finland both have been characteristically working-class societies with hard working and drinking habits. However, total consumption of alcohol does not correlate with hard weekend drinking but with even moderate wine drinking habits. In 1990-91, for example, alcohol consumption remained highest in France (Pape, 1997:10; Leppänen, Sullström & Suoniemi, 2001:43).

It is also important to notice that European drug scenes varies widely from country to country. This is related to several issues. It can be said that drug cultures are different in different parts of Europe. This means that numbers of drug consumers, their behaviours, the patterns of drug use, and abused drugs, vary. As drug cultures differ from each other, so do the political and social context of drug consumption. Local politics are influenced by the local situation. There are also differences in definition and categorisation of drug use between European countries. A good example of this is the distinctions between hard and soft drugs. The distinctions exist in some European countries, while in the other countries no such difference is admitted. (Korf & Riper, 1997)

Also the survey data has helped us to construct the cultural context. Asking about political orientation, most (52%) young non-consumers placed themselves in the middle of a scale from extreme left to extreme right. But we have to remember that the fields of political parties are very different from country to country.

An even more important cultural difference inside Europe is related to religion. In Southern and Central Europe the majority of people are Catholic but in the Northern Europe Lutheran or Anglican. This influences the values of living. The European lifestyle has become even more multicultural with non-European ethnic groups practising their own religion and traditions. Religious attitudes were also asked using a five-scale indicator. A fourth (25%) of non-consumers placed themselves into the middle of the religious attitude scale. This could have meant that they were members of

church or other religious communities and they might have celebrated Christmas or Ramadan, but their lifestyle has not been deeply religious. A fifth of non-consumers identified themselves as strong believers and as many as non-believers

Generally, the small amount of religious arguments in the interview data is exceptionally interesting. For example, in some Northern European research it has been found that those who were teetotallers were very religious Lutheran Christians (Pape, 1999). In Scandinavian countries the temperance movement was very strong until the 1960s and connected with the Church or Labour movement, and for example in Finland and Norway there was a prohibition law in the early 20th century. In our data from the Southern European countries, which are very catholic, religion was not mentioned at all. It might be that in catholic countries there is not a specific contradiction in being Catholic and consuming alcohol or drugs. The theme of religion did not really appear in the focus group interviews at all, or possibly religious reasons were not largely explored in the focus group discussions.

There were only a few examples in which religion (Islamic or Lutheran) formed the basis of participants' choice to remain sober. For example, religion was mentioned twice in the Great Britain focus groups. The interviewer observed one young man (non-user), who seemed to be quite religious although his religion was not known. The other was a young Muslim woman who had never drunk alcohol "largely due to her faith". She normally spent her weekend leisure time relaxing and watching television, choosing instead to socialise during the week, but she did have religious ways to spend her evenings:

"I'd never go out on the weekend (...) I've just started getting involved in the Islamic society and I'm finding that there's a sort of lecture circuit that goes on." (Female non-consumer, Liverpool).

In the data of Netherlands there were siblings from Morocco. The female had a more negative attitude towards alcohol than the male. She gave quite moderate suggestions, for example, to improve the nightlife with special non-alcoholic bars, commenting:

"I don't like most clubs because of the alcohol. You can party without it (...) I don't like alcohol, which of course is partly due to my Islamic background, but also I don't like the effect it has on people." (Female non-consumer, Utrecht)

In the Finnish focus group there was a young man who discussed the bible and his Christian faith but did not actually say that this was the main reason behind his decision not to consume. Rather, the main reason was found in his background whereby his father's alcoholism had led him to avoid alcohol and other substances.

"I believe in the Bible, but in any case there's a lot of sense to be sober" (Male non-consumer, Turku).

WHY THEY GO OUT AT WEEKENDS?

The reconstructed group of non-consumers from the survey data attended actively to nightlife. More than 65% of them had gone out two or more times during the last

month, and most of them (almost 67%) went out once during weekends. But the non-consumers were quite specific about what kind of places they liked or disliked to go out. We found some differences between the young non-consumers in the different areas of Europe.

In Southern and Central Europe about two-thirds of non-consumers liked to go to non-smoking venues (64% and 60% respectively), but in Northern Europe the majority (almost 87%) liked to do so. For example, in Finland very strict tobacco legislation enables this because in every bigger restaurant there must be a special non-smoking area. The same kind of result could be found when they were asked about the places where illegal drugs are used. In Southern Europe about 76% of non-consumers and in Central Europe more than 62% did not like to go to that kind of place, but in Northern Europe over 90% were strongly against them. On the contrary, in Central Europe almost 14% of the informants had a strong opinion that illegal drug using was no kind of obstacle.

Their attitudes about places where alcohol is sold were not as strong: about a half of the non-consumers in Southern (42%) and a third in Central (35%) Europe liked places where alcohol was not sold. In the Northern Europe the majority (63%) of informants would support these kinds of teetotal places.

The three most important reasons why non-consumers went out to spend their leisure time were: (1) meeting friends, (2) listening to good music and (3) breaking away from every day routines. Also, meeting new people and dancing were mentioned as important reasons by more than half of the non-consumers. Similar results were found in previous Irefrea studies (Calafat et al., 2001:140-141).

MEETING FRIENDS AND MAKING NEW ONES

The most important reason to go out was meeting friends. In the survey data, 90% of the non-consumers agreed that meeting friends was an important reason for attending nightlife. This reason was widely discussed in the focus groups of non-consumers, too. People simply go out because they want to have fun, and chat and spend time with their friends. As we observed the meaning of friends as an important reason for attending nightlife, we did not find any special differences between the three different parts of Europe. Friendship was an equally mentioned reason in the Southern part of Europe as it was in the North. Friends were an important element of a successful night for non-consumers. A female from Greece crystallised the meaning of friends in the following comment:

“A successful night out for me is to have good company and listen to music at my favourite bar.” (Female non-consumer, Athens)

In her comments there were also other meaningful elements besides the friends. She mentioned the music as an important reason for going out. We will comment on the importance of music later on. Furthermore, she pointed out the meaning of setting. From the perspective of the city culture of young people, meeting old friends and having

fun with new ones as well has meant going out of home and hanging on the streets and squares. For young people, being together with their friends and without parents' control has meant absolute freedom. Home has become a private sphere, where young people might invite only their closest friends. Consequently, the public sphere like streets, restaurants, discos etc. have become a stage of appearing, dating, flirting, and other kind of face-to-face or even body-to-body interaction.

The night settings were widely discussed in the focus groups. The non-consumers preferred places where it was possible to discuss and talk with their friends. Music was an important part of the atmosphere but it was frequently mentioned that music had to allow some space for discussion. Places with loud music were mostly criticized, and less noisy places were mentioned as alternative meeting places. Non-consumers from Portugal and Great Britain commented the following:

“Quieter places, where I can talk to my friends.” (Male non-consumer, Lisbon)

“I don't like clubs because you can't talk in them.” (Female non-consumer, Liverpool)

“I like to go to the cinema and places like that, you know to the bars and sometimes to pubs just to socialise and see my friends.” (Female non-consumer, Liverpool)

However, it was clear that non-consumers spend more of their leisure time in the public sphere like nightclubs, discos, bars and cafés than in private homes. The interviewee's comments from the different parts of Europe were quite alike. However, we can mention that the need for special place for non-consumers arose from the comments of Central European non-consumers. Elsewhere this theme was not mentioned at all.

LISTENING TO GOOD MUSIC AND DANCING

As we noticed before, good music was mentioned as a special reason for attending nightlife. But what was “good” music like? From the survey data we found that the non-consumers especially liked pop-music, rock and metal-techno. As a comparison, the consumers' favourites were metal-techno, rock and hardcore-house (see table 4.7).

What was “good” music to the non-consumers was not so for the consumers. Especially pop-music and hardcore-house divided the opinions: very few consumers said that pop was their favourite music, and few non-consumers liked hardcore-house. Generally, rock was the most popular music style and acid-jazz the most unpopular (see table 4.7).

For non-consumers, music was an important element of the atmosphere of the night. Music was also related to mood. It was mentioned that the places for having fun were selected by the type of music there was played. Dancing was closely related to music in the interviews. For some non-consumers dancing was “a way to get high” without any substances.

“I’m the first on the dance floor and I don’t need anything. You just feel good about the high and the music, which is something I love (...) what I use to get my highs, its music not drugs or alcohol or cigarettes.” (Female non-consumer, Liverpool)

“I’m looking for this kind of kick too when I go out dancing. It’s an automatic process. I let myself get euphoric. (...)For me it’s a lot to do with music.” (Male non-consumer, Berlin)

The role of music was experienced in two different ways. For one group of non-consumers music had a passive role. In this role music was mainly in the background of the action. It had to be there, but its role was invisible. But for the other non-consumers the music had a more important role. This group of people needed music to have fun and to lift them up into party spirit. Dance was an action between music and the people. Music, dancing and heavy substance using have been connected to each other, and music separates the places as well as the non-consumers from the consumers:

“In a place where drug using is not allowed, it is certainly much quieter because it is empty, when people go out they are not looking for quiet places.” (Male non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

Generally, music as a reason for attending nightlife was a theme which arose in the interviews from all over Europe. There were no differences in between the different European areas.

BREAKING AWAY FROM EVERY DAY ROUTINES

As we examined the survey data, we found that almost 70% of non-consumers thought that breaking away from daily routine was an important reason for attending nightlife. Furthermore in the qualitative data, people explained their nightlife attendance in weekends by the break which they needed from the everyday life. Weekend was experienced as something special - there seemed to be a great difference between working hours and hours for having fun. As a young man from Italy commented:

“They are necessary to me to forget all the worries of the week, and the stress of the week.” (Male non-consumer, Bologna)

In the interviews it was mentioned that the pace of everyday life was so hard that the weekends were needed to calm it down. The survey data shows that breaking away from daily routine was an important reason to go out for non-consumers from all three parts of Europe. But it was interesting to notice that in the focus group interviews this subject was mentioned less often. Exceptionally, only for young Germans the goal of spending leisure time is having fun without special plans or schedules.

“Switching off your everyday life a little. (...) No stress, no work. Just seeing what the day brings.” (Male non-consumer, Berlin)

“I do go out (...) to have fun and amuse myself and dance. But I don’t have the feeling I have to achieve something. (...) If something exciting happens, then it happens. If not, not.” (Female non-consumer, Berlin)

Most of the non-consumers did have positive attitudes towards life and their lifestyle has been completely healthy. They had several so-called good hobbies and leisure activities, like sports, culture, travelling etc, and the break of everyday routines could mean swimming and hiking, visiting museums, going to the cinema or playing music. Nightlife did tempt them but not without problems, as a young Spanish man commented:

“Healthy places do not exist. (...) if you would like to go dancing, it’s not possible to go to a place where they don’t smoke or drink.” (Male non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

5.4 HOW TO SURVIVE UNDER SOCIAL PRESSURE?

We have examined the non-consumers explanations for their sober lifestyle using both the survey data and the focus group data. In the survey data there was a question asking for reasons why legal or illegal drugs were not used. The majority (82%) of the non-consumer group agreed with the statement that they were not interested in the effects of drugs. Another meaningful and strongly agreed with statement (77%) was related to problems associated with substances. The third strongly agreed statement was connected to the fear of losing self-control. Three out of four non-consumers agreed with this statement.

The fear of addiction and an ideal world without drugs were also statements that non-consumers strongly agreed with. More than half of the non-consumers felt that social pressure against drug use was an important reason behind their decision not to consume any substances. The statement “Only those who don’t know what they want out of life take drugs” reflected what the non-consumer groups believed about consumers and consuming. The objective of this statement was to point out that non-consumers had strict goals in their lives whilst consumers had no specific life targets. Almost half (47%) of non-consumers agreed with the last statement.

There were also some practical reasons in the statements for not consuming any substances. One of these was related to the price of the drugs. Almost half of the group of non-consumers in the survey mentioned the high price of substances as an important reason for not consuming. Another practical reason mentioned was that non-consumers did not know where to buy drugs. The difficult access to substances was an agreed reason by the quarter of the non-consumers. The lack of experience of drug use was a reason agreed with by a fifth of the non-consumer group. In this statement people agreed that, as they had not tried any drugs, they did not know what they were like and therefore what they could be missing.

We have tried to expand the significance and interpretation of these explanations with the qualitative data, and have examined what kind of components the arguments

were based on. Furthermore, we have constructed three different types of strategies to survive under social pressure. These strategies are: (a) Stick to principles, (b) Avoid risks, and (c) Self control. However, it is important to note that these strategies are not exclusive. By this we mean that one interviewee might have given several kinds of explanations and argued for several strategies of surviving under social pressure.

STICKING TO PRINCIPLES

The first strategy is to stick to principles. Arguments like "I am not interested in substances" or "I have never used substances" are typical to this kind of strategy. The lack of interest towards substances was a widely discussed theme in the focus groups.

It was possible to separate two different ways of dealing with this matter. A part of the non-consumers, whose main strategy to survive was principle, have tried or consumed substances before, but because of their experiences they have made their decision to stay substance-free. In these cases the substance-related experience has been negative. For example, many of them commented: "I don't like the taste of alcohol". Some have simply been ill because of drugs. For others, the feeling of drunkenness or being high has been a bad experience. These non-consumers had a clear understanding of what they were talking about. They had experienced something and made their decision. A male from Spain points out the following:

"I like my head to be clear. When I have tried using something, even when it's a drink, I have trouble thinking, my brain works slowly, I don't like anything and I feel very uncomfortable. This is why I don't take drugs." (Male non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

The others did not explain their principle decision this widely. They simply stated that they were not interested in drugs or any other substances, for example because of religion or other more or less abstract reasons. Two different interpretations for the lack of explanation were found.

Firstly the simple statements reflected that these people did not have a 'need to explain' their decision in any way. It was just a fact. In this interpretation, life without substances could be seen as self-evident. The decision has not been any big struggle in one's personal life. It was mentioned in the interviews that people simply did not want to try substances, and there was no need or function for them in one's life. The other possible interpretation was the possibility that the people did *not want to discuss* the matter. In this point of view the decision to not consume might have been a painful process for the person, who did not want to discuss it.

AVOIDING RISKS

Those non-consumers who wanted to avoid risks argued that substances would cause several problems. They clearly stated "I don't want to take any risks", and avoiding risks was their main strategy. This came out in the focus group interviews. But what kind of problems did they relate to the substances?

Two main problems emerged. On the one hand, problems were related to health and sickness, and on the other hand, to social problems. As drug use was seen as a problematic action and the substances were seen as a risk against a so-called normal life, it would be quite understandable that there was also some drug related “fear talk” in the non-consumers interviews.

Non-consumers explained their decision not to use any substances by describing different health problems related to alcohol or drug use. Discussions included the belief that substance use would cause both physical and mental health problems. Some exact physical illnesses caused by substance use were mentioned when non-users discussed taking risks or having sex.

“If you take drugs over a longer time, drugs will damage your health. Your life expectancy will be shorter.” (Male non-consumer, Vienna)

“Most people who consume don’t even remember condoms (...) I know people who after a consuming night had the HIV test. That worries me lot.” (Male non-consumer, Lisbon)

“Diseases are the biggest worry but also a woman getting pregnant.” (Female non-consumer, Liverpool)

On the other hand, there were a few comments related to mental disorders caused by substances. These comments were more exact than the comments related to the physical problems. Does this tell us something about non-consumers understanding the risks of substance use itself? The interviewees seemed to have some understanding on the substances’ mental effects or at least they wanted to point out this perspective in their talk.

“According to me drugs cause changes of mood, depression, loss of control.” (Male non-consumer, Bologna)

The health related discussion was in some cases pictured by different substance use experiences. There were people who had tried or used substances and had been unwell because of them. There were also people who had watched drug use from a distance. They had seen how their friends got sick because of drugs or alcohol. As a woman from Finland commented:

“There have been some people in my life, who have done drugs and that has turned my attitude more negative to the drugs.” (Female non-consumer, Turku)

These experiences had a great influence on the person’s comprehension of substances. Experiences also had meaning in the non-consumers’ personal decisions not to consume any substances at all. The fear of addiction was also mentioned. For example, one Finnish male feared becoming an addict himself because alcoholism has been a problem in his family.

“Like my grandfather cherished my father only when he was drunk. And my father learned that the smell of spirits signifies the tenderness. He became an alcoholic as well. It’s a circle from the generation to the other. I think this kind

of cases exist pretty much. It's a learnt habit: with alcohol we feel good and with alcohol we feel sad." (Male non-consumer, Turku)

He explained substance use through normative cultural behaviour and the tradition of hard drinking in Northern Europe. Another Finnish young man shared the same fears, but he had other kind of explanation for addiction. He talked about genetic weakness.

"My father is an alcoholic and I assume that I also have the gene which causes addiction." (Male non-consumer, Turku)

Social problems were other problems that came out as the non-consumers explained their decisions not to use any substances. However, this theme was not discussed as much as the previous.

In the interviews it was mentioned that drug use causes problems with the law, such as conflicts with police, but nobody actually commented on the relationship between illegal drugs and organised crime. It was also mentioned that substance use affects a person's work-life, his or her financial situation and also one's social life. Family and friends were seen as the ones who suffer from a person's substance use. Aggression and violence caused by consumption were also mentioned. Non-consumers also commented that by being sober, it was more probable to avoid risky situations than it was when one was drunk or high. One was able to make independent and active choices in different situations.

SELF CONTROL

The third non-consumers' strategy to avoid the pressures to use substances was to use self control. Among the given explanations was the personal need to be able to make active choices in different situations and to maintain one's self control and independence. This theme was widely discussed in the interviews.

The importance of self control was explained in different ways. It was quite common for non-consumers to reflect on consumer's lives in the interviews. It was usually mentioned that consumers would put other people in problematic situations. The consumers might lose their self control and behave unsociably and be aggressive. The following comments demonstrate this point of view:

"It's not that they go a little overboard, they go very overboard and this produces many problems. I'm thinking of the aggression here and people that pick on other people." (Male non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

"Most risk is that people lose control of their behaviour." (Female non-consumer, Bologna)

With these comments we could go behind the speech and wonder what they did not say. They were talking about consumers and their risk to get into trouble when they have used substances. From their point of view, losing control is one of the most risky things for consumers, and that was something they were afraid of. For the female informants

in particular one of the most important reasons for not using any substances was related to this fear of losing self control.

There were quite a few non-consumers who wanted to emphasise this. It was openly pointed out in some interviewees' comments that they were afraid of losing self-control. Non-consuming was seen as some kind of self-protection. Additional non-consumers brought up the theme of conscious life.

“I want to live more consciously, to be completely there, to be myself and to have my life under control.” (Male non-consumer, Berlin)

A male from Berlin pointed out the importance of presence when he talked about control of life. For these people control seemed to be very important. No drugs or alcohol would break their control nor would mix up the feeling of complete presence.

The person's independence was seen as being related to self control. The theme of independence was separately brought up in some interviewees' talk. Independence was seen as a part of self control, but it was also given a wider meaning. It was discussed in relation to the social group behaviour, and the group for the non-consumers meant mostly friends more than family. One's independence was emphasised in the situations where one was a part of a social group and other members acted in different ways. It was the strength of the self control and the independence that was weighted. Not only was a peer group seen as a threat for independence, but also the media.

For the reason of cultural pressure some of the interviewees wanted to point out that soberness was an active and controlled choice. It was not like these people had somehow drifted into the situation in which they had no other choice but to be sober. Rather, they felt that they had made an active decision between the two ways of living.

“I think it is matter of self-control as usual. Either you have it or not: in this case nobody can give it to you.” (Female non-consumer, Bologna)

“I have user friends and I don't use, nobody tells me that I have to use drugs.” (Male non-consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

“I don't see it as a refusal if I don't drink or eat meat. (...) Rather it is relieving after the decision is made.” (Female non-consumer, Turku)

There were two important observations in the previous comment. First a female from Finland wanted to point out the difference between refusal and active choice. Refusal could be seen as something negative, one has to give up something that once had great meaning in one's life. Active choice was more positive. You were in position in which you could decide one way or the other. Secondly she brought up the concept of freedom. By freedom she meant the situation after the decision was made. One was no more in the position in which one had to struggle between two ways of living.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

We have examined, firstly, who and what kind of people young European non-consumers are, and secondly, what were their interests in attending nightlife at

weekends. Our primary purpose was, however, to find answers to the questions of why they go out and how they have fun and stay sober. For that reason we have studied what might be the non-consumers strategies to survive under social pressure in European substance friendly cultures.

As we have examined the strategies we have used mainly the qualitative data, but to make wider conclusions this may not be enough. For that reason we use quantitative data. Here in the conclusions we will concentrate on previously mentioned strategies and observe whether or not there have been some religious differences in the strategies between the non-consumers in Southern, Central and Northern Europe.

From the quantitative data we have examined statements, which have been related to the reasons why the non-consumers did not use substances. We have examined the statements by three European areas, and have observed whether or not the non-consumers from different parts of Europe had different strategies for coping under social pressure. We have not found any great differences between the areas. However, slight differences have been observed.

The survey-data shows that principles are very important. The majority of non-consumers disagreed (77%) when they were asked if the reason for non-consuming could be that “they haven’t tried yet”. The statement related to the lack of interest towards drugs was agreed with by more than 81%. These results indicate that the young European teetotalers have absorbed a special non-consuming ideology, which could call their own “dry” subculture or cultural resistance. This was found especially in the Northern Europe where hard drinking has always been a necessary part of having fun.

The survey-data shows that in the second strategy, health and other risks, being afraid of becoming an addict and that drugs create problems are real reasons for staying sober. In Southern, Central and Northern Europe, about three out of four of the young teetotalers were afraid of becoming addicts. Also, in all three parts of Europe the non-consumers agreed with the statement “drugs will create problems”. The statement related to this strategy was strongly agreed or agreed with by 77% of the non-consumers.

These second results indicate that young non-consumers have understood the seriousness of using drugs and its possible consequences. They have absorbed the information of drug education, too. Avoiding risks has meant that they must have also tried to find out safe ways for good living. In this respect, some of them mentioned the need for a special place for non-consumers, especially among Central European non-consumers.

The third strategy was related to self control. Loosing self control was, to non-consumers, somehow shameful and a mark of being looser. It was also connected with bad manners and aggressive behaviour. The data showed that in Southern, Central and Northern Europe about three out of four of the informants thought that strict self-control was an important reason for refusing consumption. More than 74% of non-consumers agreed with this statement. Also three out of four of the informants were idealists: they believed the world could be better place without drugs. As we observed

the strongly agreed answers we found out that almost a half of non-consumers agreed strongly with this statement. These third results indicate that the young non-consumers do have ideological reasons to their sobriety. They might have also chosen consciously their way of living.

In this Chapter we have shown that there are several explanations why young non-consumers go out but stay sober. A part of the young non-consumers were idealists and they seemed to have active resistance against traditional consuming culture or have adopted specific sub-cultural lifestyles. Another part of them had religious reasons to stay sober. Some others had even more personal reasons: they might have chosen a healthy way of living because of health problems or to avoid risks. All of them have the courage and strength to stay sober in social situations, and they might use many different kind of strategies to cope under social pressure.

In conclusion, going out and having fun did not mean heavy drinking, smoking, and drug using, necessarily, and getting drunk or high seemed not to be the only way to break away from every day routines. To these young non-consumers getting high included dancing, listening good music, and more generally having a good time with old and new friends - but without any substance stimulants. However, to explore why the young non-consumers go out and sober and still have fun, expresses as much our cultural attitudes towards substances as our interests towards non-consumerism.

6. GENDER RELATED ASPECTS ON DRUG CONSUMPTION IN RECREATION AL TIME

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The global incidence of tobacco and alcohol consumption among young people is primarily an expression of their growing into a culture. Late twentieth century culture is defined by the need to "be fit, dynamic and in a good mood at the right moment." (Hurrelmann, 2001:1) The use of substances is part of the repertoire of everyday life; cigarettes and alcohol feature widely in the world of advertising, which also imparts social roles and attributes (Hurrelmann, 1994). Drug consumption serves as a process of orientation within the social sphere, i.e. of identification with peer groups.

Substances such as performance-enhancing amphetamine derivatives – but also cocaine and cannabis – enable young people to be adventurous and to test their boundaries without at the same time having to opt out socially. Adolescents and young adults want to experience the high of intoxication, but at the same time to maintain their place in society, and this applies to both men and women more or less equally.

Gender is a key variable in the structuring of the social world, as we live in a society characterised by a dual-gender system (Hagemann-White, 1984) affecting individual perceptions and values. "Doing gender" refers to the sex-specific behaviour reflected in the attitudes, gestures and views indicating social gender. Adolescents are faced with the task of adopting masculinity or femininity for themselves and presenting these attributes in interaction with others (Kolip, 1997). The group of other boys or girls is the main site of the process of self-socialisation, and the two also interact with one another (Franzkowiak et al, 1998).

The gender approach assumes that the men and women in a society are assigned differing activities and behavioural modes, although the intensity of difference is variable and may constitute itself according to setting. Human social relationship patterns (Ferret, 2000) are defined by a gender-typical distribution of roles and activities, which also specifies which modes of behaviour are allowed or stigmatised for men and women and to what degree (Kolip, 1997). This can become particularly clear in the area of drug consumption, and gender as a key variable must always be taken into account in any attempt to understand such behaviour (Harrison, 1987).

For a few years now there has been an increased interest in the gender-specific aspects of drug consumption, and here research in the area of women and addiction has achieved a great deal. The basic differences in socialisation between men and women, the differing patterns of communication and problem-solving, are confirmed again and

again in the areas of drug consumption and the use and abuse of alcohol and medicinal drugs (Helfferich,1994; Dobler-Mikola, 2000; Bloomfield, 2002 among others).

It has also been shown that women have been changing their patterns of consumption in recent years. Thus, for example, problematic alcohol consumption has risen among better-educated women aged 30-40 with a higher socio-economic status (Franke, 2001; Bloomfield, 2002), and women are starting smoking earlier than men (Quensel, 2000; Hurrelmann, 2001). It is often reported that women conform to male patterns of consumption in certain settings, but whether this is so because female consumption is now viewed less negatively – and may be carried out more openly – as a result of changes in women’s roles, or that women have actually changed their patterns of consumption, remains unclear. What is clear, however, is that women are subject to particular stress in certain life circumstances. Here we would like to emphasise the findings of the European study by Bloomfield et al (2002), who suspect that an increase in risky alcohol consumption by professional women is a result of the combined pressures of family, career and the need to conform to hitherto male settings.

Whether the convergence hypothesis¹ – i.e. that of growing gender similarity in patterns of consumption – can be confirmed or rejected is dependent on the age groups compared. The wider the window, the greater the tendency towards confirmation (Franzkowiak et al., 1998).

For young people it is true that the proportion of men and women in the categories of experimental, occasional and regular consumption differs nowadays very little. The age at which young men and women begin to experiment with cannabis, for example, is the same: 16, according to the EMCDDA 2000 report, and the findings of the present IREFREA study are consistent with this data. It is only later that diverging consumption patterns emerge. In the 20-24 age group, for example, cannabis use is higher among men than among women (EMCDDA, 2000). The present sample also supports this finding.

The divergences become especially clear in relation to the category of frequency and excessive use of alcohol, i.e. drunkenness, where the fact remains that ”the heavier the consumption, the lower the numbers of girls (and women) involved” (Helfferich, 1994). This divergence is also confirmed by findings in earlier IREFREA studies (Calafat et al., 2001: chapter 2)

In the youth context the distinction that applied up to now between legal and illegal drugs has become blurred, and it is also no longer possible to distinguish clearly between pleasure – i.e. leisure-time consumption for relaxation purposes – and pathology. Young ”risk-takers” are changing the image commonly held up to now of ”drug risks” (Plant & Plant, 1997). This phenomenon also applies to the mainstream youth culture investigated in the present study.

Above and beyond the attempt by psychological studies to isolate risk factors, it is to be supposed that the generally individualised, uncertain situation of young people in

¹ For discussion of the convergence hypothesis see Babcock, (1996)

a post-adolescent extended youth phase is asking to be understood. “Being 1990s adolescents involves young people in a more difficult, more demanding and far longer journey in which coping with uncertainty about future and the pay-offs of everyday decisions all conspire to make this a vanguard generation who must grow up in a risk society. They take risks not as an expression of rebelliousness but as a tactic to achieving conventional goals” (Parker et al., 1998: 30). Young people appear to be conforming to an expectation of risk-taking as a form of innovative behaviour in the sense of “testing the limits” (Plant & Plant, 1997). This observation would appear to explain what motivates the behaviour of the young people who go out at weekends but should not be generalised, and it is important to take into account the diversity of cultures in the youth collective.

Having a good time and thus setting a counterpoint to the working week is frequently a desire associated by adolescents and young adults with taking substances. Drugs enable a bypassing of social norms and conventions, although the two interact: a trip, sure, but only at the weekend please (Kuntz, 2000). Societal expectations and consumption are coupled together.

Drugs seem to have a relationship with the rising social pressure on the individual to achieve. There is the need on the one hand to keep up and “deliver”, on the other to resist. “The key point to make is that social background is no longer a predictor or a protector” (Parker et al., 1998). Both legal and illegal drugs are consumed to the same degree in all social classes. Participants in the present study – independently of their consumer group – assess their socio-economic status as middle to low² (see chapter 2).

However, gender-specific factors continually reoccur in various studies (Hurrelmann, 1994; Vogt et al., 1998; Dobler-Mikola, 2000; Franke et al., 2001; Bloomfield et al., 2002)

The present chapter analyses the IREFREA 2001 sample according to its gender-typical aspects.

THE SAMPLE

The IREFREA Survey 2001/2002 interviewed 1777 adolescents and young adults’ aged between 13 and 36 in 10 European towns and cities using a standardised questionnaire. The sample thus only conveys the situation in urban areas and is not representative of rural districts³.

The sample is divided into the subgroups Women – Men, Consumers – Non-consumers and Adolescents ≥ 20 – Young Adults ≤ 19 . The group of men amounted to $N = 861$ (436 consumers: 53.6% and 398 non-consumers: 46.2%), the group of women to $N = 916$ (480 consumers: 52.4% and 436 non-consumers: 47.6%)⁴.

² For details see chapter 2.

³ The IREFREA Sonar sample can only show tendencies of the mainstream culture, not representative results.

⁴ For detailed sample description see chapter 2.

The following factors were investigated in relation to gender:

- a) Drug use, age of onset consumption
- b) Risk perception of drug use
- c) Risk-taking
- d) Motivation for drug use
- e) Leisure-time behaviour, social sphere (career, school, family, friends, partners)

6.2 RESULTS

DRUG USE AND GENDER

The table below (n = 1777) shows the consumption prevalences (average age: men, 20,65; women, 19,91).

Substance	Gender	N	Lifetime prevalence					Monthly prevalence in days (consumers only)	Onset age
			Never used (%)	All (%)	Only experimented (%)	Ex-consumers (%)	Consumers (%)		
Alcohol	male	846	7,4	92,6	19,5	10,5*	62,5	11,4*	14,6
	female	902	9,6	90,4	20,1	6,5	63,7	9,2	14,7
Tobacco	male	832	20,7	79,3	17,8	8,8	52,8	25,1	15,0
	female	891	26,3*	73,7	15,2	6,5	52,1	25,4	14,8*
Cannabis	male	832	32,1	67,9	12,6	4,7*	50,6	12,8*	16,0
	female	891	39,7*	60,3	10,1	2,0	48,1	9,3	16,0
Cocaine	male	720	69,2	30,8	8,9	3,3	18,6	2,8	18,2
	female	759	78,8*	21,2	5,5	2,0	13,7	4,1	18,2
Ecstasy	male	730	66,8	33,2	6,7	3,3	23,2	3,8	17,6
	female	769	74,9*	25,1	4,9	2,0	18,2	4,6	17,4
LSD	male	688	79,5	20,5	5,1	3,6	11,8	2,8	17,5
	female	720	87,9*	12,1	3,1	1,7	7,4	3,6	17,0
Speed	male	682	78,9	21,1	5,3	4,8	11,0	4,5	17,4
	female	735	86,3*	13,7	4,1	1,9	7,8	5,8	17,3
Others	male	521	80,8	19,2	5,8	3,3	10,2	18,2	18,2
	female	547	85,6	14,4	4,2	1,5	8,8	18,1	18,1

The lifetime prevalence of the sample survey show slightly higher figures with each substance for the male participants, with a difference – depending on the substance – of 2,2% (alcohol) up to 9.6% (cocaine). With all substances except alcohol and "others", significantly more women than men are to be found in the group of those who

have never consumed drugs⁵. Comparatively few young women are prepared to take part in the experiment of "illegal drugs". Significant differences occur with the substances cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine, LSD and speed, which should be seen as an indication of women's reduced willingness to take risks with drugs and their apparent orientation towards legal substances – although they are more willing, as the data show, to try cannabis⁶. These figures appear to show the differing readiness of men and women to engage in risky, unhealthy behaviour⁷. Women take illegal substances more rarely than men, which has its roots in their differing health consciousness and socialisation with regard to danger and risk-taking. This will be explored in more detail later. Alcohol is enjoyed equally by both sexes. Here only the frequency "days per month" shows significant differences.

Significantly fewer women than men, statistically, take up the consumption of tobacco. In comparison to alcohol, tobacco and cannabis, the remaining substances play a lesser role overall, and this probably reflects mainstream consumption, which differs considerably from that of the techno scene (Calafat et al., 2001), for example.

However, the subsumption "others" shows that some substances are taken more frequently (day per month), and it should be assumed that this category includes so-called natural drugs and medicines. The figures in "others" were not analysed in this sample, but are nonetheless conspicuous.

FREQUENCY OF CONSUMPTION PER MONTH

The frequency of consumption for various substances is a constitutive feature of drug consumption patterns. The unit of measurement – here frequency per month – shows whether the drug is just occasionally consumed or is more integrated in present patterns of behaviour. The monthly prevalences also generally indicate a weekend consumption, which can thus be seen as having to do with leisure time and going out. The table below presents the consumption frequencies in detail and according to the age groups > 19 / < 19.

Looking at the monthly consumption frequencies for "hard" illegal drugs (ecstasy, speed, LSD and in a small measure cocaine), it is noticeable that female adults have a higher rate of consumption than their adolescent counterparts.

The age groups for these substances show an increased consumption among young adult women and a reduced one among young adult men. Here too the subsumption "others" shows a conspicuously higher frequency for young adult women than for men.

Age groupings of significant differences (univariate analysis of variance) show no substantial variances in the interaction of age, sex and consumption frequency for all substances. With ecstasy alone there is a tendency towards higher consumption by

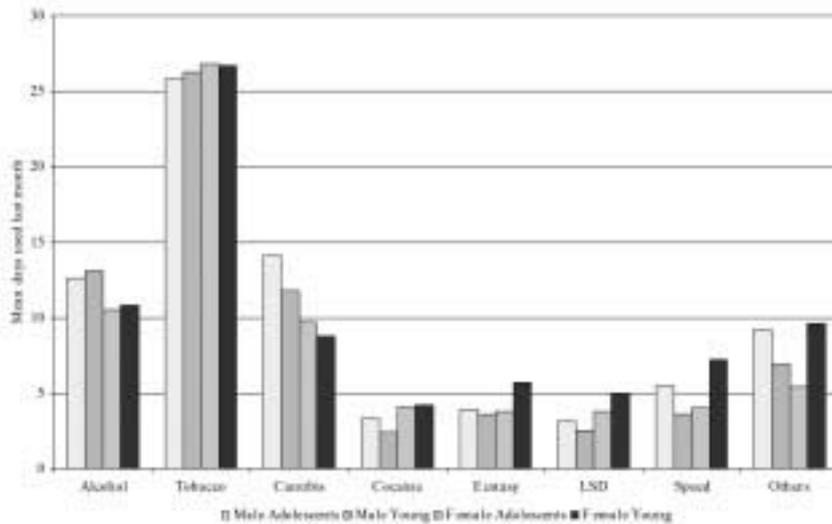
⁵ * Table 1. Lifetime prevalence / never used / male/female: tobacco $X^2= 10,467$, $p< 0,015$; cannabis $X^2= 19,157$, $p<0,0001$; cocaine $X^2=18,533$, $p<0,0001$; ecstasy $X^2=12,46$, $p<0,006$; LSD $X^2=18,934$, $p<0,0001$

⁶ See section 6.3. Risk Perception

⁷ See section 6.3. Risk Perception

Table/Figure 6.2: Monthly Consumption Frequencies in Days Shown According to Age Group (Consumer Group: N= 942)

Mean monthly consumption frequency	Male %		Female %	
	Adolescents aged <19	Young aged >20	Adolescents aged <19	Young aged >20
Alcohol	12,6	13,1	10,5	10,8
Tobacco	25,8	26,3	26,8	26,7
Cannabis	14,1	11,8	9,7	8,8
Cocaine	3,3	2,4	4,1	4,2
Ecstasy	3,9	3,6	3,8	5,7
LSD	3,1	2,5	2,7	5,0
Speed	5,5	3,6	4,0	7,2
Others	9,2	6,9	5,4	9,6



women, but this could also be the fault of an inadequately sized sample. The tendency is indicated by the mean values, and is reduced by a wide spread. But the tendencies certainly imply that the consumption of these substances – i.e. cocaine, speed, ecstasy and LSD – has increased among women and that convergence between male and female is taking place.

These drugs appear to fit in with female behaviour patterns. They can be consumed inconspicuously or in secret, and are not associated with loss of control (Franzkowiak et al., 1998; Hurrelmann, 2001) and thus with social stigmatisation. The affinity to women's consumption of medicinal drugs may also be mentioned here (Hurrelmann, 2001).

It may be concluded that women tend to take drugs less, but use them with higher frequencies once they start. Drugs also have an emancipatory effect, and their initial consumption often has a positive effect on social activity, which can be interpreted as liberation from traditional gender identity (Franke et al., 2001).

The data show that men have "harder" patterns of consumption in relation to alcohol and cannabis than women. Cannabis and alcohol were consumed at significantly higher rates by men than by women, independently of age group⁸.

Cannabis consumption drops with increased age in both the men's and women's samples. The cautious conclusion may thus be drawn that the results for the adolescents reflect an experimental consumption that is limited with age and growing personal responsibility to weekend use only. With alcohol and tobacco the slightly increased values in the male group indicate more of a stabilisation with increased age.

The difference between male and female adolescents in the consumption of alcohol continues into adulthood and increases in significance, which other European studies have also demonstrated (Institute for Medical Informatics, Biostatistics and Epidemiology, 1999).

The qualitative investigation of the IREFREA sample shows that men consume differently from women. Men have heavier consumption patterns than women; women consume more moderately but more regularly:

"Men are more extreme in their consumption, I think more indiscriminate. (...) They take everything until there's none left. I wouldn't do that, nor would other women." (Female consumer, Berlin)

"Women consume a lot, but differently, less visibly. Men don't stop so soon. They take it all in one go." (Female consumer, Berlin)

"It is also typical that if 5 men and 5 women go out separately, then I'm sure that the men come home much more drunk than the girls. I think that everyone knows enough examples among their acquaintances." (Female consumer, Vienna)

"Men drink more, but the girls are coming up now too." (Male consumer, Liverpool)

AGE OF ONSET

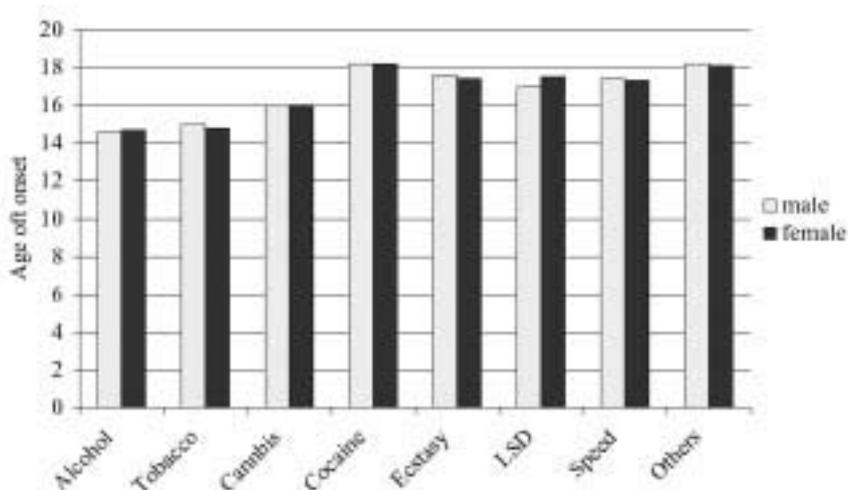
This section looks at the age of onset of experimental or habitual consumption in relation to gender (cf. Table 6.1)

A tendency can be seen towards an earlier onset age with illegal drugs – with the exception of cannabis – among women in comparison to men.

According to the EMCDDA 2000 report, women experiment slightly earlier with illegal drugs than men. This can be explained by the fact that women/girls tend to have older partners and come into contact with drug use in this way (Dobler-Mikola,

⁸ cannabis; $t=4,63$, $p<,0001$; alcohol; $t=3,93$, $p<0,0001$

Figure 6.3: Age of Onset (Table 6.1)



1992/2000; Powis et al, 1996; EMCDDA, 2000). Women have a pronounced desire for empathy and shared experience in relationships, and it is often this wish that leads them into consumption (Dobler-Mikola, 2000; Kersch 2001). Dobler-Mikola (1992) was able to demonstrate this as the reason for the earlier onset age of women than for men in the use of harder drugs. The findings vary around 1,2 years on average.

Women and girls frequently alter their consumption patterns with a change of relationship (Dobler-Mikola, 2000), adapting their habits to those of their new partner or circle of friends.

“...changed friends and since then doing coke.” (Female consumer, Berlin)

Girls are often brought into their boyfriend’s clique, who then represents their social surroundings and they adapt accordingly (Franzkowiak et al., 1998).

“Women are more influenced by their partners and friends.” (Female consumer, Bologna)

Men tend to start on illegal drugs more out of a sense of powerlessness or the fear of failure. The peer group plays a more important role here than that of the partner (Dobler-Mikola, 2000), although problems within the relationship can also be a relevant factor.

What is important here is to differentiate between the deeper-seated motivations of both sexes. It must also be emphasised that women begin smoking tobacco earlier than men. This finding is also confirmed in other studies (BZgA, 2001). The significantly earlier onset age for women’s tobacco consumption⁹ can be understood as a symbol of entering adulthood and is integrated very early on into the development of a concept of

⁹ See Table 1: $t = 2,33, p < 0,026$

self. Female tobacco consumption can be seen as an adaptation to male smoking patterns subsequent to the changes in the role of women that began in the 1970s. A part is certainly played here by tobacco advertising, in which the modern image of women is one encompassing slim figures, youthfulness and self-confidence (Helfferich, 1994; Blessing, 1997; Kolip, 1997). The consumption of tobacco may contain an element of symbolic risk-taking and emancipation (Quensel, 1999).

Today the use of cigarettes and alcohol is seen by both young women and men as a necessary way of proving themselves and as a means of demonstrating their respective gender-typical lifestyles (Hurrelmann, 2001).

An international comparison of the cities investigated revealed no significant differences between the sexes in relation to age of onset. This permits the conclusion to be drawn that cultural differences do not effect the age of experimentation or initial use within the sample. The number of experimenters or beginner-users in the individual cities was not equal enough for more exact conclusions to be drawn. The comparison between the cities showed significant differences in onset age, but not in relation to the variable "gender"¹⁰.

DRUNKENNESS AND GENDER

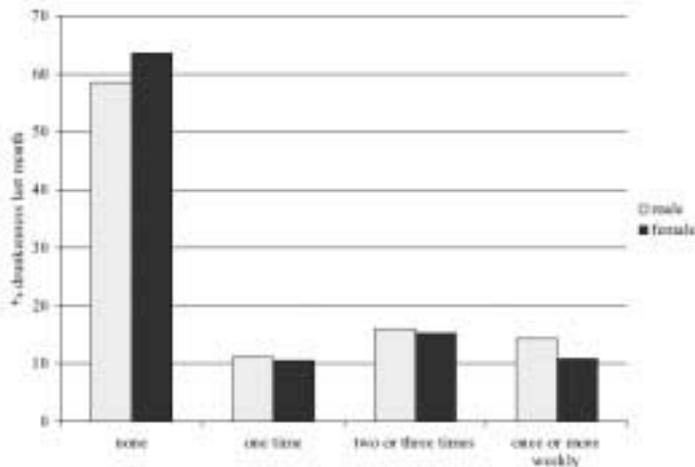
Women have less experience of intoxication through alcohol than men. The survey showed that less women than men consumed alcohol to the point of drunkenness during the previous month, and that the frequencies for weekly intoxication were lower among the women.

These gender-specific data were also found in several other studies (BZgA, 2001), and show that girls and women seem to consume alcohol less frequently and more cautiously.

Table/Figure 6.4: Frequencies on Drunkenness During the Previous Month. Percentages for Consumers Only

	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Never	58,5	63,5	61,1
Once a month	11,2	10,5	10,8
Two or three	16,0	15,2	15,6
Times Once or more weekly	14,3	10,9	12,5
Total %	100,0	100,0	100,0

¹⁰ There are significant differences in age of onset across cities for alcohol, cannabis, cocaine, ecstasy and speed. Nevertheless, there are not any interaction effect between city and gender on age of onset for these substances.



The first sip of alcohol is often taken with the benevolent approval of adults. This applies particularly to male adolescents, whose intoxication through alcohol is definitely respected and admired, at least by other young men of a similar age.

Alcohol has a symbolic role here as a ritual of initiation into the adult world; one's arrival is attested by both intoxication and sexual conquest. This attitude is a gender-typical collective enactment in which the process of "acting out" represents an orientation towards male behaviour patterns outside the family (Franzkowiak et al., 1998).

For girls, verbal or non-verbal guidance from within the family plays an important role. Admission into the society of women is accompanied by messages as to the danger and vulnerability of the female body – and of the power of men to violate it – and the consequences of sexuality. Thus watchfulness, good sense and the avoidance of loss of self-control are advocated in relation to the use of substances. This often smoothes the way to inconspicuous, regular consumption, as a rule of medicinal drugs (Franzkowiak et al., 1998). Parents tend to control their adolescent daughters, thus invoking a sense of the danger that can arise from sexual adventures (Helfferich, 1994).

Men and women's differing cultures of risk-taking have come about through the varying verbal or non-verbal initiatory rituals that adolescents experience in creative self-enactment or through adult intervention. These rituals pass on a sense of how to live in and use one's body, and the development of a culture of risk-taking is closely connected to the production through initiation of a social identity. The differing perception of danger is reflected in the assessment of risk and the willingness to take risks; men and women take decisions and act here within given social boundaries and leeways.

Alcohol is a socially recognised substance whose acceptability applies less to women, both subjectively and in terms of their social surroundings:

“Yeah, and I can’t stand women who are drunk or stoned. I never drink until I’m drunk.” (Female consumer, Berlin)

“...boys are boys and men are men, but nobody can stand a drunken woman.” (Female consumer, Turku)

“I think the differences are caused by the different expectations society sets for men and women.” (Female consumer, Turku)

Women’s consumption patterns of alcohol differ in the type of drinks.

“I think the difference between men and women is in what drugs they take or what they drink. Men are more in the beer-and-spirits league. Women are more elegant: wine, cocktails, sparkling wine...” (Male non-consumer, Berlin)

This “more elegant” consumption can be interpreted in terms of drinking on special occasions, and is a more hidden rather than open form of consumption. These qualitative data correspond with other studies on gender-related patterns of consumption. (Institute for Medical Informatics, Biostatistics & Epidemiology, 1999).

REJECTION OF DRUG CONSUMPTION

The data of the “ex-consumers” show the proportion of the sample that has had previous experience with drugs but has ended consumption. The phenomenon can be observed in adolescents of both sexes, who obtain entry into the adult world via consumption and for whom drugs offer an initial object of identification with their peers and with adult life.

The data (cf. table 6.1) reveal significant differences between male and female ex-consumers. There are considerably more male ex-consumers of alcohol¹¹ cannabis¹², LSD¹³ and speed¹⁴. These data correspond to the greater readiness of the male interviewees to try out illegal drugs, which is not to be found among the women, as table 1 shows.

It is possible that the differences between the sexes in risk perception play an important role here.

The following statements reflect the desire for control over the situation. Non-consumers and ex-consumers reject consumption because they want to be themselves.

“I want to experience things intensively the way they are and not switch off or manipulate the way I feel.”(Female non-consumer, Berlin)

An important positive reason for non-consumption or rejection of consumption is the desire for behavioural flexibility, the capacity to experience all one’s moods with awareness and to remain capable of action.

¹¹ ($X^2=10,7$, $p<0.01$),

¹² ($X^2=19,2$; $p<0.0001$),

¹³ ($X^2=18,9$, $p<0.0001$)

¹⁴ ($X^2=16,6$, $p<0.001$).

“I want to live more consciously, to be completely there, to be myself and to have my life under control.” (Male non-consumer, Berlin)

The desire to be the way one feels is not restricted to one gender. Both sexes express this wish, although it does take gender-specific forms. There can be a need to escape from socially given gender identity and to live in accordance with one’s own perceptions.

The non-consumers have with some discipline created their own ways of enjoying life.

“Looking for something, finding out what you enjoy doing.”(Female non-consumer, Berlin)

They have hobbies unconnected to going out, which for them is not a kind of weekend sensation, but retreats into the background along with the hunger for experience propagated by the youth cultures of our risk society.

“I don’t have the feeling of needing to achieve something. You don’t have to experience something particular when you go out. If something exciting happens, it happens. If not, not.” (Female non-consumer, Berlin)

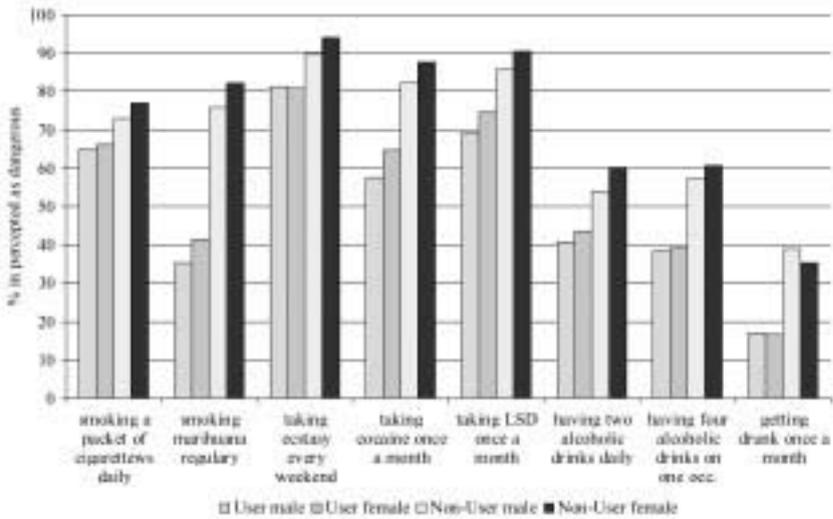
The statements reflect self-confidence, awareness of one’s own needs and wishes and the ability to decide consciously for one’s own type of enjoyment.

Seen against a gender-typical background, the ability to recognise personal wishes above and beyond conventional norms can represent a protective factor in relation to risk-taking behaviour and problematic consumption.

6.3 RISK PERCEPTION OF CONSUMPTION

Men have a more positive attitude towards the consumption of alcohol and cannabis than women. Women are more critical of both moderate drinking and drunkenness and of the consumption of harder drugs (Kraus/Bauernfeind, 1998)

Table/Figure 6.5: Risk Perception with Tobacco, Alcohol and Drug Consumption by consumption and sex				
Substances and frequencies	Dangerous and very dangerous %			
	Consumers (%)		Non-consumers(%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Smoking a packet of cigarettes per day	64,9	66,0	73,0	77,0
Smoking marihuana regularly	35,3	41,5*	75,8	82,3*
Taking ecstasy every weekend	81,3	80,7	89,9	94,0*
Taking cocaine once a month	57,6	64,8*	82,3	87,6*
Taking LSD once a month	69,1	74,6*	85,8	90,6*
Having two alcoholic drinks per day	40,7	43,6	54,0	60,2*
Having four alcoholic drinks on one single occasion	38,3	39,2	57,4	60,7
Getting drunk once a month	17,0	16,5	38,8	35,4



The response to the question of which substances are dangerous or not results in statistically significant differences between male and female consumers for the substances cannabis, cocaine, and LSD¹⁵. The other substances/patterns of consumption show no significant differences within the consumer group. It is noticeable that the men tend to present consumption frequency of all substances as less risky. The low risk perception of both men and women is particularly conspicuous with regard to drunkenness.

It can be seen that risk is more seldom perceived given an existing familiarity with drugs (Tossmann & Heckmann, 1997). If a consumer has had good experiences with drugs and thus does not associate them with risk to him/herself or others, he/she will see less risk in consumption. Lowered risk perception is especially noticeable with cannabis – the most frequently consumed illegal drug – and is seen in the consumer group equally in both sexes.

Of interest in this connection is the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1977). If a person is unable to reconcile an act or situation with him/herself, he/she will attempt to reduce the dissonance internally by a change in perception. The internally altered risk perception reduces the externally recognised potential for danger, thus imparting a feeling of control and consistency (Pilgrim, 2000).

The desire for fun can have a direct and indirect effect on risk perception: "Fun orientation has a strong positive effect on use behaviour and at the same time, a strong negative effect on risk perception" (Lee et al., 1998: 46). Gender and use are closely linked in this context.

¹⁵ Significant on gender

The fun aspect brings the two sexes closer to each other's patterns of risk perception, but does not neglect the gender dimension.

“Men are more inhibited. I think girls pay more attention to the risks connected with drug use. There are the same differences as in everyday life.” (Female consumer, Bologna)

“Girls have a critical mind but they are more easily influenced.” (Female non-consumer, Bologna)

A comparison with the non-consumer group results in increased figures for risk assessment. This is particularly so in the case of cannabis. Within the non-consumer sample the women have a higher risk assessment of the individual substances and their frequencies than the men. Significant differences result with all illegal drugs¹⁶.

In relation to gender, risk assessment is a variable that differs appreciably between men and women. Women's higher risk assessment is retained in the case of consumption – although it lowers according to use – and remains a relatively stable characteristic distinguishing them from the men. It is a factor consolidated by the different socialisation during childhood and adolescence. The aspect of a greater sense of personal vulnerability, and the resultant culture of risk-taking, plays an important role here.

6.4 MOTIVATION FOR TAKING DRUGS WHILE GOING OUT

Within the consumer group the men and women do not differ in their frequency of going out at the weekend¹⁷, and the same is true for the non-consumer group. The essential difference is to be found between the two groups¹⁸.

The motivation – associated with going out at the weekend – to take drugs is comparable between both sexes, and also in relation to consumption.

The consumers, whether male or female, ascribe an emotional, behaviour-altering gain to the effects of consumption during a night “on tour”. Gender-specific differences emerge here in motivation and benefit.

For some consumers particularly, the use of alcohol and other substances is seen in relation to one's gender role, and is deliberately carried out to support this role.

“... although they drink perhaps to loosen up. They use alcohol for that. At any rate they use it for that more than the women do. I had to always be prepared to chat up women. I was the hero.” (Male non-consumer, Berlin)

“Boys have to show their capacities of leadership, so they try to take their friends into new experiences. Boys try to assert their authority.” (Male consumer, Bologna)

¹⁶ Significances on gender: Non-consumers: marihuana; $X^2=4,9$, $df=1$, $p<0.005$, ecstasy; $X^2=4,18$, $df=1$, $p<0.01$, LSD; $X^2=4,08$, $df=1$, $p<0.009$, two alcoholic drinks per day; $X^2=2,94$, $df=1$, $p<0.0$. Consumers: marihuana; $X^2=3,5$, $df=1$, $p<0.008$, unilateral, cocaine; $X^2=4,8$, $df=1$, $p<0,004$, LSD; $X^2=3,2$, $df=1$ $p<0.01$

¹⁷ For details see chapter 2

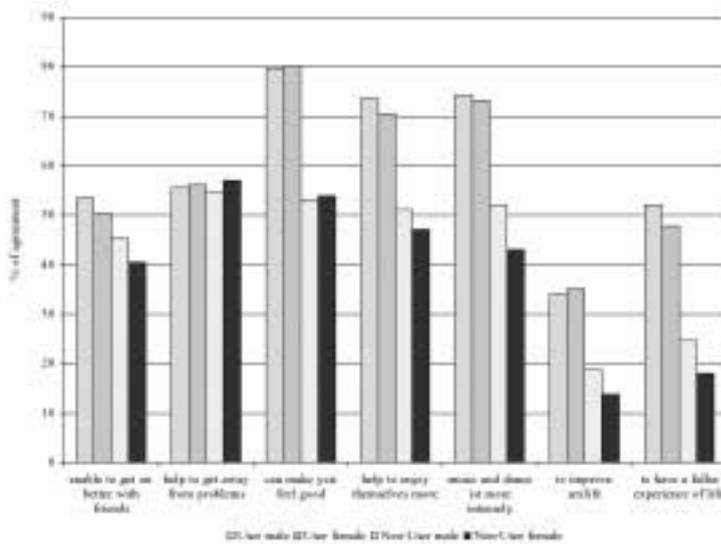
¹⁸ For details see chapter 2 and 4

Or, as other statements imply, to break out of stereotypical social expectations. This reason seems to be more prevalent among women, who are socialised to be adaptive, as the following statements show.

“I’m looking for sexual contact when I take pills, and I raise the subject directly when I’m high (...) I wouldn’t do that sober. It isn’t done.” (Female consumer, Berlin)

“I think that drunken women do things which are normally forbidden for them, like seeking attention by shouting and giggling, and by sexual active behaviour.” (Female consumer, Turku)

Table/Figure 6.6: Motivation for Taking Drugs while Going Out



In this area significant differences are only to be found among the men and women of the non-consumer group in relation to three items: * music and dancing is more intense¹⁹, * to improve sex life²⁰, * to experience life more fully²¹. It seems reasonable to suppose that male non-consumers tend more than their female counterparts to associate consumption with an increase in intensity, or have experienced this boost during their own phases of experimentation.

It is interesting that the men and women of both groups (consumers – non-consumers) place a similar rating of over 50% on the aspect of getting away from one’s problems. Both sexes agree that consumption is a coping strategy for social or emotional problems.

¹⁹ male 52%; female 43,1%; $X^2=6,27$, $p<0.002$
²⁰ male 18,8%; female 13,8%; $X^2=3,47$, $p<0.01$
²¹ male 24,7%; female 18,0%; $X^2=5,21$, $p<0.004$.

MOTIVATION FOR TAKING DRUGS IN RELATION TO AGE AND GENDER

A look at the attitudes of the two different age groups (>19 and < 19) provides a more specific picture of the motivation for consumption.

The variable "to get on better with friends" is rated by male non-consumers in the group < 19 (young adults) with a stronger trend towards agreement (male adolescents 40,3%; male young adults 50,0%) than by their adolescent counterparts, which probably reflects the process of integration via consumption into the male peer group. However, a comparison of this item between young adult men and women reveals significant differences in agreement. Men tend to have a more positive attitude towards consumption in relation to being together with others and getting on with friends²². Drugs and alcohol are here the connecting link within the group, a social dimension exemplified in the following statement of a non-user:

"It's okay up to a certain point; you can even take part in what's going on and sort of tune in. It's possible, but it's tiring." (Male non-consumer, Berlin)

The reference reflects that there is no uncomplicated communication. It is interrupted by the cessation of joint consumption. The references may reflect the data of the young adult men, who do not consume. Quensel (2000) demonstrated in his study, that non-consuming youngsters have smaller circles of friends and lesser contact with the opposite sex. The data mentioned above can also be seen in this context.

A study by Bradizza et al (1999) underscores this hypothesis: "...conformity motives are externally generated and involve drinking to avoid social rejection (...) while social motives were stronger predictors of alcohol misuse in the mid to late adolescents" (Bradizza, 1999: 491, 497).

It must be said though that this aspect can apply to both sexes. And non-consumers of both sexes often find themselves in a position of having to defend themselves strongly against social pressures to consume.

The other variables in this section show no meaningful differences among the male interviewees between age and consumer group.

Among the women participants significant differences in agreement emerge in the following variables:

- a) They help you get away from your problems²³
- b) Taking drugs can make you feel good²⁴
- c) You experience the music and dancing more intensely²⁵
- d) They help you improve your sex life
- e) Drugs help people experience life more fully²⁶

²² young adult males 52,2%; young adult females 44,1%, $X^2=5,889$, $p<0,016$

²³ adolescents 61,6%; young adults 50,6%; $X^2=5,727$, $p<0,02$

²⁴ adolescents 77,3%; young adults 69,0%; $X^2=4,16$, $p<0,049$

²⁵ adolescents 77,3%; young adults 69,0%; $X^2=4,167$; $p<0,049$

²⁶ adolescent consumers 54,0%; young adult consumers 41,4%, $X^2=7,486$, $p<0,007$. Adolescent non-consumers 21,8%; young adult non-consumers 13,9%; $X^2=4,493$, $p<0,045$

Variable “e.” showed meaningful differences between consumers and non-consumers. This reveals, among other things, that for female adolescents the consumption of a variety of substances tends to be a coping strategy, which is also confirmed by the data in Bradizza (1999). As the study notes, “It is possible that coping motives are stronger in young adolescent females and adult women, as compared with females in mid to late adolescence” (Bradizza et al., 1999: 497).

The aspects of having an unhindered good time and a freer, more enjoyable expression of sexuality are also weighted more heavily by the group of female adolescent consumers.

The comparison between men and women reveals only a one-sided contrast – unrelated to consumption – within the young adults group in the item “sex life”²⁷.

The significant gender-specific differences should be interpreted as showing that girls see consumption as a form of liberation from the conventional social gender identity in relation to sexuality – which for them is characterised by greater vulnerability – while men tend to view their sexuality in gender-conventional ways. Franke et al. (2001) also emphasise the experience of partnership and sexuality as a factor in women’s consumption of addictive substances.

“I wouldn’t do that sober, It isn’t done...” (Female consumer, Berlin)

“A lot of men drink or take something so as to be able to chat up women, to pick them up. Women get high so as to have a good time and to dance.” (Female consumer, Berlin)

The aspect of “experiencing life more fully” is gender-typically significant. More men than women in the group of young adults see this as a being made possible by drugs²⁸.

“Having fun” seems to contribute considerably to the willingness to take risks, and here too we see a social motivation for consumption. The perceived benefits seem to be a powerful predictor of behavioural changes and intention, and play a primary role compared to the perception of the risks (Parsons et al., 1997).

Although the significant differences that emerge in the quantitative investigation are confirmed by qualitative references, some interviewees see no motivational disparity, as the following statements show:

“I think that men’s and women’s motivation is the same, probably to free themselves.” (Female non-consumer, Berlin)

“The mode of consumption is perhaps different, but not the motivation.” (Male consumer, Berlin)

REASONS FOR GOING OUT

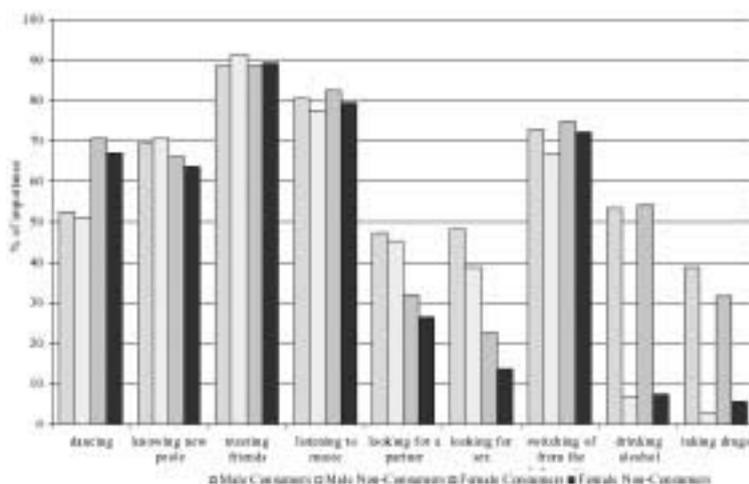
Men and women appear to have differing reasons for going out at the weekend. The sample data show gender differences in the motivation for going out, although not in all items.

²⁷ $X^2=3,105$, 0,046.

²⁸ $X^2=9,872$, $df=1$, <0,002

Table/Figure 6.7: Reasons for going out on Gender and Consumers/Non-Consumers

Reasons for going out	Male		Female	
	Consumer	Non-consumer	Consumer	Non-consumer
Dancing	52,4	51,1	70,6*	67,1*
Knowing new people	69,3	70,6	66,2	63,6
Meeting friends	88,5	91,4	88,5	89,2
Listening to music	80,6	77,6	82,6	79,3
Looking for a partner	47,3*	45,2*	32	26,5
Looking for sex	48,1	38,9	22,7	13,7
Switching of from the daily routine	72,8	67,1	75	72,3
Drinking alcohol	53,4	6,8	54,2	7,5
Taking drugs	38,8	2,8	31,7	5,5



Dancing is more important for women than for men, and this applies to both groups²⁹. The reasons "getting to know people", "meeting friends", "listening to music", "switching off from the daily routine" and "drinking alcohol" show no gender-related differences in both groups. Drinking alcohol is equally relevant to both genders, and plays a favourable role in the nightlife environment for both women and men.

"Looking for a partner" and "looking for sex" show significant gender-related differences in both groups³⁰, which indicates that this motivation for going out is more related to gender than to drug consumption. This also applies to "dancing". "Taking

²⁹ Dancing: consumers $X^2 = 32.4$, $p < .001$; non-consumers $X^2 = 21.7$, $p < 0.05$.

³⁰ Partner: consumers $X^2 = 22.1$; $p < .05$; non-consumers $X^2 = 30.8$, $p < 0.04$

Sex: consumers $X^2 = 65.3$; $p < .05$; non-consumers $X^2 = 63.8$; $p < 0.005$

drugs” shows a statistical gender difference within the consumer group³¹; the non-consumer group only shows a tendency, which appears to be a sampling effect.

Male consumers go out to take drugs more than their female counterparts. This is probably linked to their more extreme consumption patterns, and also corresponds closely to the above data on motivation for consumption.

The interest of the male interviewees in sexual conquest is also reflected in their reasons for going out. Significantly differing motivations emerge here in the variables ”looking for a partner” and ”looking for sex”. Both of these are influenced by drug consumption, and they may also be interpreted from the point of view of social gender identity. Women show the same motivations, but do so less openly than the men, and passively, in accordance with the gender stereotype.

The following qualitative data partly illustrate this:

“Exactly the same behaviour [looking for sex] also exists with women, who also go out on the hunt. Nevertheless, I can imagine that more men go out to find new sexual acquaintances than women do. However there are events and locations where women act more courageously and men are more reserved. But there is always a difference.” (Male consumer, Vienna)

“Women are looking more for a flirt and a sense of confirmation when they go out, and experience themselves and looking for relationship in a more passive way, waiting for the men to make the first move. Flirting is important to me. I feel good about myself as a woman then, get a sense of confirmation.”(Female consumer, Berlin)

“Women only try to attract attention. Women try to make their characteristics stand out through their appearance. Men are perhaps more authentic and active.” (Female consumer, Bologna)

“I used to be always waiting for the prince to come up to me. I think that’s a difference between men and women when they go out, as a rule. The women tend to watch and wait. They’re less active.” (Female non-consumer, Berlin)

“Girls go often out to find a boyfriend then, once they have found him, they leave the old company and they see only the boyfriends company. But they go the same places. I think attitudes are different.” (Female consumer, Bologna)

“I think most men and women act in a different way at nightlife settings, because their behaviour is influenced by the values deriving from the traditional roles of both sexes. Men seem to be more self-confident than women.” (Male consumer, Athens)

On the other hand, some of the interviewees’ statements show that the nightlife motivations and behaviour of the two sexes have become more alike. ”Doing gender” in the house or techno scenes no longer appears to function in a clearly gender-stereotypical way; roles and interactions have become more equal, and traditional

³¹ Drugs: consumers $X^2 = 4.9$; $p < 0.025$

gender-typical behaviour has retreated into the background. The main emphasis is on having fun, dancing and being socially active. It is apparently possible within these subcultures to set aside gender-typical modes of behaviour and to come into contact with one another under the premise of having a good time together. The relevance factor "fun and relaxation" as a contrast to everyday life is enabling a change in the interaction of the traditional gender identities.

"As regards motivations to go out at night, I think they are the same for men and women (...) Motivations have become more similar." (Male non-consumer, Lisbon)

"The spur to go out is the same for girls and boys: to be high and to have a lot of fun. I don't think they behave in a different way." (Male consumer, Bologna)

"I think the disco is the interface where women and men get to the same things. Behaviour depends on personality and not on sex." (Female consumer, Bologna)

"In the scene I belong to there are no gender differences. Behaviour depends on the club, the music, the people, the scene... It was different before." (Female consumer, Berlin)

"Fortunately, these stereotypes are being broken more and more. I think increasingly we are more and more equal." (Male consumer, Palma de Mallorca)

6.5 RISK-TAKING BEHAVIOUR IN RELATION TO GENDER

In this section the gender differences in regard to risk-taking behaviour – which is closely related to risk perception – are presented.

As demonstrated for example in the IREFREA study "Risk and control in the recreational drug culture" (Calafat et al., 2001), risk-taking behaviour – independent of consumption patterns – is linked to gender. Men have a more developed tendency to take risks than women, which is reflected in a willingness to experiment with drugs and in reduced risk perception. The connection between risk perception and risk-taking behaviour is however far more complicated – also in relation to gender – than is considered here.

The questionnaire applied a scale of risk to driving under the influence of alcohol, being a passenger with a driver under the influence of alcohol or drugs and preventing a friend from driving while drunk.

A look at the data shows that the male interviewees tend more towards risk-taking behaviour than the women in items a) - c)³². The men's willingness to drive while under the influence of alcohol is significantly higher than that of the women. It can be seen however that the women of the consumer group are more prepared to take risks than

³² *Significances

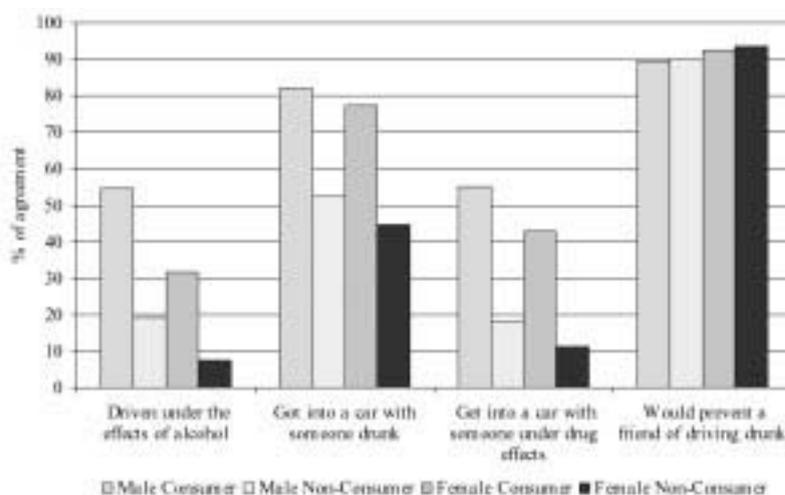
a) Consumers: $X^2 = 48,988$, $p < 0,0001$; non-consumers: $X^2 = 24,541$, $p < 0,0001$

b) Non-consumers: $X^2 = 4,437$, $p < 0,035$

c) Consumers: $X^2 = 13,260$, $p < 0,0001$; non-consumers: $X^2 = 7,437$, $p < 0,006$

Table/Figure 6.8: Risk-taking Behaviour and Gender in Relation to Consumption

Risk taking behaviour	Male		Female	
	Consumer	Non-consumer	Consumer	Non-consumer
Would drive under the effects of alcohol	54,7*	19,2*	31,7	7,4
Would be a passenger with a drunk driver	82	52,3*	77,2	44,7
Would be a passenger with a driver under the influence of drugs	55*	18,2*	42,8	11,3
Would prevent a friend from driving while drunk	89,5	90,1	92,6	93,6*



those among the non-consumers. Familiarity with drugs plays a decisive role here (cf. section 6.3. Risk Perception of Consumption). The increased willingness to take risks – among the consumers independent of gender – can be seen in all three variables.

However, the women’s willingness to take risks remains at a relatively stable lower level compared to that of the men – although not always significantly. But more women would consent to be the passenger of a drunk driver than of someone under the influence of drugs. A kind of controlling conviction appears to be operating here – or also previous experiences of a similar kind – which increases the willingness to engage in risky behaviour (cf. section 6.3. Risk Perception of Consumption).

Peer group identification plays a role here, and also the characteristic attempt by male adolescents to attain a position within their group through gestures of sexual dominance. These outwardly oriented gestures – of which risk-taking behaviour is one – are intended to demonstrate strength both to male peers and the female group interacting with them (Franzkowiak et al., 1998; Quensel, 1999).

Interpreted gender-specifically, this would mean for the women of the consumer group a willingness to disregard their sense of physical vulnerability in order to adapt to the behaviour of the men – also for the purpose of demonstrating strength. This too occurs in adaptive interaction with the peer group.

The different modes of conduct are reflected in the interviewees' statements in the qualitative study on gender-typical nightlife behaviour:

“Men are more aggressive in themselves, I think, and also when they go out. (...) When they're drunk they don't stick to their limits. Women know their limits more.” (Female consumer, Berlin)

“Men are more aggressive in general.” (Female consumer, Berlin)

“Women are calmer... even when they consume.” (Female non-consumer, Lisbon)

“They act less dangerously than boys. That is to say, they are more mediative, they rarely do nonsense. If they do something it's because they are more conditioned by their boyfriends.” (Male consumer, Bologna)

“Boys are more uninhibited in their behaviour. They want to try everything. They risk more. Women are more mediative. Maybe they can be more conditioned.” (Female consumer, Bologna)

The differences in the perceived degree of danger can be explained by the gender-specific internalised cultures of risk-taking and their associated controlling convictions. Also the participants realise that women seem to be more adaptive and conditioned. Variable “d.” is weighted otherwise³³. The emphasis here is on preventative behaviour and concern for others. The women in both groups give the majority of affirmative answers, and the difference between men and women is significant in the non-consumer group. The consumer-group test shows a strong trend towards significance. Women as “relationship experts” (Vogt et al., 1998) – i.e. with a stronger social, relationship-oriented attitude – tend to be more concerned for their companions than men, as illustrated in the following statements explicitly made by women:

“It's not so bad if my girlfriends have had too much to drink. I get them home all right.” (Female non-consumer, Berlin)

“Sometimes I want to decide for someone if I see they're consuming too much. It makes me really upset somehow. I'd like to forbid it.” (Female consumer, Berlin)

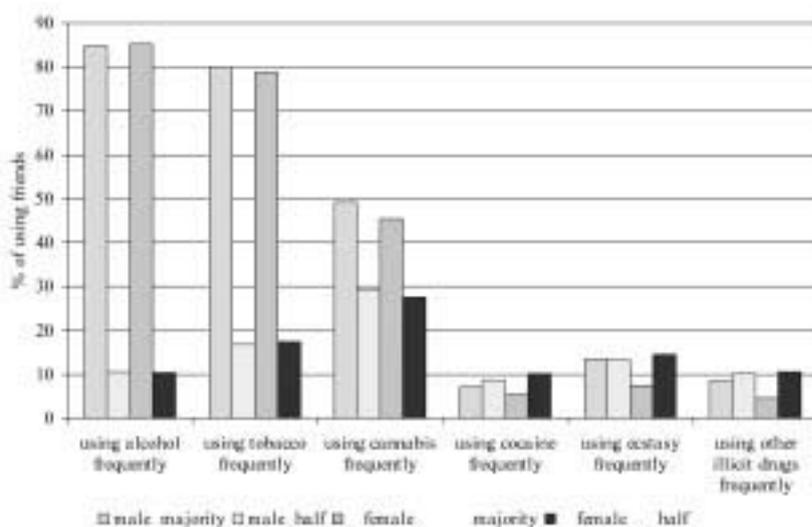
6.6. GENDER, CONSUMPTION AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The data in this section attempt to include the social background of the groups investigated, beginning with the attitude towards the drug consumption of friends and partners.

³³ d) Non-consumer: $X^2= 2,881$, $p< 0,045$ (unilateral)

Table/Figure 6.9: Frequent Substance Use by Friends of Consumer (N=942)³⁴

Friends...	Male		Female	
	Majority	Half	Majority	Half
Using alcohol frequently	84,8	10,6	85,3	10,3
Using tobacco frequently	80,1	16,9	78,7	17,5
Using cannabis frequently	49,1	29,3	45,4	27,5
Using cocaine frequently	7	8,8	5,3	10,2
Using ecstasy frequently	13,4*	13,2	7,4	14,6
Using other illicit drugs frequently	8,4	10,2	4,6	10,5



The consumer sample only showed significant differences in relation to ecstasy. Men and women have equal numbers of friends who consume alcohol, tobacco and cannabis, and the findings show that illegal substances feature to a considerably lesser degree. This is a result of the sample selection, as the drugs of the mainstream are for the most part the legal ones and cannabis, with the others playing a much lesser role (cf. table/figure 6.9). The distribution of friends who do not take these drugs is – with the exception of ecstasy – equal between the sexes.

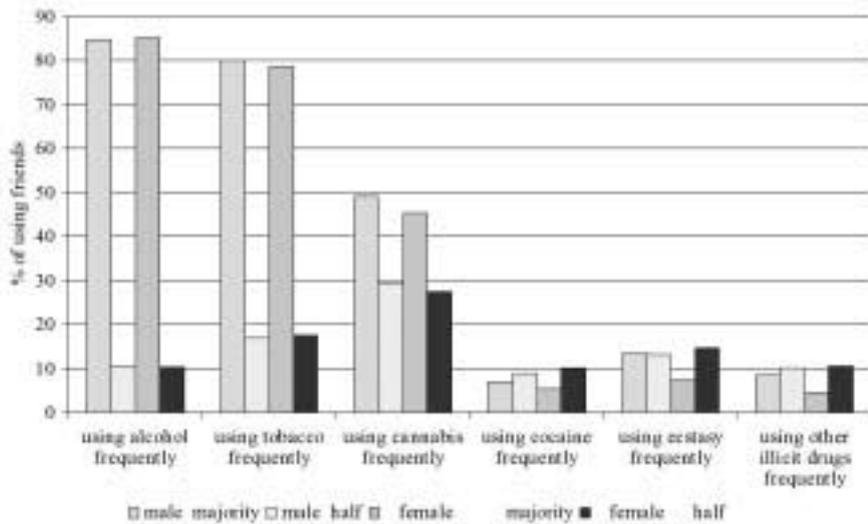
The significant difference with regard to ecstasy should not be interpreted as having a relationship to gender. Ecstasy is the most-consumed substance after alcohol, cannabis and tobacco (cf. table/figure 6.9), and the distribution of consumer friends reflects the interviewees' own patterns of consumption.

³⁴ Significances: Ecstasy: $X^2= 10,619$, $df= 3$, $p< 0.001$

Further calculations reveal a strong relationship between the figures for male and female cannabis users and the consumption of cannabis in their social environment. Similar findings occur for cocaine³⁵ and ecstasy³⁶. There is also no difference between men and women in the frequency of drunkenness among friends. The consumption of both sexes is strongly linked to their peer group. No gender-specific effects were found.

Table/Figure 6.10: Substance Use by Friends of Non-Consumers (N=835)³⁷

Friends...	Male %		Female %	
	Majority	Half	Majority	Half
Using alcohol frequently	48,6	26,2	51,6	24,9
Using tobacco frequently	45,1	27,3	40,3	25,6
Using cannabis frequently	6,4*	12,1	4	10,5
Using cocaine frequently	1,8*	1,0	0,7	1,4
Using ecstasy frequently	2,3*	2,5	0,2	0,5
Using other illicit drugs frequently	2,3*	2,1	0,5	1,2



The non-consumers' social circles show gender-specific differences with regard to consumption. Here too alcohol and tobacco are the most commonly accepted drugs.

³⁵ male: $X^2=285,635$, $df=9$, $p<0,0001$, M.C./ female: $x^2=429,246$, $df=9$, $p<0,0001$, M.C.

³⁶ male: $X^2=320,239$, $df=9$, $p<0,0001$, M.C./ female: $X^2=429,246$, $df=9$, $p<0,0001$, M.C.

³⁷ Cannabis: $X^2=8,045$, $df=3$, $p<0,001$ (M.C.)

Cocaine: $X^2=9,935$, $df=3$, $p<0,001$ (M.C.)

Ecstasy: $X^2=14,96$, $df=3$, $p<0,001$ (M.C.)

Other illicit: $X^2=9,874$, $df=3$, $p<0,001$ (M.C.)

With cannabis it can be seen that the social circle of the female non-consumers to smoke the substance less than that of male non-consumers. The difference is significant, and seems to stem from the less critical attitude of men towards consumption (cf. section 6.3. Risk Perception).

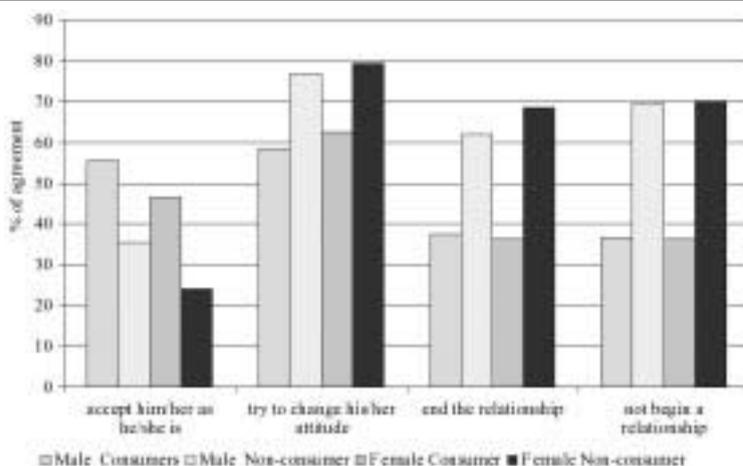
The differences remain with all substances, even though the social circle of male non-consumers contains just as few users of ecstasy, cocaine and other illegal drugs (an unsurprising finding for the mainstream non-consumer population under investigation). Women appear less willing to accommodate themselves to other women’s consumption, probably reflecting the more critical attitude of women – and particularly of non-consumers – toward the use of substances.

6.7. DRUG CONSUMPTION AND PARTNERSHIP

The following section investigates the interviewees’ attitudes to partners taking illegal drugs.

Table/Figure 6.11: Acceptance of the Consumption of Illegal Drugs in a Relationship³⁸

I (would)...	(agree and strongly agree)			
	Male		Female	
	Consumer	Non-consumer	Consumer	Non-consumer
Accept him/her as he/she is	55,6*	35,5*	46,5	24
Try to change his/her attitude	58,5	76,8	62,6	79,3
End the relationship	37,4	61,9	36,2	68,6*
Not begin a relationship	36,6	69,5	36,3	70,1



³⁸ * Consumer: acceptance $X^2= 7,26$; $df=1$, $p< 0.001$ (Fisher)

Non-consumers: acceptance $X^2= 12,73$; $df=1$, $p<0.0001$ (Fisher)

End the relationship: $X^2= 3,78$; $df=1$, $p< 0.008$ (Fisher)

As the data show, male consumers and non-consumers have a greater acceptance for illegal consumption by a partner than their female counterparts; women non-consumers would be more likely to end a relationship if their partner used illegal drugs. However if one omits the factor of consumption from the calculations and looks only at gender-specific modes of behaviour, another tendency emerges. When asked whether they would try to change their partner's attitude, 27,0%/43,7% (agree/strongly agree) of the women said that they would. The data thus confirm once again the more pronounced orientation of women and girls towards relationships. They differ from the men here, although only a little, in the aspect of concern for one's social environment (Vogt et al., 1998).

The qualitative data reveal a further form of acceptance: women adapt themselves to their non-consuming partners in various ways – by doing without illegal drugs, when they meet:

“My boyfriend does not take drugs. When I am with him I don't do drugs too. I have a beer then. I think that's somehow more social, a better contact then.”
(Female consumer, Berlin)

6.8. SUBSTANCE USE BY PARENTS COMPARED TO OWN SUBSTANCE USE

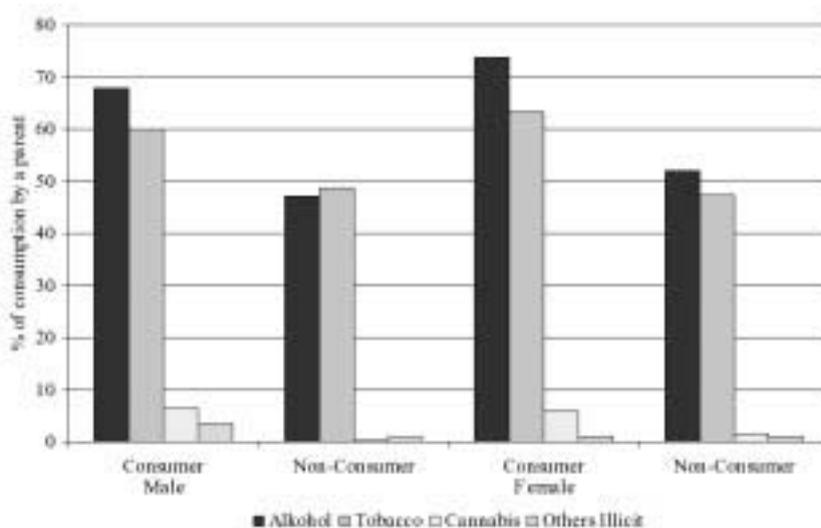
Adolescent drug consumption often has its roots in that of their parents (Vogt et al., 1998; Eurocare, 1998). Alcohol and tobacco at least are a part of everyday family life, and children and adolescents frequently have the task of compensating for the addictive patterns of their parents. While consumption by parents does not necessarily lead to addiction in their children, young people whose parents abuse alcohol and consume other drugs often live in difficult family environments which can have an effect on later consumption (Eurocare, 1998). The contributory factors include violence, marital conflict, separation or loss of parents and inconsistency and ambivalence in parenting (Kersch, 2001). The sample need not be viewed in problematic terms, however, but as a source of information on gender.

A look at the data shows a trend towards greater alcohol consumption by a parent among female consumers. As demonstrated in several studies on female drug users (Vogt et al., 1998; Kersch, 2001), abusive consumption by a parent more strongly affects young women than men. Girls tend to feel more responsible than boys for the subsequent family catastrophes (Vogt et al., 1998), and as a result frequently become the victims of various forms of violence. Boys experience the family problems as acutely as girls, but because they do not feel as responsible for them, or as guilty, they deal with them in a different way (Kersch, 2000; Beg & Quinten, 2000). Beg & Quinten (2000) emphasise that men attribute cause externally in such situations, women more internally.

There is a significant correlation to the use of illegal drugs by parents in the group of male consumers, which can perhaps be interpreted in terms of men's increased willingness to take risks, but primarily also as an adaptive coping strategy.

Table/Figure 6.12: Substance Use Among Parents³⁹

	Male %		Female %	
	Consumer	Non-consumer	Consumer	Non-consumer
Alcohol	67,9	47,1	73,8*	52
Tobacco	60	48,7	63,3	47,3
Cannabis	6,5	0,5	5,9	1,5
Other illicit	3,5*	0,8	1,1	1



It can be seen however that the consumption of substances by parents is connected to the drug use of their children of both sexes. The non-consumers have considerably lower percentages of parental consumption. We can conclude from the data that consumption by a parent can trigger an adaptive reaction in the child. Parents are role models for their children, and adolescent consumption can be a form of coping strategy in difficult situations.

6.9. FAMILY, SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND CONSUMPTION IN RELATION TO GENDER

The following section looks at the social integration of the sample according to gender and consumption. The ability to integrate socially and to make use of social networks are important inter-personal skills.

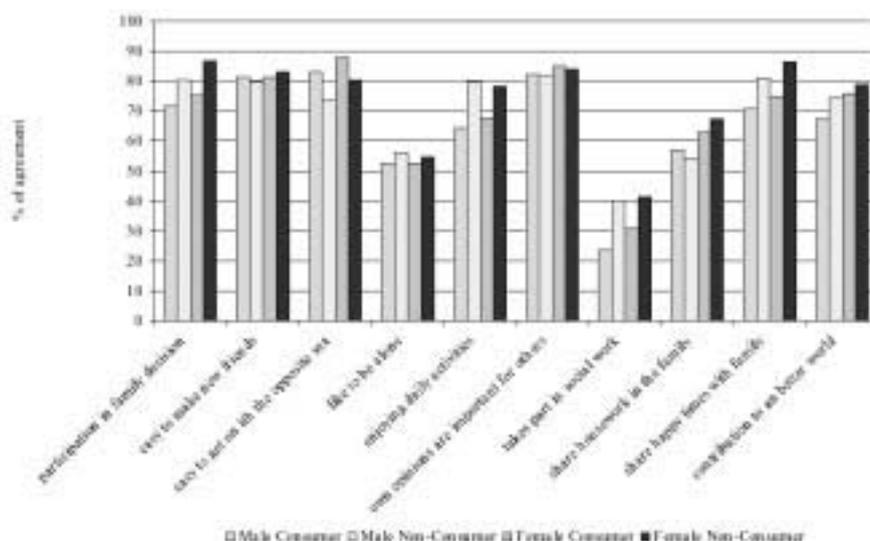
³⁹ * Significances

Alcohol > not significant but shows trend

Other illicit: male more affirmative: $X^2=4,209$, $df=1$, $p< 0,04$

Table/Figure 6.13: Social Integration⁴⁰

	Male %		Female %	
	Consumers	Non-consumers	Consumers	Non-consumers
Participation in family decisions	71,6	80,3	75,1	86,8*
Makes new friends easily	81,3	79,8	81,4	83
Gets on with the opposite sex easily	83,2	73,5	88*	80,5
Likes to be alone	52,5	56,2	52,5	54,8
Enjoys daily activities	64,5	79,8	67,7	78,3
Own opinions are important to others	82,3	81,7	85	84,1
Takes part in community activities	23,7	40,3	30,9	41,3
Shares housework in the family	57	54,4	62,8*	67,5*
Shares happy times with the family	70,7	81,1	74,9	86,3*



The significant variables denote the women's greater affirmation of the various items. Women – whether consumers or non-consumers – seem generally better integrated into their social contexts than men, which has also already been shown in several studies on drug abuse by men and women. Women's social skills, and the networks available to them, are often able to support the prevention or overcoming of dependency, as long as they are not also combined with strain (Dobler-Mikola, 2000).

⁴⁰ decision-making: non-consumers $X^2=6,004$, $df=1$, $p<0,014$

opposite sex: consumers $X^2= 3,901$, $df=1$, $p<0,04$

housework: consumers $X^23,002$, $df=1$, $p<0,08$; non-consumers $X^214,328$, $df=1$, $p< 0,0001$

happy times: non-consumers $X^2= 3,869$, $df=1$, $p<0, 049$

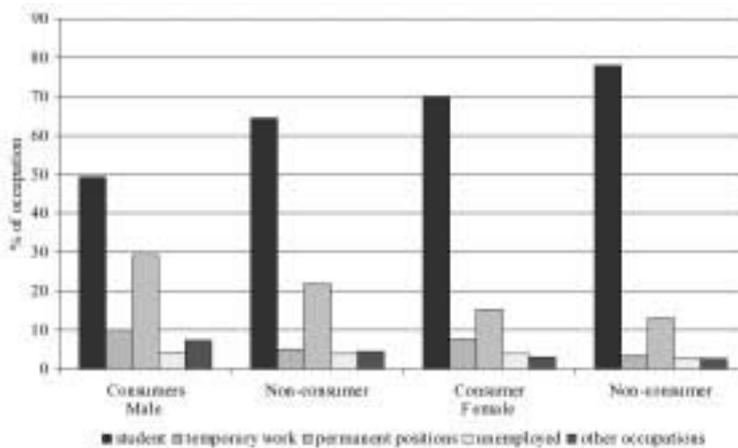
better world: consumers $X^2= 7,307$, $df=1$, $p< 0,007$

The variable "gets on with the opposite sex" may however also indicate drug use as a coping strategy. Consumption enables women and girls to come into contact with the opposite sex in a freer, more light-hearted way – also in as much as they adapt their consumption for this purpose to that of their partner (cf. section Age of Onset)

6.10. CONSUMPTION IN RELATION TO OCCUPATION AND GENDER

The following section is concerned with the gender-specific analysis of the data on the sample's consumption in relation to their work/study environment. A look at the regulating principle of gender is also interesting here. Disregarding for a moment the factor of consumption, it can be seen that significantly more women (adolescents + young adults) than men attend university or are engaged in further education⁴¹. These differences are maintained when the sample is grouped according to consumers and non-consumers, although here there is no significant difference between men and women in relation to educational pursuits. In this case a tendency only may be seen.

Occupational Patterns	Male		Female	
	Consumer	Non-consumer	Consumer	Non-consumer
Student	49,2	64,5	69,8*	77,9
Temporary work	10	5,2	7,8	3,4
Permanent positions	29,2	21,9	15,4*	13
Unemployed	4,2	3,8	3,9	2,9
Other occupations	7,4*	4,6	3	2,7



⁴¹ * students: women 73,8% - men 56,2 %; permanent positions and other occupations 17,2% - men 31,9%, $X^2= 59,98$, $df=4$, $p< 0.0001$

⁴² * Consumer: students /permanent positions/other $X^2= 43,209$, $df=4$, $p<0.0001$
Non-consumers: permanent positions $X^2= 17,588$, $df=4$, 0.001

The graph clearly shows the larger number of women students according to sample category. The female non-consumers have the highest population of students and other educational occupations. Women are less represented in the field of employment, whether temporary or permanent, with women non-consumers having the lowest frequency here. Male consumers are more likely to have a permanent or temporary position than women. Given that the sample at any rate contains a majority of students (total students: 65,2%) one can say that women appear to possess a higher level of education than men, who are more oriented towards finding a job. Other studies have confirmed this tendency (Dobler-Mikola, 2000/1992). Women who consume often have a higher educational level than men, which as mentioned above can be put down to the strain of having to combine motherhood, family life and career. Women's orientation towards relationships makes such choices more difficult, and they often result in immense internal pressure (Franke, 2001; Bloomfield, 2002) to which men are not subject to such a degree. Both legal and illegal drugs enable a reduction of this inner stress.

According to this study's data, women – independently of consumer group – see themselves as better students than males⁴³.

6.11 CONCLUSIONS

DRUGS AND GENDER

Within the consumer group, men and women do not differ in their frequency of going out at the weekend, and the same is true for the non-consumer group. The essential difference is to be found between the two groups.

Because of the consumption frequencies, or the monthly consumption rate of a particular substance, the drug consumption of the present sample has more of an occasional character and is probably confined to the weekend. But it can also be seen that there is quite a high number of experimenters. Seen from a psychological development point of view it is clear that youth is a time of experimentation in all areas of life, and consumption is thus no more unusual than the tendency to cathartic leisure-time preferences that can be seen in young people's weekend nightlife activities (cf. Chapter 4). In this the mainstream does not differ essentially from those involved in techno or other scenes (Pilgrim, 2000), or show differences between the sexes.

Significantly differing motivations emerge here in the variables "looking for a partner" and "looking for sex". Both of these are influenced by drug consumption, and they may also be interpreted from the point of view of social gender identity. Women show the same motivations, but do so less openly than men, and passively, in accordance with the gender stereotype.

⁴³ Pearson Chi square = 41.6; 4 degrees of freedom; p (exact, two – way) = 0.000 among consumers, and Pearson Chi square = 16; 4 degrees of freedom; p (exact, two – way) = 0.004 among non-consumers.

A confirmation of the convergence hypothesis cannot be demonstrated by this study. That young women's alcohol or tobacco intake has come closer to that of the men does not indicate an adaptation of consumptive behaviour. According to Babcock (1996: 5) this convergence could have come about because of previously under-reported data, and the relaxation of gender roles and the reduced stigma on women's alcohol or drug use may now be enabling a more true-to-life reporting of data. As her study remarks, "...with loosening up the gender role limits, more women are now admitting their previously stigmatised use". Also Bloomfield (2002) mentions that alcohol consumption is linked to women's roles, which are the basis for motivation of consumption. A "role-overload" can lead to consumption, as well as a "role-reduction". These definitions reflect women's situation in society. She also emphasises, besides Babcock (1996), that further studies are necessary to demonstrate convergence. The hypothesis from Babcock can be part of the reality but not all. The behaviour of women have changed a lot these last decades, and women's behaviour is nearer to that of men, perhaps to the convergence process, perhaps for other reasons. It is necessary to research this more.

Men are still consuming more extremely. The qualitative investigation of the IREFREA sample shows that men consume differently from women. Men have heavier consumption patterns than women; women consume more moderately but more regularly. Men drink more quickly than women, usually without a particular reason, especially in the company of other men and generally outside the home (Vosshagen, 2002). The data reveal significant differences between male and female ex-consumers. There are considerably more male ex-consumers of alcohol, cannabis, LSD and speed. These data correspond to the greater readiness of the male interviewees to try out illegal drugs, which is not to be found among the women, as table 1 shows.

For both sexes drug consumption represents a way of fitting into their given roles. It is an adaptive means both of connecting to their own gender and of overcoming the boundaries of gender identity (Franzkowiak et al., 1998; Kersch, 2001). An example is that, for female adolescents, the consumption of a variety of substances tends to be a coping strategy, which is also confirmed by the data in Bradizza (1999).

The study shows that women and men consume similar quantities on the whole, but that the consumption patterns and frequencies, and the motivation for consumption and risk-taking behaviour, are different. This is a reflection of the differences in gender identity, which particularly effects risk-taking and risk perception. We need to continue to recognise the two sexes' different socialisation processes, which lead to differing problems, motivations and leisure-time needs. One cannot talk of convergence against such a background.

Also the participants realise that women seem to be more adaptive and conditioned. Women – whether consumers or non-consumers – seem generally better integrated into their social contexts than men, which has also already been shown in several studies on drug abuse by men and women. Women's social skills, and the networks available to them, are often able to support the prevention or overcoming of dependency, as long as they are not also combined with strain (Dobler-Mikola, 2000).

In some cases there is no difference in behaviour. Particularly in certain youth-culture subgroups, gender differences are disregarded or are no longer visible. However, this new interaction may possibly result from the desire of both sexes to transcend gender identity – at least within the nightlife environment.

Abusive consumption by a parent more strongly affects young women than men. Boys experience the family problems as acutely as girls, but because they do not feel as responsible for them, or as guilty, they deal with them in a different way (Kersch, 2000; Beg & Quinten, 2000). Beg & Quinten (2000) emphasise that men attribute cause externally in such situations, women more internally.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTIONAL SETTINGS

The issue of the construction of youth gender identity must be seen as an indispensable component of gender-specific preventative work. Enabling young people to meet the gender-role challenges which manifest themselves during adolescence in the interaction between the sexes, and to do so in a balanced way, is of great importance for the prevention of drug addiction. One of the factors that can prevent dependency or risky behaviour and consumption is the successful examination of one's own gender and needs, which may not necessarily correspond to the socially given gender identity.

The image of the "strong man" who has to drink is an influence on men's risky consumption, and not simply of alcohol. Male addiction is closely connected to socially required masculinity, with its schematised gender roles. Substance use serves as a way coping with social imperatives such as a restricted emotional life and a pronounced orientation towards power and competition. As we have seen, within the youth context this often plays a decisive role (Franzkowiak et al., 1998), and conflicts arise here in the areas of sexuality, partnership, emotionality, the father role and relationships to other men (Vosshagen, 2002).

A look at women's drug consumption reveals a "female" picture: substances are consumed in order to be able to break out of the typical, and still prevalent, ideal of femininity and to behave according to male-oriented standards promising more freedom. Wilsnack et al. (1994) describe this as follows: "...peer influences, women's imitation of the male drinking model, more drinking opportunities in non-traditional employment settings, stress related to a minority status in male-dominated occupations and acquaintances, or the use of drinking as a symbolic expression of power and gender equality" (Babcock, 1996). The acquired male behaviour however has little to do with women and their inherent emancipatory capabilities, and represents a further stress factor.

But drug consumption also has an adaptive character here. Women are much more likely than men to consume if their partner already does so, as the desire for empathy and relationship predominates (Dobler-Mikola, 2000).

Be that as it may, women are also subject to a gender-role conflict which manifests itself in the interaction with the socially determined gender identity, often in the areas of sexuality, partnership, career and the desire for social recognition.

The following remarks are substantially influenced by concepts elucidated in Franzkowiak et al. (1998).

The subject of gender should not only be a focus of gender-specific youth work or preventative programmes for girls, but should also feature within mixed-gender contexts – without of course making gender-specific projects redundant.

Against the theoretical background of gender mainstreaming, the guiding concept should not be the furtherance of a passive adoption of gender roles and stereotypes, but an interactive, adaptive, process-oriented approach towards the formation of gender-role identity (Franzkowiak et al., 1998).

Gender-related addiction prevention should therefore be accomplished by the encouragement and support of personal competence, and by behavioural and situational intervention.

Drug consumption and health-related risk-taking should be seen in the context of the formation of gender identity (Franzkowiak et al., 1998). And the formation of this identity should always take into account one's personal needs in the interaction with gender and environment.

For the consumption of substances always takes place within a context of gender-typical situations and problems. The family background with its possible resources and integrative potential, and the process of leaving home, forming one's own identity and reorienting within a societal context, play an important role here.

In this context we have to realise that prevention should not be undertaken without the peers. Peer education, using groups, events, flyers, the internet or special magazines are relevant aspects of prevention (Quensel, 2000)

The formation of gender identity can only take place through examining and dealing with the images of masculinity and femininity within the social sphere, and in the concrete process of interaction between boys and girls (Franzkowiak et al., 1998).

Those involved in addiction prevention should, as a basic precondition, reflect on their own gender identity and its accompanying socialisation processes, and on the gender-role stereotyped identities boys, girls, men and women are required by society to assume.

7. MANAGEMENT OF CONTROL IN RECREATIONAL LIFE

7.1 INTRODUCTION. RISK PERCEPTION AND DRUG USE

Experts in investigating the dynamic that accompanies drug use take risk perception into close consideration as an instrument in measuring changes in use. Becoña (2003) proposes three elements as being the most important associated with the low risk perception of drug use by present day youth. These are: 1) being young, filled with vitality and strength; 2) the mass media with the insistent message that the world is there for the young, that they can achieve everything and are almost invincible (and invisible to any ill) and that, with the odd exception, the potential ills or problems that can emerge around them will not affect them; and, 3) the emergence of recreational life as one more element of consumerism and big business which identifies the activities carried out within it with youth, vigour, beauty, well-being, satisfaction and pleasure.

Risk perception is the key to understanding youth behaviour and drug use. Several authors have attempted to explain the reasons associated with the increase in drug use among young people. On the basis of their annual follow-up of young Americans, Bachman, Johnston and O'Malley (1998) show how the big changes in drug use in the last two decades (1976-1996) are not explained by alterations in lifestyle or changes in personality characteristics but rather by the attitude to drugs. In other words, what has changed is that risk perception has decreased and the legitimacy of use has increased. Continuing with the theory of these authors, it seems that the individual changes can be explained by classic risk factors (such as religion, delinquent acts...) but that the collective changes over the years are not a result of the population adopting, for example, more rebellious or antisocial attitudes.

The above-mentioned authors also propose some ideas on how these changes in risk perception and disapproval of drug use are occurring. They suggest that the young of today have not been able to see the problems caused by drug use so intensely as other earlier generations. Therefore, they postulate that the information is lost between one generation and another. They also argue that the drop in marihuana use during the eighties led to the institutions responsible for prevention (government, school, family) dropping their guard, which means that there are less informative campaigns and less dialogue between parents and children.

This chapter is going to examine the control exercised by the young over the risks involved in drug use. Chapter 5 also studies this subject. Here the subject is approached through the discourse of the young themselves, their experience and ability to manage

risks. It would be useful to have a better knowledge of their control when facing risks, the value of risk perception in making decisions on use or on what to use, by both the users and the non-users. The analysis was made mainly on the basis of the qualitative information provided by the one hundred and forty-three young people from the ten countries taking part in the study who were interviewed and who took part in the discussion groups. As defined in the section on the methodology, one of the subjects dealt with in both the interviews and the discussion group revolved around risk and control. They were questioned on the drugs that they take in the recreational context, on the importance of risks when taking decisions affecting different substance use, their control strategies to remain abstemious or moderate users, the various risks that they perceive in the recreational context, health problems and feelings of safety at night in their cities, etc.

In addition to the qualitative information, the data from the interview carried out for this research was also taken into consideration. The two sources of information are complementary and form a network of information that permits an approach to the complexity in which the young are associated with risk. The approach to the analysis of the real situation through the information provided by the collective itself enables the young to be seen as active agents, capable of making decisions, selecting criteria and taking initiatives, informing themselves and acting as they move within a complex network of influences.

The discourse of the young on risk and control in their relationship with drug use is not only subjective but also very complex. The analytical route that we follow to examine this complexity is based on two questions. On the one hand, there are young people who do not use drugs in spite of the power and attraction of drugs in the context of having fun. At the same time, this raises another question: why are there young people who use drugs in spite of knowing the risks they run? The analysis maintains this double dialectic between the two opposing attitudes that are being contradicted by two logical postulations.

7.2 ARE DRUGS AN EFFECTIVE TECHNOLOGY?

The first question arises from the idea that drugs are used because they bring pleasure and make having fun more easy to achieve. Table 7.1 shows how young drug users and non-users evaluate the different reasons for use. The differences are considerable, indicating that the users make a much more positive evaluation of the use and effects of drugs. Almost 80% of users consider drugs to make them feel good and more than 61% consider that they help in enjoying the music, dancing and enjoying themselves more. They also help in escaping from problems (according to 55.9% of users). Although these advantages of drug use are less well evaluated by non-users, a good number of them acknowledge the positive effects of use: feeling better (53.7 %), escaping from problems (55.9%), having more fun (49%), enjoying the music and dancing (47%). These are all positive reasons and, therefore, it could seem that the non-user collective has a rather incoherent attitude, as they do not utilise a technology that

they acknowledge can enhance their recreational life. However, the responses of the non-users indicate what they consider to be the reasons why some people use drugs when they go out to have good time. This does not mean that these are reasons that they consider apply to themselves, nor that they recognise their efficacy, they are only reasons that underlie the fact that the others take drugs.

The second question concerns the relationship with risk. Among young European clubbers, controversy surrounds the risks involved in drug use. For the majority, be they

Table 7.1: Reasons (% that agree) for not taking illegal drugs and for not abusing legal drugs when people go out at weekends

Reasons	Total %	Drug Users	Non-Users
Taking drugs can make you feel good ¹	67,6	80	53,6
You experience the music and dancing more intensely ²	61,3	73,8	47,3
They help you to enjoy yourself ³	61,2	72,1	49,1
They help you to get away from problems	55,9	55,9	55,8
They enable you to get on better with friends ⁴	47,6	52,0	42,7
They help you to have a fuller experience of life ⁵	36,4	49,8	21,2
They help to improve your sexual life ⁶	26,0	34,7	16,2

users or non-users, taking drugs implies acceptance of a number of very diverse risks. These risks are illustrated in the two paragraphs that follow. The first refers to a user and the second to a non-user. The two point out the different problems that have some direct connection with drug use:

“I just don’t know my limits; I do know that I’ve built an enormous tolerance. In one night I can take six or seven pills and use two grams of cocaine, without having real problems. But it goes wrong sometimes. I remember one night that I wanted to go home at two in the morning, but I couldn’t because I was with friends who wanted to continue. At that moment I freaked out completely, I think because of the speed. Also I’ve had memory problems, like I couldn’t remember what clothes I wore the previous night or even worse I forgot names of people I know quite well. I also had hallucinations, like seeing snow dolls everywhere during the summer or sitting in a bus convinced that it was moving, when in fact it wasn’t.” (male user 20, Utrecht)

“There’s both personal and societal problems caused by drugs. If someone becomes addicted to alcohol it means less money and human relationships

¹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 137.4; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

² Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 128.2; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

³ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 93.4; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

⁴ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 14.8; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

⁵ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 153.9; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

⁶ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 76.7; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

suffer. The use of drugs increases criminality. And there are also health-related reasons which have a big influence on my sobriety” (male non-user, Turku)

According to the young users, the first problem is the difficulty of knowing one’s own limits when taking drugs, basically because continual use creates tolerance. Such a situation leads to abuse and addiction. Pressure exerted by friends is another situation that impedes control of use on occasions. The loss of money is another problem intrinsic to use, as both alcohol and drugs are expensive. On occasions, their cost is the explanation for delinquency in the form of minor robberies or drug trafficking on a small scale. All this is described as the negative face of use. These risks are perceived by all young people who choose not to use. Interestingly, they are also recognised by a good number of users.

Table 7.2 provides data on the opinions held by users and non-users on the dangers of using specific substances with determined frequencies. The differences enable us to see that risk perception is, in every case, much lower among users. Nevertheless, as we know, a good number of users are also aware of the dangers but, despite this, still use drugs. Among the user collective, the large majority think it is dangerous to smoke one packet of cigarettes a day (65.5%), smoke marihuana regularly (57.4%), use ecstasy every weekend (86.2%), and take cocaine once a month (72.4%). Alcohol is the most popular substance and the one that carries the least perception of risk, even though a significant proportion of users consider that it is dangerous to take two alcoholic drinks daily (42.2%) or have four alcoholic drinks on one single occasion (37.8%). Nevertheless, drunkenness is much more acceptable, as only 16% consider it is dangerous to get drunk once a month.

Before looking at the contradictory aspects, we must look at the more coherent situations. There are young people who choose to use drugs because they deny the

Table 7.2: Perception of some habits of drug use as dangerous or very dangerous

	Total	Users	Non-Users
Smoking a packet of cigarettes daily ⁷	70,0	65,5	75,1
Smoking marihuana regularly ⁸	57,4	38,4	79,2
Taking ecstasy every weekend ⁹	86,2	81,0	92,1
Taking cocaine once a month ¹⁰	72,4	61,2	85,1
Taking LSD once a month ¹¹	79,5	71,8	88,3
Having two alcoholics drinks daily ¹²	49,2	42,2	57,2
Having four alcoholic drinks on one single occasion ¹³	47,8	37,8	59,1
Getting drunk once a month ¹⁴	26,3	16,7	37,0

⁷ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 19; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

⁸ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 296.7; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

⁹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 44.3; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

¹⁰ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 123.4; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

¹¹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 71.8; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

¹² Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 39; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

¹³ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 79.5; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

¹⁴ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 92.7; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

existence of risks. Some believe that the risks, which are spoken of so often, do not exist in reality and have only been invented and spread by prejudiced people:

“According to me there isn’t any real problem, it doesn’t really matter. You aren’t a real addict. You aren’t an outsider. During the week you study and you work, and you do everything you have to do. During the weekend you should have the chance to do what you want. Tabs permit you to exploit your spare time to the utmost. I don’t think substances are problematic. The real problem isn’t tabs but some people, who perhaps even shag down. Some people can exaggerate and they usually do” (male user, Bologna)

This kind of opinion is in line with the act of use. The belief that there is no risk explains why some people decide to take drugs. To those working in prevention, this may appear to be an obvious goal to aim for. It involves changing this belief, and demonstrating that a real risk does indeed exist. This task, however, is not as easy as it may seem since changing beliefs is a task outside rational logic and, additionally, knowing about risks is no insurance against use. The following comments by a non-user provides an image of those who use that assists in understanding the role that drugs play, and one that does not agree with the opinion that the users have of themselves given in the previous comments:

“With drugs some people become dangerous, lose control. They think they can do everything. The problem is that they lose control, their sense of reality. I think a lot of people don’t give a damn about it. I think that on Saturday evening they forget the dangers. Perhaps they are quiet people during the week, but on Saturday they break loose and think they are invulnerable.” (male non-user, Bologna).

Drugs are linked to emotions. At the present time, the majority of young people who refuse to see the risks associated with use are not, in general, acting from a lack of information, but rather more from a wish to feel associated with a kind of ideal. The belief in drugs as sacred elements of the night and having fun can become a powerful element that also contributes to reinforcing the link with others who share the same attitude and belief.

Believing that there is no risk to drug taking facilitates the young to use drugs. Nevertheless, and as we have seen, the majority of users know that drug taking involves risks. These are the ones that present an obvious contradiction, those that are most difficult to understand from the point of view of prevention. It can be seen from the following comments that, on occasion, the knowledge they have of drugs is superficial, and has not penetrated their awareness.

“Obviously people who take drugs don’t give a damn about risks. It’s like doing two hundred miles an hour, you know that is dangerous but you do it, you like rapture and you think that accidents can’t happened to you.” (male non-user, Bologna).

This comment brings a new perspective to the issue. There is awareness that risks exist, but it is thought that these only affect ‘other people’. There are young people who

believe they are immune to all ills and even adopt a provocative attitude as a way of demonstrating their strength to the world. They are aware that risk exists, it is present when they take drugs, and it is something that young users have to accept as one more component of their recreational life. The risk is more than a danger. It is thanks to the risk that they can demonstrate their daring. The risk they consider the condition for acceding to new experiences, it is the route to having a good time, getting to know people, growing, feeling themselves to be alive...In other words for a section of the young, the risk concept ends up by having a connotation that is, to a great extent, a positive one. It may even be said that it is a generalised belief that without risks there is no pleasure, emotion disappears, and the present loses any sense... The following arguments seek to justify the risk that is taken when drugs are used:

“We cannot seek sensations without taking any risks. There’s risk-taking, but pleasure taking too” (male user, Nice).

“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 user, Nice).

Risk concepts are aligned to the evolutionary stages of the human being. In our society and in others it is assumed that it is logical for adolescents to commit excesses and take risks. Jessor defines risk as “whatsoever behaviour that can compromise those psychosocial aspects of the successful development of the adolescent” (Jessor 1991: 599). Risk behaviours that he considers directly linked to adolescence are problem behaviour, health-related behaviour and school behaviour. Risk is part of the definition of adolescence and this is why many adults adopt a very tolerant attitude to risk situations affecting the young. Risk is, in fact, a necessary element in the vital process. If the risk is controlled or kept at normal levels, the person concerned may learn new behaviours, perfect those that he has or acquire new abilities. According to how he learns to evaluate risk, a person can go on to overcome new and sometimes difficult situations. In life, decisions have to be made all the time. Knowing the limits of risk is important because, in practice, one has to learn to manage it in order to make decisions without being sure of the outcome. The social system, the social norms and, more specifically, the socialisation process are responsible for learning all these elements although, on occasion, this process may be compromised if the exposure to risk is excessive or the ability to control it has not been acquired.

Evaluating the necessity of learning to manage risk as part of learning, it could seem as though those who do not use drugs tend not to experiment and for this reason stop learning. This is not exactly so, however, since there are different roads to experimentation. Some decide not to use drugs because they have done so previously and others because they see that drugs can have very negative effects on those who use them:

“It upsets me when the consequences are paid for in the long term. I have seen friends who were great people and they started taking all sorts of things and I’ve seen how they’ve changed and had another way of life, another way of being and this hurts me” (female non-user, Palma)

But it is not only the non-user's different relationship with risk that causes them not use drugs. It is often found that those who abstain feel neither attraction nor curiosity for the effects of drugs; these are not associated with their life. But this does not mean that the abstemious are not looking for fun, to make friends or have new experiences but they are looking for them with different strategies or these issues occupy a less central place in their lives. As for risk, social life teaches that there are different kinds of risk. Some risks are more formative than others; they have different levels of influence on adult life and different implications on social life. The kind of risk taken has something to do with the lifestyle chosen, the project for the future, with the influences that are accepted. The moderate young¹⁵ choose a kind of stimulus and activities that put them in touch with risks, but these are different from those arising from drug use and this, in particular, holds no interest for them.

	Total %	Users of drugs	Non users
They are afraid drugs will create problems for them	77.5	77.9	77.0
They are not interested in their effects ¹⁶	74.8	68.7	81.7
They don't want to lose their self-control	74.1	73.7	74.6
They are afraid of becoming an addict ¹⁷	71.7	73.8	69.4
They believe the world would be a better place without drugs ¹⁸	61.8	55.3	69.2

Table 7.3 presents a list of motives that the young consider important reasons in their decision not to take drugs. The abstemious young have valued each of the reasons according to their own situation, whereas those who do use have valued the reasons according to their opinions on why the others do not use. The agreement between both groups is more or less similar with the exception of the second and the last reason. The abstemious consider (81.7%) that 'not being interested in the effects of drugs' is an important reason for not using, even more so than those reasons that have some connection with risk, including loss of control (74.6%) or addiction (69.4%). Little interest in the effects of drugs is a dominant reason although there are fewer users who consider them explanatory. The young users also consider problems as important reasons for non-use, even addiction is considered to be of great importance (73.8%), more than the non-users themselves. Finally, the large majority (69.2%) of the young non-users believe that the world would be a better place without drugs, a reason less valued by the users (55.3%).

¹⁵ This term is used here and throughout the book to refer to the non-user collective comprising abstemious young people as well as those with a moderate use as was explained in the methodology.

¹⁶ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 33.9; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

¹⁷ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 3.98; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.044

¹⁸ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 34.9; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

The risk perspective differs from one group to the other. Non-users considered drug use to be more risky than users did. Users tended to consider only the effects of drugs on themselves, including effects on health and the problems they had experienced such as the declining quality of schoolwork, and talked only about recreational drugs. Non-users, however, looked at the problems on a wider basis and included problematic drug use.

7.3 FATALISM VERSUS SELF-CONTROL

Another circumstance that provides an explanation on why the young use drugs despite being aware of the risks is their fatalistic view of life. Some young people consider that whatever happens, destiny is already written so that however much one takes chances or protects oneself, what is predestined will happen. Therefore, not doing the things they want to do or not doing them for fear of risks has no sense.

“I think that the majority of people are fatalists like me; that is to say that if something happens to them it means it was their destiny. I think that if something is going to happen to you, you can take all the precautions you want but it will still happen” (male user, Bologna)

The determinist and nihilist view is diametrically opposed to the one adopted by young non-drug users. In their case, they each contribute to carving out their own destiny and are responsible for their own actions. They have their self-control so well assumed that it is difficult for them to understand that there are those who use drugs in spite of all the implied risks. On many occasions, they have found themselves with close friends who have started on drugs, and they experience their contemporaries' drug use when they go out to have fun, and this leads them to attempt to explain the phenomenon to themselves. Observation of drug use has led a good number of non-users to believe that it is the substances and their effects that contribute to the loss of risk awareness among users. The following conversation between non-users in Bologna is illustrative of this:

-“I think that a lot of young people don't think about risks because they don't know there are dangers or they just underestimate drugs. They believe there are isolated causes but these don't concern them. Moreover, they feel stronger because of the substances they take that help them in this sense” (female non-user, Modena)

-“I agree with what you have said. Under the influence of those substances you feel immortal (male non-user, Nice)

-“I also think that those substances make you underestimate risks (female non-user, Bologna)

-“According to me, there is a wide indifference among people and this is due to the fact that people give little importance to life.” (female non-user)

There are young people who consider drugs to be dangerous substances in themselves. They believe that there are substances capable of conditioning the reasoning of those who use them. This view is also the subject of controversy among

experts. The illegality of some substances is, in theory, based on the acceptance that drugs are dangerous substances in themselves; that it is the substances that incorporate the danger. Nevertheless, this has been criticised by the social sciences discipline on the grounds that, in understanding and confronting use, one has to look more at the sociocultural components that define and legitimise them rather than at the biochemical components of the substances. Nevertheless, this point of view by itself does not assist in understanding the intense seduction of drugs in comparison with any other element of consumption. As Giulia Sissa says ‘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’ (Sissa 2000). Non-users also remind us that the power of the substances must also be taken into account. This they do with two arguments, one to explain to themselves why their companions use drugs and another to explain that they are also part of the same sociocultural context but, in spite of this, they choose not to use. Therefore, the cultural context is important but it does not explain everything and the effect of the substance on the brain is also something to be taken into account.

7.4 CONTROL, A SUBJECTIVE ATTITUDE TO DRUGS

“Control is important to me. I want to have everything under control at all times”
(male non-user, Berlin).

The most striking arguments for non-use are those along the line of “I want to be myself”, the capacity for self-control, self-assurance and health. As reasons motivating non-users, and that motivated ex-users to give up drugs, these are particularly notable.

“I want to live more consciously, to be completely there, to be myself and to have my life under control” (male non-user, Berlin)

Maintaining self-control is a fundamental necessity for the majority of the young who choose not to use. This attitude is associated with the argument already presented above. They are young people who are fully aware of what they are contributing to their own existence as individuals and they also know that this belief is accompanied by a feeling of responsibility from which they cannot escape.

Control is the dominance that a person has over his or her own actions or over other people. As Skinner already said much earlier “when a person is exercising self-control, he decides on a determined action, he thinks about the solution to a problem or he makes an effort to increase his knowledge of himself, he is emitting behaviour. He is controlling himself in exactly the same way as he would control the behaviour of any other person, through the manipulation of variables of which behaviour is a function” (Skinner 1953, 1969: 24). In the field of self-control, a central concept is that of gratification. There are two kinds of gratification or reinforcement, the immediate and the delayed. It is the very definition of self-control that, when self-control is being exercised, reinforcement is being delayed; when it is not delayed, it is not. Using drugs has positive consequences associated with having fun and obtaining immediate pleasure. Nevertheless, non-users know how to resist the temptation of searching for

these so-immediate benefits due to their consequences and that such behaviour will impede them from obtaining other benefits.

One of the most clear and useful conceptualisations of self-control is that of Logue (1998). He bases it on the assumption that impulsiveness is the opposite of control. What is certain is that in our life we have to take frequent decisions that imply choosing something immediate or something deferred. When a person always, or almost always, opts for the immediate despite wanting the deferred, he is not exercising self-control or it could be said that he is acting impulsively. The key to self-control is delaying the reinforcement to obtain a result. Normally, it is a small reinforcement that is delayed, or one of low magnitude, to achieve an important reinforcement of a greater magnitude in the future. A typical example occurs with the university student who has to decide whether or not to go out during the period when he has to prepare for exams. He studies because he knows that if he passes he will have the whole summer free and he can enjoy himself more, will have all time he wants for himself and will not be worried about studying. But, in addition, he is going to pass everything, year after year, in order to end up with a career that will enable him to earn his living and if, in addition, he is studying a subject he likes, he feels fulfilled in something which is going to mark his future life at an employment and financial level and at other social levels. Self-control is based on the greater or lesser importance of reinforcement for the person, on the greater or lesser time in delaying reinforcement and on the positive or negative results that accrue (Logue, 1998). This is another element that could explain the different attitudes of users and non-users; the former are looking for the immediate, the latter know how to postpone it for the end result. This difference enables them to achieve what they are looking for. Possibly the degree of implication that they have with a vital project (professional, social, family...) is the decisive key between one attitude and the other.

Table 7.4 shows the involvement of young people in other activities in which they can also find fun, outside the recreational arena.

A higher percentage of young non-users (79% compared with 66.1% of users) significantly enjoy the formal daily activities, this probably means that their devotion to these activities is higher. The large majority of young people would like to live in a better world and many (73.9%) would like to contribute to this, although few actually

Table 7.4: Activities and interests outside the recreational world			
	Total %	Drug users	Non-users
I have a great time during my daily life (studies/work) ¹⁹	72.2	66.1	79.0
I want to contribute to making a better world ²⁰	73.9	71.6	76.7
I take part in social or voluntary work ²¹	33.6	27.4	40.8

¹⁹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 35.6; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

²⁰ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 5.6; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.018

²¹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 34.7; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

do anything to achieve this aim (33.6%). It is more of an ideal than a fact, as can be seen from the low involvement in voluntary work. Among those who do work as volunteers in organisations there is a higher number of non-users (40.8%). These activities involve them giving up some of their free time, feeling responsibility for the social dynamic, believing that with their own participation they can contribute to changing reality and, most particularly, it is necessary for them to feel a collective involvement, to give importance to 'the others' above and beyond their own necessities.

In many cultures, control over oneself is a positive component and very present in socialisation. Loss of control or impulsiveness is associated with aggressiveness, dependence, wild enthusiasm or even delinquency. Remaining within the parameters of rationality is a way of demonstrating a mature attitude. Therefore, and paradoxically, even drug users use their control as an argument to demonstrate that their use is an intelligent one:

I only take those drugs I have mentally under control. With drugs like pills and stuff I always know what's happening and can remember everything, even when I'm more uninhibited. I stay in control by taking the drugs consciously (...) Before, I used to take drugs continuously and then have a break. But you learn things. Now I can say I know how to deal with drugs" (female user, Berlin).

There is significant controversy over the possibility of a controlled use. Said controversy, created by certain elites, endeavours to show that a determined style of use can take advantage of the positive side of drugs and control the negative consequences (Decorte 2000). Nevertheless, the massive use that is practiced nowadays by the young demonstrates that this intelligent use is not easy (Calafat et al. 2001). On the subject of control, the discourse can be very varied. A young non-user states:

"Drunk people lose their common sense. They cannot make any difference between the rational and irrational. They start to tell their whole life history. Someone starts a fight. They forget their sexual inhibitions. I've known people who use cannabis, LSD or amphetamine. One of my friends died of an overdose. Anyway, everyone makes his own choices" (male non-user, Finland)

Leaving common sense to one side, going beyond rational parameters, exteriorising problems, and being more extroverted are behaviour patterns requiring limitations to be exceeded. The comments of the young abstainer define the consequences of use in negative terms but, depending on the interpretation being made, they could become positive ones or reasons for use. It is obvious that all these aims are positive, but what the young abstainers see as grotesque is the behaviour under the effects of the substances. Breaking limits and going overboard can be positive, pleasant and transcendent for those who abstain only if it is achieved by themselves but, when this is only achieved under the effects of drug use, the image of the user is that of a grotesque tragic-comic figure and, in addition, it is an ephemeral and anecdotal achievement.

The self-control relationship is different for users and non-users. Users try to control the situation but also play with the idea of exceeding the limits. The substances assist them in this game. For those who choose not to use drugs, however, their limits are more

defined, they feel more comfortable with themselves and have less need to transgress them and, when this does happen, it is to achieve other personal and social strategies.

7.5 CARING FOR HEALTH

Having good health is another idea highly valued by the young. It could be another motive for choosing not to take drugs but this does not work in the same way for them all. Some young people do consider health as an important reason for abstaining from drug use:

“I haven’t thought about any other risks except there’s so many calories in many drinks” (female non-user, Finland).

“Yes it is dangerous because if you take drugs over a long time, drugs will damage your health. Your life expectancy will be shorter, your personality weaker, apart, the problem that you’ll need more and more money for it and will end up with financial problems” (male non-user, Vienna).

Non-users put special emphasis on the health and social problems related to drug use. But the problem is that not all young people consider drug use prejudicial to health. Some consider that there are substances that have no negative effects.

“I don’t think it’s as risky as they say it is. I mean there’s millions and millions of people that take ecstasy every weekend and they’ll never be able to contain it” (male user, Liverpool).

The personal experience of seeing many of their contemporaries use drugs without suffering any visible health problems from it is a powerful argument for some young people. It is obvious that the concept of health is very subjective and that for many the idea of health is also reduced to a lack of illnesses. Problems from drugs are often not immediate and, at times, produce changes in personal psychological development that are not externally visible. As risks are not instantaneously visible, assuming that they do exist depends for many on believing the information of the experts and, very often, this does not reach the public or if it does it is in a biased and sometimes contradictory manner through the media.

Other young users however are conscious that use may be prejudicial but in spite of that they still use. The argument for taking the risk of prejudicing their health is that they know how to take measures to control use. The following example mirrors this attitude:

“I know drug use can be unhealthy or dangerous, but I deliberately take my chances. A friend of mine really did change mentally. He is not as happy as we used to know him. He is convinced his personality has changed because of his use.” (male user, Utrecht).

“Drugs destroy the brain. You loose your sense and memory. I was raped when I was in an unconscious condition and therefore I started the *antabus* treatment. I also had some psychosis and now I’m trying to avoid them with the medicines.” (female user, Finland)

The health risk derived from use differs from substance to substance. For many young people, the danger drug is heroin and drug addicts are those who use heroin. The recreational drugs create another image, which is linked to having fun, pleasure, success, and all this has a positive relationship with health. The problem appears when there is abuse, but users also evaluate the step from use to abuse in a very subjective way. As will be seen, each one sets the limits according to his or her own circumstances and criteria.

However, for non-users, both health and control are central issues and, unlike the users, they value health in a much more integral way. They understand that this must be cared for both for the immediate and long-term consequences. For many, closely experiencing problems among their friends is what gives most consistency to their abstemious attitude. This collective evaluates health beyond physical deterioration. Autonomy and independence are part of a healthy life and of personal growth. In this sense, the young abstainers see drugs as prejudicial substances being used to facilitate personal and ephemeral achievements. For this very reason, they may be dangerous, as the effectiveness of the drugs may impede one from learning personal abilities to achieve objectives.

“I think that people drink, for example, to overcome barriers. (...) To be able to dance and to loosen up. Without alcohol you have to work at it more” (male non-user, Berlin)

“As a non-user you’re clear about what you enjoy and what you don’t. Perhaps that’s different for users, and the drugs make it easier for them to enjoy themselves (female non-user, Berlin)

Breaking down barriers to have fun, to learn to be sociable, to know how to make friends, to share the same problems with others, to overcome frustrations, to be stimulated, to be more animated, etc. is easier with drugs and this is well known to non-users.

7.6 INCLUSION VERSUS EXCLUSION FROM THE GROUP

Among youth subcultures, drugs are increasingly a component of group identity and, therefore, an element of inclusion/exclusion (Hammersley, 2001). It could be said that the decision to use or not use drugs is made to a large extent at a group level, particularly among the youngest. If the majority of the group decide to use, those who do not can experience different forms of exclusion. The same situation can occur when the majority in the group decide not to take drugs. The following comments come from a young user when he was explaining the reasons why he decided to continue use in spite of being aware of the risks:

“You can feel excluded. That’s more dependency on your friends than on drugs” (male user, Berlin)

Another comment shows the inverse situation, where someone decides to use and, consequently, is no longer part of the group. In this case, the consequences that use

could cause them at a health level is a reaffirmation for their ex-friends for following the road of abstinence:

“I had a friend who smoked drugs and then went onto coke. This friend no longer goes out with the group, he is quite ill and this has had an impact on the group and they go out more carefully. It makes me a little afraid.” (male non-user, Palma)

Taking into account the information contributed by the Eurobarometer (2002) 46.4% of the young Europeans consider group pressure as a reason for taking drugs. This is the second most considered reason, the first being curiosity. On questioning them as to the main reason why some people find it hard to stop using drugs, 27.4% consider peer pressure as one of the principal reasons (the EORG, 2002).

The group is also fundamental as a sphere of protection. In the case of groups in which their members are users, they create control strategies among themselves to face the problems of use:

“We usually go out with a group, so you look after each other. If you miss someone for a while you start searching. If someone is not well we just go home. Non-users I know don’t understand, they say: “you use that shit, so I won’t let you ruin my night. I know that if I pass out, my friends would take care of me.” (female user 17, Utrecht)

7.7 CONFLICTS IN THE FAMILY AND BETWEEN COUPLES

In relationships, drug use would appear to require a kind of pact between the two members. There are very different couples: some in which both are users, others where they are not, and mixed pairs. In the first two cases, the choice of using or not using is shared and therefore, in principle, less conflictive, but in the case of mixed pairs the agreement has to be negotiated. In this study, they were asked during the interview about their attitude to the possibility of having a partner taking illegal drugs. Alcohol, tobacco or cannabis use was not taken into account, as these are widely accepted substances.

The data in Table 7.5 indicate that less than half the young people (40.8) would accept their partner using illegal drugs. But there are important differences according to gender and attitude to use. A higher percentage of men would accept a user partner than women. And, as is logical, those who do not use show a lower tendency to accept a partner who uses drugs, although almost one third of men are tolerant on this aspect. The majority of the young (68.8%) would do everything possible to change the attitude of their partner if he or she were an illegal drug user, a tendency more apparent in women and non-users. Along this same line, half the young people would not accept a partner who used drugs, in other words they would not commence a relationship if he or she were using illegal drugs or would leave the relationship if his or her attitude did not change. The percentages are almost similar for both men and women, although the women are a little more critical about the person with whom they are involved.

Nevertheless, there are clear differences among those who do not use since they tend not to become involved with someone who does use (65.4% would leave the relationship, and 69.8% would not even consider becoming involved with a user).

The tendency of the majority is, therefore, to want a partner who does not take drugs. This makes use a risk factor in the stability of the relationship. Non-users act as protective element for users, in that their attitude influences the users to stop doing so. Some informants mentioned this. One example is as follows:

Table 7.5: Acceptance or rejection of having a partner who used illegal drugs (not including cannabis)

	Total (%)	Gender (%)		Use (%)	
		Male	Female	Yes	No
1) I will accept him/her as he/she was	40.8	46.4	35.7	51.0 ²²	29.5
2) I would do everything I could to change his/her attitude	68.8	66.9	70.6	60.6	78.1 ²³
3) In the event that he/she continued to be a user I would end the relationship	50.3	48.7	51.6	36.8	65.4 ²⁴
4) I would not start a relationship with anyone who was a user	52.2	51.8	52.5	36.5	69.8 ²⁵

“I had a relationship for two years and during that period I smoked a lot of cannabis every day. My girlfriend didn’t like it at all, because all I did was sit on the couch all day. Often she went home, which actually, I didn’t mind at all because I could smoke again. I was always finding excuses so I could go smoking. Many times I told her that I would go home to do my homework, while in fact I went smoking and did nothing.” (male user Utrecht)

One of the risks in relationships is co-dependence - in other words, the emotional aspects of a relationship that foster use. This affects women more than men and is one of the causes that explain why, on many occasions, women become involved in use (Stocco et al. 2002). Perhaps this also explains that a factor of self-protection generated by women is not to become involved with a partner who uses drugs since they feel more vulnerable to experiencing the consequences of use.

7.8 USE AND ABUSE, A VIRTUAL FRONTIER

Drug use is in itself a risk each time drugs are taken. This is something felt by the majority of the young who choose not to use. Those who do use, on the other hand, but

²² Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 82.9; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

²³ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 61.9; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

²⁴ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 142.2; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

²⁵ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 194.1; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

who are afraid of the risk that this implies, use different arguments and strategies that serve to balance the scales in favour of use. The analysis made by users to neutralise risk perception was carried out in an earlier IREFREA study (Calafat et al. 2001: 208-223). Here we will mention some of these same strategies that appeared once again in this study and in doing so reaffirm the enormous importance of the subjectivity with which the young users exercise control.

The differences between use and abuse act for those who use to defend the idea of 'intelligent use' where risks may be inexistent or be minimised. Nevertheless, the idea of a 'controlled use' varies considerably from user to user and on his or her circumstances. In summarised form, the principal arguments are as follows:

In their defence, some users say that *certain substances do not involve risks*, and consider that these are an invention of those collectives that are prejudiced.

"We must stop thinking that these (ecstasy) are real drugs like heroin and cocaine. I think adults are demonising ecstasy today as they did joints in the past." (male user, Bologna).

The majority of users it can be said are in favour of some control, in other words, they consider that drugs are dangerous and therefore, use should be controlled. In these cases they are convinced that *if they exercise control, they can use without risk*.

"I only take what I already know, stuff where I already know my personal limits. With alcohol and hashish I know my limits very well, but not with other drugs. With them I'm afraid of slipping. (...) Self-control is very important to me. (...) I don't want to lose control." (female user, Berlin)

Abuse is seen in *the form of use or in the kind of substance used and as something that is done by others but not by them personally*. The quantity of the substance being used and the frequency defining the limit between use and abuse also varies according to each case. A good number of users see abuse as daily consumption but not weekly or sporadic use.

"I know some people who consume a lot, mainly cannabis and spend the whole day smoking. First of all, you see that they don't look very healthy and they don't achieve anything in their life. Everything around them is a heap of broken glass." (female user, Vienna)

"For me there aren't any particular problems. (...) Personally I try to use my brain. Without exaggerating. I think most people are like me, take calculated risks, that aren't real risks. Some don't give a damn about it. But there have always been people who want to kill themselves." (male user, Bologna)

"According to me there isn't any real drugs problem if you don't want there to be. You aren't a real addict as you are when you take heroin. During the week you study and you work, and you do everything you have to do. During the weekend you should have the power to do what you want. I don't think substances are problematic. Personally I try not to go over the limit, not to take excessive risks" (male user, Bologna).

For some users, *use is an experience that assists in preventing future abuses*. Even the bad experiences serve to legitimise use as they consider that being aware of abuse and its problems has taught them something about their own limits and this enables them to control their own use better.

“I believe that the booklets and similar stuff is good, but you cannot have a proper knowledge of drugs, unless you taste them” (female user, Athens)

“I only take those drugs I have mentally under control. With drugs like pills and stuff I always know what’s happening and can remember everything, even when I’m more uninhibited. I stay in control by taking the drugs consciously. (...) Before, I used to take drugs continuously and then have a break. But you learn things. Now I can say I know how to deal with drugs” (female user, Berlin)

Others consider that periodic rest enables control. After a period of intensive use, they stop for a while in order to return to normal and then go back to using and, by doing so, they avoid problems.

For me use is only risky if I need several days to feel fit again (male user, Berlin).

I once went on a two-week holiday to Spain and I smuggled many pills in with me. I was on E for two weeks. On the way back in the plane, I couldn’t find the words for some things I saw, wasn’t able to type messages on my telephone. It scared the hell out of me. I’ve had similar holidays when I’ve been drunk for two weeks. After that you’re hung over for two days, but then it’s over.” (male user, Utrecht)

For some users, abuse is the *quantity used in a short period of time or in intensive use*.

I don’t see any particular risk. Except, of course, if you are stupid and you take twenty tabs, gulping down everything (male user, Bologna)

“But for me it would be a problem, if I get up in the morning, and smoke a pipe and cannot do anything actively during the day because I’m under the influence of the drug, because it does not stop after one pipe but one continues to smoke” (male user, Vienna).

For some, abuse is multiuse, in mixing substances. This is a rather common practice and encourages risk. This is why so much of the preventive discourse in harm reduction emphasises advice on not mixing drugs.

“I avoid the risks, trying not to combine too much.” (male user, Utrecht)

On the other hand, *others mix drugs because they believe they can compensate for the negative effects of one drug by taking another*:

“Sometimes I deliberately combine drugs. It is a preventive point of view. Like, when I feel myself passing away due to dosing too much GHB, I use some kind of stimulant to avoid it.” (male user, Utrecht)

There is a widespread idea that the problem of use is in the adulteration of the substances. For these people, the control strategy consists of *knowing* as certainly as

possible the contents of what is being used by always buying substances from the same person or dealer or through pill testing.

“Safe use is related to the source where you get the substance and the purity of substance. I am not referring to hashish, that’s harmless, but to other drugs. In my view, the most important thing for a user is to know the source and what drug he has bought, that’s why, it’s good for any user to go to a friend who knows... “
(female user, Greece)

All these examples show the way in which the user collective attempts or believes it attempts to keep its drug use under control and this gives them a feeling of security. It is surely this mental functioning that explains the difficulty that preventive messages have –including those that only emphasise the harm reduction aspect- in achieving changes in users behaviour since they believe they are controlling their behaviour and their use.

7.9 CONTROL AND SETTING

“The main problem in clubs and the night is violence. There are too many crazy people around. I think there should be more education and training about the influence of these substances” (male non-user, Bologna)

Risk behaviours show a trend to be present together (Jessor, 1998), therefore other behaviour such as violence, delinquency, dangerous driving, etc. has to be added to the reality of the use of alcohol and drugs in the recreational arena. This means that the risks taken by the young when out having fun are diverse and, on occasion, potentially important.

Young non-users tend to risk themselves in a rather lower percentage than those who do use (Table 7.6). Therefore, it can be said that drug use contributes positively to taking other kinds of risk over and above use.

Some high-risk attitudes seen by the data are that users show a higher tendency to drive under the influence of alcohol (43.1%) and a large majority (79.6%) have got into a car conducted by someone who has been taking drugs. Nevertheless, and in spite of this behaviour, paradoxically, almost all (91.1%) state that they would do something to prevent a friend who had been drinking from driving. This last statement is a clear contradiction of the previous behaviours and enables us to see that the good intentions of the young do not correspond with their actual behaviour in spite of the fact that they are conscious that there is a problem.

“Car accidents afterwards a night out is the biggest problem of taking drugs, because the effect has disappeared and you feel worn out, without energy. The problem is that you are less aware of risks, most of all when you drive. To limit risks, I personally try to get in a car with more reliable people.” (male user, Bologna)

Table 7.6: Driving under the influence of alcohol and other drugs

	Total %	Users	Non-Users
I have driven under the influence of alcohol	28.9	43.1 ²⁶	13.0
I have got into a vehicle driven by someone who has been drinking	64.9	79.6 ²⁷	48.3
I would get into a car driven by a person who I know has been taking drugs	3.6	48.8 ²⁸	14.6
If the occasion arose, I would prevent a friend driving if he/she had drunk too much	91.5	91.1	91.9

“As for safety, the main problem is the danger on the roads, because on Saturday evening there are too many screwballs on the road. There should be more controls on the road and stricter rules for addicts” (female non-user, Palma)

The subject of driving under the effects of alcohol and drugs is one of the most serious of the night. Traffic accidents are frequent. But in addition, there are other problems such as violence, and this is increasing. Both users and non-users are aware of these problems but the non-user has a clearer idea that the use of substances is, to a great extent, the cause of what happens.

“I personally don’t take any drugs. Many people don’t care about it, they don’t realise that they run risks. I don’t take drugs as I don’t want to be ill, but I’m afraid others could be aggressive and violent.” (female non-user, Utrecht)

“With drugs some people become dangerous, lose control. They think they can do everything. (...) At night I sense the problem of violence. There are people out of control who could beat you up just for looking at them sideways. It happened to one of my friends.” (male non-user, Bologna).

The loss of control for non-users is a terrible thing because they relate it to violence within a difficult to manage situation. Therefore, what they are most afraid of when they go clubbing is not so much their own loss of control but the loss of control by the others.

“At night you risk meeting people who have lost control. It’s good to be in a group and never to be on your own” (female non-user Liverpool).

In general, a minority of the young believe that violence has increased at night and in recreational venues.

“Things seem to have changed. You see that people bring weapons into nightlife more often now. I’ve witnessed many fights with a lot of blood. I used to work in a bar and once I was threatened with a gun. More people carry knives on them and seem ready to use them if necessary” (male non-user, Utrecht).

²⁶ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 190.9; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

²⁷ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 187.3; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

²⁸ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 230.4; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

Among the young, the majority are in agreement that there are violent situations in the recreational arena. Some of these situations are to be found in the streets, others in the club or disco, others with organised violent groups, others with racist situations, others from robberies, others with the night time venues' security staff. The majority consider that drugs are the best allies of people who act violently because it reinforces their behaviour.

“Once I got robbed and had a knife against my throat. Since then I sometimes carry a club and an air gun on me. This happened at a time when I smoked a lot of joints, so I got really paranoid and with that gun I feel safer, although you can't do a lot of harm with such a gun. The police don't do anything, so I won't wait for them. I'm not an aggressive type at all, normally I solve things by talking, but I won't let myself be hit again.” (male user, Utrecht)

The frustration of some users is also linked to the conditions inside the clubs. In general, the young are in agreement on the measures that should be obligatory in all recreational venues (fire safety, more emergency exits in nightclubs or clean toilets, door control...) and which contribute to the safety of these places. However, no such agreement exists on other measures relating to control over themselves.

“I disagree with the idea of having security staff and more strict control at nightlife recreational settings, since I consider these measures as repressive and authoritarian” (user male, Greece).

“ I think the bouncers (door men) have a lot of aggression and I think when somebody's drunk -and I've been drunk a few times- they'll give you attitude and you're drunk and you don't realise he's that much bigger than you” (male user, Liverpool)

One of the subjects that cropped up in the focus groups was the importance of well-trained door staff and of the problems door staff can create. Several non-users agreed that extra security staff would secure nightclubs, drug use and trafficking. Non-consumers seemed particularly interested in security measures to protect their personal safety including measures that allow clubs to ascertain exactly who is on the premises at any time, such as using camera's and providing greater security outside clubs. This reflects the fear of violence that non-users expressed early in the discussion.

“I suggest that nightclubs should be better air-conditioned, have more rest rooms, fire safety, emergency exits and cleaner toilets. Moreover, the responsible agents of the State should control nightclubs more frequently” (male non-user, Athens)

Our study also demonstrates how drug use has a close relationship with antisocial behaviour. In Table 7.7, it can be seen that there is a rather higher percentage of users involved in delinquent behaviour.

Driving a car without a licence is higher among users, as is urban vandalism, than among non-users. Double the amount of users have shoplifted (57.5% compared with 29.9% non-users) and they have also been involved in fights more (53.5% of users and 40.7% non-users). In this sense, use is a matter that has more far-reaching repercussions

Table 7.7: Involvement of users and non-users in antisocial behaviour.

	Total %	Users	Non-Users
I have driven a car without a driving licence	33.2	38.6 ²⁹	27.1
I have deliberately damaged property such as phone boxes, cars, windows, street-lights (but without stealing anything)	28.4	36.4 ³⁰	19.3
I have taken things from shops without paying	44.6	57.7 ³¹	29.9
I have been involved in a physical fight with someone outside the family	47.5	53.5 ³²	40.7

than merely individual ones since it has social consequences. It is not surprising that non-users frequently refer to the need to control recreational environments and that they are well aware that a large number of the problems arise from those who use.

7.10 CONCLUSIONS

Taking risks and practicing control is something that is intimately connected with lifestyles and personal development. In our societies, in which technological progress permits a more sophisticated lifestyle, the risks run in harmony and the forms of control are, of course, more complex. Being young, going out to have fun and taking risks derived from drug use affects an important collective of the population. Having fun, taking risks and learning how to prevent or control them forms part of the maturity process. In fact, control enables a person to learn new behaviours and abilities more easily or to perfect those they have, in other words, to evolve in their autonomy.

Risk and control are, to some extent, the two faces of the same coin. In general, all users and non-users believe they exercise control over their risk habits. It is true that one sector of users –particularly those who most abuse- are aware that they are exercising little control over their uses and risks, and it is precisely this ‘decontrol’ that enthuses them. But this is not normal among users since they believe they exercising a true control over the risks they want to take. In fact when asked if a reason for not taking illegal drugs or not abusing them could be the fear of losing ‘control’, both the majority of users and non-users -and in the same proportion (around 74%)- are in agreement. After this response, what quickly becomes evident is that not all of them understand control to mean the same. These differences are very obvious if we compare the two collectives in this study, users and non-users. Both collectives contribute rather different views of the same reality.

²⁹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 25.7; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

³⁰ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 62.6; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

³¹ Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 137.2; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

³² Pearson Chi square (continuity correction) = 28.6; 1 degree of freedom; p (two-way) = 0.000

The non-users are the minority group in the recreational sphere but they exist and they have their own views and their own strategies and characteristics. The first that attracts attention is that they feel less curiosity for experiencing the effects of drugs than the users, in part because they have different objectives in having fun than the users and, in part, because they are achieving important objectives in their life without the need to use drugs. Nevertheless, many of them acknowledge that drugs are effective instruments and of great assistance for those who use them when they go out to have fun or to feel good with friends, feel pleasure, listen to music, for sexual relations, etc. But the young who abstain understand that these objectives either have to be sought through other strategies and activities or that these objectives have less importance or significance for them. In other words, achieving these objectives, although it may be through drug use, seems more important and necessary to users.

For the young non-users, self-control is an important personal necessity that transcends the sphere of their social activity. Non-users know how to delay achieving their objectives by exercising self-control, in other words although they know that drug use has positive consequences relating to having fun and obtaining immediate pleasure, they prefer not to do so, either from fear of the consequences or because they have other interests and know that this behaviour is going to impede them from achieving other goals.

Control also includes exercising good management of health. Non-users are more aware that health is not only something that has to be measured in the short term. Although in theory, a similar percentage (around 77%) of users and non-users think that people do not take illegal drugs for fear that it may cause them problems, perhaps the explanation of why some end up using and other do not lies in the fact that non-users have a much higher perception of the risks of drug use. The real fact is that the users in our study, in addition to using legal and illegal drugs, also take other risks with a higher frequency, such as driving after drinking, taking part in fights ... and they have more antisocial behaviours such as urban vandalism or minor robbery.

Control also means being aware of actions and behaviour, therefore, they negatively evaluate going over the limits marked by convention. But also control over their own life possibly facilitates a greater participation in social activities different from those involved in having fun. In this sense, the non-users interviewed take more part in social work and do better in their working and scholastic pursuits. Among the users, a large number of their ideals remain in the world of their imagination with little influence on the real plane.

This greater interest in control or this greater fear of 'decontrol' means that the non-users are less likely to accept a girlfriend/boyfriend user. In this the non-users are similar to the women who also show a higher rejection of a user partner than do men and users. Both women and non-users can act as protective elements for users, as they attempt to influence the use of their partner. This is a preventive element that is scarcely explored and utilised.

Other risks are those to be found in the nightlife context. One of the aspects most mentioned by the young non-users on the subject of risk at night is connected with the problems relating to violence and insecurity. A large part of the problems proceed from those who use and who adopt an aggressive or antisocial attitude. Another group of problems is related to traffic accidents also closely associated with use. Non-users attempt to control this situation, choosing the safest recreational context and asking for greater involvement of the recreational industry in creating these conditions of security.

This does not mean creating an idealised image of non-users, among other reasons because of the fact that users are very much in the majority and many well-integrated young people choose this option. The non-user collective is diverse; there is no homogeneity. One part of it is very conscious of its non-user status; for them is a choice they know how to explain and defend. This group is aware of drugs and is possibly the most immune when entering into the logic of use.

Another non-user group maintains an abstemious attitude possibly more in keeping with fear and its lesser implication in the social and entertainment dynamic. In the interviews and discussion groups, some non-users lacked an elaborated discourse on their own control or risk management. In these cases, these are people who also fear other risks; they draw back from new experiences or unknown dimensions. These are more withdrawn people possibly with personal lacks and it is precisely because of them that they are less interested in use. These young people need special attention in prevention programmes as they have their own needs.

In short, the large majority of the young people who formed part of this study were, in theory, aware of the risks arising from drug use. In addition, for the majority of them, exercising control is important. But, in practice, users and non-users have very different interests, behaviours and strategies, which lead one to think that the risk and control logics are different for each of them. The young who decide not to use drugs develop a self-control capacity that is more effective whereas their contemporary users also develop use control strategies but they are less effective and, in some cases, totally ineffective.

The choice to be made on use, the risk perception which is developed, and the self-control that is exercised is supported by different elements:

- By having a vital project that contributes to postponing objectives to a longer term;
- By a lack of interest in the effects of drugs in spite of seeing their benefits.
- By a more intense feeling of responsibility for themselves and their environment.
- By greater interest in other issues and beliefs, such as the participation in social construction, in social changes through organisations.
- By a fear of risks, whatever they may be.

8. SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR - EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE ROLE OF SUBSTANCE USE

Over the past two decades, the relationship between substance use and sexual behaviour has been the focus of a range of research studies. While HIV transmission has been a driving factor for many, teenage pregnancy, higher levels of sexual activity and consequently increased risks of contracting sexually transmitted infections have meant that the behaviour of young people has been of particular interest (Donovan and McEwan, 1995). Young people frequently combine substance use and sexual activity (Strunin and Hingson, 1992; Traeen and Kvaalem, 1996), and this association (especially with alcohol) appears to be set in the early years of sexual experience. In fact, in some studies between a quarter (Sweden; Haggstron-Nordin et al, 2002) and a third (Switzerland; Michaud and Narring, 1997) of young people are under the influence of alcohol at the time of their first sexual experience. Some of these young people may consume alcohol or drugs prior to sex in order to reduce inhibitions and facilitate communication with potential partners (Taylor et al, 1999). However, some will later regret such sexual activity that took place while using alcohol or drugs (Bonomo et al, 2001).

Alcohol use in particular is often associated with unsafe sex, the potential consequences of which includes sexually transmitted diseases, unplanned pregnancy (Hughes et al, 2001) and lowered self-esteem (Weatherley, 1993). One survey found that one in ten 16-17 year olds had had unsafe sex after drinking alcohol (Australia, Bonomo et al, 2001). However, the actual relationship between the use of substances and risky sexual behaviour is unclear. For example, whilst some studies have found that substance use increases sexual activity (Strunin and Hingson, 1992; Califano, 1999), unsafe sex (McEwan et al, 1992; Ford & Norris, 1994) and the number of sexual partners (Millstein and Moscicki, 1995; Bailey et al, 1999), others have found no clear relationship (Bagnall et al, 1990; Taylor et al, 1999).

There are several potential ways in which substance use could affect sexual behaviour. Substance use may have a disinhibiting effect that increases confidence and promiscuity. Equally, it may enhance sexual pleasure (Kilfoyle and Bellis, 1998) or cause people to forget safe sex messages which might otherwise influence their behaviour (Bellis et al, 2002). In some groups, individuals (e.g. gay and bisexual men; Clark et al, 2001) have specifically reported using drugs to “allow” them to undertake behaviours which would otherwise cause them concern. Similarly, substance use may be used as an excuse for behaviour that is not socially acceptable (Critchlow, 1983). However, substance use and sex may occur simultaneously simply because people often meet potential partners in social situations where a variety of substances are consumed

(McEwan et al, 1992). Furthermore, cultural expectations of the effects of substance use on sexual behaviour may affect people's actual sexual behaviour after consumption (Leigh, 1990). Interpreting the relationship between substance use and unsafe sex is further confounded by both behaviours individually representing risk taking. Consequently those individuals that have simultaneously used substances and had unsafe sex have been found to have a predisposition towards risk taking in general (Bailey et al, 1998). Currently, there is no clear understanding of whether unsafe sexual behaviour is caused by substance use, whether substance use is promoted by sex behaviour (e.g. to build necessary confidence), or whether both behaviours are separate factors occurring more often in those who are risk prone.

In order to explore the relationship between substance use, sexual behaviour and unsafe sex, this chapter utilises research conducted by the IREFREA network in ten different European cities. Research measures current and past substance use behaviour along with a range of information about sexual behaviour. In particular the research explores differences between two specific populations; young people who consume substances (illegal drugs as well as alcohol and/or tobacco) and those not do not consume (see Box 1 for definitions).

8.1 METHODS

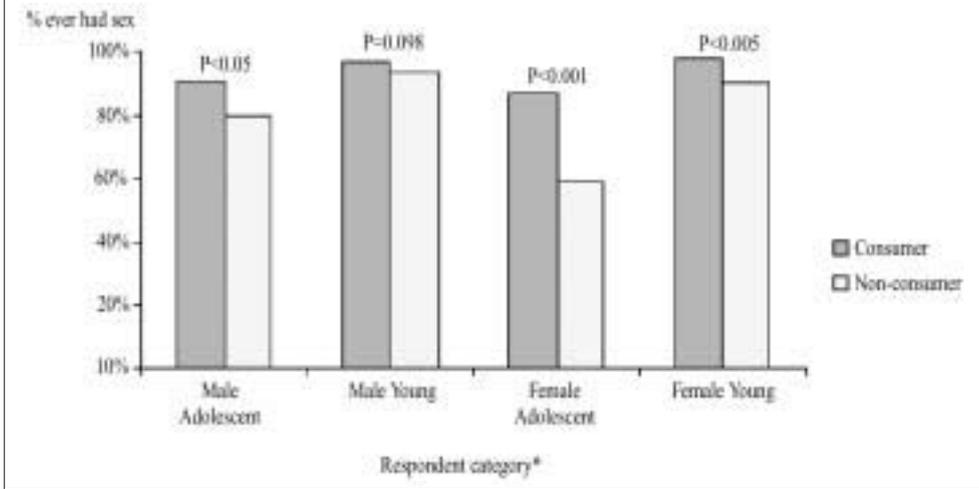
This IREFREA research project was conducted by ten research teams, one in each country. A questionnaire was jointly developed, then translated and distributed by the research teams to young people utilising night time environments, including nightclubs, bars and cafés. Completed questionnaires were input in Spain. To complement quantitative data, each research team conducted two focus group discussions with consumers and non-consumers separately. A list of topics to be covered by the focus groups was developed and used by all research teams. Discussions were transcribed and relevant information was translated into English and distributed to all teams for further analysis. For further information on research methods, including target and actual response rates (see Chapter 2 and Introduction).

8.2 SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND SUBSTANCE CONSUMPTION

The majority (87.3%) of participants in the research had had sex¹. Those in the 20-36 year age group were more likely to have ever had sex than those aged between 13 and 19 (95.1% c.v. 79.9%; $X^2=72.73$, $P<0.001$) and males were more likely to have ever had sex than females (90.7% c.v. 84.2%; $X^2=13.00$, $P<0.001$). Consumers were more likely to have ever had sex than non-consumers overall (92.7% c.v. 79.8%; $X^2=49.00$, $P<0.001$), and also more likely within each respondent category (Figure 8.1).

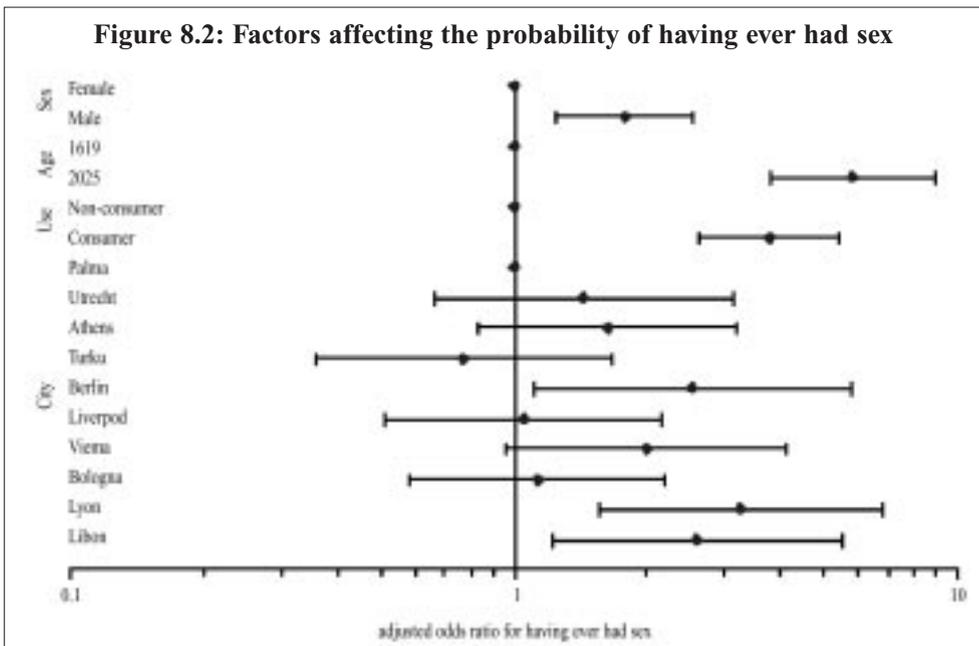
¹ Unless otherwise stated, analyses refer to all countries data combined.

Figure 8.1: Relationship between ever having sex (%) and respondent category



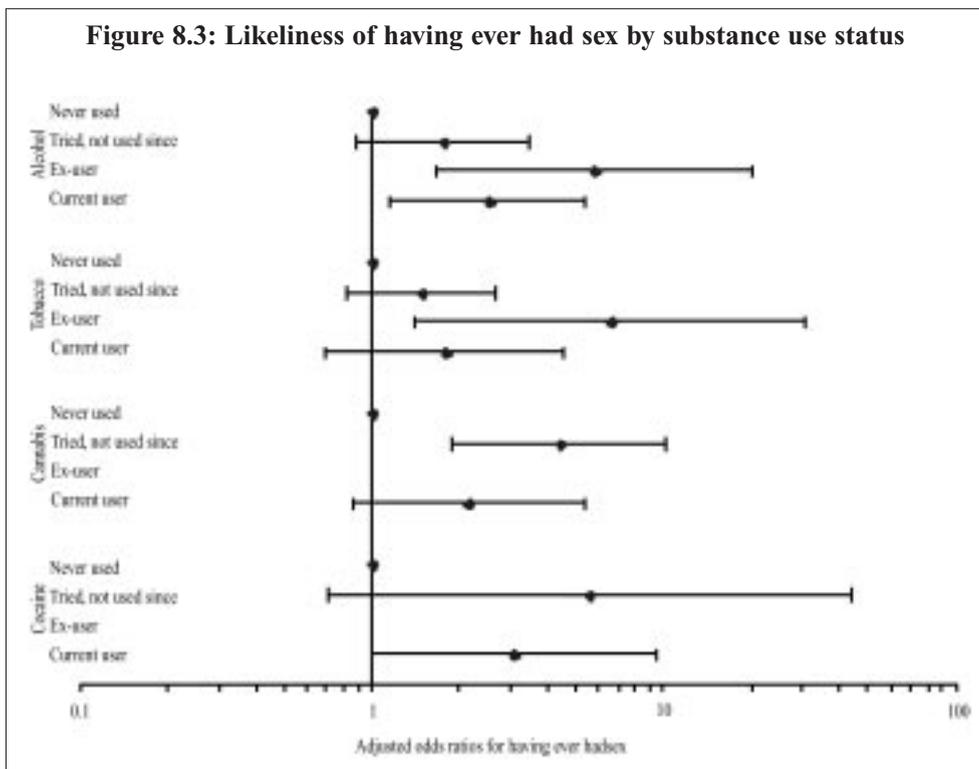
In order to remove confounding relationships between variables, logistic regression was used. After correcting for age, sex and city, consumers were still significantly more likely to have ever had sex than non-consumers (adjusted odds ratio 3.8; $P<0.001$). Country was also a significant factor ($P<0.01$) with (after adjusting for age, sex, and consumption) respondents from Turku (Finland) being least likely to have had sex and respondents in Lyon (France) being most likely (Figure 2).

Figure 8.2: Factors affecting the probability of having ever had sex



Only significant factors ($P < 0.05$) were retained within the model. All adjusted odds ratios are shown relative to reference categories (Sex, Female; Age, 16-19; Use, Non-consumer; City, Palma)

In order to better understand the relationship between ever having had sex and substance consumption, further logistic regression analyses explored each substance separately (i.e. whether individuals had either never used, just tried, used but given up or continued to use each substance). Relationships were identified for alcohol, tobacco, cannabis and cocaine (Figure 8.3). For both alcohol and tobacco, those who had never used were least likely to have ever had sex, followed by those who had tried the substance but not used it since. Interestingly however, there was a non-significant trend for ex-users of alcohol and/or tobacco to be more likely to have had sex than current users. Users of cannabis and/or cocaine and those who have tried the drug were more likely to have had sex than those who had never tried, although adjusted odds ratios for ex-users of these drugs could not be calculated (due to sample size).

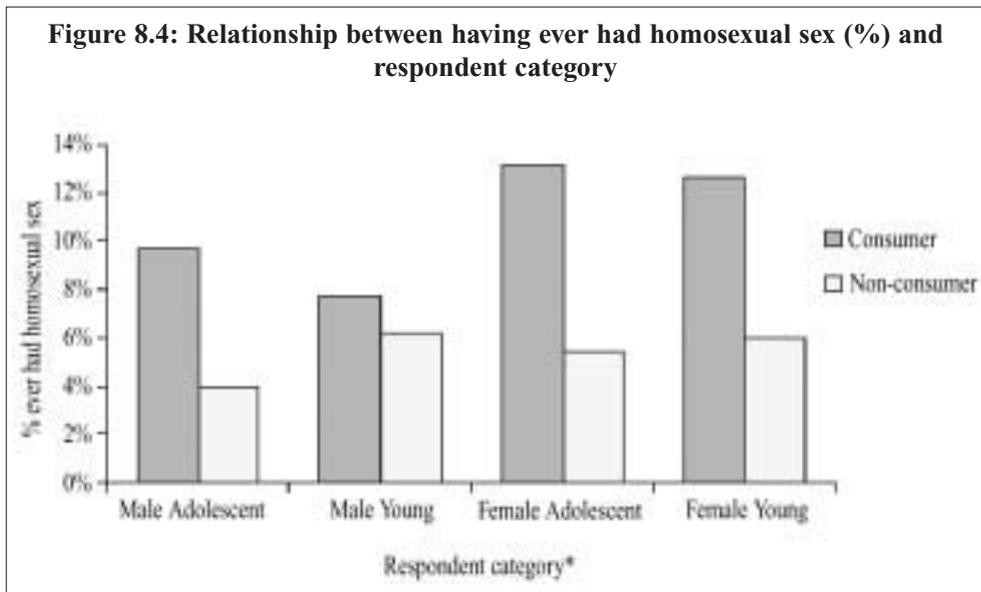


Only significant factors ($P < 0.05$) were retained in the model. Sex, age and city were also included in the model, however adjusted odds ratios are not presented in this figure (see Figure 8.2). All adjusted odds ratios are shown relative to reference category 'Never used'

*Adjusted odds ratios for ex-users of cannabis and cocaine could not be calculated due to sample size.

8.3 SAME SEX RELATIONSHIPS

More consumers than non-consumers reported having had homosexual sex across all respondent groups (Figure 8.4). A greater percentage of female respondents reported having had sex with a member of their own sex than males. For both sexes, a greater percentage of consumers in the younger age group (13-19) reported having sex with a member of the same sex than those in the older age group (20-36). This contrasts with “ever having had sex” where males and older individuals were most likely to have had sex.



* See Box 1 for an explanation of respondent categories

After correcting for gender, age, consumption and city, females were still more likely to have had a homosexual relationship than males, and consumers remained more likely to have had homosexual sex. Geographically, respondents from Liverpool (UK) and Berlin (Germany) were most likely to have had a homosexual relationship and those from Turku (Finland) and Utrecht (Holland) were least likely (Figure 5).

Only significant factors ($P < 0.05$) were retained in the model. Gender was also included in the model but was not significant. All adjusted odds ratios are shown relative to reference categories (Sex, Male; Use, Non-consumer; City, Palma)

Logistic regression identified independent relationships between homosexual sex and illegal drug use (cannabis and cocaine) rather than with alcohol and tobacco as was the case with having had any sex (Figure 8.6). Individuals who had had homosexual sex

Figure 8.5: Effect of city on likelihood of having had a homosexual relationship

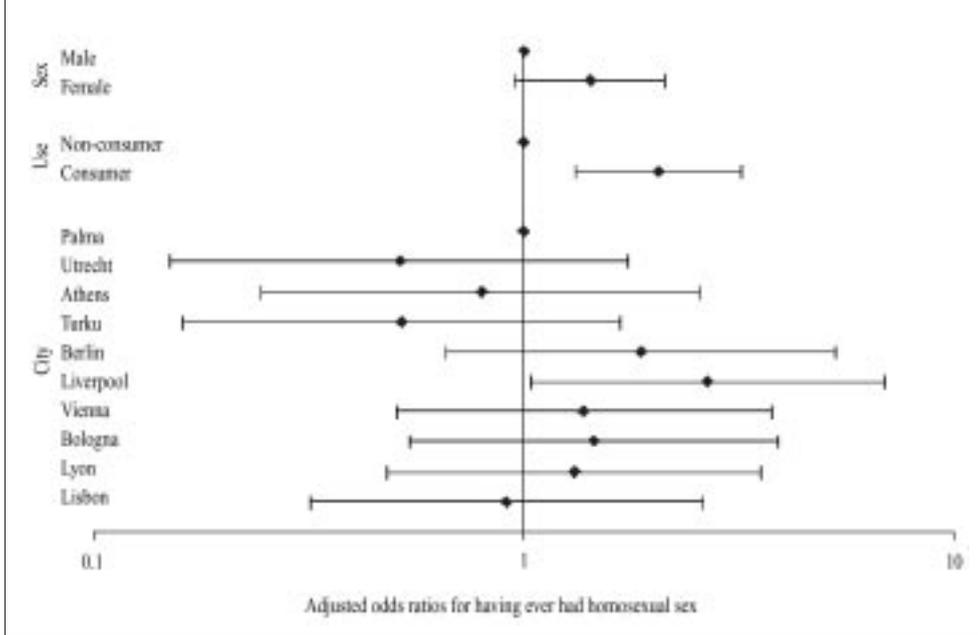
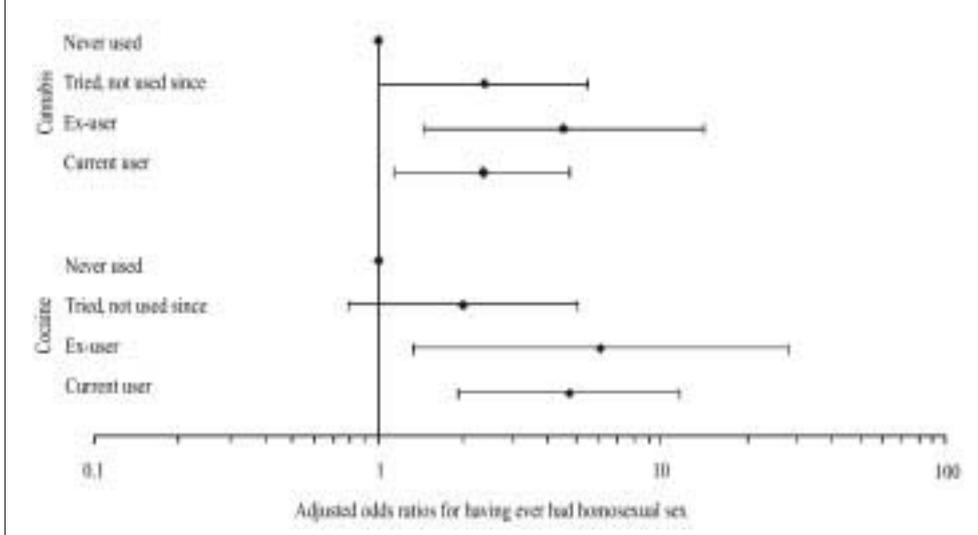


Figure 8.6: Effect of substance use on likelihood of having had homosexual sex

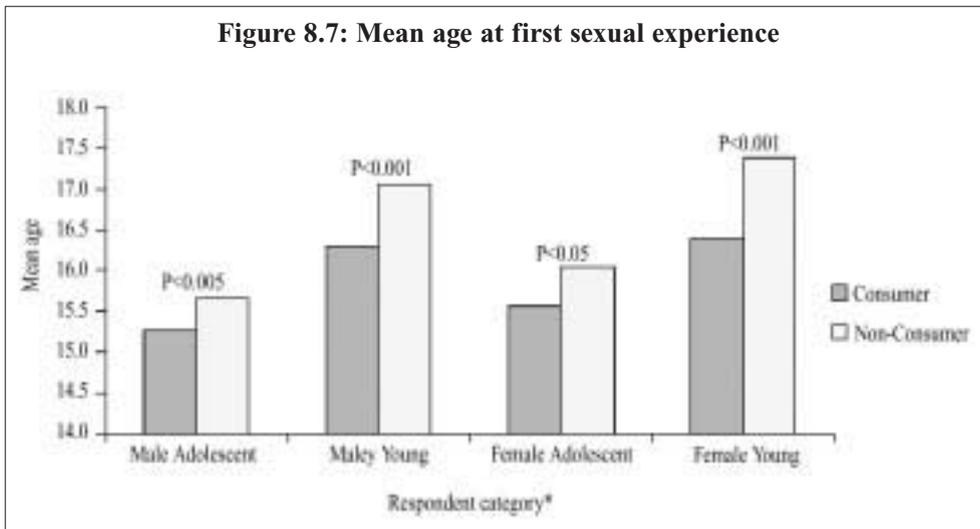


were significantly more likely to be users or ex-users of cannabis or cocaine. Other substances were not independently significantly associated with having had homosexual sex.

All other substances were included in the model but were not significantly associated with homosexual sex. Only significant factors were retained within the model. City and gender were included in the model although adjusted odds ratios are not shown (see Figure 8.5). Adjusted odds ratios are shown relative to reference category ‘Never used’

8.4 AGE OF FIRST SEXUAL EXPERIENCE

For those who had had sex, further analyses explored effects on age of first sexual experience. The mean age of first sexual experience was younger for consumers than for non-consumers across all sex and age groups (Figure 8.7).



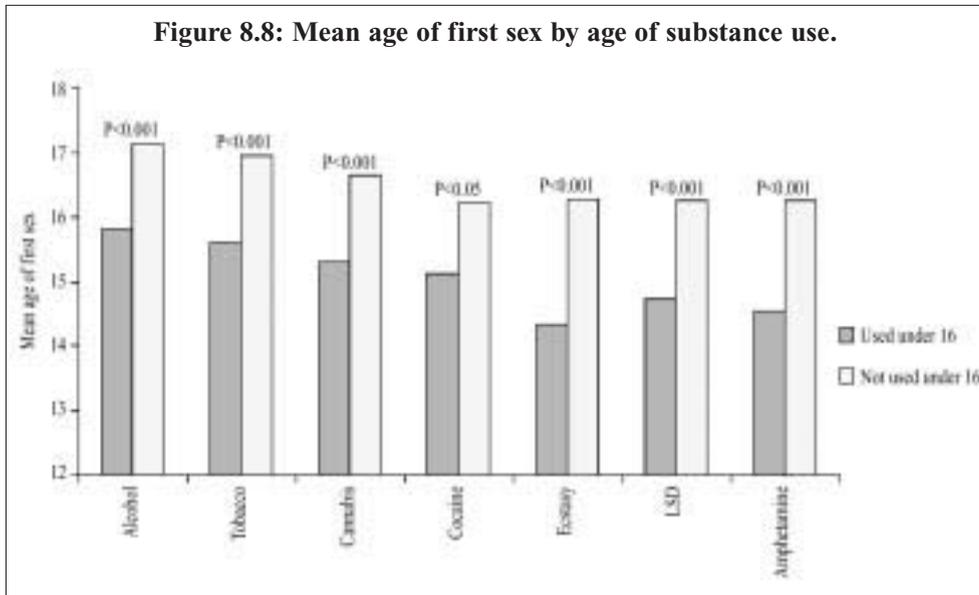
Statistics calculated using Mann-Whitney U Test

*An explanation of respondent categories is available in Box 1.

Equally, even after correcting for age group (partial correlation) individuals' age of first sex correlated with age of first substance use across all substances (alcohol, $P<0.001$, $N=915$; tobacco, $P<0.001$, $N=783$; cannabis, $P<0.001$, $N=733$; cocaine, $P<0.01$, $N=240$; Ecstasy, $P<0.001$, $N=277$; LSD, $P<0.01$, $N=146$; Amphetamine $P<0.001$, $N=158$). In other words individuals who used each substance at an earlier age were also more likely to have had sex at an earlier age regardless of which drug(s) they used.

For each individual substance, the mean age at first sex for those who used the substance before the age of 16 was significantly younger than that for those who had not used by age 16 (Figure 8.8). For example, the mean age of first sex for individuals who used alcohol before the age of 16 was 15.82 compared with 17.12 for those who did not use alcohol before 16 (analysis includes those who have never used). The difference is even greater for illegal drugs with, for example, the mean age of first sex

for individuals who used ecstasy before the age of 16 being 14.35 years, compared with 16.27 years for those who did not use before age 16.



Even after correcting for city and age group (using General Linear Modelling) the relationship between early substance use and early sexual initiation was maintained (alcohol, $P<0.001$; tobacco, $P<0.001$; cannabis, $P<0.001$).

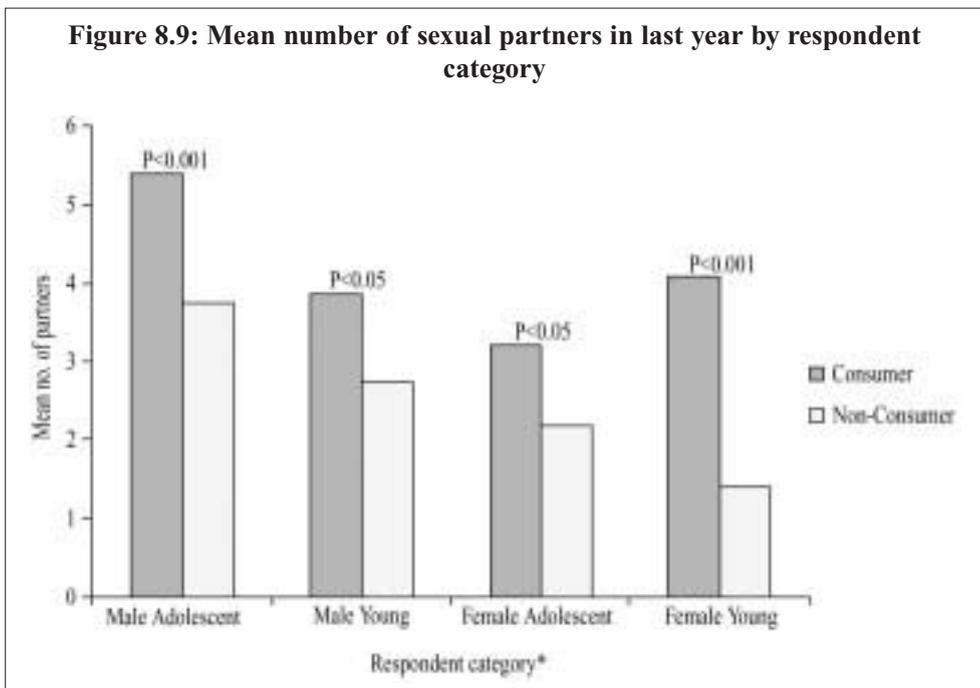
To examine more closely the relationship between first alcohol use and first sexual experience, respondents were categorised into three groups determined by the order in which they were initiated into alcohol use and sexual activity. The majority (72.5%) of respondents (who had both had sex and drunk alcohol) drank alcohol at an earlier age than having first sex (Table 8.1). Those respondents who had first sex before first alcohol use had a low mean age of first sex at 14.47 years (compared with 16.15 overall) but did not have a correspondingly low mean age of first alcohol use. Rather, these individuals were late alcohol users with a mean age at first use of 16.35 years (compared with 14.65 overall).

NUMBER OF SEXUAL PARTNERS

Whether a person was a consumer or not also affected the number of sexual partners they had had in the last 12 months. Looking only at those respondents who had had sex, the mean number of sexual partners in the last 12 months reported by consumers was greater than that reported by non-consumers across all respondent categories (Figure 8.9). After correcting for age group, gender and city (General Linear Model), the estimated number of sexual partners in the last 12 months for consumers was 3.46 compared with 2.33 for non-consumers (Estimated Marginal Means).

	Mean age of first alcohol use	Mean age of first sex	% of total
Respondents who had sex at a younger age than first use of alcohol	16.35	14.47	12.5%
Respondents who had first sex and first alcohol at the same age ²	15.38	15.38	15.0%
Respondents who had first use of alcohol at a younger age than first sex	14.11	16.50	72.5%
All	14.65	16.15	100%

Kruskal-Wallis Test (Chi squared: $X^2=164.378$, $X^2=150.639$; P Value: <0.001 , <0.001)



*An explanation of respondent categories is available in Box 1.

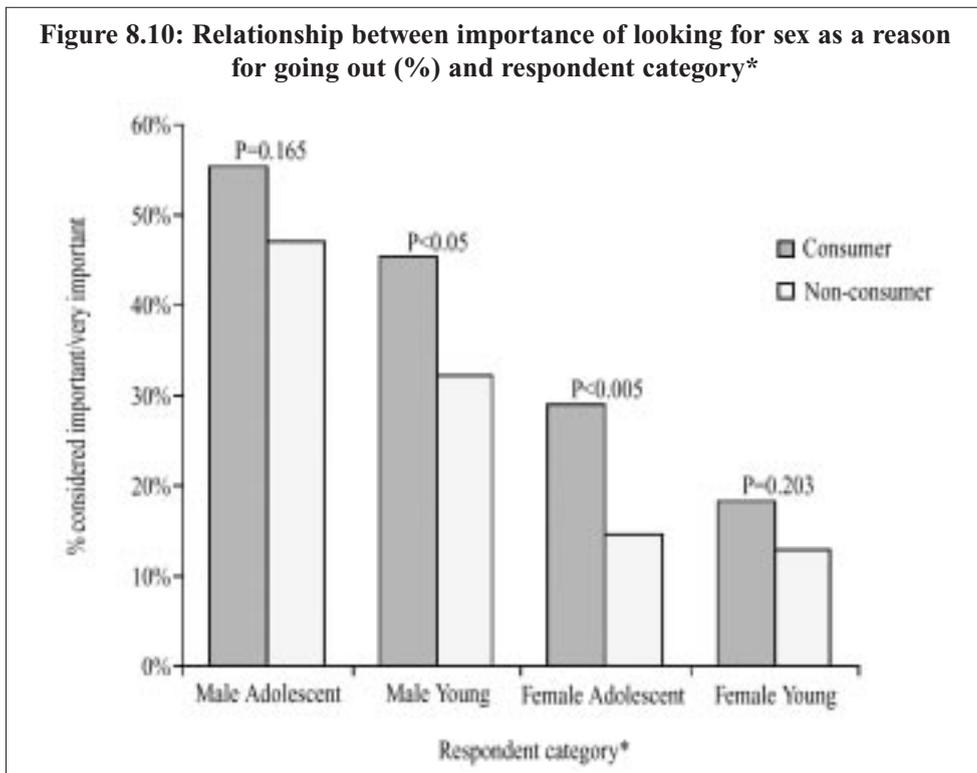
The age at which respondents first had sex had an important effect on the number of sexual partners they reported having in the last 12 months. For those individuals who had had sex before the age of 16, the mean number of sexual partners in the last twelve

² Though not necessarily at the same time.

months was 4.58, compared with 2.49 for those who first had sex at age 16 or later. Even after correcting for age, sex, city and consumption, the mean number of partners in the last twelve months for those who had had sex before the age of 16 was 3.64 compared with 2.14 for those who first had sex aged 16 or over.

8.5 LOOKING FOR SEXUAL PARTNERS IN NIGHT TIME ENVIRONMENTS

Participants were asked how important they considered a range of reasons to be for going out at night, including looking for a boyfriend/girlfriend and looking for sex. Apart from respondents in the adolescent male group, in all other groups a significantly greater percentage of consumers than non-consumers considered looking for a boyfriend/girlfriend to be an important/very important reason for going out at night ($X^2=85.951$, $P<0.001$). Equally for young males and adolescent females, consumers were also more likely to consider looking for sex as an important/very important reason for going out at night than non-consumers ($X^2=156.690$, $P=<0.001$; Figure 10).



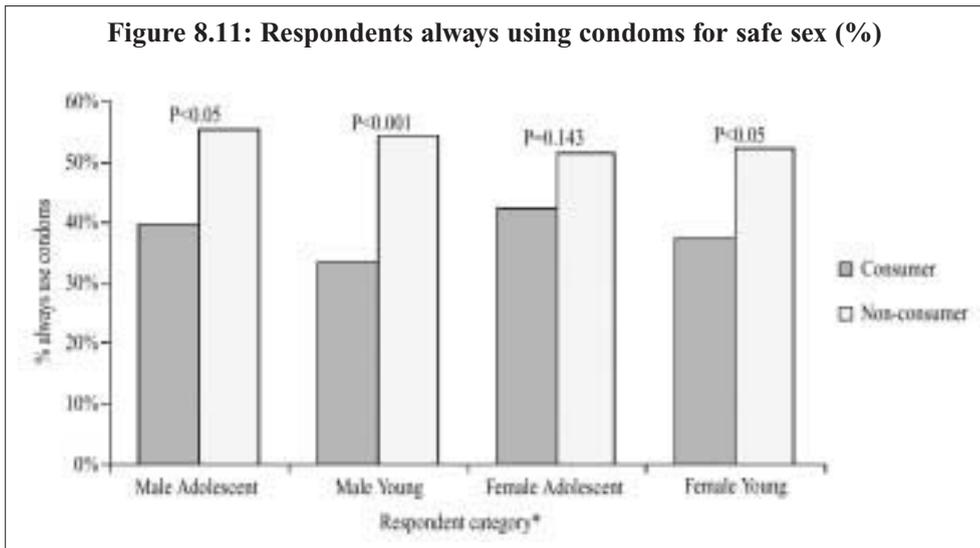
* An explanation of respondent categories is provided in Box 1

Despite the fact that people who spend more time in bars and nightclubs may have more opportunity to meet new sexual partners, the amount of time spent out did not

have an effect on the number of sexual partners respondents reported having had in the last 12 months.

8.6 USE OF CONDOMS

Across all respondent groups, a greater percentage of non-consumers than consumers reported always using condoms for safe sex ($X^2=29.342$, $P<0.001$; Figure 8.11), although the relationship was not significant for female adolescents.



* See box 1 for explanation of respondent categories

Using logistic regression to correct for age, gender and city, non-consumers were found to be twice as likely as consumers to always use condoms for safe sex (adjusted odds ratio 1.9772; Figure 8.12). Consistent use of condoms varied between cities with respondents in Berlin (Germany) being least likely to report always using condoms for safe sex and respondents in Turku (Finland) being most likely. Age and gender did not have a significant effect on the likelihood of always using condoms for safe sex.

Age and gender were included in the model but were not significant. Only significant factors were retained in the model. Reference categories for analysis were Consumers for substance use and Lisbon for City.

For consumption of individual substances, across all substances the percentage always using a condom for safe sex was greatest amongst those who had never used the substance (Figure 8.13). For all substances apart from ecstasy, current users were least likely to report always using a condom, whilst for ecstasy ex-users were least likely to always use condoms.

In addition to use of a substance, how important a substance was to a person also affected the likelihood of using condoms. In the case of alcohol, the probability of

Figure 8.12: Factors influencing the likeliness of always using condoms for safe sex

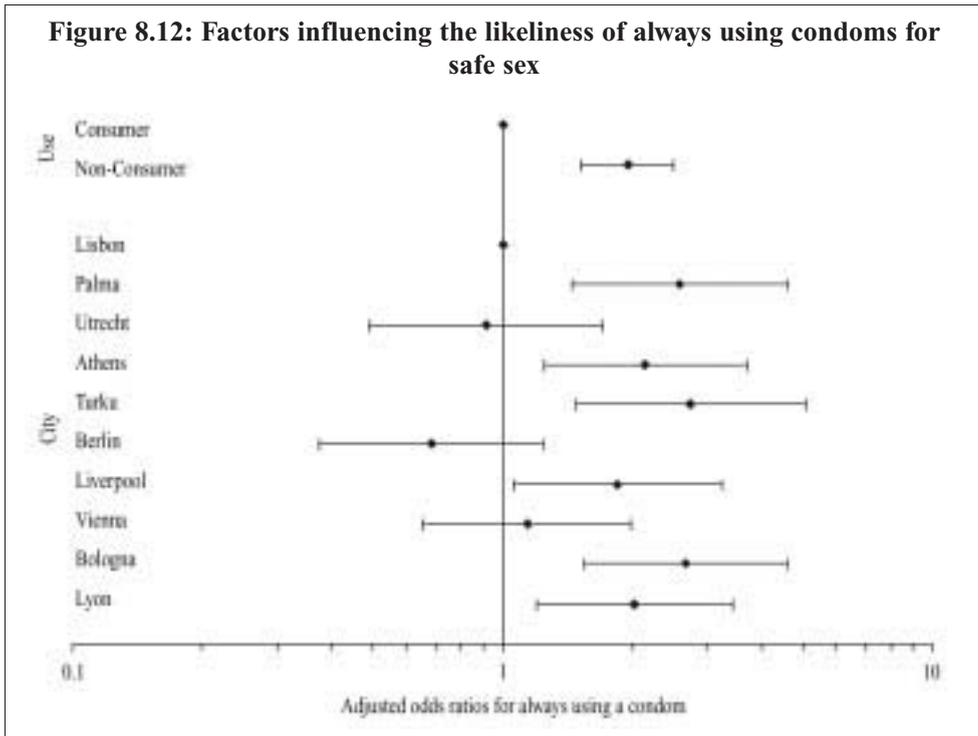
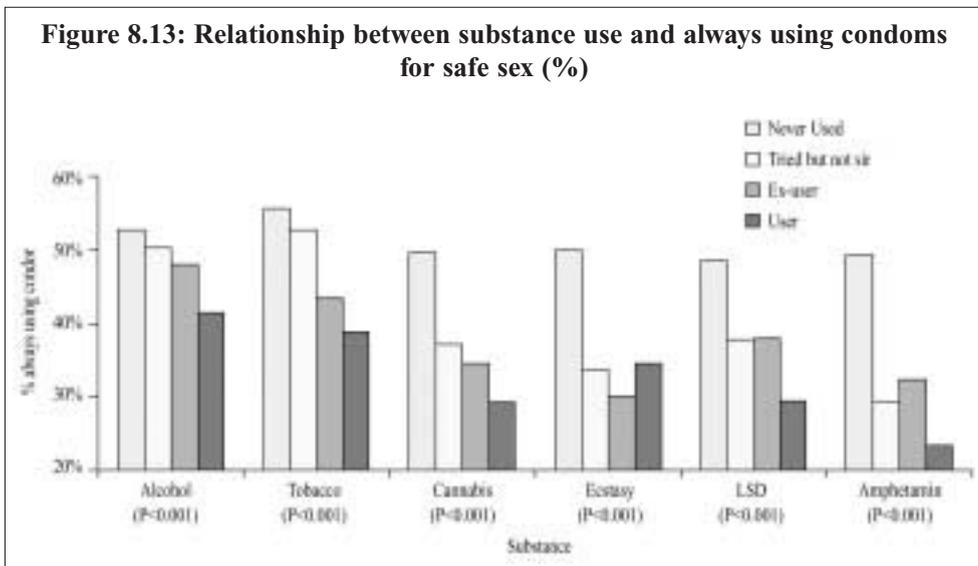
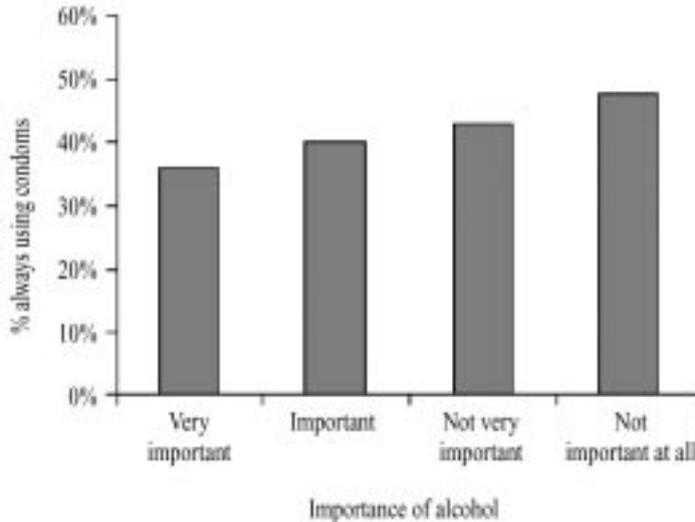


Figure 8.13: Relationship between substance use and always using condoms for safe sex (%)



using condoms decreased as the level of importance a user gave to alcohol as a reason for going out increased ($X^2(\text{trend})=8.290$, $P<0.05$, Figure 14). In other words, respondents who considered alcohol to be very important when going out were least

Figure 8.14: Relationship between importance of substance use as a reason for going out and consistent use of condoms



likely to always use condoms for safer sex. For illegal drugs, respondents who attached least importance to drugs when they went out were again most likely to always use condoms ($X^2(\text{trend})=7.309$, $P<0.001$).

Respondents were asked how easy they found it to get on with members of the opposite sex. Of those who had ever had sex, individuals who found it easier to get on with the opposite sex were also more likely to use condoms ($X^2=6.588$, $P<0.05$). However, consumers were more likely to find it easy to get on with the opposite sex ($X^2=7.548$, $P<0.01$) but less likely to always use condoms for safer sex ($X^2=22.628$, $P<0.001$). Thus, although consumption correlates positively with an individual's ability to get on with the opposite sex it does not do so sufficiently to counteract the increasing likelihood of unsafe sex linked directly with substance consumption (Figures 8.15 and 8.16).

Risky sexual behaviour is often considered alongside other risk taking behaviours. In an attempt to determine whether or not risk taking during sex is related to substance use or is a factor of an individual's tendency towards risk, analyses examine the relationship between unsafe sex and other risk taking behaviour. Respondents were asked a variety of questions around drink and drug driving, aggressive behaviour and criminal activity, of which only shoplifting was significantly associated with likelihood of not using condoms ($X^2=14.058$, $P<0.001$). This suggests that whilst many risk behaviours such as substance use and risky sexual behaviour are linked, not all risk behaviours (e.g. aggressive risk behaviours and drink driving, (see questionnaire, Appendix) are necessarily linked to unsafe sex.

Figure 8.15: Relationship between use of condoms and ability to get on with opposite sex

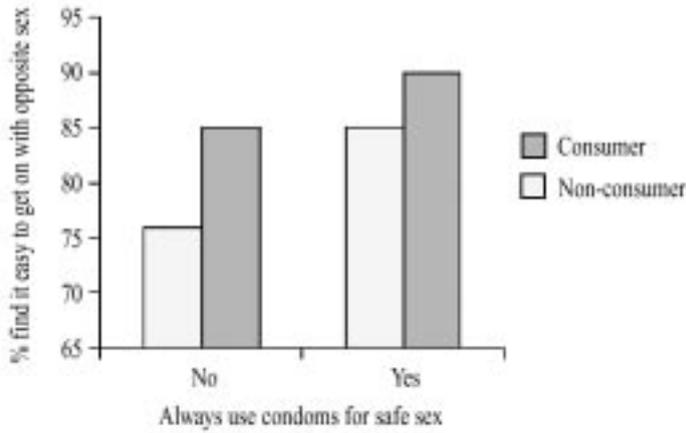
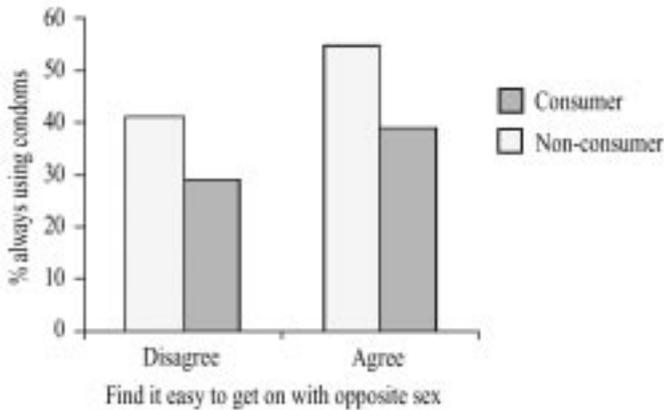


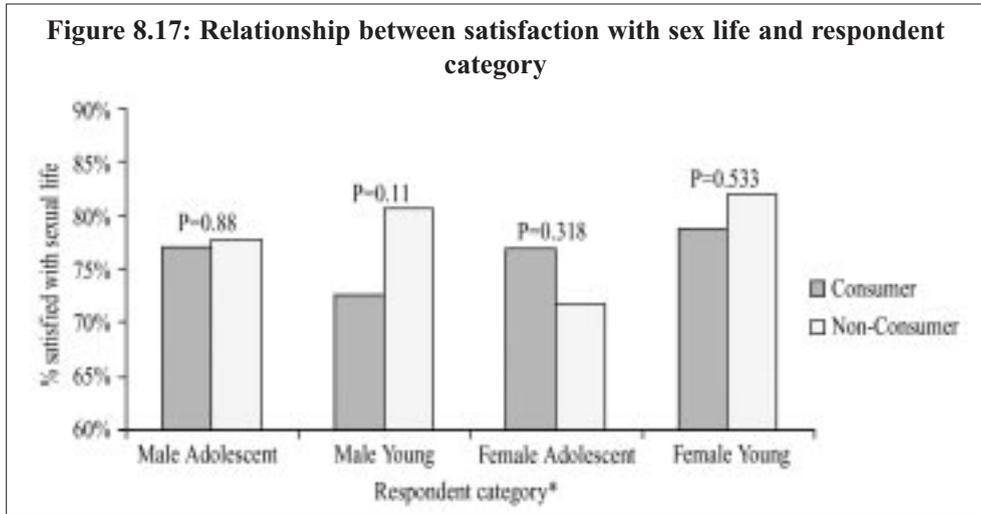
Figure 8.16: Relationship between ability to get on with opposite sex and use of condoms



Whether or not people considered it easy to buy condoms in pubs or clubs also did not significantly affect their likelihood of using them ($X^2_{(trend)}=3.287$, $P=0.077$). However, respondents' religious beliefs were related to their use of condoms ($X^2_{(trend)}=6.522$, $P<0.05$) with 49.5% of those with strong religious beliefs always using condoms compared to only 39.9% of those with no religious beliefs. The survey did not distinguish between religions that did and did not allow condom use and consequently no further analysis was undertaken on this factor.

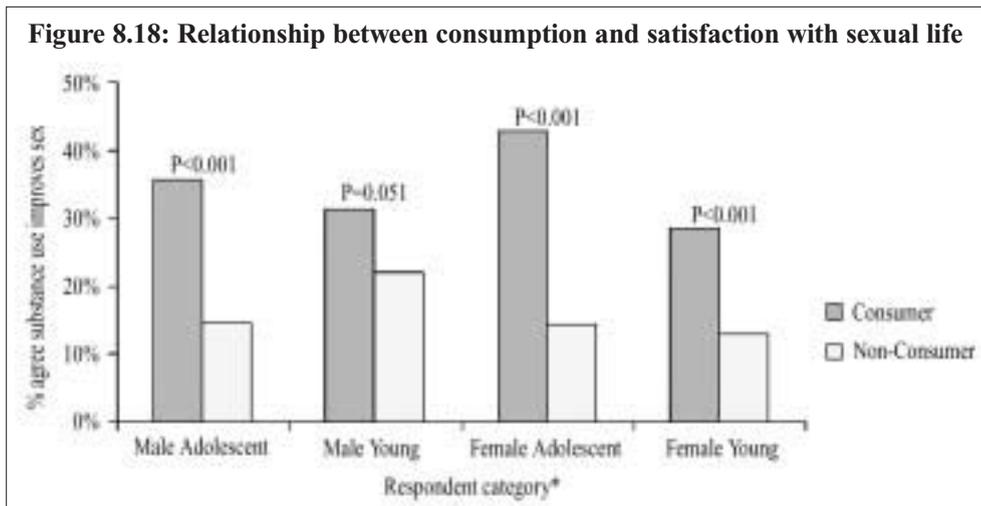
8.7 SATISFACTION WITH SEX LIFE

Respondents were asked how satisfied they were with their sexual lives. Across all groups there was no significant difference in satisfaction with sex life between consumers and non-consumers (Figure 8.17).



* An explanation of respondent categories is provided in Box 1

Finally, respondents were asked whether they agreed that drugs and alcohol could help improve a person's sex life. Consumers were significantly more likely to agree that substance use could help improve a person's sex life across all groups except young males (Figure 8.18).



*see Box 1 for explanation of respondent categories

8.8 DISCUSSION

This study focused on two diverse population groups; young people who use illegal drugs as well as alcohol and/or tobacco (consumers) and young people that do not use illegal drugs and either abstain from alcohol and tobacco or use at a very low level (non-consumers). Amongst the study sample being a consumer was related to:

1. being more likely to have ever had sex
2. being more likely to have ever had homosexual sex
3. having had first sex at an earlier age
4. currently having more sexual partners and
5. being less likely to always use condoms during sex

EVER HAD HETEROSEXUAL OR HOMOSEXUAL SEX

Across all groups (except young males) consumers were significantly more likely to have had sex than non-consumers (Figure 8.1). The same relationship was present for homosexual sex, with consumers being more likely to have had a same sex experience. However, there were some differences. Whereas respondents in the 20-36 age group were more likely than those aged 13-19 to have ever had sex, those in the younger age group were more likely to have had homosexual sex - although this failed to reach significance. Furthermore, while males were more likely than females to have ever had sex, females were more likely to have ever had sex with someone of the same gender.

Use of alcohol, tobacco and illicit drugs (cannabis and cocaine) were all individually related to increased likelihood of having had sex (Figure 8.3). The relationship with homosexual sex however was with illicit drug use only (cannabis and cocaine, Figure 8.6). Thus, for females in particular those who use illicit drugs were also more likely to have at least experimented with same sex experiences. For females (and to a lesser extent males) these results suggest an important relationship between experimentation with substance use and different forms of sexual behaviour.

Within this study causal relationships between sexual experimentation and substance use could not be measured. However, elsewhere individual substances have been shown to effect libido differently depending on the individual (Rawson et al, 2002) and focus group discussions reflected this mix. In our focus groups some consumers considered cocaine to increase sexual pleasure whilst others reported problems in sexual functioning after use of the drug. In general, however, alcohol was considered beneficial to meeting sexual partners and reducing inhibitions, while ecstasy, cocaine, LSD and cannabis were all mentioned as increasing sexual pleasure for some consumers but not all. GHB in particular was strongly linked to libido:

“I get so excited and horny after taking GHB that I’m totally disinhibited. I literally climb onto everything that looks male” (Female consumer, Utrecht)

Interestingly, being an ex-user of alcohol, tobacco and illicit drugs was also strongly related to having had sex (Figure 3) and to having had sex with someone of the same

gender (cannabis and cocaine only, Figure 6). One ex-user who participated in focus group discussions had specifically used substances to facilitate sexual interaction:

“I took drugs because of gay sex. Then I felt good and as if I belonged and it was easier for me. Before then it was difficult to accept that I wanted it. Now I tend to be monogamous”. (Male non-consumer, Berlin)

NUMBER OF SEXUAL PARTNERS AND SAFE SEX

The increased sexual risk associated with being a consumer is also reflected in the relationship between substance use and both number of sexual partners and safe sex practice. Being a consumer increased the average number of sexual partners individuals reported in all respondent categories (Figure 8.9). Overall, consumers had an estimated 3.46 partners per year compared to 2.33 for non-consumers. Furthermore, (with the exception of female adolescents) consumers were consistently less likely to use condoms. This combination means that consumers are at heightened risks from sexually transmitted infections and other risks such as teenage pregnancies (Calafat et al., 2001). Despite this, consumers participating in focus group discussions generally appeared less concerned about the consequences of unprotected sex than non-consumers:

“I don’t think addicts care about condoms. I don’t care about it.” (Male consumer, Bologna)

“I think unprotected sex is a very worrying factor.” (Male non-consumer, Liverpool)

In fact, both non-consumers and many consumers did consider substance use to increase likelihood of unprotected sex. The two main reasons highlighted for this were; being too intoxicated to think about using a condom, and feeling immune to the negative consequences of unprotected sex:

“The problem is that thanks to these substances you feel less vulnerable and you don’t even imagine what could happen to you.” (Male consumer, Bologna)

“When you’re drunk...things like using condoms just don’t enter your mind. I know it should, but when you’re that drunk sometimes you don’t always know what you’re doing.” (Female consumer, Liverpool)

A number of consumers did not believe that there was a connection between substance use and condom use, but rather that condom use depended on an individual’s attitude towards safer sex and some studies support this hypothesis (Plant et al., 1990; Bagnall et al., 1990). However, in this study by examining each substance individually (Figure 13) a consistent relationship appeared with those who had never used each substance being most likely to always use condoms and current users being least likely. Taking each substance individually, for all substances (except ecstasy) ex-users were intermediate between current and non-users. In other words having given up use of a substance has not meant that individuals have adopted the safe sex levels of non-users even though they are more cautious than users.

These data are consistent with two effects on sexual risk taking; one element relating directly to use of a substance and its immediate effect on whether safe sex is practised, and a second relating to the inherent nature of risk taking in some individuals' behaviour. In other words, at least some of the links between sexual risk taking and substance use may be explained by underlying factors such as a tendency towards risk taking in general, meaning that risk taking would occur regardless of substance use (Leigh and Stall, 1993; Ostrow, 1994). Other studies have examined sexual and substance use related risk within a wider range of risk taking behaviours (Cook and Bellis, 2001) and found that risk taking in these two areas is also clustered with tendencies towards other thrill-seeking actions including illegal activities and dangerous driving. In this study (IREFREA), a significant relationship was found between shoplifting and unprotected sex. Furthermore attitude, rather access to condoms, appears to be a principle factor in determining safe sex practice with no significant relationship between perceived ease of access to condoms and their use. In fact, consumers were more likely to agree that condoms were widely available in bars and nightclubs, yet were less likely to use them. Elsewhere, evidence of effectiveness of increased availability of condoms to young people is sparse. Kirby et al (1999) found increased availability of condoms (free and at cost) had no influence on safe sex practice among young people while Schuster et al (1998) found increased availability led to greater use among males and greater intention to use among sexually inexperienced adolescents.

AGE OF FIRST SEX

For all respondent categories consumers were more likely to have had sex at an earlier age than non-consumers (Figure 8.7). In fact, for each substance individually age of first sex correlated with age of first use. Additionally across all substances, individuals first using before the age of 16 were also much more likely to have had sex at an earlier age. For instance, those who had used ecstasy before the age 16 had an average age at first sex around two years younger than those who first used the drug at a later age (Figure 8). This cannot be explained simply by the hypothesis that substance use leads to early sex. For 12.5% of the individuals in this study first sex preceded even the use of alcohol, and within this group sex occurred at an earlier age than for those either experiencing sex and alcohol in the same year or using alcohol earlier than first having sex (Table 8.1). Additionally, this group also reported a later than average age of first alcohol use. One hypothesis arising from this (which requires further investigation) is whether individuals who have had sex without first being initiated into alcohol (or other substance) use then do not feel the necessity to use substances until a significantly later age.

Overall however, while being under the influence of a substance may potentially play a role in a young person's decision to have first sex, a general predisposition towards risk taking in both sex and substance use appears to play a key role regardless of which comes first. Even some years after first sex, those individuals who had sex at an earlier age are still more likely to have a greater number of sexual partners per year. Thus, individuals who had sex before the age of 16 had an average of 4.65 partners in the last twelve months compared to 2.49 for those who had sex at 16 or later.

RELATIONSHIPS AND LOOKING FOR SEXUAL PARTNERS

A further element affecting sexual risk appears to be how well individuals get on with the opposite sex. Those identifying themselves as getting on well with the opposite sex were also more likely (in both consumers and non-consumers) to use condoms (Figure 8.16). Interestingly, being a consumer of substances increases the likelihood of getting on with the opposite sex but also reduces levels of condom use. In other words although being a consumer may indirectly contribute to increased condom use (through better relations) this effect is out-weighed by the direct relationship between consumption and unsafe sex.

Consumers were also more likely to consider looking for sexual partners an important or very important reason for going out at night and more likely to agree that taking substances improves their sex lives (Figure 8.18). Focus group discussions indicated that some consumers used drugs specifically for this purpose:

“I’m looking for sexual contact when I take pills and I tend to raise the subject with men directly when I’m high. I go into the darkrooms...I wouldn’t do that sober. And I also take a pill quite consciously for this reason.” (Female consumer, Berlin)

“Sometimes when you don’t take any drugs you are full of hang-ups, your ass is extremely big, your nose is pointed. When you take drugs you feel you are beautiful and irresistible.” (Female consumer, Bologna)

Even some non-consumers discussed the temptation to use substances for sexual purposes, mainly to increase their confidence to approach potential partners. One non-consumer commented:

“There was someone that I really liked but I didn’t have the confidence to do anything about it, and I was so tempted (to drink alcohol) because I didn’t have the courage to walk across.” (Female non-consumer, Liverpool)

Despite large differences in the sexual behaviour of consumers and non-consumers (e.g. age of first sex, number of sexual partners, safe sex practice), there were no differences in any of the respondent groups with regard to levels of satisfaction with sex life (Figure 8.17). Therefore although consumers are more likely to seek sexual partners at night, begin having sex at an earlier age and experience more sexual partners per year, this does not relate to a greater satisfaction with sex life. This could mean that none of these factors bring greater satisfaction, that levels of satisfaction are set higher in consumers than in non consumers or that factors by which satisfaction is gauged are different in the two groups.

CITY DIFFERENCES

The IREFREA research differs from many previous studies in that participants were drawn from ten cities across Europe. Cultural differences between cities are likely to mean that young people participate in nightlife in different ways, hold contrasting views on the use and effects of individual substances (Rhodes, 1996) and potentially have different attitudes towards sex. Basic analysis of the data identifies wide differences in

reported sexual behaviour and substance use between specific cities. Respondents from Palma de Mallorca (Spain), for example, had a mean age of first sexual experience of 16.64 years, an average of 1.74 sexual partners each in the last 12 months and were most likely to report always using condoms for safer sex (Table 8.2). In contrast, respondents from Berlin (Germany) had a mean age of first sexual experience of 15.88 years, an average of 3.63 sexual partners each in the last year and were least likely to always use condoms for safer sex.

Table 8.2: Reported sexual behaviour by country

	Mean age of first sex	Mean no. of sexual partners	% always using a condom for safe sex
Austria (Vienna)	16.05	4.82	32.5%
England (Liverpool)	16.41	2.74	44.2%
Finland (Turku)	16.06	4.28	53.8%
France (Lyon)	15.99	4.37	44.6%
Germany (Berlin)	15.88	3.36	22.5%
Greece (Athens)	16.26	2.96	48.0%
Italy (Bologna)	16.22	2.66	54.8%
Netherlands (Utrecht)	16.15	2.34	29.6%
Portugal (Lisbon)	16.08	2.88	36.1%
Spain (Palma de Mallorca)	16.64	1.74	56.7%

The samples in this study were not intended to be representative of the countries in general. However what little comparative information is availability from international sexual surveys shows some consistency with the IREFREA sample. The 2001 Durex Global Sex survey, for example, included seven of the ten countries involved in IREFREA research. Of these, as with the IREFREA survey, Germany had the earliest age of first sex (16.6 years) and Spain the latest (18.2 years) yet these ages are considerably above those reported by IREFREA respondents.

Variations in sexual behaviour between respondents from individual cities were independent of effects of substance use and probably reflect unmeasured differences in cultural norms between cities within the IREFREA sample. However, in all cities consumers remain more likely to have ever had sex than non-consumers, to have an earlier mean age of first sex and to have had more sexual partners in the last 12 months (except Berlin³).

³ Median number of sexual partners greater for consumers than non-consumers.

CONCLUSIONS

Results from this survey have identified strong links between substance use and sexual behaviour. Those currently consuming substances are more likely to have more sexual partners and use protection during sex less frequently. Some of this relationship appears to be through substance use directly facilitating some types of sexual behaviour. Thus individuals stated that they use substances specifically to help them meet new sexual partners and practice sex in ways or at frequencies that might otherwise cause them concern. However, across all substances individuals who had sex early were also more likely to use substances at an earlier age even when substance use follows sex. This is more consistent with a predisposition towards general risk taking in some individuals leading to early substance use and sex in some but not others. Furthermore, even when some users no longer use substances their sexual risk profile does not fall to that of non-users but is in between that of current users and those who have never used. While far from definitive both factors suggest either cultural or genetic factors which lead to greater sexual and substance related risk in some individuals (here consumers). Furthermore, this research identified strong significant differences in likelihood of having sex or homosexual sex, age of first sex, number of sexual partners and safe sex behaviour between cities even after levels had been corrected for between-city differences in age, substance use and gender. Such differences support cultural effects on sexual behaviour within each setting that are independent of substance use and most likely relate to social norms and other cultural or environmental factors.

Regardless of underlying differences between cities this research supports the need for integrated interventions and education addressing sexual health and substance use in young people across Europe. From first age of sex to current sexual practice individuals taking more sexual health risks are more likely to be consuming more substances. Treating sex and substance use in isolation ignores the way in which young people integrate both behaviours in their social lives. However addressing both together should provide new opportunities to make messages preventing teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases and promoting harm reduction for substance use more pertinent to young people and more likely to alter their behaviour in a health improving manner.

9. MANAGEMENT OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter financial aspects of recreational activities of young people in Europe will be explored. First the results of some national surveys on the social and economic position of young people will be outlined. Second the results of the IREFREA research project 2001/2002 will be described concerning financial aspects of the recreational nightlife of young people in ten European cities; a comparison in relation to the financial aspects will be made between consumers and non-consumers (see also chapters 2, 3 and 4), age groups, gender and geographical areas.

9.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS AMONG ADOLESCENTS AND YOUNG ADULTS

The Youth 2000 Report published by the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) outlines a broad-based picture of the living situation and social position of 12 to 24 year-olds in the Netherlands. The Youth Report is part of the National Youth Monitor, conducted by the SCP and the Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS) for the Dutch government, and is based on databases of nine different national surveys. The report describes the way in which young people pass through the process of achieving independence in a number of fields of life, e.g. spending (leisure) time, employment, social relationships and finances.

LEISURE TIME

Young people can, to a considerable degree, determine leisure time themselves. However, they are not entirely free. Peers, educators and the media will exercise an influence on young people. The financial resources available, the amount of leisure time and the range of possibilities for spending leisure time also play a role. Over the last few decades, changes have occurred in all these areas. For example, the way in which parental authority is expressed has changed (into a relationship more open to negotiation), the possible repertoire of behaviour patterns has become more varied, and commercial interests, pushing for a high level of consumer spending, increasingly tempt young people.

An initial indication of a possible increase in the independence of young people could be observed in an increase in leisure time. After all, potentially this is a field in which young people can relatively easily “escape” the influence of parents, teachers or

employers. However, the Youth 2000 Report shows that the amount of leisure time available to young people has in fact fallen. On average, the weekly available leisure time for 12 to 24 year-olds, in the period 1975 to 1995, fell by slightly less than three hours, to almost 42 hours per week. This reduction in leisure time bears no relationship to an increase in obligations (such as time for school and part-time jobs), but to an increase in the time spent by young people on personal care.

As a result of the rise in prosperity, and the emergence of information and communication technology, the arsenal of opportunities for spending leisure time has increased over the last few years. However, looking at the repertoire for leisure time activities, we see that young people are the only age group amongst whom the diversity of leisure time activities has in fact reduced. Nonetheless, young people have started to spend increasingly more time with electronic media, such as television and personal computers: at present, they spend approximately 60% of their leisure time at home with these items. This increase is largely due to computer use, and although on the one hand this is accompanied by reduced social contacts with other members of the household, the advent of new means of communication also makes it possible to maintain specifically more (digital) contact with peers (Youth 2000 Report).

EMPLOYMENT

The importance of education has grown throughout the last decades in Europe, meaning that an increasing number of young people (age 15-24) are in education or training, while at the same time the number of young people in the working population has decreased. In 1995 more than half of the young people (58%) in the European Union were in education or training (compared to 49% in 1987). Participation in the working population decreased from 34% in 1987 to 28% in 1995 (Eurostat, 1997). According to the Eurobarometer (2002) using a sample of 7.687 of young people from all the European Union countries aged 15 to 24, 6.2% were unemployed.

Many young people in education or training also have part-time jobs (especially in central and northern Europe) generating income, which often is spent on leisure time activities. The age at which young people leave education to join the working population today is higher than in the past, which is largely due to the rise in levels of education. If participation in employment is viewed as an indicator of the level of independence of young people, it can therefore be concluded that in this respect, young people become independent later.

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

An important component of the development process of young people is the process of moving away from parental authority and becoming independent. Within family life a shift has taken place from the instruction-based household, to the negotiation-based household, whereby young people living at home have a greater say than was the case

in the past. This shift fits well in the idea that the child-raising climate in the majority of families is focused on teaching independence.

However, the resultant greater sense of personal responsibility demanded of young people and parents has on occasion emerged as a cause for concern amongst groups of educationalists and policy-makers. On the one hand, parents are required to give greater freedom to their children, but they must also ensure that they prevent their children from making choices which have serious negative consequences; greater self-discipline is demanded of young people and a greater demand is placed on their capacity to make the right choices. At the same time, other changes in family life have occurred, which influence the relationships between parents and children; more than in the past, both parents work outside the home, more children are growing up in a single-parent family, and the size of families has fallen (Youth 2000 Report).

Of course we have to take into account the differences between the European Union countries. In this respect possibly the main differences are found between, on the one hand, central and northern countries and, on the other hand, Mediterranean Europe. Young people's economy and their process towards autonomy differ in some ways. In the Netherlands about one third of 18 to 24 year-olds have left their parental home to live on their own (van Leeuwen & Ruitenber; in Youth 2000 Report). In a very recent study done in 2002 in Spain by the Youth Institute (INJUVE), with a sample of 1.500 young people aged from 15 to 29, 75% were still living with their families, and only half of them expressed the desire to live independently. In another Spanish study conducted at a national level (Elzo et al, 1999), with a representative sample of young people aged 15 to 24, they found that 92% were still living with their families. This percentage was slightly higher than the 90% found in 1995 by the same group of researchers. Nevertheless the situation of the economy of these young people has improved during this period of time. Clearly in the Mediterranean countries there is no real pressure towards children to leave home. The generation conflict seems to have disappeared –so they feel at ease at home - and young people do not leave home until they believe they can live with certain minimum standards of comfort on their own. In the Spanish 2002 study, made by the Youth National Institute, it is stated that they need to earn more than 1.000 euros per month before leaving their families. All these questions are very relevant to recreational life because, especially in southern countries, families support directly or indirectly their children in going out clubbing.

From the sources available, a positive image emerges concerning the relationship between parents and children. Nonetheless, upbringing is not always without problems. Approximately 10% of Dutch parents report major problems with children. Around 15% of Dutch young people suggest that they do not get on well with their father or mother, and do not enjoy being at home. Besides parents, peers and especially close friends play a key role in the development of young people. In the Youth 2000 Report it is suggested that (amongst Dutch young people) a considerable group (one-fifth) has no really good friends, and also that more than 5% of 13 to 15 year-olds have psychosocial problems in social relations with peers.

Parents and friends represent two relatively independent support systems, whereby it should be noted in respect of parents that young people experience greater support from their mother than from their father. For the well being of young people, the support of parents would seem to be most essential, whilst friends are above all important in respect of leisure time (going out, clothing and sexuality).

FINANCES

Given the positive economic developments over the last few decades, and the rise in national income, one could expect the income position of young people to have improved. But to just what degree is it true that young people today do have more to spend, and that a larger proportion of them are financially independent? We will use mainly the perspective of the Netherlands, but we have already seen that there are considerable differences between the European countries.

In the Netherlands the number of young people with their own income (from wages, student grants, benefits or profits) has risen between 1990 and 1998. In 1998, 60% of 15 to 17 year-olds enjoyed an income from one of the sources mentioned (as compared with 50% in 1990). Amongst 21 to 24 year-olds, more than 90% have an income, but this situation was almost the same in 1990. Today, it appears that students more often also receive an income from employment, in addition to their student grant. In 1990, this was the case for 71% of students, as compared to 85%, in 1998. The question of student grants and part-time jobs varies greatly from country to country. For example in Spain, in the study already mentioned (Elzo et al, 1999), only 6% of young people aged 15 to 24 have incomes not coming from their families.

Despite the rise in the number of young people with their own income, there is no indication of a significant improvement in the income position for 19 to 24 year-olds. If we look at the level of income in this age group, we firstly see that the income of non-studying young people living at home is higher than that of non-studying young people living away from home. Amongst young people studying, the reverse is true. Secondly, we see that the income of young men is higher than that of young women, and indeed the discrepancy between the two has increased between 1990 and 1998. Thirdly, it is noticeable that the income of young people not in study between the ages of 19 and 24 has fallen considerably during the 1990s, and for those living away from home, between the ages of 20 and 21 years, by a massive €1600. This is probably mainly attributable to the fall in the number of hours worked by young people and the shortening of the period during which students are entitled to a basic student grant. For students, there has been no rise or fall in income (Youth 2000 Report).

The decline in the income position of young people not studying is reflected in the proportion of young people who are financially independent. Financial independence as intended here is achieved if a young person has an income equivalent to the supplementary benefit level, for a single person aged 21 years or older. The proportion of financially independent young people in 1998 is slightly less than was the case in 1990 (31% and 33% respectively). However, financial independence seems to have

practically no influence on the decision as to whether or not to live independently. This is above all determined by age and sex. It also emerged that, in 1998, less young people took the step of starting their own household than in 1990. As demonstrated by the later transition from education to the labour market, here, too, there would appear to be an extension of the youth phase of life.

If we look at young students between the ages of 12 and 17, we see that their income has increased by 10%. In so far as income originated from parents, there has been a fall, but income from employment (part-time jobs and holiday work) on the other hand has risen considerably. Here again we see differences between boys and girls; over time, the income received by boys has always been (slightly) higher than that received by girls. It is also interesting to look at expenditure patterns. The findings indicate that today, young students say slightly more often than in the past that they themselves decide what to do with their income, which may be viewed as an indication of greater independence. In this light, the increase in the proportion of young students stating that they request permission from their parents to make particular purchases appears strange, unless it is viewed as a confirmation of the transition to a negotiation-based household. Young people feel that they are making the decisions themselves, but still ask their parents what they think.

SPENDING BEHAVIOUR OF DUTCH YOUNG PEOPLE.

At the end of 2001 the Dutch National Institute for Budget Information (Nibud, 2001) published a report on the economic situation, consumption patterns and spending behaviour of young people in blue-collar jobs. They work four days a week and the fifth day they go to school. Per day they work an average 6,2 hours and watch television 2,7 hours. Most of the boys work in the construction sector, trade or catering, most of the girls in shops and warehouses, health care or catering. These 15-24 year olds earn an average €600 per month: €400 for the 15 year olds and €800 for the 24 year olds. The elder group, who do not live with their parents, pay an average €300 for housing and another €140 for groceries. It was concluded that these youngsters, aged 15-24, have problems managing their money and this situation was called 'worrying'. Seventy percent report having money problems, usually created by the frequent use of mobile phones and partying. Only a minor part of this group believed this to be a worrying situation. In these situations they lend money from parents and friends. Twenty percent borrow money from banks, amounting to an average €1400. This is commonly spent on small motorbikes. Five percent has debts over €4500. Per month the boys spend an average €120 on alcohol, the girls €80. Both males and females spend an average €80 on new clothes and €50 on partying (during 9-10 hours per week). The amount of money spent on gambling is very small. The percentage of young people who are saving money for special circumstances is decreasing. "Money means fun, money makes you happy" is the adage for the new millennium.

In 2002 the Dutch National Institute for Budget Information (Nibud) published the results of its seventh National School Survey. This two-yearly report describes the

economic situation, consumption patterns and spending behaviour of young students aged 12-20. This group consists of 750,000 young people with a yearly budget totalling € 1 billion to spend. Within two years the average budget per capita rose by almost 20 percent, from €95 to €113 per month. Per month a 12-year old has an average €43 to spend, an 18-year old on average €351. The growing number of youngsters having a job besides going to school has caused the 20 percent rise in the budget.

Age	Boys	Girls	Total €
12	46	40	43
13	61	56	58
14	75	72	73
15	126	121	123
16	183	161	172
17	259	184	223
18	340	364	351
Total	122	105	113

Of the total budget 17% is spend on sweets and snacks, 16% on clothing, 11% on alcohol, 7% on mobile phones, 5% on partying, 5% on smoking, 5% on soft drinks, 3% on cosmetics and 1.5% on illegal drugs. The remaining 29.5% is spent in other ways.

	Age						
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Alcohol	14	20	20	29	39	39	39
Tobacco	14	20	20	27	39	26	39
Partying	7	7	9	9	11	11	13
Scoters	6	11	11	23	23	21	18

9.2 IREFREA SURVEY: GOING OUT AND FINANCE

In this part we will describe and discuss the results of the IREFREA survey, concerning the financial aspects of going out. First, the spending behaviour of

¹ National School Survey of the Dutch National Institute for Budget Information (Nibud) (2002).

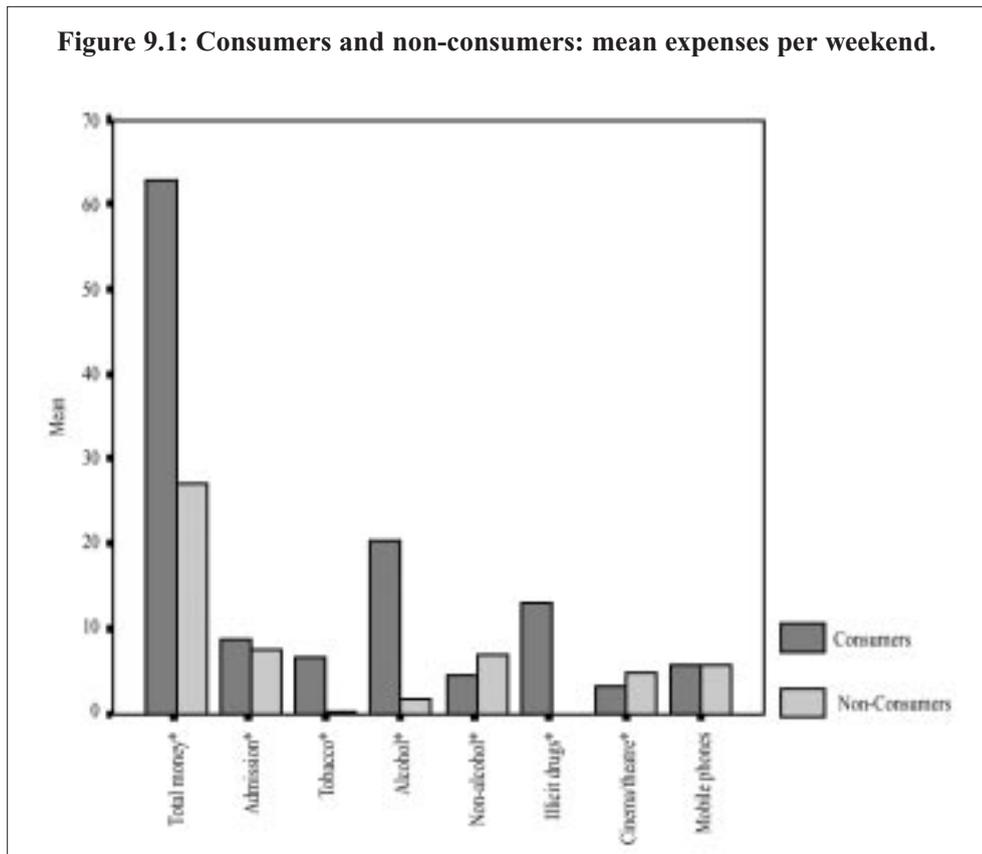
² National School Survey of the *Dutch National Institute for Budget Information* (Nibud) (2002).

consumers and non-consumers will be explored. Second, age and gender differences concerning the management of finances will be considered and differences between the northern and Mediterranean countries. Third, the question of who is financially at risk will be answered. Finally, peer pressure and finances and motives to go out will be explored in relation to expenses.

EXPENSES OF CONSUMERS AND NON-CONSUMERS

The respondents were asked how much money they spend (on average) per weekend on seven different items related to going out: admission to clubs, disco's and bars; tobacco; cinema or theatre tickets; alcohol; non-alcoholic drinks; illicit drugs; and mobile phones. When referring to the total costs of going out we mean the sum of these items. This means that other items on which people can spend money on while going out - for instance transportation costs - are not included. Consequently, it is very likely that the real total expenses of going out are probably higher than the total costs we refer to based on the survey.

Figure 9.1: Consumers and non-consumers: mean expenses per weekend.



All differences are significant ($p < .01$), with the exception of mobile phones.

On average consumers spend more than twice as much money on going out than non-consumers during the weekend, respectively €63 and €26³. Consumers spend more money on: admission for clubs, disco's and bars; tobacco; alcoholic beverages and illicit drugs. Non-consumers spend more on cinema and theatre tickets and non-alcoholic drinks. No difference was found for mobile phone costs.

The large difference in total costs of going out between consumers and non-consumers is mainly due to the costs of substance use. On average consumers spend most on alcohol (€20.40), followed by illicit drugs (€13.12) and tobacco (€6.60), whilst non-consumers hardly spend anything on these items, except maybe alcohol. Non-consumers spend €1.89 on alcohol per weekend on average, which equals about one alcoholic drink depending on the price of alcohol in each country.

If we look at the correlations (see table 9.3) we notice two issues. First we see high correlations between “money for tobacco”, “money for alcohol” and “money for illicit drugs”. Someone who spends money on one of these items is likely to spend money on the other items as well. However this is not very surprising, it is a known fact that, for instance, users of alcohol are more likely to be tobacco smokers than people who do not drink alcohol. The same goes for the relationship between illicit drugs and tobacco and - to a lesser extent - the relationship between alcohol and illicit drugs.

Second is the negative correlation (although slight) between money for substances (tobacco, alcohol and illicit drugs) and money for cinema/theatre and non-alcoholic drinks. These correlations are more relevant for our purpose to describe differences between consumers and non-consumers. We saw before the latter group spends more on cinema and theatre tickets and non-alcoholic drinks.

A factor analyses (a statistical way to order different items) is used to analyse all seven cost items and yields a two-factor solution. Once rotated to maximise variance, factors emerge as related to costs for substance use (factor1) and other costs (factor 2).

This two-factor solution accounts for nearly 50% of the total variance of these seven concepts. Also these two factors correlate negatively and moderately⁴. It is obvious that factor 1 corresponds to the consumer group. Non-consumers largely contribute to factor 2. Consequently it is suggested that non-consumers are more involved in cultural activities – such as going to the cinema and theatre – compared with consumers, when spending behaviour is considered. Of course this does not mean that non-consumers are not interested in attending clubs and bars. We saw before that non-consumers spend averagely more on admission to disco's and bars than on theatre and cinema tickets. However, owners of bars and discos who would like to attract non-consumers would possibly benefit from organising more cultural activities.

³ Consumers vs. non-consumers: total money spent on going out: $t=16.049$, $df=1288.704$, sig. $P<.001$

⁴ Spearman's Rho: $-.169$, $p<0.001$, $N=1777$.

Table 9.3: Correlations between expense concepts (Spearman's Rho).

		Correlations						
		Money for discos & bars	Money for tobacco	Money for cinema, theatre	Money for alcohol	Money for non alcoh. drinks	Money for illicit drugs	Money for mobile phone bills
Money for discos & bars	Correlation coefficient Sig. (bilateral)	1,000 ,	,133(**) ,000	,057(*) ,017	,153(**) ,000	,181(**) ,000	,152(**) ,000	,174(**) ,000
Money for tobacco	Correlation coefficient Sig. (bilateral)	,133(**) ,000	1,000 ,	-,184(**) ,000	,619(**) ,000	-,154(**) ,000	,564(**) ,000	,058(*) ,015
Money for cinema, theatre	Correlation coefficient Sig. (bilateral)	,057(*) ,017	-,184(**) ,000	1,000 ,	-,088(**) ,000	,182(**) ,000	-,116(**) ,000	,134(**) ,000
Money for alcohol	Correlation coefficient Sig. (bilateral)	,153(**) ,000	,619(**) ,000	-,088(**) ,000	1,000 ,	-,173(**) ,000	,484(**) ,000	,118(**) ,000
Money for non alcoholic drinks	Correlation coefficient Sig. (bilateral)	,181(**) ,000	-,154(**) ,000	,182(**) ,000	-,173(**) ,000	1,000 ,	-,100(**) ,000	,130(**) ,000
Money for illicit drugs	Correlation coefficient Sig. (bilateral)	,152(**) ,000	,564(**) ,000	-,116(**) ,000	,484(**) ,000	-,100(**) ,000	1,000 ,	-,021 ,374
Money for mobile phone bills	Correlation coefficient Sig. (bilateral)	,174(**) ,000	,058(*) ,015	,134(**) ,000	,118(**) ,000	,130(**) ,000	-,021 ,374	1,000 ,

N: 1777

** The correlation is significant at level 0,01 (bilateral).

* The correlation is significant at level 0,05 (bilateral).

AGE GROUPS

The question arises whether there are any differences between the age groups? If so, what are these differences? No differences between adolescents (<19) and the young (≥19) have been found concerning the total amount of money spent on going out. However, some items showed some significant differences between these age groups. Adolescents spend more on illicit drugs (€8.33) than young adults (€5.64)⁵, while young adults spend more on alcohol⁶ (€13.44) and cinema and theatre tickets⁷ (€4.50) than adolescents (respectively €9.94 and €3.63).

⁵ Adolescents vs. young: illicit drugs: $t=2.076$, $df=1412.435$, sig. $P= 0.038$.

⁶ Adolescents vs. young: alcohol: $t= -3.52$, $df=1742.255$, sig. $P< 0.001$.

⁷ Adolescents vs. young: tickets for cinema and theatre: $t= -3.46$, $df=1775$, sig. $P= 0.001$

Table 9.4: Factor analyses of seven cost items.

	Component	
	1	2
Money for tobacco	,799	-7,139E -04
Money for alcohol	,798	,117
Money for illicit drugs	,648	3,249E -02
Money for non alcoholic drinks	-7,432E -03	,646
Money for cinema & theatre	-,266	,945
Money for mobile phone	,177	,600
Money for discos & bars	,293	,548

Component Matrix (Rotation converged in 3 interactions)

Method used to extract factors: A principal component

Method of rotation: Normalization

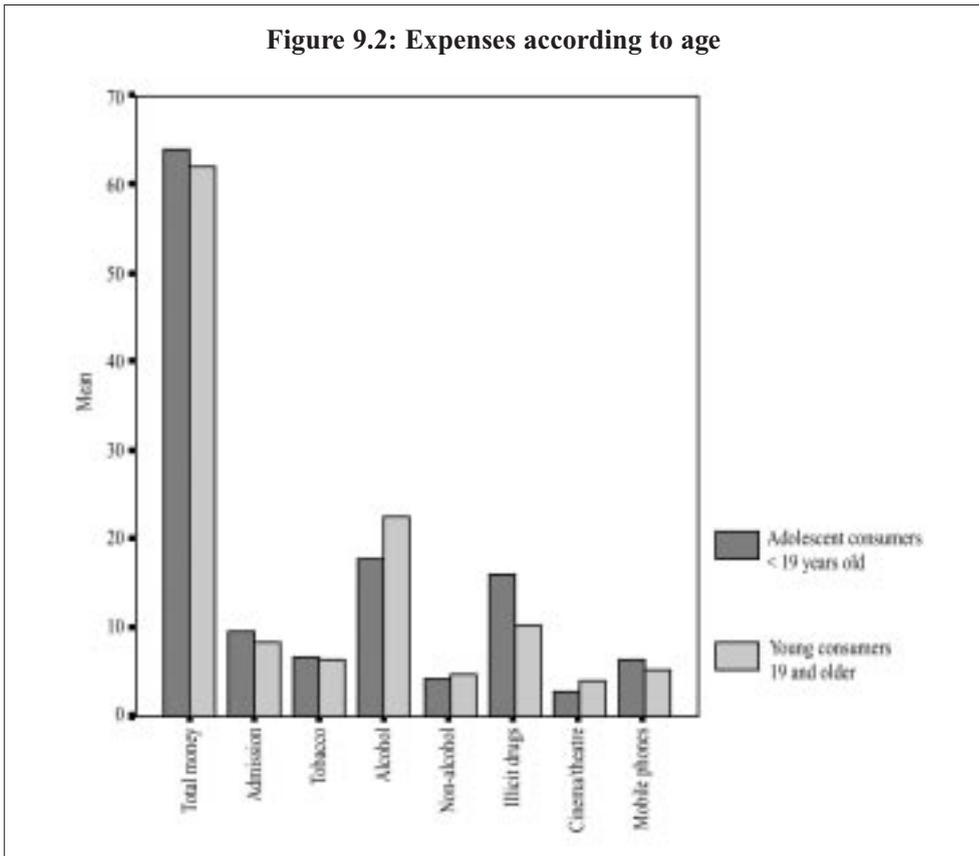
Variance total explained						
Component	Eigenvalues (initial)			Once rotated		
	Total	% of the variance	% acumulated	Total	% of the variance	% acumulated
1	1,972	28,174	28,174	1,882	26,889	26,889
2	1,418	20,255	48,429	1,508	21,540	48,429

Método de extracción: Análisis de Componentes principales

Which of these differences remain if we combine the independent variables age and consumers/non-consumers? If we look at money spent on cinema and theatre tickets, we see a tendency towards adolescent consumers (<19 years old) spending less money on this item compared to young adult consumers and all non-consumers, but this is not significant. Noticeable, however, are the differences in money for alcohol and illicit drugs. We see that adolescent consumers spend more money on illicit drugs than young consumers (respectively €16.17 and €10.32), while young adult consumers spend more money on alcohol compared to adolescent consumers (respectively €22.70 and €17.90). How could we explain these differences? If we consider money for substances (per weekend) as an indirect indicator for current drug use⁸, it could refer to a trend. It could indicate that the current generation of adolescent consumers use relatively more illicit drugs and relatively less alcohol than the previous generation. Unfortunately, this survey was has not been carried out before so we cannot analyse trends. However, if we look at a Dutch national survey (Abraham et al. 2002), we see a slight increase in use of alcohol amongst both adolescents and young adults and stronger increases in the use

⁸ Current drug use is usually defined as last month use.

Figure 9.2: Expenses according to age



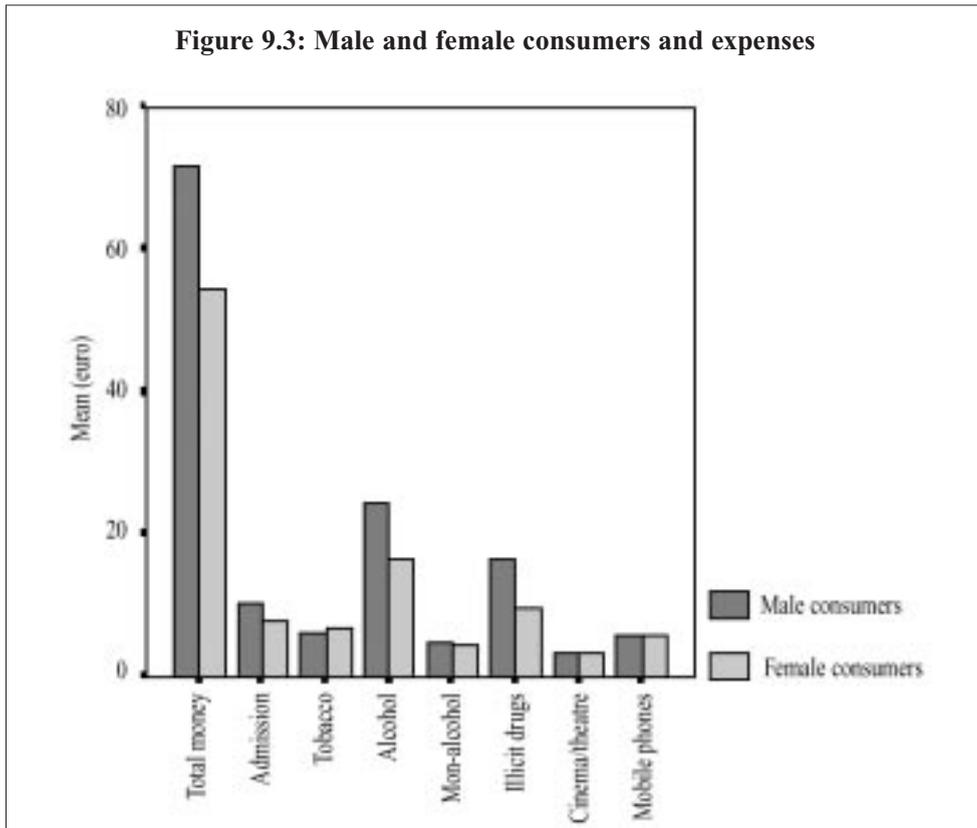
of cocaine, amphetamines and ecstasy for both age groups. The strongest increases, however, are seen in the 20-24 age group. Use of alcohol and illicit drugs among the latter group is higher than for the 12-15 and 16-19 year olds. So, at least for Dutch youth, we should look for other explanations.

Another explanation could be that the younger drug users (adolescents) are, the more they have to pay for their drugs. This would mean that older and more experienced drug users learn to find cheaper drug suppliers or buy, on average, bigger quantities profiting discounts. So, in this explanation, the fact that adolescents spend more money on illicit drugs does not necessarily mean that they actually use more illicit drugs compared to young adults.

A third explanation - maybe the most plausible - is related to the sampling methodology. The adolescents we find clubbing, and that have been included in this study, are less representative of adolescents in general than the young adults. Normally adolescents are more controlled by their families, so adolescents found clubbing could represent a special group with a higher use of drugs and less family control.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

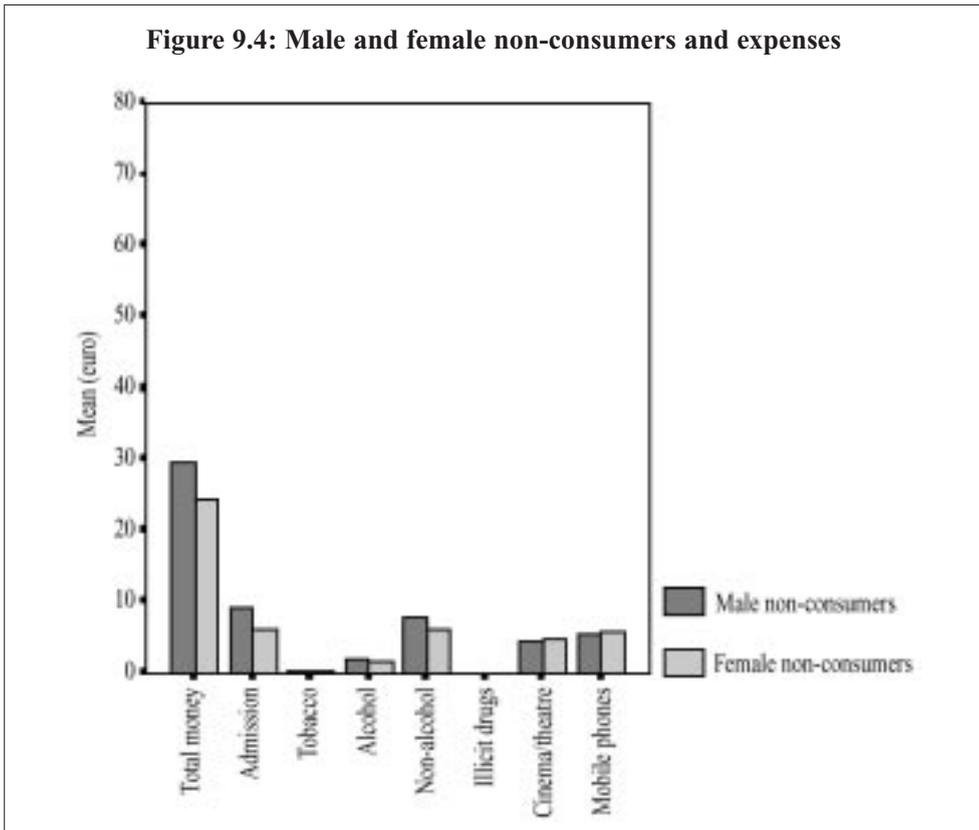
Male respondents say they spend more money (total) while going out during the weekend than female respondents, respectively €52 and €40⁹. This difference in total amount is caused by admission for clubs, disco's and bars; alcoholic; non-alcoholic drinks and illicit drugs. Men spend more on these items than women.



If we focus on consumer and non-consumer groups we still see that within both groups males spend more than females (total money). However, female consumers spend (much) more than male non-consumers (compare figure 9.3 and 9.4). We saw before that the biggest differences in spending behaviour are determined by whether someone is a consumer or not. Consumers spend more than twice as much money as non-consumers, which is mainly caused by expenses of alcohol, illicit drugs and tobacco. Male consumers spend more on these items than their female counterparts, except on tobacco. Female consumers tend to spend more money on tobacco than male

⁹ Male vs. female: total money spent on going out: $t=4.82$, $df=1493.569$ sig. $P<.001$

Figure 9.4: Male and female non-consumers and expenses



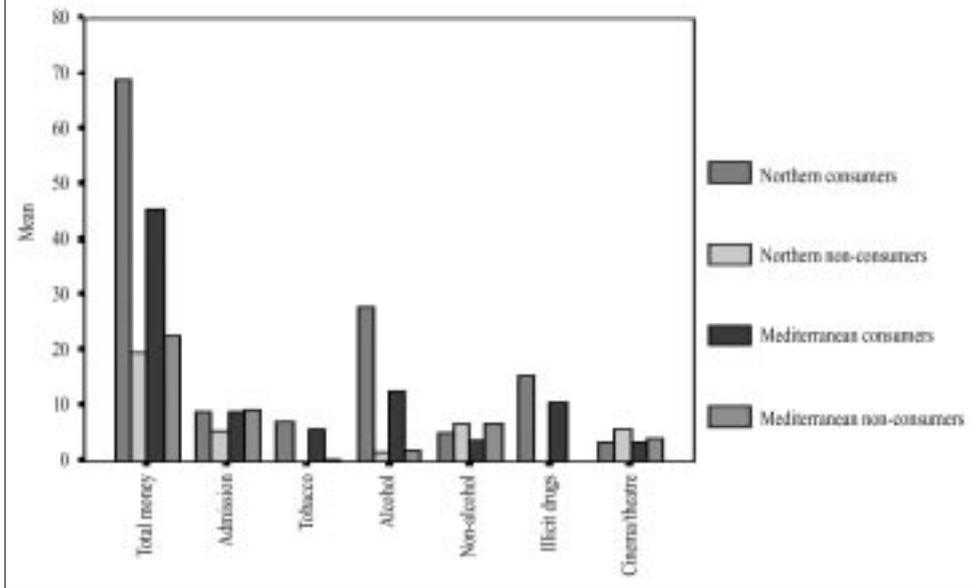
consumers, although this is not significant. Interaction effects are only found for alcohol and illicit drugs. This means that differences on these items between consumers and non-consumers are higher among males than females.

CITIES

The ten cities involved in the research have been divided into two geographical areas, the Mediterranean and the northern cities. Athens, Bologna, Palma de Mallorca, Nice and Porto are the Mediterranean cities. Turku, Liverpool, Utrecht, Berlin and Vienna belong to the northern cities.

Looking at 'total money' we see that consumers in northern cities spend more money on going out than consumers in the Mediterranean cities. The inverse is true for non-consumers, although this difference is not as large as between consumers. If we look at 'admission' we notice that northern non-consumers spend less money for admission to clubs and bars than all other groups. There is no reason to believe that non-consumers in the northern countries get free entrance to venues, so we could assume that they attend these kind of nightlife locations to a lesser extent than the other groups.

Figure 9.5: Geographical areas and expenses: consumers and non-consumers



The item ‘cinema/theatre’ indicates that northern non-consumers prefer to go out to cinemas and theatres.

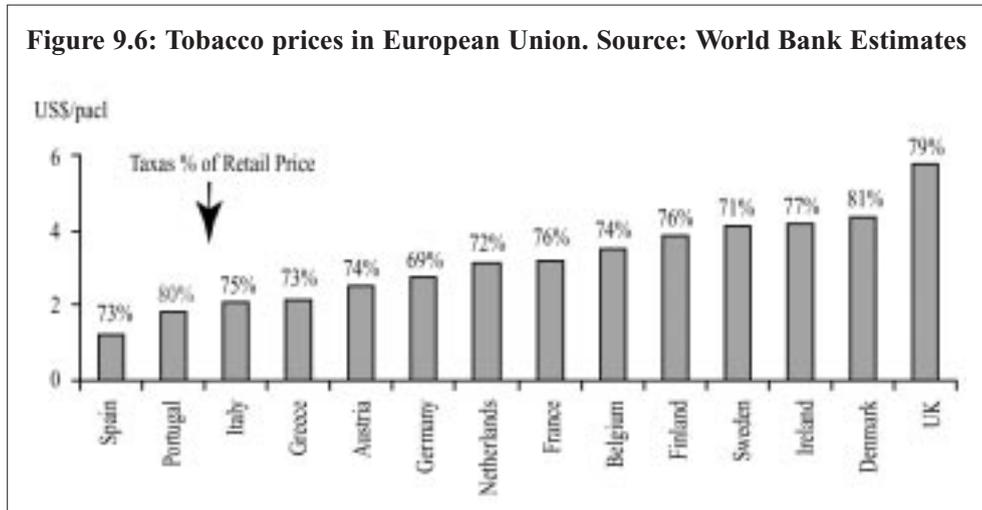
Quite striking are the differences in the expenses for alcohol and drugs between the northern and Mediterranean consumers. Consumers in northern countries spend more than twice as much on alcohol compared with consumers in the Mediterranean cities, €28.05 and €12.92 respectively¹⁰. We do not know whether this difference is due to the fact that young people in northern countries drink more alcohol or that they have higher incomes, or if we should take into account differences in the price of alcohol between countries. We know that in recent years alcohol consumption in the general population of some Mediterranean countries such as France, Spain and Italy has decreased and that this process has not been noticed in non-Mediterranean countries. However, we cannot conclude from the present research that northern consumers not only spend more on alcohol because it is more expensive, but neither that they actually buy larger quantities of alcohol. In this study Northern consumers also spend more on illicit drugs compared with Mediterranean consumers, €15.44 and €10.86 respectively. However this is not significant.

Northern consumers spend more money on tobacco than Mediterranean consumers, €7.41 and €5.81 respectively¹¹. In this case we can argue that the difference is due to

¹⁰ Money for alcohol: interaction between ‘geographical area’ and ‘consumer groups’: $F= 81,509$, $df=1$, $P< 0.001$.

¹¹ Money for tobacco: interaction between ‘geographical area’ and ‘consumer groups’: $F= 13,866$, $df=1$, $P< 0.001$.

differences in prices rather than actual consumption of tobacco. If we look at figure 6 of retail prices of tobacco we see that in at least four of the five Mediterranean countries tobacco is cheaper than in the northern countries.



9.3 WHO IS AT RISK?

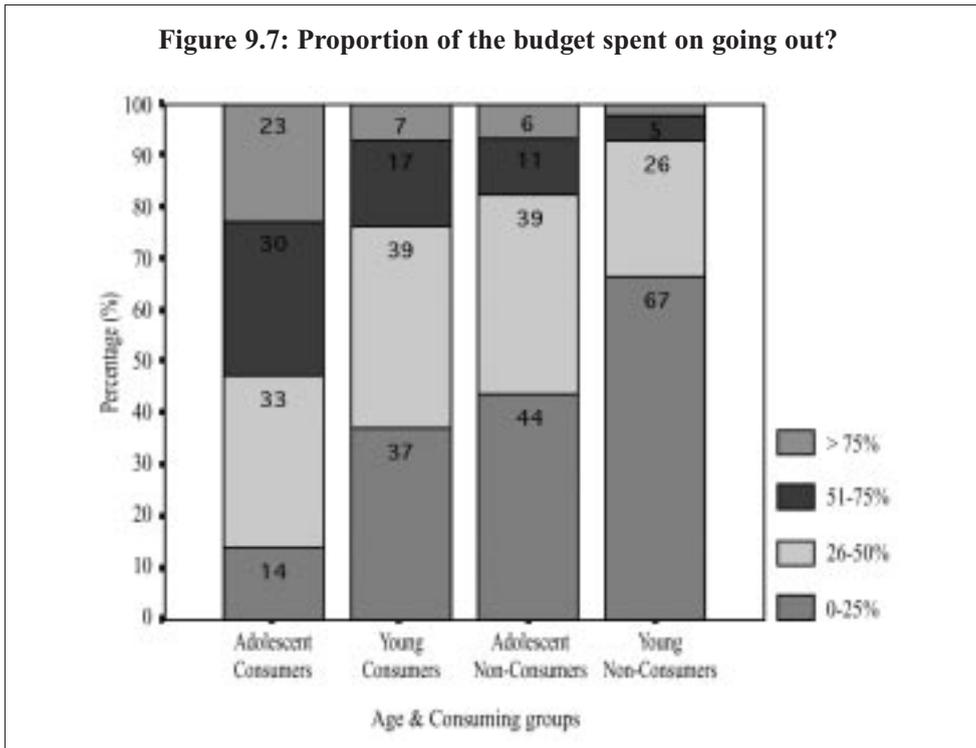
We have explored differences between consumer groups, sexes and age groups. Now the question arises as to how spending behaviour actually relates to the respondents' budget or income. They were asked what percentage of their budget was spent on going out. There were four categories: 0-25, 26-50, 51-75 and 76-100 per cent of the total budget spent on going out.

Earlier, we saw that consumers spend more money on going out than non-consumers. The figure above shows that consumers – as expected - spend a greater part of their budget on going out, especially the adolescent consumers. For instance, more than half of adolescent consumers spend more than 50% of their budget on going out, which is higher than statistically expected. Looking at the older age group (young consumers), less than a quarter spend more than half their budget on going out, also higher than expected.

The non-consumers put less pressure on their budgets compared to consumers. Almost 44% of adolescent non-consumers spend less than a quarter of their budget on going out, which is quite high. Amongst the young non-consumers this percentage is 67%, also quite high.

If someone spends more than half or even more than three quarters of their budget on going out, does this indicate this person's spending behaviour to be financially problematic? This question is very difficult to answer, because this also depends on many other factors, such as income and housing.

Figure 9.7: Proportion of the budget spent on going out?



Income. The income of respondents was not asked in the questionnaire. However, in the beginning of this chapter we saw that, in general, the older someone is, the more money one earns. Young adults more often have jobs than adolescents. Consequently, the fact that younger respondents (adolescents) spend relatively more of their budget on going out is, partially, explained by their lower average income compared with older respondents. In our data we indeed see that 50.6% of the people with permanent work spend less than 25% of their money on going out, which is significantly higher than expected. For the unemployed this percentage is 29.5%. Inversely, 20% of the unemployed spend more than three quarters of their money on going out. For those with permanent work this percentage is 6.5%. In an absolute sense we see that people with permanent work (€67.59) spend more than those with temporal work (€40.30)¹² and students (€38.39)¹³. Permanent workers also spend more than the unemployed or ‘others’, but this is not significant.

Housing. People who are living with their parents or family usually have lower spending on housing, groceries and clothing. Again our data indicate that respondents living with their parents or family spend relatively more on going out in relation to their

¹² Total money: people with permanent work Residues versus temporal work: $P < 0.001$.

¹³ Total money: people with permanent work versus students: $P < 0.001$.

income or budget than those who are not living with their parents. The younger someone is, the more likely it is that this person lives with his or her parents or family. Consequently, if bed, bath and meal have been taken care of, more money is left for going out.

If we take these factors into account, could we identify groups who are financially at risk due to their spending behaviour while going out? Trying to answer this question we have to make some assumptions in defining risk factors. After that we can make a profile of those young people who are financially at risk. Let's assume that someone who spends more than half of his or her budget on going out, and who is not living with his or her parents or family – usually having more financial obligations – is more likely to get into financial problems. If this person also has no income (students and unemployed) this risk factor increases.

For our purpose to identify groups who are potentially financially at risk, we recoded three of the relevant variables as follows:

1. Percentage of money spent: more than 50% versus 50% or less.
2. Housing: living with family or not.
3. Financial incomes: yes/no (studying/unemployed).

This enables us to make a cross-tabulation combining these recoded variables.

Table 9.5: Valid (N=1608): with information on all three variables.						
Living with family				Income		Total
				No	Yes	
Yes	Percentage of money	50% or less	N % Residues	513 69,2 % -,1	160 71,1 % ,3	663 69,7%
		More than 50%	N % Residues	228 30,8% ,2	65 28,9% -,4	293 30,3%
	Total		N %	741 100,0	225 100,0	966 100,0
No	Percentage of money	50% or less	N % Residues	290 78,8% -,6	233 85,0 ,7	523 81,5%
		More than 50%	N % Residues	78 21,2 % 1,2	41 15,0% -1,4	119 18,5%
	Total		N %	368 100,0	274 100,0	642 100,0

Crosstabulation: Percentage of money * Incomes * Living with family

We find 119 people (7.4% of the valid sample) who are at least ‘moderately at risk’ concerning their financial situation: they are not living with family and they spend more than 50% of their money on going out. Of these, 78 individuals (4.9% of the valid sample) are at ‘high risk’, because they do not have a financial income. The rest (2.5%) has some financial income. In other words:

1. No risk: n= 1489 (92.6%)¹⁴
2. Moderate risk: n= 41 (2.5%)
3. High risk: n= 78 (4.9%)

Now we combine these outcomes with consumer groups, gender and age. It is noticeable that there are no significant differences within the risk categories for gender¹⁵ and age¹⁶. Males and females and adolescents and young adults are equally at risk according to our assumptions concerning financial risks. However, there are differences between consumers and non-consumers. Consumers are more likely to have financial problems¹⁷.

Table 9.6: Crosstabulation Financial risk and consumer groups.

			Consumer	Non consumer	Total
Financial risk	None	N % group Residues	746 88,0% -1,4	747 97,8% 1,5	1489 92,6%
	Any	N % group Residues	35 4,1% 2,9	6 ,8% -3,0	41 2,5%
	High	N % group Residues	67 7,9% 4,0	11 1,4% -4,3	71 4,9%
Total		N %	848 100,0	760 100,0	1608 100,0

Consequently, if we could describe the typical youngster who is risking financial problems because of his or her spending behaviour it would be: the consumer (male or female, any age), not living with his or her family, spending more than half of his or her budget on going out and not having any income.

¹⁴ If we would assume that young people are potentially at risk if they spend more than 50% of their income on going out, no matter their housing status or whether having income or not, we could also identify a group who are potentially at risk within the ‘no risk’ category. This group contains 293 persons (18.2% of the valid sample).

¹⁵ Pearson Chi square = 5.6; df= 2; P (bilateral) = 0.058 (> 0.05) for cross-tabulation between risk and gender group.

¹⁶ Pearson Chi square = 1.5; df= 2; P (bilateral) = 0.49 for cross-tabulation between risk and age group

¹⁷ Pearson Chi square= 56.1, df= 2, P (bilateral) < 0.001 for cross tabulation between risk and consumer group.

9.4 PEERS AND MONEY FOR ALCOHOL AND DRUGS

Peer pressure is an important factor in the social and recreational life of young people, especially when substance use is considered. In our data we see a relationship between the consuming behaviour of peers and the money someone spends on alcohol and drugs. The more substance using friends someone has, the more likely it is that this person spends more on the same or other substances compared with those with less or no using friends.

Alcohol-using friends. First, it is noticed that a vast majority of respondents (n=1213) say that the majority of their friends use alcohol. There is a statistically significant association between the portion of friends using alcohol and the average amount of money someone spends on alcohol. People having a majority of friends using alcohol frequently spend more money on alcohol than those with half, few or none of their friends using alcohol¹⁸, and people with half of their friends drinking alcohol frequently spend more money on alcohol than people with only a few friends using alcohol¹⁹. Not only do people with many alcohol-using friends spend more on alcohol, but (on average) they spend more on illicit drugs as well²⁰.

Cannabis-using friends. Having many friends who frequently use cannabis makes it more likely that someone spends more on illicit drugs²¹.

Cocaine-using friends. Differences - in average amount of money spent on illicit drugs - are even greater if we look at the portion of friends using cocaine. However, it has to be noticed that the proportion of people with many cocaine-using friends is much lower than those with alcohol and cannabis using friends. People with a majority of friends using cocaine (3.9% of all respondents) spend €42.27 (on average) on illicit drugs per weekend. If half of their friends are cocaine users (5.6%) one spends €21.13 – on average - on illicit drugs. The mean amount spent on illicit drugs by those having only a few cocaine-using friends (26.2%) is €9.85 compared to an average of €2.48 for those with no cocaine using friends (64.3%).

Ecstasy using friends. People who say that the majority of their friends (6.0%) use ecstasy are likely to spend more on illicit drugs than those with a few or no ecstasy using friends²². Also those with a few ecstasy-using friends (23.8%) are more likely to spend more on illicit drugs compared to people without ecstasy using friends (62.1%)²³.

¹⁸ Money for alcohol by people with a majority of friends using alcohol (€15.28) compared to those with half (€5.39), few (€1.92) and none of the friends (€2.98) using alcohol: all $P < .001$.

¹⁹ Half of friends using alcohol compared to a few friends: $P < .001$.

²⁰ Money for illicit drugs by people with a majority of friends using alcohol (€9.03) compared to those with half (€3.60), few (€1.20) and none of the friends (€0.62) using alcohol: all $P < .001$.

²¹ Money for illicit drugs by people with a majority (€15.67) or half (€9.43) of friends using cannabis compared to those with few (€2.34) and none (€2.98) of the friends using cannabis: all $P < 0.01$.

²² Money for illicit drugs by people with a majority of friends using ecstasy (€32.33) compared to those with few (€10.29, $p < 0.01$) and none (€2.03, $p < 0.001$) of the friends using ecstasy. People with half of their friends using ecstasy (8.1%) spend an average of €16.48 on illicit drugs, however, differences with 'majority' and 'few' are not significant.

²³ Money for illicit drugs by people with a few friends (€10.29) spend more than those with no ecstasy-using friends (€2.03), $p < 0.001$.

Friends who are frequently drunk. The proportion of friends who get drunk frequently may be even a stronger indicator for the amount of money someone spends on alcohol (and, to a lesser extent, illicit drugs). The more friends someone has who frequently get drunk, the more money that person spends on average on alcohol²⁴. A comprehensive tendency is seen with money for illicit drugs. People for whom a majority of their friends are frequently drunk spend more on illicit drugs than those with a few or no frequently drunk friends²⁵, and so on.

SEX, DRUGS AND ALCOHOL: A WALLET'S WORRY

Motives to go out differ between individuals. One person goes out to dance and meet friends, another to drink alcohol and escape daily routine, where again another person mainly goes out to find a sexual partner. Do these different motives people have for going out influence a person's spending behaviour?

In the survey respondents were asked whether certain motives were important to them when they decide to go out (four scales ranging from very important to very unimportant) Items were:

- Dancing
- Getting to know different people
- Meeting friends
- Listening to music
- Searching for a partner
- Looking for sex
- Escaping daily routine
- Drinking alcohol
- Using drugs

The respondents' answers were recoded to "important" or "not important". If we look at all the items separately we see that all have an effect on the amount of money spent on going out, except "meeting friends". However, if we control these effects by other motives that have a significant effect, four items are left having an independent effect on total money: "looking for sex", "escaping daily routine", "drinking alcohol" and "using drugs". Again testing these effects altogether we see that only "looking for sex", "drinking alcohol" and "using drugs" maintain an independent effect on total money spent on going out. People who find these motives important to go out spend

²⁴ Money for alcohol: Those with a majority of friends who are frequently drunk, spend - on average - €22.50, which is €10.51 more than those with half of frequently drunk friends ($p < 0.001$); €15.51 more than people with a few frequently drunk ($p < 0.001$); and €18.85 more than those without frequently drunk friends ($p < 0.001$). Also people with half of their friends frequently drunk spend more on alcohol than those with few and no frequently drunk friends (all $p < 0.001$). Difference between 'few' and 'none' is significant as well ($p < 0.001$).

²⁵ Money for illicit drugs: People with a majority of friends frequently drunk spend on average €12.24, which is €8.17 more than those with few frequently drunk friends ($p < 0.001$) and €10.25 more than those with no frequently drunk friends ($p < 0.001$).

more money than those who find these unimportant²⁶. The fact that consumption of alcohol and drugs leads to greater spending is not surprising after having read this chapter, but that looking for (unpaid!) sex does too, might be noticeable. People who are looking for sex probably go out more often and consume more alcohol and other drugs.

9.5 MANAGING FINANCES AND RECREATIONAL LIFE

In this chapter it became clear that whether a person is a consumer or not, makes a big difference in the spending behaviour of young people in the recreational life. Consumers spend much more money while going out compared to non-consumers. Different studies have pointed out the importance of leisure time and recreational activities as far as spending behaviour and consuming patterns of young people are concerned. An Austrian study on income and spending behaviour of young people (14 – 24 years-old), showed that they spend most money on going out and leisure (Ullrich, 1999). A recent Irish report states that, although some students have financial difficulties, the main reason pupils do so much part-time work is because they have a certain “lifestyle” to finance. In this report concerns are raised that “the combination of excessive working and, frequently, alcohol-linked social activities can be damaging to educational participation and social development” (Oliver, 2002). In the beginning of this chapter we saw that a Dutch study claimed that seventy percent of young people having blue-collar jobs reports having money problems, usually created by the frequent use of mobile phones and partying. However, only a minority of them thought this situation to be worrying. Also during the focus groups such indifference about financial problems has been noticed amongst participants. Some did talk about the ease with which especially students could get hold of money: getting a student loan, overdraft and grant. The fact that having access to this money made it possible for them to go out a lot, but then that in the future they would have large debts.

“Financially I’m okay, although I’m in debt a lot, but so are many of my friends, I don’t mind really.” (Male consumer, Utrecht)

Differences in money for partying and recreational activities are rather large between consumers and non-consumers. Also during the focus groups participants mentioned differences between consumers and non-consumers where spending behaviour is concerned. In general, financial problems are mainly associated with consumers. Consumer participants mentioned several strategies to avoid or overcome financial problems.

²⁶ Looking for sex and total money: important (€60.06) vs. unimportant (€40.16); $F=55.912$, $df=1$, sig. $P<0.001$.

Drinking alcohol and total money: important (€68.68) vs. unimportant (€38.11); $F=119.426$, $df=1$, sig. $P<0.001$.

Using drugs and total money: important (€70.42) vs. unimportant (€39.83); $F=104.753$, $df=1$, sig. $P<0.001$.

”For me, control means going out less. So when I go out I can spend as much as I want.” (Male consumer, Lisbon)

“I often spend too much, sometimes as much as €50 per evening. And then I save it up again over the next few days.” (Male consumer, Berlin)

“About substances and drinks: if I succeed I ask a boy to offer me them, otherwise what I earn wouldn’t be enough [...] It can happen that some young people have financial problems, because they spend too much in recreational activities. But a lot of people manage selling drugs.”

(Female consumer, Bologna)

In some focus groups illegal ways of controlling the financial situation were mentioned, such as selling illegal substances. However most of these stories were told about other people, except the following participant, who sells drugs to friends in order to finance his own drug use.

“My financial situation is excellent, because, besides my study, I work as a clown, something I grew into. People hire me for mostly €80 for four hours. Most of my money is spent on eating outdoors. Besides I get really drunk once a week during the week. Next to that I spend it on going out, cannabis, clothes and holidays. Other drugs I finance with buying larger batches and sell some of it to my friends, although I’m not really a dealer, I don’t make real money on it. However at the end of the month I usually have money left.” (Male consumer, Utrecht)

Finally, it is clear that a substantial part of young people’s money is spent on recreational activities and leisure. This is especially true for consumers of drugs and alcohol. Financial problems mostly occur to consumers. However for most of them these problems are temporary and there seems to be certain indifference about money problems. Getting a loan or overdraft is often seen as an accepted way to overcome or ‘avoid’ financial problems, despite the long-term consequences of having large debts.

9.6 CONCLUSIONS

Consumers spend much more money than non-consumers when they go out. Not surprisingly this is mainly due to expenses consumers incur on alcohol, illicit drugs and tobacco. Non-consumers spend more money on cultural activities such as going to the cinema and theatre and also on non-alcoholic drinks. No differences in total money spent going out have been found between adolescents (<19) and young adults (≥19). However, it is noticeable that adolescent consumers spend more on illicit drugs than young adult consumers. The inverse is true for alcohol. It is difficult to give a definitive explanation to this unexpected result, but sampling methods may be responsible for these results. We must recall that we are not working with representative samples.

Within both consumer groups, males spend more than females. However female consumers spend more than male non-consumers. In general, men spend more money

on admission to clubs, discos and bars; alcohol; non-alcoholic beverages and illicit drugs than women.

Looking at geographic differences we see that consumers in northern cities spend more money on going out than Mediterranean consumers. Especially noticeable are differences in money for alcohol: in northern cities much more money is spent on these items. This finding does not necessarily mean that northern consumers actually use more alcohol than their Mediterranean counterparts. Also, northern consumers spend more money on tobacco than Mediterranean consumers. Here it is easier to argue that this is due to price differences between northern and Mediterranean countries.

It is concluded that 4.9% of the respondents are financially at 'high risk', meaning that they spend more than 50% of their budget on going out, while they are not living with their family (usually meaning having more financial obligations) and have very low or no incomes. A further 2.5% is at 'moderate risk': also spending more than 50% of their budget on going out, not living with their family but having some kind of income.

The relationship between peer pressure and substance use is measured looking at expenses on drugs and alcohol and, on the other hand, the proportion of friends using substances. The more substance using friends someone has, the more likely it is that this person spends more on these substances compared to those with less or no using friends.

Finally, there seems to be a relationship between motives for going out and expenses. Not only do youngsters, who find that using alcohol and drugs is important as a motive to go out, spend more money, but also youngsters who go out looking for sex spend more money than those who do not consider this an important motive for going out.

10. REVIEW OF PREVENTION PROGRAMMES IN RECREATIONAL SETTINGS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In spite of the fact that recreational drug use, particularly synthetic drug use, is increasingly common and that this trend appears to have established itself rapidly across the European Union (OEDT 2002, the EORG 2002), it cannot be said that there is any preventive policy specifically developed for recreational drug use, nor one that has obtained any consensus with clear objectives or one that has been evaluated. On the contrary, what is happening is that drug use is increasingly being accepted as just one more ingredient of modern life, which implies an increase in social tolerance to the use of alcohol and other drugs by young people. In some subgroups in particular, drugs have become an element of personal and group identity and socialisation. There are environments in which young people only receive messages that imply that recreational use of drugs is safe, acceptable or glamorous, and may even be beneficial in the pursuit of material success and the satisfaction of personal needs (Economic and Social Council, United Nations 2001).

Looking at this new, rapidly spreading situation of weekend recreational life associated with drug use, which has also become an essential and central element in the socialisation and maturation of young people, it is to be hoped that preventive policy is not being limited exclusively to very specific and precise measures, such as improving information or the decision making ability of young people. What is at stake is an entire cultural change that affects the conception of life, the creation of ideals, the development of specific guidelines on interpersonal relations or on what is meant by entertainment among the young. In addition to programmes that focus on specific aspects, it is also necessary to investigate and intervene in all those aspects that introduce changes in the cultural life and leisure time of the young as a result of which taking drugs becomes a less central and less structuralising issue.

In chapter 1 we presented an historical overview of how entertainment and free time was formulated in our present day society, precisely with this idea of making it clear that the manner of enjoying oneself is a cultural act which is evolving and which is the product of diverse conditioning factors in which it should, in theory, be possible to intervene. But this does not mean that it is going to be an easy task. There is a key element in this evolution and that is the enormous importance, scope and power of the recreational industry. This particular industry does not confine itself merely to providing a service but, and this is of far greater importance, it takes it upon itself to

offer a dynamic, active and creative vision and even to define what the recreational life of the young should be. We are not looking at a group of young people that spontaneously demand a determined life and entertainment style, but rather at an industry that creates needs among young people as consumers.

Prevention from this perspective cannot be limited to periodic measures that provide support for those adolescents and young people that present greater vulnerability. It is a cultural dynamic that is at stake, one that includes multiple expansion, justification and transmission measures. The real truth, however, is that in general there is no genuine questioning of this recreational culture, either by society or in the current policies and prevention programmes. It is in fact quite the opposite. The majority of prevention programmes are based on a strict respect for the actual creative logic and only attempt to convey to drug users the necessary information and abilities to reduce the risk associated with their recreational behaviour.

There is no doubt that opportunism and pragmatism have to be the factors that guide prevention but this should not prevent a certain critical analysis of the context. If one finds oneself submerged in a sheet of water, one's first task must be to swim in order to remain afloat, but it is also essential to analyse in which direction to start swimming, so that one's efforts are not futile or even counterproductive in the medium term.

Despite there being no evaluations on the effectiveness of the prevention programmes which are in operation - or perhaps precisely because of this - there is, on many occasions, a great deal of vehemence in their application and defence as if, for some at least, it is quite obvious in which direction they must proceed. However, things are not quite so straightforward; there is no consensus on an approach to the problems of recreational life that would allow a minimal framework for action. With programmes and policies that have not been evaluated, we are moving rather too much within the field of speculation ideology or good intentions. It is not easy for a society, in which everything recreational is viewed positively and where so many economic interests are involved, to introduce critical elements, but there certainly can be no other remedy if we wish to apply criteria of rationality to prevention.

LEARNING FROM PREVENTION IN SCHOOLS

If, as we have already said, analysis and action must take into consideration the entire recreational context, it is no less certain that the preventive actions must be guided as much as possible by scientific criteria. There is extremely sketchy evidence of any empirical evaluation of specific prevention. Where there is more experience and evaluation, however, is in the sphere of prevention in schools, and it would be a good idea when designing recreational prevention programmes to take into account the experience gained in this field after several decades of experimenting. This is not the place to make a comparison between prevention in schools and recreational prevention but we should mention a few of the issues that do seem relevant to us, such as:

- It has been learned from prevention in schools that information is essential throughout the programme, but that it is not sufficient to change attitudes and behaviours. Nevertheless, we note that many recreational prevention programmes rest almost exclusively on this component.
- The interactive programmes are the only ones that have demonstrated their effectiveness. Few recreational programmes are being based on this aspect.
- The information is often used by young people in accordance with their attitude to drug use or non-use, so that users tend to be interested only in the information that does not question their actual position. Users do not show the interest in prevention that one might expect. There are several reasons for this, such as a belief that they have their habit under control or take a positive view of risk and drug use. However, many prevention programmes assume that users are particularly interested in reducing the problems associated with their drug use or in using drugs in a more moderate way. In practice, it tends to be the moderate or non-users who are most interested in preventive issues and they are the ones who end up being the recipients of the preventive information which is, unfortunately, not normally designed with them in mind.
- Prevention in schools clearly understands that it is the synergy of several kinds of actions at different levels, if possible involving the community, that has most likelihood of success. However, recreational prevention is so often periodic and isolated.
- Personal and use situations are very different and, therefore, preventive necessities can change a great deal. Nevertheless, recreational preventive actions are generally very broadly based.

It does not appear, however, that all this accumulated experience has been taken into consideration. There are very many different reasons for this, among them the methodological complexity and financial insufficiencies, but also undoubtedly because there are interests that lie in another direction. What seems to be receiving the most interest in the recreational prevention currently underway has something to do with the reaction of drug users to the messages being transmitted to them; extreme care is being taken not to provoke their rejection of it. In terms of this principle, the strategies that are being promoted have the priority of ensuring that the aesthetics, the kind of language used and the method of transmitting information reflect the proper experience of the user. All other principles must be subordinate to this one. One can only work with users by assuming their culture uncritically. Although this closeness of the emitter and the receiver is being showered with praise, it implies a limitation on the possibilities of introducing messages and raising questions since everything that does not flow with the current, or which raises excessively critical elements, is interpreted as coming from a collective that knows little of the real situation of the user and his/her communication styles. This leads to approaches based on 'harm reduction', which are the ones that, up to now, have been central to recreational prevention. The contributions made by this type of approach to this field are very important - above all in those actions undertaken in the setting - but we cannot believe that is the only thing that can be done.

As has already been said, there is a significant diversity of collectives, groups and young people in the recreational arena. It is necessary to emphasise that some of the young people taking part in night time leisure activities are not users or that they are occasional or moderate users. In addition, the ways of having fun differ for men and women (see chapter 6) and by age. Therefore, it is important not only to ensure that the programmes respond better to these different collectives, but it would also be interesting to see to what extent prevention can learn from those collectives that are more moderate in their use and acceptance of risks, in order to extract strategies, points of view on entertainment and drugs and even to see how they can be used in prevention. Promoting research into these aspects will enable us to be in a better position to influence youth subcultures. One of the fundamental aspects in this sense would be to make the figure of the non-user or more moderate user a positive one. Socialisation and the search for social success should be less linked to drug use.

If anything should be clear in the preventive discourse, it is the utility of increasing risk perception associated with drug use, since we know that when risk perception increases, use falls (Bachman J.G. et al. 2002). It is essential to develop prevention programmes that act on the recreational context counteracting the influence of two key aspects: firstly, the lack of information or erroneous information aimed at minimising the negative consequences arising from use, and secondly, the positive value associated with risk taking, either as something inevitable or as an element of social prestige. In addition, ‘delaying the age of onset in recreational activities that are most associated with drug use’ (IREFREA 2001) will allow young people to be in a better position to take appropriate decisions on drugs and give them a greater probability of having acquired resistance tools against the pressure of their surroundings.

Ensuring that the recreational sphere is healthier, preventing risks arising from the context (capacity control, first aid training for clubs, etc.) is one of the preventive aspects on which there does seem to be a consensus, at least a scientific one, on its necessity. At the same time that research is taking place in this field, it is essential to publicise its principles, promoting social debate in such a way that following its directives is a necessary and prestigious element for the industry. The challenge consists of achieving the integration of these preventive principles in the policy directives that regulate nocturnal recreational leisure time.

As is logical, the first prevention programmes began to be put into operation in line with the expansion of the use of drugs by young people in recreational life, specifically in relation to the boom in ecstasy use. This important part of recreational activity, most particularly in the United Kingdom, began illegally and raised many problems for professionals and public authorities. After many attempts over time to follow a strictly prohibitionist line, the rules of the “game” were finally agreed between the organisers of the events, prevention experts and the police, and this collective spirit ended up marking the way of working in this field.

There are some reviews on recently implemented prevention programmes in Europe (Tossman et al. 1999, Burkhart et al. 2002). Some of the most relevant conclusions from these reviews also coincide with the present study. Earlier studies already pointed to the fact that the large majority of recreational projects are based on the distribution of information. They also point out the growing diversification in the prevention strategies being implemented in this field, and the difficulties in categorising them. Nevertheless, the most worrying aspect revolves around the lack of evaluated results. As noted above, it is necessary to make an effort to establish scientific bases that will enable consensus to be reached in the scientific sphere on the prevention of recreational drug use. There must be many methodological reviews of the programmes in view of practices that constantly change and are rarely consolidated. It continues to be necessary to make an effort to understand the logic of this type of programme, their objectives, their methodology etc. The speed of change in new user trends makes it essential to design easy-to-adapt programmes and ones that can be evaluated and compared. The rapid spread of recreational culture across European countries also makes it necessary to publicise and exchange strategies that are contributing to creating more healthy contexts. The difficulties of entering into recreational contexts are the main challenge for these programmes.

10.2 PURPOSE OF THE REVIEW

This present review is intended to bring us up to date with the situation of recreational prevention that currently exists in the countries in the European Union, basically in the ten countries taking part in this survey. This review, therefore, does not attempt to be an exhaustive one, but merely proffers a view of what is being done to facilitate reflection and discussion from the point of view of this present survey. It would be interesting therefore to see to what extent they cover or are concerned with the needs of moderate and non-users in recreational life.

This analysis will focus mainly on the following aspects:

- General and specific objectives of the programme
- Target population
- Implementation scenario
- Principal characteristics
- Principal activities
- Evaluation of the programmes

The survey is based on the qualitative analysis of 40 preventive programmes implemented in ten European countries (United Kingdom, Portugal, Greece, Finland, Germany, Spain, Austria, France, Italy and Holland). The selected programmes are considered to be among the most popular and the most widespread in each country. Taken overall, they are an excellent tool in providing a useful view of those programmes currently being implemented in the EU Member States.

No systematic search methodology was used for the inclusion of the programmes in this review. A sample of the best known or most popular in each country, to which the researchers in this survey had access, has been included. In addition the EDDRA database of the EMCDDA has also been utilised.

After selecting those programmes that fit the characteristics of the survey (targeting a young adult population and implemented in night time recreational settings) the sample comprises 40 programmes whose names, countries and the organisations operating them are shown in Table 10.1.

Country	Name of organisation	Name of programme
United Kingdom	University of Central Lancashire	Touch
	Centre for Public Health, Liverpool John Moores University	Club Health
	Camden and Islington National Health Service Trust	Axis
	Westminster Drug Action Team	The London Safety Campaign
	Decubed (D 3) – Safer Dancing Service	Decubed – Safer Dancing Service
Portugal	Instituto da Droga e Toxicodependencia- Ministerio da Saúde	Teams on the Street
		Street Conversations
Greece	OKANA	...And What About you?
	OKANA, REITOX	New Concepts and Intervention Strategies for Secondary Prevention of Drug Abuse
Finland	Finnish Centre for Health Promotion	Drug Prevention in Mass Media and at Local Level 2001-2003
Germany	Karuna	Drugstop
	Grüner Arbeitskreis e. V.	Jugendcafé GAK
	KIK – Kids im Kietz e. V.	KIK – Kids im Kietz e. V.
	SPI Walter May gemeinnützige Stiftung	Zeynom, Drogenfreies Café
	Jugend Beratung der Psychozialen Initiative Moabit e. V.	Treffpunkt Waldstr
	Pad e. V. Eltern und Jugendliche gegen Drogenmissbrauch	Beratungs – und Kontaktstelle BÖ-9
	Jugendinitiative SCK e. V	Avanti 44
	Hartwig- Marx- Stiftung	Stadt-Rand-Treff

Country	Name of organisation	Name of programme
		Club 93
	Senat Berlin – Drogenreferat	Büro für Suchtprohylaxe
	Office for Drug Prevention of the Hamburg City Centre Against Addiction	Model project for ecstasy prevention with special emphasis on a peer educational and gender specific approach
Spain	Instituto de Reinserción Social / IREFREA	Clubdenit.com
	ABD	Energy Control
	Asociación Juvenil ‘Abierto Hasta el Amanecer’	Abierto Hasta el Amanecer
	GID, INJUVE	Redes para el tiempo libre, “Otra forma de moverte”
	Dirección de drogodependencias del Gobierno Vasco / Ai Laket	Campaña de análisis de drogas
	Ayuntamiento de Santander / Caja Cantabria. Obra social y cultural	La noche es Joven
	Cruz Roja Española / Ayuntamiento de Logroño	Por fin es Sábado
	Concejalía de Juventud del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona	Barcelona, bonanit
	Concejalía de Juventud del Ayuntamiento de Elche	L’espai @actiu
	Concejalía de Salud Pública del Ayuntamiento de Salamanca	Salamanca a tope
	Concejalía de Juventud del Ayuntamiento de Pontevedra	Noites abertas
Austria	Vienna Social Projects	Scientific Pilot Projekt ChEk iT!
France	THE PELICAN	Prevention of uses and abuse of psychoactive substances in ski resorts
	Médecins du Mond	Mission Rave
	SPIRITEK	SPIRITEK
Italy	Cooperative Parsec	Oltre il Muro
Netherlands	GGD ZuidHollandse Eilanden (Health Centre for the Southern Islands)	Drug Prevention on Street Corners
	Trimbos – Institute (Netherlands Institute of Mental Health and Addiction)	Drugs Information Line
	Intraval (Bureau for Research and Consultancy)	Evaluation of local coffeeshop policy

10.3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

FINAL TARGET GROUP

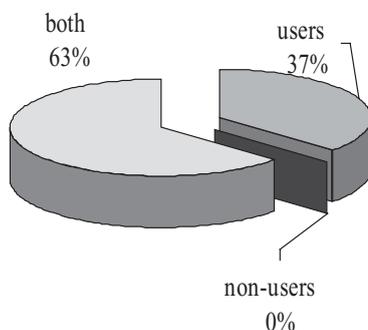
The decline in the income position of young people not studying is reflected in the prThe programmes under review target very different age groups. Overall, they cover a very wide collective, ranging from six years old to adults where no age limit is specified. Table 10.2 shows the intervals of the target population of each programme. The most represented age group is 14 to 20 years. Approximately half of the programmes target intervals that include this group. This wide range of age groups does not assist comparison of programmes, something that should, perhaps, be addressed in the future.

Table 10.2: Age of target population in the programmes (n 40)

Age	Frequency
6 to 16	1
>9	1
10 to 20	4
11 to 25	1
>13	1
14 to 20	2
14 to 29	2
14 to 30	2
15 to 29	1
>15	1
16 to 30	1
17 to 30	1
>17	1
18 to 25	1
> 18	5
General population	6
Age not specified	9

In addition to the age groups, this analysis has also taken into consideration whether or not the target groups of young people are drug users. Figure 10.1 shows the trend quite clearly. Not one of the programmes being implemented in recreational settings in this survey targets non-users exclusively. The majority (63%) are directed at both users and non-users whereas 37% target users only. It is important to point out that no distinction has been made between experimental and habitual users as almost all the programmes referred to both user collectives. We know that there are important differences between them and that, therefore, the preventive discourse should differentiate.

Figure 10.1: Target population of programmes by use variable (n=40)



One of the central aspects of the survey consists of evaluating the role played by non-users in the programmes, in an attempt to see if they are taken into account and if there are different strategies for them. This aspect will also be dealt with in greater detail in the section on objectives, but it is a good idea to point out that although a programme aimed exclusively at the non-user groups would be a reductionist one in the recreational setting, it is essential to pay attention to their preventive necessities, which are different from those of the user group.

The large majority of these programmes do not have strategies or objectives differentiating users and non-users and, if one does make some explicit reference, often it is not translated later into specific objectives or activities. Certainly, the alternative leisure programmes of more recent times put a special emphasis on the posture of the non-user. It is intended that non-users should feel their role to be valued and that users could learn to enjoy themselves and to socialise outside of the drug use context. With reference to the remainder of the programmes implemented in recreational settings, the 'Decubed' programme has different material for abstinent or moderate users and for users, the latter being based on harm reduction. Nevertheless, it was the only exception we found in our sample.

The gender variable is an aspect that is largely not taken into account in programmes. A few exceptions were found in the programmes analysed in this survey. The German programme 'Model project for ecstasy prevention with special emphasis on a peer educational and gender specific approach' does take gender into account when designing and focusing its message. According to the evaluation made by the programme, 'the target group is in agreement with the importance of the material taking into account the differences of gender focus'. Male and female populations follow different evolutions in their drug use patterns and also present different characteristics, so it is logical to think that they need different messages. At the same time, the United Kingdom 'AXIS' programme targets the gay and lesbian population, aiming its prevention message at the needs of these groups.

There are few programmes whose target populations are groups with different characteristics from the rest of the recreational population. The peer-to-peer programme ‘...And What About you?’, whose objective is to reduce the mixing of alcohol with other drugs among tourists visiting two specific localities in Spain and Greece, is an example of specificity. A further example of a limited focus is the ‘Prevention of uses and abuse of psychoactive substances in ski resorts’ programme in France, which endeavours to prevent drug use among temporary workers in ski stations. Also in Germany, the ‘Jugendcafé GAK’ and ‘Zeynom, Drogenfreies Café’ programmes incorporate attention to migrants in their professional counselling services within the framework of drug free meeting places.

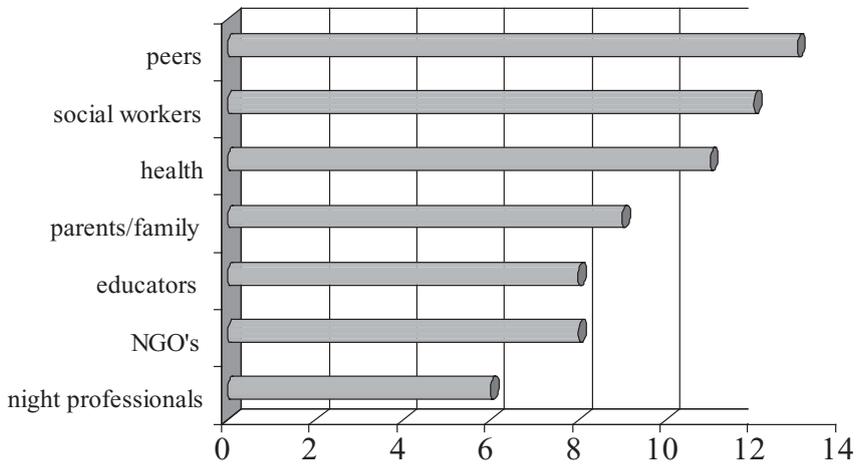
It should be noted that there are advantages in some programmes in targeting specific groups. It is not possible to speak of a homogenous group of young people who frequent night time recreational environments. Rather, we would have to talk of a setting for the meeting of multiple subcultures that use different drugs with different patterns. In addition, there are other issues that also impose differences, such as age, gender, use habits, subculture, etc. The age variable is certainly taken more into consideration in these programmes, but this is not so with gender and nor is much weight given to whether or not they are users and, among users, whether or not they are at risk, although there are a few exceptions. In general then, there are few programmes that respond to the specific needs of different populations. There are, however, different preventive needs among the different groups that participate in recreational life and this is a matter that should be considered as relevant.

STRATEGIC TARGET GROUP

The strategic target group comprises the social agents who act as intermediaries between the prevention programme and the target group or population. It is important to know more about this group’s personal characteristics, what kind of training and abilities are the most appropriate and which tasks should be developed in the preventive programmes. These are the people responsible for transmitting messages directly and it is therefore essential to determine which group presents the greatest accessibility, credibility and prestige among the groups of young people and, therefore, has the greatest potential ability to influence their behaviour. However, it is not just this that is important, it is also necessary to evaluate the qualifications of these intermediaries in order to optimise the quality of the intervention. It is essential to promote research in this field.

As can be seen in Figure 10.2, the strategic target group most named by the programmes in our sample is the peer group followed by social workers, psychologists and health professionals. There are fewer programmes implemented in night time recreational environments that take into consideration educators and parents.

Figure 10.2: Strategic target group of the programmes

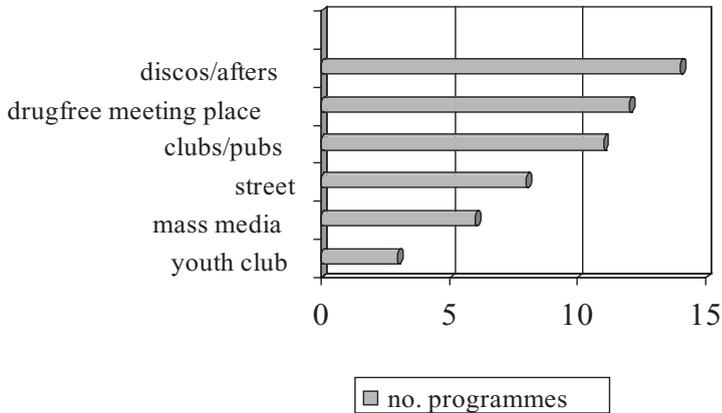


Recreational industry personnel (doormen, DJs, party promoters, waiters, owners, etc.) are assuming vital importance as the strategic target group in this kind of programme. This is a result of the realisation of the influence they can have on the way people behave and this has led to the creation of prevention programmes specifically designed for them. In addition, their authorisation and co-operation is needed to aid other programmes based on peer-to-peer education or pill testing, which are carried out within recreational settings. One of the more interesting measures in this respect, and one which is being increasingly implemented, is the training of these professionals in aspects relating to harm reduction (first aid, capacity control, preventive messages, etc.). All programmes that are undertaken in recreational settings require the co-operation of these professionals and those responsible for the venues.

SETTINGS

As might be expected, this kind of programme is generally carried out directly in the settings of recreational activities, and most particularly in those where it is assumed that there is more drug use, such as discos and after hour establishments (bars or small discos that stay open until very late at weekends). Figure 10.3 shows the principal places where the programmes in the survey are being carried out. Discos are the priority setting for implementation by 34.1% of the programmes, and night time pubs and bars by 26.8%.

Figure 10.3: Settings of the programmes



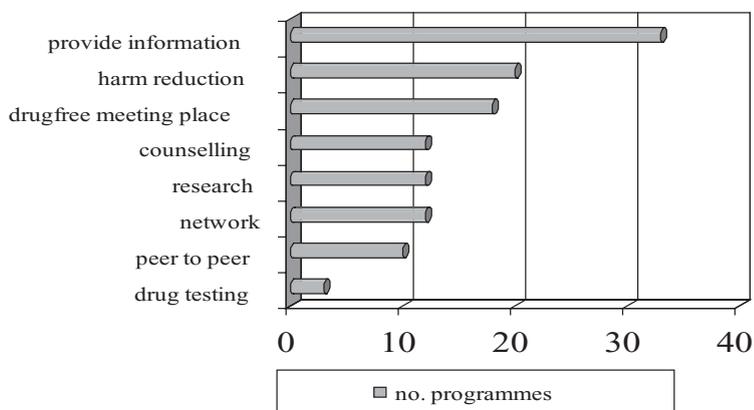
Drug-free places are provided by 29.2% of the programmes. These programmes have been taken into careful consideration in view of our objective in ascertaining preventivon strategies targeting non-users. The objective of them all is to promote health, and they offer healthy leisure activities to the young. On occasion, this activity is carried out outside the typical times when the young go out to enjoy themselves and in others, for example Spain, the activities generally coincide with the times when the young are in bars and discos.

However there are also programmes that have the street or sports clubs as their settings. It has to be pointed out that there are also other, less numerous, programmes that respond to the specific needs of their surroundings. One example is the one developed by the Spanish Ai Laket Association, which attends the saint day celebrations in the cities and town offering drug testing and professional counselling services, or the peer-to-peer programme ‘And what about you?’ of Greece that approaches the tourists on the beach and in the coastal resorts.

PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES OF THE PROGRAMMES

An analysis was made of the objectives of the 40 programmes in our survey. The frequencies exceed the total number of programmes as each one had has two or more objectives. Figure 10.4 shows the general objectives most often presented by the programmes. ‘Providing information on drugs’ (80.4%) and ‘reducing harm derived from drug use’ (48.7%), are the objectives mentioned with greater frequencies by the programmes in the sample. An objective of 43.9% of the programmes is to ‘offer drug-free settings’; 29.3% offer ‘professional counselling’, ‘research and data collecting’ and network creation; 24.4% are peer-to-peer education programmes, and only three of the programmes belong to the drug-testing group. Each of these objectives is discussed below.

Figure 10.4: Programme objectives



In comparison with the surveys already mentioned (Tossmann 1999, Burkhart 2001), significant similarities and differences can be observed. The principal similarity is that the general objective of the majority of the programmes is to provide information on drugs and to reduce harm associated with their use.

However, there are also important differences in relation to these surveys. In the current review, there is a greater presence of programmes whose objectives focus on counselling and collecting data. This is very positive and highly relevant. Among the programmes surveyed in the research are those more centred on collecting data and others that use the research to enrich their practices and materials. It is essential to develop research-action systems that, at the same time as undertaking prevention activities, also carry out data collection and research. Such actions enable the discovery of new use trends in a recreational sphere that is in constant dynamism. They also lead to greater effectiveness in the implementation of the programmes in respect of their target population.

PROVIDING INFORMATION ON DRUGS

Providing information on drugs continues to be the majority objective when dealing with drug use, with 80.4% of the programmes basing their intervention on this strategy. Giving information to users is a limited and insufficient strategy. Transmitting information is basic but it must be accompanied by other strategies within a prevention programme. Nevertheless, in the programmes analysed, there are only four whose general objective is the reduction of use or producing changes in attitude and behaviour. In other words, the logic of the majority of the programmes is based on the supposition - not demonstrated - that if a person has adequate and sufficient information on the consequences of drug use, it can be expected that this influence will lead to a rational decision to reduce or give up such use (Becoña 1999).

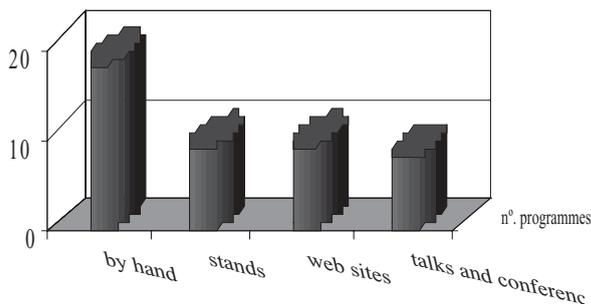
According to the communication theory, the message depends as much on the emitter as on the receiver. The young, who are the receivers of the preventive messages, tend to positively filter the messages that confirm their beliefs and values on drug use and, likewise, they reject messages criticising use. This would also explain why the harm reduction messages are listened to more by them. These are messages that leave open the possibility of use in order to be able to influence the way in which drugs are used and thus reduce the harm derived from it.

Not one of the analysed programmes targeting the user and non-user groups without discrimination differentiate in the material they use for both groups, with the exception of the ‘Decubed’ programme noted above. As already mentioned, there is no evidence of preventive programmes being implemented in specific recreational settings for non-users. It can be deduced from this, that as far as the material being distributed is concerned, that there are no strategies adapted to the specific characteristics of moderate or non-users.

In general, the majority of programmes place a particular emphasis on aesthetics. The material that reaches the young is presented to them in such a way as to attract their attention, and uses a clear language and one that is adapted to their way of life. There is a generalised tendency to avoid paternalistic, alarmist messages or those insinuating any blame. The overall objective is to reach the young and obtain their acceptance. Reaching the target population is an essential previous step but the question is, what behaviours are we reinforcing, what messages are we transmitting when we do reach them?

Figure 10.5 shows the mechanisms used to reach the young; 72% of the programmes use brochures, flyers, freepost or posters. The distribution is generally direct, handing them out to the target population. On other occasions, they are placed in public venues (stands in discos, bars, clothes outlets and other places frequented by the young). The distribution of brochures at talks or conferences is less frequent. Other material, used to a lesser degree to provide information, includes fanzines or magazines for the young, stickers, videos, papers, interactive games, t-shirts, sweets, etc. Programmes that also include an emphasis on sex education generally distribute contraceptives.

Figure 10.4: Programme objectives



Websites play an important role in reaching the young population. According to the Eurobarometro (the EORG 2002), 27.9% of young Europeans use this medium as a source of information on drugs. There are significant differences between countries, with a sharp dividing line between the north where it is widely used and the south where it is less used. In the Netherlands, 52.1 % of young people use the Internet, in Denmark, 45.3%, in Sweden and Austria, 44%. In other countries, however, use is considerably less, for example, in Spain and Portugal the Internet is only used by 15% for information on drugs.

Nine of the programmes in this survey have their own websites and others are under construction or will be set up in future. These sites normally offer on-line consulting services, which are anonymous and free of charge. From some of these pages, it is also possible to access discussion forums as in the Spanish 'Energy Control' and 'Clubdenit' programmes and the Finnish 'Drug prevention in the mass media and at a local level 2001-2003' programme. The main objective of the latter is to encourage social debate on drug use.

It is also true that the Internet provides an ideal platform for those collectives that defend and promote drug use. It does not only act as a means of expressing ideas and providing information, but is also used to sell certain substances (seeds, etc) and to explain the cultivation and preparation of various drugs. According to the CICAP (Comisión Interamericana para el control del abuso de drogas), in the Hemisférico 1999-2000 Report, "The Internet has become the most widely used medium for the expansion of these kind of drugs, as it is possible to find sites on the Net that provide information on how to make them at home". The JIFE (Junta internacional de fiscalización de estupefacientes) also reveals that "the Net has produced an explosion in virtual drug trafficking as a result of chat rooms and on-line pharmacies in which it is possible to obtain every kind of medicament for manufacturing drugs at home".

The increasing importance of on-line diffusion of drug use means that it is also essential for preventive programmes to intervene in this medium. One of the major inconveniences of the Web is that it is open to all. This means that it is impossible to control the characteristics of the users who access the information. Therefore, a large amount of the information aimed at harm reduction, and specifically at users, may reach youths who do not form part of this collective. This has led to discussion on the ethics of the information the programmes endeavour to transmit: if it reaches a too young, or a non-user population, the ways in which this information may affect them has not yet been studied.

Some strategies have been introduced to monitor preventive diffusion via the Net and to make it more selective. Most of the programmes generally include warnings on their contents and recommend that surfers should be over eighteen years of age to access their pages. It is also argued that the style of presentation is closer to the styles of the night time settings where the users congregate and that, therefore, these are the only ones they attract an audience. Nevertheless, these are filters with relative effectiveness and are a source of social controversy.

In addition, it is not usual to find preventive messages that differentiate between gender and age on the Net. For all these reasons, it makes it more necessary than ever to have greater control of this medium and for the prevention policy to follow the universal prevention criteria directed at the general population.

HARM REDUCTION

Most of the programmes in this survey follow harm reduction principles (Figure 10.4). The work made by *Burkhart G. and Mónica L. (2002)* had already confirmed that this was the policy behind most of the programmes being implemented in recreational settings. This focus of harm reduction is obviously on users, although 63% of the programmes here are aimed at users and non-users. There has been no research into the effect on the latter of messages that describe a less harmful way of drug use as being a normalised action.

Only three explicit references were found to have objectives differentiating between users and non-users in our sample. Objectives such as ‘constructing a positive and non-stigmatised image of someone who has decided not to use’ and ‘to dissuade those who approach the drug phenomenon out of curiosity or pressure from their environment’, are included in drug analysis programmes. Nevertheless, in spite of this declaration of intent, there are no actions directed at achieving these objectives. Rather, there are programmes basing their strategy on drug analysis and counselling. A characteristic of drug analysis programmes is that they attract users (Van der Wijngaart 1998, *Burkhart 2002*).

The ‘Decubed’ programme does produce material differentiating users from moderate or non-users. Those directed at the former group are based on general information on drugs, the risks arising from use and on the legal status of drugs. The materials aimed at habitual users are based on harm reduction. This programme is based on peer-to-peer education and its volunteers are young people with professional experience, mainly in nursing, social work and youth work.

There are only two programmes with an explicit focus on ‘use reduction’: ‘clubdenit.com’ and the ‘...And What About you?’ programme. The aim of the latter is to reduce the multi use of alcohol mixed with other drugs among the tourists visiting Greece and Spain. Both programmes are based on the peer-to-peer method. The remainder of the programmes focus on the reduction of harm arising from drug use.

ALTERNATIVE LEISURE AND DRUG FREE SETTINGS PROGRAMMES

The promotion of alternative leisure is the basis for 43.9% of the programmes reviewed. This is relatively new, as up to now attention has been focused almost exclusively on harm reduction. This should not be understood as a general trend since this present survey is being made with a non-representative sample. However, it was considered worthwhile to pay special interest to these programmes for their proximity to the non-user group.

The main objective of this section of the programmes is to encourage an alternative leisure environment as a protection factor against drug use. A number of activities unrelated to use are fostered in these settings. Programmes of this kind are closest to the non-user collective and, directly or indirectly, endeavour that these have less interest in the habitual recreational settings. The idea here is that users discover and become interested in other ways of having fun that are not associated with drug use. The alternative leisure programmes that have been taken into consideration in this survey are implemented in Spain and Germany. Some of the differences between them are linked to the different national cultures.

In Germany, this kind of prevention targeting the young, arguably, has a longer history. According to the report from the Observatory 'in Germany, cooperation between sports clubs and drug prevention has existed since 1994 and, in 2000, 2,500 juvenile sports leaders received training' (OEDT 2001). There is a bigger connection between institutions that take on preventive strategies against drug use and the resources for the young. Organisations created by the public are more involved in prevention. This is the goal pursued by most of the alternative leisure programmes in operation in Spain. One of the biggest challenges for the Spanish programmes is the creation and consolidation of networks.

The concept of having meeting places specially designed for young people is taken for granted in Germany. The common characteristic of the German programmes is that they provide these meeting places. They include café-bar services where drug use is not allowed, in addition to leisure choices such as forming holiday groups, sports, videos, special groups for young mothers, etc. They also offer professional counselling and support in critical situations. Some of these drug-free places, such as 'Jugendcafé GAK' run by the Grüner Arbeitskreis e.V., also provide attention for immigrants. The 'Club 93' programme from the Hartwig-Marx-Stiftung also provides employment advice and training for mediators (teachers, educators, parents, social workers and trainers).

It was not until the end of the nineties that the idea of alternative leisure emerged in Spain. These programmes arose as a reaction to the dominant dynamic of nocturnal entertainment focusing on the 'botellón' (drinking alcohol in the streets and squares before moving on to the discos and bars). From then on, programmes began to be implemented offering free recreational, cultural and sporting activities as alternatives to drug use. One feature that differentiates them from the German programmes is that on the whole, they are operated in public facilities such as sport centres, colleges, etc, at night, at times when they are not normally open to the public.

The preventive objectives of specific programmes are based on increasing responsibility, stimulating self-esteem and providing a setting that reinforces community values. Without losing sight of the leisure point of view of the activities, other subjects are included directly or indirectly such as health education, sex education, education on coexistence and peace, etc.

One example of this type of pioneer programme in Spain is the 'Abierto hasta el amanecer'. It first appeared in 1997 and at the present time is in operation in at least six regions in Spain. One of the features of these programmes is to interconnect institutions and community bodies to create and strengthen networks. They also attempt to set themselves up as a new source of employment and to provide work for unemployed youths. This initiative is being implemented for the first time in one of the districts of Gijón where there is a high rate of unemployment rate among the young. The active participation of the young in the design and implementation of these programmes is an important feature in all those surveyed. Thus, for example, 'L'espai @ctiu' programmes places great importance on the potential of youth associations and the collection of information on the opinions, experiences and suggestions of the young, with the aim of designing attractive options of interest to them.

However, the alternative leisure programmes have received their share of criticism, basically for their lack of specific drug prevention objectives. In the majority of cases, their objectives are too generalised, covering such aspects as health promotion or providing leisure alternatives as a protection factor. It has not been possible to demonstrate if these programmes do in fact, reduce substance use (Hansen 1992).

In general, these programmes make no distinction between targeting users and non-users. They are based on the premise that while the young are taking part in activities of this kind, they are not taking drugs. While this is true, it does not ensure that they do not take drugs before or afterwards! In this sense, it is more difficult to monitor the effects of programmes operating at night. Another aspect that is difficult to monitor is the ages of those accessing these entertainment settings, which are open to adolescents in Spain until late at night.

If there is anything clearly positive about these programmes, it is that they are beginning to tackle things from the perspective of the non-user and this could open up an interesting discourse on all angles of the recreational sphere. However, their real effectiveness - like the other programmes examined here - remains to be shown.

PROFESSIONAL COUNSELLING

Professional counselling services were offered by 29.5% of the programmes we examined. These are individual interventions in which professionals provide assistance with problems and conflictive situations specific to the person concerned. They are generally conducted by psychologists, social workers and educators, and to a lesser degree, by doctors and professors. Support in a critical life situation from a professional is one of the best preventive options because of the guaranteed quality provided by a professional consultation. This strategy enables the problem to be approached in an individualised way and to influence the educational and/or therapeutic process of the person. All this means that they cannot be compared with other information-based approaches.

One of the main difficulties in professional counselling lies in reaching young users. The low risk perception associated with weekend use and the normalised family, social

and employment situation of many users at risk means that it is not easy for them to seek a consultation with a professional in the traditional attention services. On many occasions, this demand only occurs when there is already a complex problem. These premises, acknowledged some time ago in the prevention field, led to the development of adapted strategies. In the main, there are two choices, outreach work and drug-free settings.

In the first option, it is the professionals who introduce themselves into the night time recreational settings. In the second, the drug-free setting offers a wide range of leisure activities in the same place in which the young can contact professional counselling services. All the German drug-free meeting places programmes include this service. One example of outreach work by professionals in recreational settings is the Portuguese 'Street Conversation' programme. Its objectives are risk and harm reduction and the people involved are technicians from the health and the psychosocial areas. One advantage of entering a use setting is that this enables intervention in crisis situations caused by drug use.

RESEARCH- COLLECTING DATA

Data collection and/or research in night time settings is included in 29.3% of the projects in the sample (Figure 10.4). As has been pointed out on numerous occasions in this survey, the dynamic characteristics of the context demand that the interaction between theory and reality should be fast and effective. The recreational world is relatively new, and much more information and research is required.

Approximately half of these programmes focus on collecting data on the setting and on theoretical elaboration, and the other half may be categorised as research-action programmes. At the same time as they are carrying out the actions included in the programme, data is being collected on the real situation where it will be necessary to intervene. The end purpose is the adaptation of the strategies to the specific needs of the target population in such a way that theory and practice are combined in the same programme.

The objective of the German 'Büro für Suchtprohylaxe' programme is the development of new preventive strategies as well as the support and training of professionals in the prevention sphere. In this way the new strategies that develop are transmitted to the agents responsible for their implementation. IREFREA-Spain is responsible for the supervision, formation and evaluation of the 'Clubdenit.com' programme. In addition to providing a website, this harm reduction programme includes prevention workshops with recreational drug users and a peer-to-peer mediation in night time leisure settings. Evaluation of the workshops provides knowledge on the real preventive needs of each of the groups with which it works. At the same time, it permits detection of the weak points in the workshops and reinforces the training needs of the professionals responsible for their coordination. In addition, the mediators are responsible for collecting data on new use trends and detecting the

preventive needs specific to the setting. The design of the programme materials is based on information obtained from discussion groups that take place with the mediators.

The harm reduction and ‘ChEck iT’ pill analysis programme is another example. One of its general objectives is to amass data on the chemical composition of ecstasy pills on use patterns and on the reasons the young give for their use. At the same time as the programme carries out analysis of the tablets, it also offers counselling in recreational settings and surveys its users. Knowledge of the specific characteristics of the users and, most particularly, of their use legitimisation strategies, is a basic element in the adaptation of the preventive dialogue. The ‘Decubed’ programme designs its materials, differentiating between users and non-users, on the basis of its own research into the needs of these collectives.

INTERVENTION IN THE SETTINGS

There is a whole series of programmes that are directly related to the context in which recreational use occurs attempting to act on this context in order to reduce the risks associated with substance use.

These initiatives emerged as a response to the proliferation of illegal parties, in the United Kingdom in particular. Some examples of the principal recommendations of these programmes are given below:

- Control over the existence of adequate emergency exits
- Control over the temperature of the settings
- Capacity control
- Training personnel in the venues to prevent problems and deal with emergencies
- Availability of low priced non-alcoholic drinks
- Existence of contraceptive dispensers
- Access to adequate public transport
- Distribution of information on drugs, and harm reduction advice

The United Kingdom ‘Clubhealth’ programme included in this survey is one example of good practice. Its principal activities include the development of research focused on intervention in the setting. Other programmes in this survey also include measures of this kind. The ‘Clubdenit.com’ programme in Spain seeks to initiate dialogue with those responsible in the recreational industry and governmental bodies with the aim of raising awareness and creating the basis for the introduction of this kind of measures. The ‘D3’ programme provides training for door supervisors, paramedics, first-aiders and club staff.

Safer dancing guidelines, ‘Safer Clubbing’, have been published in the United Kingdom covering the main objectives and recommendations to be followed to protect health. “The document is based on a code of practice on health and safety at dance events, ‘Dance till Dawn Safely’, produced by the London Drug Policy Forum in 1996”

(Webster et al. 2002). Similar guides were previously published in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

According to the European Union Annual Report on Drug Dependency 2001, 'In Denmark, Spain, Ireland and the Netherlands, local authorities visit the leisure settings of the young (clubs, bars and discos) to train personnel and provide support that will enable them to respond more effectively to drug-related situations' (OEDT 2001). There is, therefore, a growing interest in the development of this kind of programme.

NETWORK CREATION

'Network creation' is important in this sample. Creating networks or reinforcing existing ones implies a better utilisation of resources in the diffusion of prevention. The majority of the alternative leisure programmes implemented in Spain include this objective. The aim is to involve the different sectors and resources, both municipal and private, in order to provide young people with leisure activities during night time hours.

An integral concept of prevention could not ignore the fact that the relationship a person has with drugs forms part of the socialisation process of the individual. Approaches from the educational, assistance, family and leisure angles can, in general, only be partial ones if they are not articulated in a coordinated way. Combining the objectives and messages of the preventive dialogue and thus making them known to the different institutions and social agents would promote its diffusion enormously. Creating networks between the social resources destined for the young or strengthening co-operation relationships between them is a challenge for prevention. The possibilities in this respect are legion. Some of the work carried out by programmes are given below:

The European 'New concepts and Intervention Strategies for Secondary Prevention of Drug Abuse' carried out in 2000 in six European cities (Athens, Vienna, Berlin, Dublin, Edinburgh and Copenhagen) had as its principal objectives: the creation of a network between the sectors of youth-aid and addiction-aid; the creation of information material addressing young people at risk, educators and parents; and the development of a website.

The promotion of sexual health has been included as a general objective in four of the projects. There is a clear relationship between safe sex and substance use and in the scientific community there is agreement that drunkenness is a risk factor for unsafe sexual practices. Substance use emerges as a co-factor in vulnerability to HIV in the highest risk groups. In general, the projects that take this aspect into consideration provide information on drugs and safe sex at the same time, via the distribution of brochures and counselling, either by professionals or by peers. A programme that deserves special attention for its specificity is the 'AXIS' programme in the United Kingdom which combines information on drugs and counselling with the services of the sexual health clinic, Mortimer Market and intervention in leisure settings frequented by the gay population. Its objective is to approach the difficult-to-reach population with discourses on sexuality and substance use.

The fundamental objective of the 'Redes para el tiempo libre, otra forma de moverte', programme, operating in four Spanish municipalities, is to promote individual and community abilities for risk management in youth leisure time.

PEER-TO-PEER PROGRAMMES

It is increasingly common for programmes to use the peer-to-peer method to reach their target population. A quarter (24%) of the programmes reviewed offer peer-to-peer counselling in nocturnal recreational settings. This kind of approach originated in the sphere directed at opiate users and, more specifically, focused on the prevention of AIDS (Svenson et al.).

In its simplest definition, peer-to-peer is a 'communication between equals' (Svenson et al.) which takes place in recreational settings in which substances are used, and is carried out by equals or peers. One of the advantages of this type of project is that it is based on utilising a social phenomenon – peer-to-peer communication - as a resource which occurs without the necessity of specific programmes using therefore a socialising agent belonging to the recreational scene.

Were the strategic target group to comprise moderate users or non-users, it would signify a step forward in recreational prevention programmes. It would be introducing veritable agents of social change, capable of transmitting a different social conception of having fun and amusement. At the same time as it reinforced their position on use and evaluated their role, they would become transmitters of an alternative model for users. In other words, it would signify the introduction of specific and differentiated preventive objectives targeting both groups - users and moderate or non-users - integrated in a single preventive strategy.

Nevertheless, information on the evaluation of these programmes is still very scarce. There is no study on the characteristics of the 'peers' that are taking part in these programmes, taking into account that there is a generalised tendency to think that to enter into the logic of the user, it is necessary to get to know everything possible about his or her situation and it is essential to make in-depth research into the subject. This is the case even more so when we take into consideration that nine programmes in this present survey have harm reduction as their overall objective.

At the same time, not every young person has the knowledge and abilities necessary to carry out such interventions and the control of the professional is limited when he or she is not present during the interaction. These considerations mean that the main concern revolves around what is being transmitted. A further disadvantage is that mere information does not lead to changes in behaviour, and that the interventions are periodic and of short duration so that their influence on the educational process also has limitations.

The specific objective of 87.5% of the programmes is the attraction, training and support of mediators. From this it can be deduced that the majority of the programmes use their own mediators and fewer programmes have recourse to voluntary youth

associations. The next most specific objective named is the production of preventive material, with 62% of the programmes producing their own harm reduction material.

The main activity is the diffusion of material by peers. Their participation in producing the material is specified by only two programmes. Taking into account the motivating function of this activity and the effectiveness of using interactive strategies demonstrated in prevention in schools, it is necessary to promote this recourse as a way of incorporating young people in the design, implementation and evaluation of preventive programmes.

The effort made by this kind of programme in the design of innovative materials is notable in the 'Touch' programme in the United Kingdom, whose objectives are the promotion of health and safe drug use within student night clubs, using peer educators who offer peer-to-peer counselling and distribute condoms, ice-pops, stickers, interactive cards and 'lucky dips'.

At the same time, knowledge of the environment permits the dynamic adaptation of the programme to the cultural context and the specific subgroup being targeted. These programmes present good potential for the early detection of problematic use and the emission of preventive messages to difficult to reach populations. Another potential advantage lies in ensuring that the preventive messages multiply exponentially in such a way that the users, in their turn, go on to be the emitters of this kind of message.

It is also necessary to point out that in spite of the idealness of the method in obtaining information from the medium on new use trends and the early detection of new substances in the recreational market, these considerations are not mentioned as an objective in any of the programmes we analysed.

PILL-TESTING

Pill-testing lies within the framework of harm reduction. It generally takes place directly, in nocturnal entertainment venues such as discos, after hour establishments and raves, with an in situ analysis and provision of information. In Holland, a pioneer in the development and implementation of this kind of initiative, there is no longer any on-site pill analysis, and those interested in checking their pills must go to the offices of the association carrying out the programme. This is one of the conditions under which the programme can continue to be subsidised.

The pill-testing programmes are based on the supposition that there are young people who are not prepared to give up the use of certain drugs but who would adopt harm reduction behaviours. These are programmes that emphasise the detection of any adulteration of psychoactive substances. The kits used by most programmes detect the presence or absence of MDMA but not the proportion it contains, nor the presence of other kinds of substances. In addition, up to now, there is no record of deaths or serious health problems that can be directly attributed to substance adulteration, except in rather exceptional circumstances. The toxicity of the pills is normally determined by the effects of the psychoactive substance itself. Nevertheless, what is certain is that there is

a deeply ingrained belief among users that the main negative consequences of use are caused by such adulteration. We feel that this is a hangover from the days of heroin, particularly when injected, when there were serious problems linked to adulteration.

It is generally argued that an intrinsic advantage of pill testing is its utility in achieving the acceptance and respect of the target population and, therefore, its efficacy in direct access to it. However, in practice, on many occasions, it is not certain that the system is being used to contact the users and offer them information on harm reduction and other preventive practices. In a survey of the users in the 'Safe House Campaign' (Van de Wijngaart 1998), it stated that in the majority of the cases, the information that the young remember having received referred to the pill composition and 'only four percent of these party goers had also sometimes been given extra information, such as information about the effect of the pill' (Van de Wijngaart 1998) so that it would appear that its potential for reaching users and thus making educational interventions is not always taking place in practice. One of the programmes among those we surveyed, 'Check it' in Vienna, endeavours to deal with this aspect of providing information that is not reduced merely to the composition of the pills.

In a prior Irefrea study with a sample of 898 European users of ecstasy (Calafat et al. 1998), it was shown that, contrary to what one might think, there is no interest by any significant group of users in knowing the composition of the pills they take. In fact, 25.8% were not the slightest bit interested and 43.4% were only slightly interested, although this does not stop them from taking the pills. All this undoubtedly responds to taking risks as being one more ingredient of having fun, as we showed in a subsequent Irefrea study 'Risk and control in the recreational drug culture' (Calafat et al. 2001).

What is certain is that there is not enough scientific evidence on the impact of these pill-testing programmes on the young user population, not that the harm reduction messages exclusively reach the user population. This is in spite of the fact that three programmes analysed in this survey affirm having made an evaluation of the process and results and, in one case, planning. The published data refer to process and not results indicators.

In any case, "it is a secondary form of prevention that emerged as a specific response to the problem of pill adulteration of pills sold under the name of ecstasy" (Burkhart 2002) and as such it had to ensure that users were the final target of the programme. The programmes being reviewed here do not ensure that they do not reach moderate or non-users. As mentioned previously, these programmes generally take it for granted that use is an option for young people and that there are methods of doing so in a way that minimises the risks involved.

EVALUATION

This present survey has information on the evaluation of twenty-one of the forty-one programmes comprising the sample. The kind of evaluation carried out with the highest frequency is process evaluation. Its aim is to measure the quality of the implementation of the programme, whether or not the programme users really do belong to the target

population designated in the objectives, and the degree of user satisfaction. All twenty-one programmes made a process evaluation.

The purpose of evaluating results is to measure the achievement of the programme's initial objectives using the experimental methodology to do so. In other words, to assess if any change has occurred in the users in the direction of the proposed objectives, and if such change is a direct consequence of their participation in the programme. At the same time, any drug prevention programme must have drug use reduction among its target population as the main objectives, or whether or not effective harm reduction practices have been adopted. If we look at these two premises, in the strictest sense, none of the programmes on which we have information guarantees its efficacy as a preventive programme. So, to put it another way, no programme has managed to demonstrate its efficacy as a preventive programme since there is no experimental evaluation of said objective.

Eleven of the programmes say they have evaluated the results but, as we said, by not using the experimental methodology to measure its efficacy, it cannot be said that they are achieving their results in respect of use or the adoption of harm reduction practices. Most of them make their assessment by surveying their users at the end of the drug use intervention. In addition, they generally assess the achievement of intermediate objectives such as providing information, reaching a difficult to access population or increasing knowledge on substances. Ascertaining the repercussions of the programme on these variables is critical and, therefore, they must be evaluated, but they do not in themselves guarantee reduction of use and its associated risks. Nevertheless, they are interesting steps that may lead, in the future, to stricter evaluations.

Mention should be made of the Clubdenit.com programme, designed and evaluated with the co-operation of Irefrea-Spain. In order to evaluate the efficacy of the socio-educational workshops with recreational drug users, a pre-test post-test design was used. This is a quasi-experimental design that, although it did not permit it to be said that the changes produced were a direct consequence of the preventive workshops, did permit the determination of changes in substance use and the risk factors associated with it in each user.

The 'London Dance Safety Campaign', in the evaluation file in the EDDRA database operated by the EMCDDA, utilises a quasi-experimental design in its evaluation so that 'the researchers collected data for a baseline prior to the beginning of the campaign, a mid line and final line to ascertain the impact and outcome of the campaign intervention'. This is the only programme to make an evaluation of its impact. The evaluation of the impact came through measurements of the programme at a macro level. In other words, it is the instrument enabling determination of the reach of the programme on the population it endeavoured to influence. Methodological and budgetary difficulties are the main handicaps to be confronted in organising this kind of evaluation.

Questionnaires are the most used instruments, either closed or semi-structured, and including open questions. Focus groups and in-depth interviews are used more sparingly. Table 10.3 shows all the instruments used in evaluation.

Table 10.1: Organisations and programmes included in this survey1	
Evaluation instruments utilised	No. Programmes
Questionnaires	12
Focus groups	4
Material contents qualitative analysis	5
Reports	5
Field work report	3
In-depth interviews	2
Observation protocols	2
Logbooks	2
Telephone surveys	2

In addition, the indicators used by the programmes were also analysed. One indicator is the unit of measurement used to qualify the degree of achievement of the objectives, be these process, results or impacts. Table 10.4 summarises the indicators used in the programmes in the sample.

Table 10.4: Most frequently used programme evaluation indicators	
Indicators	No. Programmes
No. users	14
User satisfaction	11
Entities contacted	8
Sociodemographic data	8
Interventions made	8
Use and new trends	7
Meetings held	6
Satisfaction volunteers and professionals involved	5
No. brochures distributed	4
No. people trained	4
Attitudes to use	4
Actions publicising programme	3
Clients derived from other services	3
Evaluation of materials	3

Indicators	No. Programmes
No. drugs tested	3
Risk perception	2
Time devoted	2
Knowledge of drugs	2
Employment created	2
Recall of material	1
Social abilities	1
User loyalty	1

As we have repeatedly pointed out, the majority are process not results indicators. This coincides with the review made by Burkhart (2001). When the objectives of the programmes refer to directing users to other services or the collection of data, these are easy to specify. However, objectives such as ‘reducing harm from drug use’ or ‘increasing protection factors’, in other words the objectives of preventing substance use in the young population in recreational settings, have not been evaluated. Even if it is true that the context in which the interventions occur presents serious difficulties for evaluation and requires greater human and financial resources, it is no less certain that it is essential to determine which strategies are effective. Prevention must be guided by scientific criteria in order not to move in territories ideologically difficult to compare.

CONCLUSIONS

This review must conclude by saying that there is no clear theoretical framework for the preventive programmes being implemented in recreational settings. As was already stated in earlier reviews (Tossmann 1999, Burkhart 2001), it is difficult to make any coherent classification of these programmes. We are seeing a proliferation of strategies that are not based on scientific criteria and do not pursue clear and well defined preventive objectives. Very often they are being based on a combination of different strategies that, on occasion, are defined as general objectives, specific objectives and as methods in a single programme. Nevertheless, it has to be said that it is an absolutely necessary period which is demonstrating the advances to a prevention that increasingly follows scientific criteria and one on which the demands of the method have more emphasis.

Evaluation of these programmes is the great challenge in developing a good practices guide and we are far from achieving this. In spite of there being many programmes that state they evaluate the results, in practice, the indicators used to deal with the process refer, for the most part, to the number of the population reached by the programme, to its characteristics and the degree of satisfaction with the same. On the very few occasions that the programmes do indicate results, taking into account that these must be the prevention of drug use, this does not, in any way, guarantee that the

achievements are a direct consequence of the programme. More knowledge and a better application of the objectives of the evaluation is essential. Systematic development of the research in this sense continues to be necessary.

It is obvious that the recreational culture is expanding and that it is increasingly accepted as just one more ingredient in modern life, thus implying an increase in social tolerance to the use of alcohol and other drugs by young people. The majority of preventive programmes are based on a strict respect for the current recreational logic and only attempt to provide users at risk of the harms associated with drug use with elements of information and the abilities to face their recreational behaviour and drug use with less risk. In addition to programmes that intervene on specific aspects, it is necessary to investigate and intervene in respect to all those elements that introduce changes into the recreational culture of young people and through which taking drugs becomes a less central and less structural factor. In this sense, involving the recreational industry is a key aspect. If we want to influence the recreational culture, acting on the industry signifies directly influencing the vehicle that a consumption society uses to elaborate, transmit and consolidate the current entertainment models.

As was underlined by earlier reviews, programmes based on providing information are clearly in the majority in the field of recreational prevention. Once more, it has to be pointed out that information is essential in any programme but it is not sufficient to change attitudes and behaviours. Recreational prevention is generally based more on periodic and isolated actions. It is necessary to introduce complementary strategies that can attract the young in risk situations to educational programmes.

With reference to the quality of the implementation of the programmes, it is important to know more about the characteristics of the strategic target group.

What are its personal characteristics, what kind of training and abilities are the most appropriate and which tasks should be included in the preventive programme? This collective is the one responsible for transmitting the messages directly so that it is essential to determine which groups present greater accessibility, credibility and prestige among the young and have, therefore, the greatest potential for influencing their behaviour. But it is not only this that is important; it is also necessary to evaluate the qualification of these intermediaries in order to optimise the quality of the intervention. Research must be promoted in this field.

Most of the programmes are aimed at users and non-users without the use of different materials or specific strategies - in short the objectives are the same. In practice, it ends up with the moderate or non-users being the ones who take more interest in preventive aspects and those who end up being the target of information which is not designed to suit their posture. The normal orientation of these programmes is harm reduction. It is essential to know how this information is assimilated by the moderate or non-user group.

We also consider necessary to promote the research and the implementation of programmes that take into account moderate and non-users. In the present review, the majority of the programmes are either targeting the user group without differentiating

between moderate and habitual users, or targeting both users and non-users without any differences in strategy. The increase in the programmes targeting users should not be judged negatively but we do consider it negative that preventive efforts targeting the non-user collective are becoming fewer.

We believe that prevention can learn from the collectives that are more moderate in their uses and in their risk taking, in order to extract strategies, points of view on entertainment and drug use, or even to see how to use them as preventive elements. Promoting research into these aspects will put us in a better position to be able to influence youth subcultures.

There is no doubt that the programmes that best represent the role of the moderate or non-users are the alternative leisure and drug-free meeting places programmes. If there is anything clearly positive in these programmes it is that they are beginning to introduce things from the perspective of the non-user and this could open an interesting discourse on the recreational sphere.

In addition, it must be pointed out that programmes targeting specific groups of young people, taking into account aspects relating to gender, sexual orientation or the different subcultures that coexist on the recreational scene, are in a minority. Personal and use situations are very different and, therefore, preventive need can be equally different. Recreational preventive actions are generally quite universal. It is necessary to promote the production of specific programmes that complement the more general actions.

The extremely dynamic characteristics of the recreational scene make it essential to develop research-action systems that, while acting as prevention activities, collect data and research at the same time. Such action permits the acquisition of new use trends in a constantly changing recreational sphere. It also provides greater efficiency in the implementation of programmes in relation to the target population.

We also consider it important to point out that the widespread diffusion of drug use on the Internet means that it is also essential that preventive programmes intervene in this medium. It is absolutely critical to have more control over this medium and that prevention policy follows the criteria of universal prevention aimed at the general population.

Finally, the great advances in harm reduction in the recreational environment developed by programmes intervening in the setting are noteworthy. Achieving the involvement of the industry and the political sector in the implementation of safety measures advocated by the latter must be one of the essential objectives of recreational prevention over the next few years.

CONCLUSIONS

YOUNG PEOPLE AND HAVING FUN AT THE WEEKEND: DIVERSITY OF INTERESTS.

IREFREA has been studying the weekend clubbing activities and drug use of young Europeans for the last seven years. A complex and diverse reality has emerged over this time. Surveys and analyses have been carried out with the intention of getting to know these young people, and in particular those who demonstrate risk behaviour (in their life style, their values, their attitudes, etc.) and who, weekend after weekend, take drugs to enjoy themselves. However, in our surveys and in those of others, the focus of interest has centred on drug users as if this was the only collective that goes out clubbing.

In this way, drug users have ended up becoming the 'only' reference from the point of view of the media and the experts. Nevertheless, different logics coexist in the recreational arena, as do different styles, different subcultures and different ways of interpreting entertainment, yet these have been relegated to oblivion. The young moderate or non-user collective, which also forms part of the clubbing network, has seemed almost invisible and generated little interest.

However non-users do exist and are part of the real situation. The lack of interest in them rests to a large extent in the fact that they do not feel the need to take drugs when they go out at night to have a good time, to dance, to listen to music or to get to know new people. The fact that they do not adopt a 'problematic' or risk-taking attitude has made them invisible to a large number of studies focused on night time recreational environments.

It is true that non-users form a collective that has become a minority as drug use has grown and become the 'norm' in night time recreational settings. However, this collective's importance should not be underestimated, even more so because there is a danger that the user collective, its way of having fun and of understanding life, is becoming the only visible face of what youth is about and the only model to be followed. And again it must be emphasised that the young are very eclectic; not all go out clubbing to have fun every night of the weekend and not all of those who do go out need to use and abuse drugs to enjoy themselves.

Concentrating research on users means that preventive policies and programmes concentrate on the logic of these users. Nevertheless, this group is not enough in itself to explain the entire recreational scene. The underlying idea of this present IREFREA survey is to look at moderate and non-users, to better understand the interaction between the various youth collectives and to describe more fully the panorama of night

time entertainment. The 'non-problematic' youth provide valuable information that can assist in understanding the logic of use from new perspectives. Exploring the reasons why young non-users go out, stay sober and still have fun, could lead to a better understanding and debate on the place that moderation should have in pleasure-seeking, rather as Epicurus did. It is a necessary reflection in a society in which pleasure, like so many other things, is being introduced from a consumer logic.

USE OF DRUGS AND MODERATION IN WEEKEND ENTERTAINMENT PRACTICES

This is a European research study which intends to provide a global view of the most visible and common trends in the two collectives being studied (recreational drug users on the one hand, and moderate or non-users on the other). In making this comparison, the relevant variables that were taken into account included age group, gender and cultural areas, meaning the Mediterranean countries and Central- Northern Europe.

From studies proceeding from different origins, it is known that the non-user collective is the 'silent majority' among young Europeans. According to the Eurobarometer (The EORG 2002), an epidemiological study of 7,687 young people aged between 15 and 24 in the European Union, we know that 28.9% have used cannabis at some time in their life (11.3% during the preceding month) and that 8.8% have used other drugs (2.7% during the preceding month).

However, in the night time recreational environment these proportions change. In an earlier IREFREA study with a sample of 2,700 clubbers, 40% had used cannabis in the preceding month, 15% had taken ecstasy and 10% cocaine. However, perhaps the figures for alcohol use would give us a better idea of substance use and abuse during the weekend. The vast majority (87%) had consumed an alcoholic drink in the preceding month and 68% had been drunk at least once during the same period of time (Calafat et al., 2000). These figures are a measure of the importance and extent of substance use in these environments.

The various chapters in this book give a detailed description and analysis of the night time recreational experience of young non-users, and a group of young users with similar characteristics is used in order to provide more force and credibility to the data obtained. There is, however, an important collective that has not been taken into account in this survey: those young people who use alcohol and tobacco but who do not use illegal drugs. Only those who do use at least a legal and illegal substances have been included in this survey.

This present survey is based on statistical and ethnographical data collected between 2000 and 2002 in ten European cities. 1777 young people were surveyed in recreational settings. Of these, half were users and the other half non-users (or moderate users), half were men and half were women, half were under 19 years of age and the other half between 19 and 30 years of age. For the qualitative part of the survey, following the fieldwork twenty focus group interviews were arranged with users and non-users

The questions raised as a result of the information obtained in earlier studies on users were raised again, but inversely on this occasion. Why do some young people

choose not to use drugs to enjoy themselves, experience pleasure or new sensations? Why do some not need drugs to make friends and get on well with others? Why do some not want to take risks? These were some of the questions we posed, and it was on this basis that the following themes and objectives emerged to create the structure of this present research.

- The need to create more information and a *description of the current night time recreational culture* based on the two collectives (users and non-users) that are the basis of this study. It was also considered essential to look at how the notion of pleasure and enjoyment was created from an historical perspective.
- *The search for and the significance given to entertainment and pleasure* is one of the central themes linked to recreational drug use. It is known from earlier studies that the function of recreational drug use is orientated towards a fast and easy search for amusement and pleasure, two highly valued ideals. The objective was to ascertain how non-users see these ideals, how they define them, what significance they give to them and how they achieve them without taking drugs.
- An endeavour to describe *the role of entertainment and amusement* in the night time entertainment logic on the basis of the existence of users and non-users, on the various types of user and the differences between men and women in relation to entertainment and having fun.
- *Control and self-control* are highly valued by young Europeans going out clubbing, be they users or not, and it was considered to be of interest to study what each collective understood by these terms.
- *Inter-gender relationships* are also basic to recreational behaviour. Therefore, what occurs between men and women within the user and non-user collectives was explored in an endeavour to interpret the different logics.
- *Risk perception* and risk behaviours are fundamental as predictive elements of use and of use-related problems, therefore differences between the collectives in relationships to risk were explored.
- The impact of clubbing on the finances of young people.

The analysis was carried out on the basis of the above objectives. The principal results are given below, together with the reflections that arose from and accompany them.

The following table provides a general overview of the characteristics of the non-user collective (only significant results are shown)		
		More frequently, non-users
Social characteristics	Occupation	Are mainly students
	Living with...	Are living with the family
	Political ideology	Are less 'leftwing' ideologically
	Religious attitude	Are religious believers

		More frequently, non-users
Parental use of alcohol and other drugs	Alcohol	Use less than those with user parents
	Tobacco	Use less than those with user parents
	Cannabis and other illicit substances	Use less than those with user parents
Siblings use of alcohol and other drugs	Alcohol	Use less than those with sibling users
	Tobacco	Use less than those with sibling users
	Cannabis and other illicit substances	Use less than those with sibling users
Use of drugs among friends	Alcohol	50% say that the majority of their friends drink alcohol (users: 85%)
	Tobacco	43% say that the majority of their friends smoke (users: 80%)
	Cannabis	5% say that the majority of their friends use cannabis (users: 48%)
	Cocaine	1% says that the majority of their friends use cocaine (users: 6%)
	Ecstasy	1% says that the majority of their friends use of ecstasy (users: 11%)
	Other illicit substances	1% says that the majority of their friends use other illicit substances (users: 6%)
	Being drunk regularly	12% say that the majority of their friends get drunk regularly (users: 38%)
Family integration	Participation in family decisions	More participation
	Like to share housework with their family	Less “strongly disagree”
	Share happy time with their family	Agree more often
Social integration	Easy to make friends	A little less communicative than users
	Easy to get on with opposite sex	Less communicative than users
	Feels his/her opinions are important to his/her friends	Slightly less important for non-users.
	Like to be alone	Non-users agree more often than consumers
	Take part in social/voluntarywork	Participate more often
	Want to contribute to make the world a better place	Agree more often

		More frequently, non-users
Recreational habits	Meeting friend as reason for going out	More important
	Looking for sex as reason for going out	Less important
	Drinking alcohol and taking drugs as reason for going out	Not important
	Like to go to places where illegal drugs are not used	75% non-users agree (users: 26.2%)
	Like places where cheap non-alcoholic drinks are available	Important for 75.9% non-users (users: 56.6%)
	Like places to be a little 'seedy'	27% non-users (users: 49,7%)
	Favourite music	Non-users prefer pop and rock
Law	Alcohol and drugs use in the street should be punished	More non-users in agreement than users
Sex	Have had sex	Lower percentage of non-users (76.8%) than users (92.8%)
	Always use condoms	More often
Risk	Risk behaviour	Less involved

HEGEMONIC RECREATIONAL NIGHTLIFE MODEL (HRNM)

“...I have plenty of leisure time. However I don't have any hobbies. During the week my mind is focused on the weekend, on going out clubbing...” (Female user, Utrecht).

Several IREFREA studies have affirmed that entertainment is an important aspect for the young, in the first place, logically, because having fun is something which is essential to personal health but also because while they are enjoying themselves they are learning communication strategies and are acquiring social capital. However, more in-depth research into the complexities of the recreational arena revealed connections between the recreational sphere and social control. The first chapter of the book shows how having free time for leisure, as well as the very ideas and practices of leisure and free time, has followed an historical path which is important to understand in order to understand the present situation and even to be able to draw up preventive policies.

As we can see, free time in every age has been an element that society itself has attempted to control. Classically, this control was exercised by religion, the school, the family and work, but with the industrial revolution in the 19th century, this changed until we arrived at the present situation in which these institutions have largely lost their

ability to control the leisure time of the young and of people in general. The recreation industry, however, has emerged - particularly in the last few decades – as one that exercises almost a monopoly in defining, managing and promoting the free time of young people.

It is true that for young people today, having free time is a fundamental social goal orientated at improving their quality of life. Nevertheless, it is also true that free time, leisure, entertainment and pleasure have become elements closely linked to the market and to consumption and, therefore, lures to attract the young. We can also see how as a result of this they can develop into important instruments of social control. Therefore, further knowledge of the relationship between the young and the recreational industry is a crucial aspect on which we have attempted to provide information and to explore, in order to ascertain if it has any relationship with drug use. This is not a new situation, since there is a movement against the tobacco and alcohol industries which is having notable success. In Europe, in particular, the Eurocare advocacy group is carrying out important work in this field. One of its most important platforms is, quite rightly, a restriction on publicity targeting adolescents.

In the quantitative study, it was possible to draw up a hierarchy of factors according to their predictive capacity. Some of the more traditional risk factors of use (personality characteristics, group and family context, motivational and cognitive factors, etc.) had a lower 'predictive' capacity for drug use in recreational situations than other factors more closely associated with the valuation that young people make of the recreational context and to some key elements in the definition of the significance of leisure for them. Therefore, there were questions linked to the choice of determined elements in the recreational context by the young that have a high predictive power. As for the places where club goes go out, the majority of non-users prefer those where illegal drugs are not used (75% compared with 26.3% users). Also, the majority of non-users prefer non-smoking venues (67.4%, and 15.3% users). It is also important to them that cheap non-alcoholic drinks are available (76.0%), while only 56.6% of users consider this to be important.

The other element of high predictive power is linked to the importance the subject places on taking drugs and drinking alcohol when going out. In other words, if the significance of using these substances when going out is high, the probabilities of using such substances are also high. And indeed, we find ourselves looking at a situation where drinking alcohol is important for 53.8% of users, and taking drugs for 35%. The fact that the subject values this use as important when going clubbing means it is capable of 'predicting', with almost 90% accuracy, if the subject does or does not take drugs.

Having fun, like any other ideal, takes shape in a social construction process that gives it significance and orientates it. As part of the social structure, it also has its role in relationships of power and in the economic dynamic. The centrality and logic of the consumption market in European societies contributes to the definition of what is entertainment. And, therefore, entertainment is not an ideal and neutral sphere, but one

that materialises and goes on to form part of the social and cultural dynamic. This dynamic has, to a large extent, been left in the hands of the industry, which obviously pursues its goals in terms of financial gains, but which has been given the opportunity of not only offering certain services, but also of defining the ideas and specific practices of what must be “entertainment of the young”. The problem is that there is not much social awareness of this state of affairs, nor is there any social articulation capable of exercising a critical view of this situation. This is why we speak of a hegemonic recreational nightlife model (HRNM).

The recreational setting that is most attractive to many European youths is the night club, and one of the conclusions to be drawn from the survey is that it is becoming an HRNM throughout Europe. We know from an earlier IREFREA study of young people in night time recreational settings (N: 2,700) of the extent and devotion of young clubbers to this form of amusement. In effect, 57% of European clubbers go clubbing 3 or 4 weekends every month, 61.4% between 2 and 3 weekends, and 40% also go out at night during the week. Every time they go out, they remain out for an average of 6.1 hours (Calafat et al 1998).

Obviously, there are differences between cities in regard to their involvement in these practices but, having used non-representative samples, we cannot draw any definitive conclusions. However we can provide data from Spain as an example, on the basis of a representative sample of schoolchildren between 14 and 18 years of age. In Spain, 34% of schoolchildren said they had gone out every weekend night in the preceding year: whereas 48.4% of 18 year old students went out every weekend night. Over half (56%) of schoolchildren returned home very late, after 02.00 hrs. (Observatorio Español sobre Drogas 2002).

The hegemony of clubbing as a space of entertainment arises not merely because it is an activity that tends to be enjoyed by the majority of young people, but also because this kind of entertainment is progressively displacing other forms of entertainment and ways of spending free time. In the HRNM, the young remain in crowded venues, where the music, the lights and a pervasive psychedelic aesthetic prevail. For many young people, the enjoyment comes from being in the proximity of so many others, dancing, interacting with friends, drinking alcohol and taking other drugs and from achieving a rapid disconnection from the daily routine of the week - on many occasions through a state of drunkenness.

This style of entertainment has found potent allies in technological progress, such as the motorcar – and other means of transport - and lighting and sound technologies. Drugs are also equally important allies since they facilitate, in the most extraordinary way, the rapid transit from the weekly routine to the logic of weekend night time entertainment. Drugs in this context are important not only for their particular effects but also because they further the step to the consumer logic of entertainment designed by the industry. It would be difficult to understand the intensity being acquired by this form of entertainment, in which a considerable number of young people take part for many hours, without the facilitators and inductors of alcohol and other drugs.

Other alternatives to HRNM in relation to entertainment and free time are to some degree becoming extinct. In other words, they are losing social space in line with the spread of HRNM. Young people who go clubbing tend to lose interest in other forms of entertainment or use of free time such as outings, family leisure activities, sport, open air activities and intergenerational interaction.

In chapter 3 the qualitative comparative information between users and non-users shows that the latter take part in many other entertainment activities besides clubbing. They show a greater tendency to enjoy themselves with their family (83%) than users (72.9%); although users also enjoy themselves with their family, they prefer to do so during the week, because the weekend is dominated by clubbing. More non-users (79%) feel they have 'a great time during daily life' than users (65%); and, in addition, they take part in social activities to a greater extent (40.8%) than users (27.4%). Users, on the other hand, take a more intensive part in clubbing (chapter 4). Users not only go clubbing more weekends per month but also more nights per weekend than non-users. Half of the users, 50.4%, usually go clubbing two to three nights per weekend, while only one third, 33.1%, of non-users do the same.

The logic of the HRMN tends to homogenise those who take part in its activities despite the apparent differences in the settings. It is precisely for this reason that it is important to identify and discover the different collectives that generally go out at night and endeavour to preserve their own identity with different cultural elements such as dress, musical style and attitude to drugs. Music occupies a privileged place in the configuration of the setting and in clubbing culture. Music has become the main ally of the recreational industry, and one of the elements that explains the differences between users and non-users. Pop and hardcore-house divide opinions: there were very few users who said that pop was their favourite music, and few non-users who really liked hardcore-house. Generally, rock is the most popular music style and acid-jazz the most unpopular. Concerning their favourite music style, more users (39.9%) prefer electronic music (acid jazz, hardcore-house, house, rhythm and bass, techno, trance and goa-trance) than non-users (19.5%). While non-users (26.7%) tend to prefer pop music (chart music and pop), this type of music is only appreciated by 6.3% of users. Dancing was closely related to music in the interviews. For some non-users dancing was "a way to get high" without using substances.

In the survey, 90% of non-users agreed that meeting friends was an important reason for participating in nightlife. People go out because they want to have fun, chat and spend time with their friends. The hegemony of the current recreational model also supposes that young people who want to be with other young people must go to the places attended by the majority – as much for the widespread availability and publicity given to these activities as for the limited availability of other ways of spending free time. This a fundamental aspect, since many young people are afraid of being socially isolated if they do not participate in the kinds of entertainment supplied by the HRNM. Non-users or moderate or experimental users have to contend with inferior conditions

in the HRNM environment since there is significant pressure on them to adopt the behaviour of the majority.

The logic that explains the appearance of the HRNM is complex; several social dynamics intervene as well as an industry that knows how to manage and promote this style of entertainment. As this industry has grown and strengthened, it has also contributed to creating and defining the contents of entertainment, and always in a way that favours its interests.

FAST-PLEASURE AND FAST-LEISURE

“Activities aren’t different; it’s the way you do them. The places where we have fun are more or less the same but the way of conceiving fun is different. Everybody goes to the disco or to the pubs but only some of them think that it’s necessary to take tablets if you want to have fun.” (Female non-user, Bologna)

In the HRNM settings, entertainment follows a particular logic that ensures a fast and effective immersion in a style of programmed entertainment, greatly assisted by drinking alcohol and taking drugs, in addition to the other cultural and technological elements that create the environment. A good part of night time entertainment is directed at ensuring that the young can quickly break away from the weekly routine and in guaranteeing them the fullest possible satisfaction for a few hours. Client participation lies in their allowing themselves to be gently invaded by the props of the setting (aesthetics, lighting, music, images, messages), in accepting the rules of the game and in allowing themselves to be seduced by fast-pleasure. This kind of entertainment becomes a kind of fast-leisure, particularly appropriate to a competitive and consumer world.¹

Interaction is minimal. Once inside, it is assumed that the clients accept the logic of the entertainment which has been designed for them. In such a situation, drugs and alcohol are highly effective and have become allies of the rationality and efficacy of this kind of entertainment. These are substances that help to make a rapid and more intense connection with the atmosphere. When the young enter these settings, they set aside their capacity for control and questioning of the entertainment process and allow themselves to be overcome by the industry and its techniques.

Drug use produces effects that the young recognise and take into account. Both users and non-users know the utility of these substances in enjoying themselves at the

¹ The study by George Ritzer *The McDonaldization of Society* (published in 1993 by Pine Forge Press) creates the theoretical bases that explain the internal culture of the new industries orientated according to a rationalist logic in which the McDonalds fast-food chain were pioneers. It is taken into consideration, here, for its similarities with the night time entertainment industry. The study shows how the process of alienation is generated both in employees in the industry and the customers. The business logic looks for the efficacy and speed in the acceptance of the product, in addition to profits and control. The results are questioned by the author for the inhuman and irrational consequences that appear in the process.

weekend, although obviously users view this quality particularly positively. Young people know that drugs are allies of pleasure (agreed by 79.9% of users and 53.7% of non-users); both groups agree that drugs make it easier to escape from problems (55.9%). They feel that drugs can help people have a fuller experience of life (49% of users compared with 21% of non-users), and that they help people to connect with the music and dancing (73.8% of users and 47.4% of non-users). In the entertainment logic, drugs contribute to a search for fast-pleasure. Although some of the young non-users know the effects of the drugs they remain abstemious because they do not have any interest in them or they consider that they can achieve their ends through other strategies without the need for drugs. This is one of the elements that best explains their attitude and differentiates them from the others.

In the HRNM, taking drugs may even become an element of prestige that assists in a greater subjective success in relationships (Calafat et. al., 2001). Not taking drugs or not wanting to use them, on the contrary, may substantially limit relationships with the group of acquaintances that accepts this situation. However, it is equally true that a large number of young users admire this more abstemious attitude. One important conclusion is that going out and having fun does not necessarily mean heavy drinking, smoking, and drug using, and getting drunk or high does not seem to be the only way to break away from every day routines or, at least, this holds true for non-users.

NON-USERS UNDER FAST-LEISURE PRESSURE

“When you join a group of drug users, you feel uncomfortable about refusing to take drugs. On the other hand, those who don’t take drugs are highly likely to influence you to keep off drugs.” (Male user, Athens)

The present study shows how the moderate or non-user in the HRNM is at a disadvantage. On the basis of the statistical data, chapter 2 sets out the profile of non-users in these night time settings. More than 60% of users assess non-users as people who ‘cannot stand the pace’ as much and who have less fun. Furthermore, 15% of drug users believe that non-users are people with fewer friends. But much more important is the self image that young non-users create of themselves in this respect as it is even more negative than the image the users have of them. In the qualitative information, users argue that they ‘have difficulties in ‘connecting’ with non-users’, and users are more likely to state that it is easy for them to get on with members of the opposite sex; on the other hand, some non-users express their unhappiness with the pressure that is placed upon them (chapter 3).

“The fact of taking drugs with the others is very important otherwise you are a stranger. You don’t fit in with the group and you aren’t a part of the group. You’re excluded. In fact, if you don’t take drugs when the others do, you feel like a fish out of water” (Male user, Bologna)

This research provides diverse information that enables one to enter into the complex world of the non-user in an environment that attracts them but in which they

feel out of place at the same time. The need to connect with friends is one of the reasons explaining drug use but for non-users this connection is no longer valid if subordinated to use. An amalgam of situations appears in the research in the relationship between the two collectives. There are a number of young users and non-users who are not concerned about mixing with other young people with use habits that differ from their own. Nevertheless, the more generalised trend appears to be that users and non-users direct their relationships towards friends who share their use habits. Non-users have very few illicit substance users among their friends. Their user friends tend to be alcohol drinkers and people who smoke tobacco and/or cannabis. Cannabis seems to be the “cutting point” between accepted drugs; cannabis is accepted by non-users whilst ecstasy and cocaine etc. are not. A large majority of non-users (over 80%) have only non-users of illegal drugs (with the exception of cannabis) among their friends. Chapter 3 gives the principle reasons, extracted from the focus groups why some non-users stay away from users. Summarised, they are as follows:

- *Have had negative experiences with users.* Non-users are bothered by the attitudes adopted by their user friends in situations where violence, aggression or risk behaviour is present, particularly after a certain time of night.
- *User behaviour, under the effects of substances, seems strange to them,* for example, their lack of respect for others or because they bestow different significance on actions and attitudes.

“I make sure that I go out with people who don’t drink and smoke dope, or in moderation. But it gets on my nerves when I’m just surrounded by people who are out of their brains. I leave then. (...). I prefer to be with non-users. They’re more honest somehow. If they get sentimental, for example, it comes from within them and not because they’ve just taken something. It’s more relaxing with people on the same wavelength.” (Male non-user, Berlin)

- *Communication between them becomes difficult.* The interactive elements acquire a different meaning. Oral and non-oral communication, the subjects being dealt with and their interests are on a different wavelength.

“It’s not only that you have a good time, it’s simply that those who are taking drugs are on a different wavelength.” (Female user, Palma de Mallorca)

- *The activities relating to having fun change according to whether they use or not.* Each collective looks for venues where it can connect more easily with its friends and the setting, and this connection is influenced quite considerably by use. Users are looking for contexts where use is habitual, where certain music and dancing combine with the effects of substances, where the actions and attitudes of the majority are in common. This search for more coherent settings means that the activities and settings are something different for each collective although there are many shared settings where the different collectives interconnect.

“My friends who don’t take drugs usually don’t go to discos and if they do go, they stay aside. They can’t follow the others and have the same rhythm. It’s as if they were out of step.” (Male user, Bologna)

There are ideals that are shared between the two but they use different strategies to achieve them (chapter 5). Feeling emotions or giving more meaning to their lives is a shared motivation. For non-users, a ‘fuller’ life is their responsibility, arising from their own attitude and what is taking place in their context. For them, the utility of drugs is questionable. Although they are also searching for pleasure and fun and want to exceed their limits, they prefer to achieve this on the basis of their own resources even though such achievement is not immediate and does not always occur.

Principles are very important. The majority of non-users disagreed (77%) when they were asked if the reason for their non-use could be that “they haven’t tried it yet”. The statement relating to a lack of interest in drugs was agreed with by more than 81%. These results indicate that young European abstainers have absorbed a special non-using ideology, which could be called their own “dry” subculture or cultural resistance.

Health and other risks, being afraid of becoming an addict, and that drugs create problems are real reasons for staying sober. The statement relating to this strategy was strongly agreed or agreed with by 77% of non-users. Non-users have understood the seriousness of using drugs and the possible consequences. They have absorbed the information on drug education.

Self-control is another strategy. Losing self-control was, to non-users, somehow shameful and a sign of being a loser. About three out of four of the informants thought that strict self-control was an important reason for rejecting use. Also, three out of four of the informants agreed the world could be better place without drugs, and more than half strongly agreed with this statement. These results indicate that young non-users do have ideological reasons for their abstemious behaviour. They might have also consciously chosen their way of life.

But self-control is also important for users. They firmly believe that they are exercising control over their own use and they believe that, with experience, they can learn to control the substances and their effects. It is obvious that the idea and practicality of self-control is adapted to each personal situation. For users, the fact of using and feeling that they are controlling what they are using makes them believe they have a greater control over their lives. Both users and non-users want to have drugs under control; some elaborate strategies that allow them to state that they exercise control even though they do take drugs. Non-users look at control from a different perspective, they consider that the use of drugs, even when it is believed to be under control, still places the user under the influence of the substance. Real control is not using.

Although risk perception and vulnerability to harm are central aspects in many of the psychological theories on risk behaviour (Cummings, Becker and Maile, 1980; Rogers, 1984; Weinstein, 1993), it is still difficult to explain the factors that determine

the low risk perception associated with potentially harmful behaviour. Cognitive psychologists and researchers into decision processes have provided a number of impediments that make it difficult to make rational decisions (Leigh, 1999). The capacity of people to calculate risk is poor. Even more so, people often underestimate their own vulnerability to a variety of unpleasant circumstances, including the damaging consequences of alcohol and drug use. This tendency is even stronger in relation to the more stigmatised events and to the results that are assumed to be more controllable. The consequences of alcohol and drug use combine both characteristics. This bias and deficit in the perception of the risks associated with drug use may also be the consequences of distortions in processing information, and may be affected by the regular consumption of alcohol and other drugs. In addition, people appear to be resistant to change through exposure to educational intervention on drugs.

LEGISLATION AND CONTROL

The more favourable attitude of non-users to the legal control of drugs clearly differentiates them from the user collective. Non-users have a more favourable attitude to strict legislation on alcohol and drugs (71% v. 31% respectively) and to illegal drugs in particular (73% v. 63%). Their attitude is also more favourable to the restriction on sales of alcohol to minors (74% v. 58%), to the penalisation of the public use of illegal drugs (72% v. 37%) and alcohol (51% v. 26%), and for a higher level of information on the legislation on alcohol and drugs (81% v. 71%). Obviously, all this has enormous practical repercussions on the use of legislation in preventive terms and, in particular, because of the way it affects the recreation industry and its role as a mediator in preventive actions.

In reality, what is happening is that legal measures are ceding strength to the social legitimisation being given to drug use in certain settings by users. This means that the influence of the legality, or otherwise, of drug use is changing. Kammesies (2001) considers that the illegality of drugs seems to have little influence on use of non use. "Being aware of the legal status of drugs, initiation into drug use is considered as breaking the law without any accompanying feeling of guilt" (Kammesies 2001: 108). Social legitimisation of the substances (in spite of their illegality) is becoming a driving force that could be more potent than any legal or illegal status, leading to a neutralisation of the effects of the law or even creating a situation of informal illegality within certain collectives that use this system to subvert order.

There is a significant movement – that changes noticeably according to the European country or city - in favour of the legalisation of cannabis, which is having a notable repercussion on this social legitimisation process and, in turn, on the perception of the risks associated with drug use, particularly of those drugs being used in recreational contexts.

In line with this social legitimisation of the use of illegal drugs and the abuse of legal ones, we have to take into account the interests of the industry. The messages that are

being transmitted to the young through commercial marketing are not only creating expectations among them in respect of certain ideals but also define them. Freedom, independence, facing challenges, making decisions without exterior hindrances, are frequent values used in advertising to sell alcohol and tobacco. The possibility of being able to use more and more, and with a wider availability and range of substances, gives the impression that freedom of choice is growing. However, there is also evidence of a cultural promotion of illegal drugs, which is patently obvious in the case of cannabis. As a result of this, cannabis is associated with the ecology, spirituality, tolerance and intercultural dialogue, in the same way that cocaine is linked to success, action and superiority, ecstasy to love and friendship, mushrooms to the wisdom of primitive tribes, tobacco to adventure and freedom and alcohol to partying and celebrations. All these links, which have been created through legitimisation discourses, have become installed in the imagination of the young and act to neutralise the preventive discourse.

The expectations created by drugs are being reinforced by the legitimising culture. Expectations are a behaviour antecedent mechanism acquired in terms of the surroundings and learning, being intimately related in the early years to the socialisation process². The problem is, however, that no parallel cultural activity is emerging to support the expectations and needs of non-users. In spite of their being a significant collective, their values are often seen as antiquated and not particularly practical in life.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

“I think the difference between men and women is in what drugs they take or what they drink. Men are more in the beer-and-sprits league. Women are more elegant: wine, cocktails, sparkling wine...” (Male non-user, Berlin)

The question of gender is fundamental, a result most of all of the changes that have taken place in the social role of women. Society no longer penalises alcohol and drug use in women and, as a result, females have become the targets of promotion of drugs such as alcohol and tobacco with a consequent rise in use, and the patterns of use - and to a lesser extent, those of abuse - have become similar for the two genders. Nevertheless, it is still true that use prevalence is lower among women. In the Eurobarometer 57.2 (2002) we find that at a European level, 15.2% of men and 7.4% of women have used cannabis in the preceding month, whereas 3.3% of men and 2.1% of women have used other illegal drugs. As for the use of tobacco, we find 38.8% of

² Expectations are defined by Olson, Roese and Zanna as “the beliefs on a future state of events. As such, expectations represent the mechanisms through which experiences and past knowledge are utilised to predict the future. Each deliberated action we make is based on assumptions (expectations) on how the world operates/reacts in response to our action” (Olson, Roese and Zanna 1996: 211). Therefore, all the expectations are derived from beliefs or, and what is the same, from our knowledge and ideas of the world. Perceived beliefs on the future have important implications for the thoughts, sentiments and actions of a person. As an example, what expectations do is focus and direct the attention to the predicted object, searching for consistency and fleeing from inconsistency.

men and 34.9% women are regular users; and, in relation to the use of alcohol, 29.5% of men and 20.8% women are regular users. There are, however, already countries in which women are using more alcohol and tobacco than men. For example in Spain the 1996, 1998 and 2000 school surveys of 14 to 18 year olds found that females exceeded males in life prevalence, preceding year use and preceding month consumption of alcohol. In the 2000 survey (Plan Nacional sobre Drogas, 2002. Informe nº 5. Observatorio Español sobre Drogas), 58.3% of females had consumed alcohol in the preceding month compared with 57.8% of males, and 35.8% of females had used tobacco during the preceding month compared with 25.2% of males. However, males continue to abuse more. For example, amongst those who had smoked in the preceding 30 days, 20.9% of males were smoking more than 10 cigarettes a day compared with 15.8% of women, in spite of the fact that 72% of the females smoked daily compared with 68.3% of the males.

Our study does not use representative samples and secondly, the sample was selected according to the express definition that it comprised half men and half women. Therefore, we are unable to provide information to confirm or dispute any convergence in the use patterns of men and women. Our statements only affect the sample we studied. What occurs in our research is that women are close to men in their use of legal drugs (alcohol and tobacco) and exceed them in the use of other drugs (see chapter 6). What we can say is that in our study of recreational users, female drug use is very much on a par with that of males. It is possible that this is a result of drugs being seen as having an emancipatory effect, and their initial consumption often has a positive effect on social activity, which can be interpreted as liberation from traditional gender identity. Nevertheless, our sample still maintains the premise that women seek intoxication less than men, but for how long? The survey showed that fewer women than men consumed alcohol to the point of drunkenness during the previous month, and that the frequencies for weekly intoxication were lower among women.

There are other aspects in which female users equal male users, such as the motivations for taking drugs when going out. Reasons such as drugs ‘make you feel better’; ‘help you to experience the music and dancing more’ or ‘help you to improve sexual activity’ are agreed with without any significant differences by men and women. In this area, significant differences are to be found only among the men and women in the non-user group in relation to three items: ‘music and dancing is more intense’, ‘to improve sex life’, ‘to experience life more fully’. Therefore, we can say that the women who use not only do so in similar amounts to men but also tend to do so for the same reasons.

We can consider that women, in general, have a better perception of drug related risks but when we look at the women who use drugs, they are only different from men in their more negative evaluation of the regular use of marijuana and of taking cocaine or LSD once a month but not, for example, in smoking a packet of cigarettes a day or getting drunk once a month (which only around 17% of both men and women think is negative). The differences between non-using women and non-using men are greater in

evaluating the risks in the different kinds of use. But perhaps where the gender difference is most clearly to be seen is in the risk of driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs. Women, both users and non-users, are seen as being more clearly against driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs or being a passenger with a driver affected by such substances.

Men have, in general, a more positive attitude towards use than women. The social construction of the masculine identity is closely linked to risk, boldness, action and competitiveness. "Virility as a hegemonic form of masculinity can be analysed as a factor of risk for health" said Otegui (1999). The feminine identity, on the other hand, continues to be linked to passivity, obedience and control. And although the present trends to emancipation are beginning to erode these labels, they still continue to act as a protective factor against the use of drugs and, in addition, are explicative of the different attitude. Substance use acts as a way of coping with social imperatives, such as a restricted emotional life and a pronounced orientation towards power and competition. As we have seen within the youth context, this often plays a decisive role. A look at women's drug consumption reveals a "female" picture: substances are used in order to be able to break out of the typical and still prevalent ideal of femininity (passivity, tenderness, dependency, care...) and to behave according to male-oriented standards that promise more freedom.

The data show women as being better integrated in their social contexts than men. However, women are also more vulnerable to the family situation. Abusive use by a parent more strongly affects young women than men. Girls tend to feel more responsible than boys for subsequent family catastrophes and, as a result, frequently become the victims of various forms of violence.

Recreational experience is also different according to gender. On evaluating the reasons why men and women go out clubbing, it can be seen that dancing is more important for women than for men. Looking for sex and looking for a partner are two reasons that are cited more by males than females.

Male users and non-users have a greater acceptance of illegal drug use by a partner than their female counterparts; women non-users would be more likely to end a relationship if their partner used illegal drugs. The data thus confirm, once again, the more pronounced orientation of women and girls towards relationships.

Together with non-users, women play a fundamental preventive role on the recreational scene. In spite of the changes, female behaviour tends to be more protective and more moderate as far as use is concerned. Reaffirming that some aspects of the female role do not have to change in the process to equality is important to give women more confidence in their attitude and values. However, in addition, a second step would be to transmit first to women and then to men that a real process to equality must necessarily go through an exchange in which women also have qualities to contribute and not merely deficiencies to be corrected.

RISK BEHAVIOURS

One aspect that marks a clear frontier between the two collectives is the risk behaviour relationship. Clearly the non-users have developed a greater capacity for self-protection. This is made quite apparent in their attitude to driving, delinquent behaviour, sexuality and, in addition, to drug use.

Driving vehicles under the influence of alcohol or travelling in a vehicle with a drunken driver are the risks most taken by users, and one of the behaviours that most differentiates them from non-users. 43.1% of users have driven under the influence of alcohol, compared with 13% of non-users; 79.6% of users have travelled in a car with a drunken driver, compared with 48% of non-users. A history of having done either of these, or of not having done so, in itself predicts more than two out of three informants as being users or non-users. It is also curious and paradoxical that the users in our sample say that they would prevent a friend from driving when drunk and are in favour of penalising drunk drivers when it is, in fact, something that they themselves do.

As is customary in other studies, the users in our survey are implicated more than non-users in criminal behaviour such as driving vehicles without a licence, damaging or breaking things in public places, theft (taking things from shops without paying for them) and violence (fighting with people outside the family circle). In our study, we can use anti-social behaviour to predict two out of three subjects as users or non-users.

One reason that most clearly differentiates users from non-users is the importance they give to going out clubbing to look for sex (35.2% of drug users and 25.6% of non-users). In effect, there are strong links between substance use and sexual behaviour. In our sample, being a user was related to:

1. being more likely to have ever had sex
2. being more likely to have ever had homosexual sex
3. having had first sex at an earlier age
4. currently having more sexual partners and
5. being less likely to always use condoms during sex

Regardless of underlying differences between cities, this research supports the need for integrated interventions and education addressing sexual health and substance use in young people across Europe. From first age of sex to current sexual practice, individuals taking more sexual health risks are more likely to be consuming more substances. Treating sex and substance use in isolation ignores the way in which young people integrate both behaviours in their social lives. However, addressing both together should provide new opportunities to make messages preventing teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases and promoting harm reduction for substance use more pertinent to young people and more likely to alter their behaviour in a health-improving manner.

There is a close relationship between financial resources and the possibilities of being able to go out clubbing at weekends. We have already shown in earlier studies that the majority of those going out belong to the middle and middle to upper social classes. It is obviously quite logical that taking part in the HRNM costs money, even more so if it occurs often, and it is essential to have money in one's pocket. And, in respect of this research, we find that users spend much more money than non-users when they go out. Not surprisingly, this is mainly due to user expenditure on alcohol, illicit drugs and tobacco. Non-users spend more money on cultural activities such as going to the cinema and theatre and also on non-alcoholic drinks. Within both user and non-user groups, males spend more than females. In general, men spend more money on admission to clubs, discos and bars, alcohol, non-alcoholic beverages and illicit drugs than women. Also, the more substance using friends they have, the greater the likelihood that they spend more on these substances compared to those with fewer or no user friends.

However, it was noticeable that adolescent users spend more on illicit drugs than young adult users. The inverse is true for alcohol. There could be several explanations for this phenomenon, and we do not know which is closest to reality given that we do not have a representative sample of young people and that half of our sample is, by definition, 19 years old or under, and the other half over 19 years of age. It is possible that by selecting adolescents that use, we are selecting from a sector of adolescents with a more extreme behaviour. Something similar occurred with the women users in our sample, where we saw that they were using as much as men whereas, in reality, women in general use less than men.

Looking at geographic differences, we see that users in northern cities spend more money on going out in comparison with Mediterranean users. Especially noticeable are differences in money spent on alcohol. In northern cities much more money is spent on alcohol. This finding does not necessarily mean that northern users actually drink more alcohol than their Mediterranean counterparts, because it could be due, as is probably the case with tobacco, to price differences between northern and Mediterranean countries.

A Dutch study claimed that seventy percent of young people having blue-collar jobs agree to having money problems, usually created by the frequent use of mobile phones and partying. However, only a minority of them thought this situation to be worrying. In the present research, it is concluded that 4.9% of respondents are financially at 'high risk', meaning that they spend more than 50% of their budget on going out, do not live with their family (usually meaning having more financial obligations) and have hardly any income. Another 2.5% are at 'moderate risk', also spending more than 50% of their budget on going out and not living with family but having some kind of income. These percentages in our study are rather lower than those in the Dutch research. But the demands were higher in our study to consider the financial situation as high risk and, for example, not including those living with their family (in the sample, 59.5% of drug users lived with their family compared with 66.4% of the non-users).

In the last few decades, several things have happened that are interconnected. Drug use has entered, and become a very central part of, the young people's world; the age of initiation has fallen for almost all substances; the availability of substances has increased and diversified and continues to do so, with new substances appearing on the market. A symbolic network has been created, linking the different substances with having fun; a potent social movement has emerged in favour of the defence of marijuana, trivialising its use and justifying taking drugs. All this forms part of the social framework that is contributing to drugs being close to the young and neutralising any risk perceptions they may have. Put in another way, contact with drugs is unavoidable nowadays for young Europeans and it is basically up to them to decide whether to take them or not. It is certainly true that many young people make this decision under considerable influence from their friends, as much as from the pressure exerted by the recreation industry and also from the lack of leisure time alternatives. Not everybody responds in the same way to these pressures, and this is what we attempted to research when comparing those who use drugs with those who do so in moderation or not at all.

The recreational drug market in Europe is extremely diverse and extremely accessible (61.9% of young Europeans say that it is easy to obtain drugs close to their home, 72.3% in pubs/clubs and 76% at parties according to the Eurobarometer 2002 already mentioned above). Normally, we do not generally see new substances but some may be more popular than others at a specific point in time depending on fashion. This has led to a social debate on the risks involved in their use. However, one of the characteristics of the risks of modern societies is their invisibility (Beck 1998). This means that, on occasion, the dangers must be detected and defined by experts in order for the population becomes aware of them.

Everything to do with entertainment and recreation is very positively experienced – above all by the young but also by society as a whole - and is something which is difficult to examine critically. Obviously, the same thing occurs with the use of recreational drugs, whose negative effects are not generally immediate or direct and, in addition, there are many young people capable of managing their use with relatively few problems. Therefore, there is a tendency to highlight the risk behaviours of abusive users only which is, consequently, where most attention is focused. This is why it is so necessary to research and obtain systematic and multidisciplinary points of view that permit the detection of the risks involved in different use behaviours.

Preventive efforts have, up to now, been concentrated mostly on the sector of high-risk users who are the only ones who visibly have or could have problems. The remaining users – in spite of the fact that we know from our research that around 70% of clubbers have been drunk during the preceding month - do not seem to be of too much concern to professionals and policy makers, since such behaviour has become the 'social normality' among young people in our societies. And within this logic, as we might imagine, the moderate and experimental users or the non-users that frequent the

recreational scene, arouse very little interest. It is most noticeable that this logic is maintained in spite of there not being any scientific evidence on the preventive results of the programmes currently being put into practice.

Chapter 10 reviews a number of preventive programmes relating to recreational life in Europe. One of the principal conclusions is that the programmes are still in a very basic experimental phase and that there is no clear theoretical framework for the prevention programmes being implemented in recreational settings. Nor is there any evaluation that demonstrates their effectiveness in attaining the objectives they are endeavouring to achieve, be it either use reduction or harm reduction. Nevertheless, this is the big challenge that we the professionals must resolve in order to be able to create good practice guidelines. However it would appear that, at present, concern –even that of the professionals - is more focused on ideological aspects.

The majority of the current preventive programmes aimed at the recreational context are based, in our opinion, on a strict respect for the present recreational logic; in other words, on the hegemonic recreational nightlife model that we have described as a style of having fun that is basically defined by the recreational industry. It is patently obvious that any solution to the present situation is unthinkable without establishing some form of co-operation with the said industry. The most obvious goals and the ones which must be supported without any doubt are those that are based on such orientations as ‘club health’, ‘safer dancing’, etc. which means working with the industry towards a reduction in the harm derived from the recreational environment (training doormen, replacing drinking glasses with others of unbreakable materials, chill-out areas in discos, etc.).

But there are a number of measures, normally very periodic and isolated, that involve such activities as providing information material on risk behaviours, pill testing and working with peer educators. These do not question the model on which recreational activity is based and which, on many occasions, means an uncritical acceptance of drug use. It is possible that some of these measures may have their specific utility – although we insist on the need for evaluation - but even in the best of cases we are looking at very limited action in the face of entertainment practices that spread out from a consumer conception and logic. Implicating the recreational industry, making them co-partners in prevention, is a key and necessary aspect in any preventive programme. Involving the industry means seeking a responsible co-operation that permits analysing and influencing the present recreational culture.

NON-USERS, MODERATE USERS AND WOMEN AS COLLECTIVES OF REFERENCE IN PREVENTION

With the exception of programmes aimed specifically at drug users at risk, those programmes that target particular collectives of young people based on aspects such as gender, sexual orientation or different youth cultures, are in the minority in recreational environments. Personal and use situations are very diverse and, therefore, preventive strategies must be equally so.

Among those collectives that require special attention are, of course, non-users, moderate users and females. Prevention could learn from the non-user collective on such things as taking risks, strategies, points of view on having fun and drug use. It would be worth examining how this influential collective in the youth subcultures could be utilised.

There is a need for more research into the impact of the programmes, above all into those elements that introduce changes in the recreational culture. The extremely dynamic characteristics of the recreational scene make it essential to develop research-action systems that, while prevention activities are taking place, also amass data and research.

The programmes that best represent the role of non-users or moderate users are those that offer alternative leisure and drug-free meeting places. If there is anything obviously positive in these programmes, it is that they are beginning to examine recreational life from the perspective of non-users and this could open up an interesting discourse on the entire recreational scene.

PREVENTIVE ORIENTATIONS

There is ample consensus in the professional sphere that prevention must be based on influencing risk and protection factors. "Carrying out prevention based on an adequate theory or model would enable us to handle and change the factors that facilitate use, promoting those that facilitate non-use" (Becoña, 2002). The problem resides in the fact that both the risk and protection factors involved are numerous, interactive, and of a differing importance and influence depending on age and gender. In addition, they have to explain a reality of use that is changeable and differs from country to country. This complexity in the etiological situation of drug use in a behaviour so connected with the socialisation of the young, paradoxically facilitates simplifications. In effect, it often happens that the programmes put into operation find some foundation based on a selection of the risk factors where there is apparently more consensus at a given point in time. This automatically appears to provide scientific cover to the programme in question and seems to obviate the need for evaluation.

By way of an outline, we could say that so often the selection of these risk factors is made in terms of two not incompatible paradigms. The first paradigm is generally the social, in which poverty and marginalisation, above all, are key elements, and the other is the psychological, in which factors such as low self-esteem, depression, anxiety and shyness among others take precedence. With the passage of time a broad consensus seems to have been reached on these risk factors and, therefore, those programmes that are based on them deduce that they are operating along the correct line. However, it is not taken into consideration that in Europe - particularly during the last decade - the growth of drug use is not linked to an increase in problems of a social or psychological kind. Quite the contrary, it is the greater financial capacity of the young and the wider weekend entertainment available that has led many young people to take a very active

part in weekend recreational life and to take drugs. Consequently, the classic risk factors such as pleasure seeking, problems with studies and family problems continue to be of importance – as has also been seen in this study - but they are not the ones that explain the huge expansion in the use of cannabis and other recreational substances in the last decade.

The massive incorporation of many young people into this social ‘normalisation’ of recreational drug use is being produced by cultural motives through a social construction process that creates a dynamic favouring use, and not because there has been a sudden increase in the classic risk factors more closely linked to individual psychology. It is in the growth and in the socio-cultural and economic logic that has led to this Hegemonic Recreational Nightlife Mode, where one has to search for the explanation and also the possible solutions - that is if we really do want to change anything.

This leads to an acknowledgement that the preventive programmes centred on the individual must inevitably be complemented by another kind of action that takes into account the conditions of the socio-environmental context and the social construction process of the need to take drugs to have fun; in short the culture that revolves around the link between drugs, having fun and the recreation industry. Prevention must take the structural elements that create the logic of use closely into consideration.

In an endeavour to synthesise this, and to enunciate it in an operative way, we would say:

1. Management of pleasure is now more than ever related to the role of drugs. In the past - if we exclude alcohol - these largely covered ritual situations and access by the general public was very limited. It has to be borne in mind that there is a new entertainment culture or fast-leisure that promotes a very particular form of pleasure seeking or fast-pleasure. Prevention must promote a more complex, diverse management of pleasure and one with a different mental attitude.
2. It is important not to lose sight of, nor to underestimate the importance of, the Hegemonic Recreational Nightlife Model (HRNM) that increasingly governs weekend entertainment and conditions the life of so many young people who give meaning to their lives through intensive participation in this kind of entertainment. It is a model of entertainment that tends to exclude other forms of amusement and of occupying leisure time. Prevention must support more diverse, creative and participative ways for young people to enjoy themselves.
3. The recreation industry not only supplies services but also contributes to defining entertainment and creating the conditions for young people to enjoy themselves. This implies leaving the socialisation of the young and the important facets of their personal and social development during a lengthy period in their life in the hands of the industry. It is obvious that so much responsibility cannot be left exclusively to the industry. Prevention must create the conditions for a responsible collaboration with it.

4. There must be real entertainment and leisure time alternatives within the community for young people. This means the involvement of all groups including administration, education, family and industry.
5. There is a cultural dynamic orientated towards the direct and indirect promotion of drugs. In the case of legal drugs, the mechanisms are more apparent but there are also organised interests behind illegal drugs. Prevention must take the strategies that promote use into greater consideration and create improved critical skills so that the young learn to unmask the symbolic links between ideals and substances.
6. Young non-users and moderate users within the recreational culture endeavour to enjoy themselves in a situation where they are under pressure to use and one where there is little comprehension of their conduct and values. On the whole, their non-use is negatively valued. Prevention must create more favourable conditions for the non-user collective, in such a way that its option is more easily viable and more positively evaluated.
7. The question of gender is crucial. The role of women is changing rapidly, particularly among the youngest. There is strong pressure to ensure this change runs in line with the market logic to use more alcohol and tobacco under the lure of independence and liberation. Prevention must unravel these strategies and make it easier for women to take a critical view of their new roles. The guiding concept should not be the furtherance of a passive adoption of gender roles and stereotypes, but an interactive, adaptive, process-orientated approach towards the formation of gender-role identity. The subject of gender should not only be a focus of gender-specific youth work or preventative programmes for girls, but should also feature within mixed-gender contexts
8. Both the low or abstinent collective and the female collective represent potential prevention in themselves. Their attitude to moderation, their broader interests or lesser dependence on the hegemonic recreational nightlife model represents a cultural and preventive option to be taken into account. It does not mean merely supporting these options but also exploring the preventive effectiveness of involving these young people in preventive and harm reduction activities among their user companions.
9. Without raising risk perception in drug use, it is very difficult to lower use and for harm reductions strategies to be adopted. The notable expansion of use, particularly in recreational settings and other circumstances, has led to a fall in risk perception, particularly among the youngest members of the community. Prevention must improve the information it provides to the very youngest most of all, without forgetting that new cohorts of young people that appear every year.
10. The dominant preventive models should be reviewed in order to adapt better to the current recreational use situation amongst the young. There are, in this sense,

insufficiencies in the preventive policies and programmes. There are two basic situations:

- o Classical primary prevention (above all in schools) based on correcting the classic indicators or risk factors associated with drug use does not sufficiently take into account the new conditions of socialisation and of the initiation into use by the young in the recreational context. It is precisely at the age when initiation most frequently takes place that there is less preventive action.
 - o The harm reduction model is an important recourse, applicable also in the field of recreational use. But this does not mean that everything done along this line is going to be more effective; indeed there is a lack of evaluation in this field. One more important aspect is that, on many occasions, the application of these programmes implies a criticism of other programmes when experience has shown that it is the synergy between the different programmes that has the best effect. The third aspect is that these programmes must take more notice of the diversity of the collectives and the preventive needs present in the recreational scene. Finally, the application of this kind of programme must not impede a critical view of the current recreational model and of the role of the recreation industry, which should not hinder us from claiming responsible collaboration with it in preventive actions.
11. here has to be greater insistence on research and evaluation. It is essential to carry out more research into risk factors and to examine the different collectives present in the recreational arena in greater depth. There must also be an exploration of the permeability to the change proposed by the preventive programmes. In this particular case, it appears that as use increases, interest in prevention decreases. This does not mean halting prevention until we have results but nor does it mean that there should not be a real effort to show that our actions do, in fact, achieve results.

ANNEX - 1

Data for selecting sample			
-Have you smoked on more than three occasions in the last month?	[no]	[yes]	
-If you have smoked in the last month, have you smoked more than three cigarettes a day?	[no]	[yes]	
-Have you drunk alcohol on more than four days in the last month?	[no]	[yes]	
-If you have had a drink in the last month, have you had more than two alcoholic drinks on one single occasion (or in one night)?	[no]	[yes]	
-Have you been drunk at any time in the last year?	[no]	[yes]	
-Do you smoke joints?	[no]	I've tried them but I don't smoke[]	Yes []
- Do you take any other illegal drug?	[no]	I've tried them, but I'm not a user[]	Yes []

Drug user¹: No Yes

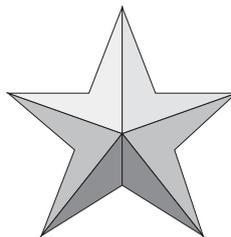
1. How old are you? years old

19 years of age or under [1]

Over 19 years of age [2]

2. Sex: Male [1]

Female [2]



¹ For the purpose of the sample a **non-user** is one *who has answered no to all questions*. In respect of joints and illegal drugs, it is also acceptable if he/she has tried them (but only tried them) and has never taken them since. A **user** is one who, in addition to consuming alcohol and/or cigarettes, *also uses some illegal drug*.

3. How many times have you gone out to a bar or night-club at the weekend in the last month?

- Less than one weekend in the month[1]
- One weekend[2]
- Two weekends[3]
- Three weekends[4]
- Four weekends[5]

4. On how many nights in a weekend (including Friday, Saturday and Sunday) would you normally go to a nightclub?

- One night [1]
- Two nights [2]
- Three nights [3]

5. When you go out at the weekend, how many hours are you generally out for on each occasion?

6. How important to you are the following reasons for going out? (Indicate the importance you give to each one, from 1 to 4)

Very important 1,2,3,4 unimportant

- A. Going dancing1, 2, 3, 4
- B. Getting to know different people,1, 2, 3, 4
- C. Meeting my friends1, 2, 3, 4
- D. Listening to music1, 2, 3, 4
- E. Looking for a girl/boyfriend1, 2, 3, 4
- F. Looking for sex1, 2, 3, 4
- G. Switching off from the daily routine1, 2, 3, 4
- H. Drinking alcohol1, 2, 3, 4
- I. Taking drugs1, 2, 3, 4

7. Thinking of the possible places for going out, would you please indicate your agreement or disagreement, from 1 to 4, with the following statements.

I totally agree 1,2,3,4 I totally disagree

- A. I would like to go to non-smoking venues1, 2, 3, 4
- B. I would like to go to places where alcohol is not sold1, 2, 3, 4

- C. I like to go to places where illegal drugs are not used 1, 2, 3, 4
- D. In the areas where I usually go out, it's easy to come across
violent situations such as robberies and fights. 1, 2, 3, 4
- E. It is important to me that cheap non-alcoholic drinks are
available 1, 2, 3, 4
- F. It is easy to find places where nobody takes drugs 1, 2, 3, 4
- G. I like the music very loud 1, 2, 3, 4
- H. I like the clubs and discos to be full of people 1, 2, 3, 4
- I. I like places which are a little seedy 1, 2, 3, 4
- J. It is easy to buy condoms in the clubs and discos 1, 2, 3, 4
- K. In the majority of the clubs and discos, the washrooms are clean 1, 2, 3, 4

8. Tell us your favourite style of music (choose one only).

- Acid jazz [1]
- Chart music [2]
- Funk and soul [3]
- Hardcore [4]
- Hardcore-house [5]
- House [6]
- Latin music (salsa) [7]
- Metal [8]
- Pop [9]
- Rap-hiphop [10]
- reggae [11]
- Rock [12]
- Rhythm and bass [13]
- Techno [14]
- Trance and goa-trance [15]
- Trash metal [16]
- Indie music [17]
- Other [18]

9. Approximately how much money do you spend in a weekend on the following:

	Pounds	Euros
1. Admission to discos and clubs	-----	-----
2. Tobacco	-----	-----
3. Cinema & theatre tickets	-----	-----
7. Alcoholic drinks	-----	-----

- 8. Non-alcoholic drinks -----
- 9. Illegal drugs-----
- 10. Mobile phone bills-----

10. What percentage of your total money do you spend on going out?

- less than 25%[1]
- from 25% to 50%[2]
- from 50% to 75%[3]
- more than 75%[4]

11. We would like to know which of these substances you use (or have used in the past), how often, and at what age you started to use them.

	Only non-consumers			Age at which I started to use	Only consumers
	Never	I tried it a couple of times but never since	Before yes, now no ex/users		How many days have you used this substances in the last month
a) Alcohol	1	2	3		
b) Tobacco	1	2	3		
c) Cannabis (joints)	1	2	3		
d) Cocaine	1	2	3		
e) Ecstasy	1	2	3		
f) LSD	1	2	3		
g) speed	1	2	3		
h) Others (Which?)	1	2	3		

12. How many times have you been drunk during the last month?

- None[1]
- Once[2]
- Once or twice[3]
- One or more times a week[4]

13. There are people who *do not* take illegal drugs and *nor do they abuse* legal drugs (alcohol and tobacco). We would like to know the reasons why they behave in this way. Therefore, please would you rate each of the following statements in accordance with your opinion? Rate each one from 1 to 4 depending on whether you agree or disagree.

totally agree 1,2,3,4 totally disagree

- A. Because they are not interested in the effects of drugs1,2,3,4
- B. Because taking drugs is expensive1,2,3,4
- C. Because they don't know where to get them1,2,3,4
- D. Because they are afraid of becoming an addict1,2,3,4
- E. Because they don't want to lose their self-control1,2,3,4
- F. Because they are afraid drugs will create problems for them1,2,3,4
- G. Because their parents or boy/girlfriend disapprove(s) of drug taking . . .1,2,3,4
- H. Because they haven't tried them and don't know what they're missing . .1,2,3,4
- I. Because only those who don't know what they want out of life take drugs 1,2,3,4
- J. Because they believe the world would be a better place without drugs . . .1,2,3,4

14. Why do you think people do take drugs, alcohol and tobacco when they are going out at weekends? Rate these statements from 1 to 4 in accordance with your opinion and experience.

totally agree 1,2,3,4 totally disagree

- A. They enable you to get on better with friends1,2,3,4
- B. They help you to get away from your problems1,2,3,4
- C. Taking drugs can make you feel good1,2,3,4
- D. Drugs and alcohol help people to enjoy themselves more1,2,3,4
- E. You experience the music and dancing more intensely1,2,3,4
- F. They help to improve your sex life1,2,3,4
- G. Drugs help people to have a fuller experience of life1,2,3,4

⊗FOR NON-USERS ONLY

15. We would like to know how you react when you go out so that you don't take drugs and control the use of alcohol and cigarettes. Please say if the following statements are in line with your experience.⊗

	YES	NO
A. My friends know me and they know I don't take drugs	[1]	[2]
B. I've made it quite clear to everybody that I don't take drugs and I don't drink alcohol	[1]	[2]
C. During the night I have to keep on insisting that I don't want to take anything	[1]	[2]
D. I use some excuse	[1]	[2]
E. If a friend offers me an alcoholic drink and I don't want it, it is easy for me to refuse it	[1]	[2]

- F. If a friend offers to share a joint with me, I know exactly
 how to say that I don't want to[1] [2]
- G. If friends get too much for me, I decide to go home.[1] [2]

Υ USERS ONLY

16. We would like to know what methods you use to control your drug use or alcohol consumption. Please say if you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Totally agree 1,2,3,4 totally disagree

- A. When I go out at night I only take the amount I want to1,2,3,4
- B. If I take more than the amount allowed, I don't drive1,2,3,4
- C. If a friend offers me a joint and I think that I have already
 had enough, I know how to say no1,2,3,4
- D. If I have too much to drink I know my friends will look after me1,2,3,4

17. What image do you think that those who drink alcohol or use drugs have of those who do not drink or take drugs (whether you are a user or not)?

totally agree 1,2,3,4 totally disagree

- A. They can't party for as long as others can1, 2, 3, 4
- B. They enjoy themselves less1, 2, 3, 4
- C. They have less friends1, 2, 3, 4
- D. People respect them more1, 2, 3, 4
- E. They feel better about themselves1, 2, 3, 4
- F. They are less conflictive1, 2, 3, 4
- G. They are seen as being rare1, 2, 3, 4

18. We would like to know if any member of your family takes the following substances with any frequency.

	Any parent	Brother/Sister
- Alcohol	[yes] [no] [n/a]	[yes] [no] [n/a]
- Tobacco	[yes] [no] [n/a]	[yes] [no] [n/a]
- Cannabis	[yes] [no] [n/a]	[yes] [no] [n/a]
- Other illegal drugs	[yes] [no] [n/a]	[yes] [no] [n/a]

19. As you know, taking drugs is regulated by the Law. In this respect, we would like to know if you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Totally agree 1,2,3,4 totally disagree

- A. I am aware of and well-informed about the laws on drug taking and alcohol consumption 1, 2, 3, 4
- B. Illegal drug use must be regulated 1, 2, 3, 4
- C. Driving under the influence of alcohol must be punished..... 1, 2, 3, 4
- D. There must be restrictions on consumption and sale of alcohol to those under 18 years of age 1, 2, 3, 4
- E. Drinking alcohol in the streets should be an offence 1, 2, 3, 4
- F. The use of illegal drugs in public should be an offence 1, 2, 3, 4
- G. The legislation on drugs in general should be less strict 1, 2, 3, 4

20. Among your friends, how many take the following substances frequently?

	majority	half	few	none
Alcohol	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Cigarettes	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Cannabis	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Cocaine	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Ecstasy	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Other illegal drugs	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]

21.

And, how many get drunk frequently?	majority	half	few	nobody
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]

22. Now think about your boy/girlfriend (if you have one or if you were to have one). What would your attitude be if he/she were to take illegal drugs such as cocaine, amphetamines or ecstasy (not cannabis) frequently?

Totally agree 1,2,3,4 totally disagree

- A. I accept or would accept my boy/girlfriend as he/she was 1,2,3,4
- B. I would do everything I could to change his/her attitude 1,2,3,4
- C. In the event that he/she continued to be a user I would end the relationship 1,2,3,4
- D. I would not start a relationship with anyone who was a user 1,2,3,4

23. Some questions on your sexual experience, but you do not have to answer them if they make you feel uncomfortable.

- | | | | |
|---|---------|-------|--------|
| 1) Are you satisfied with your sexual life? | Yes [1] | No[2] | NA [3] |
| 2) Have you ever had sex? | Yes [1] | No[2] | NA [3] |
| 3) Have you ever had a relationship with someone of your own sex? | Yes[1] | No[2] | NA [3] |

24.

At what age did you first have sex? years

25. Continuing with the last year, how many people have you had sex with (approximately)?

----- (number)

26. How often do you use contraception to protect against pregnancy and disease?

- Always[1]
- Almost always[2]
- Sometimes[3]
- A few times[4]
- Never[5]
- No answer[6]

27. In your opinion, how dangerous are the following behaviours?

Very dangerous 1,2,3,4 not at all dangerous

- A. Smoking a packet of cigarettes a day1, 2, 3, 4
- B. Smoking marihuana regularly1, 2, 3, 4
- C. Taking ecstasy every weekend1, 2, 3, 4
- D. Taking cocaine once a month1, 2, 3, 4
- E. Taking LSD once a month1, 2, 3, 4
- F. Having two alcoholic drinks daily1, 2, 3, 4
- G. Having four alcoholic drinks on one single occasion.1, 2, 3, 4
- H. Getting drunk once a month1, 2, 3, 4

28. We would also like you to answer the following questi

	yes	no
A. Have you ever driven under the influence of alcohol?	[1]	[2]
B. Have you ever got into a vehicle driven by someone who has been drinking?	[1]	[2]
C. If you know that someone has been taking drugs, would you get into a car driven by that person?	[1]	[2]
D. If the occasion arose would you prevent a friend from driving if he/she had too much to drink?	[1]	[2]

29. Indicate which of the following things you have done at some time in your life

	yes	no
A. Driven a car on a public road without a driving licence.....	[1]	[2]
B. Deliberately damaged property such as a telephone box, cars, windows, or streetlights (but without stealing anything) .	[1]	[2]
C. Taken things from shops or stores without paying	[1]	[2]
D. Been involved in a physical fight with someone other than a family member	[1]	[2]

30. How often have you done any of the following things?

	Never	I have done but not in the	Less than once a month	Once a month	2 or 3 times a month	Once a week
1) Done what feels good no matter what	1	2	3	4	5	6
2) Done something dangerous because someone dared you to do it	1	2	3	4	5	6
3) Done crazy things even if they were a little dangerous	1	2	3	4	5	6

31. We should like to know if the following statements about your friends and family apply to you. Please, say if you agree or disagree:

Totally agree 1,2,3,4 totally disagree

- A. My parents allow me to take part in decision-making
which affects the family1, 2, 3 , 4
- B. I find it easy to make new friends1, 2, 3, 4
- C. I find it easy to get on with people of the opposite sex1, 2, 3, 4
- D. I like to be alone1, 2, 3, 4
- E. I have a great time during my daily life (studies/work1, 2, 3 , 4
- F. My opinions are important to my friends1, 2, 3, 4
- G. I take part in social or voluntary work1, 2, 3 , 4
- H. I like to share the housework in my family life1, 2, 3 , 4
- I. I share happy times with my family1, 2, 3 , 4
- J. I want contribute to making a better world1, 2, 3 , 4

32. If you are no longer studying, at what age did you leave school?

33. We would like to know how you evaluate yourself as a student (now or when you were studying).

- Very good student [1]
- Good student [2]
- regular student [3]
- Bad student [4]
- Very bad student [5]

34. What is you present occupation? Answer all those you think appropriate.

- Student [1]
- Temporary work [2]
- Permanent employment [3]
- Unemployed or Looking for my first job [4]
- Other [6]

35. Whom do you live with?

- Your own family[1]
- With your husband/wife/live-in boy/girlfriend[2]
- With friends[3]

- On your own[4]
- In a student hall of residence[5]
- Other[6]

36. How would you define the financial level of your family?

- High [1]
- Medium/high [2]
- Medium [3]
- Medium/low [4]
- Low [5]

37. Where would you situate yourself in respect of your political ideas?

extreme left 1.2.3.4.5 extreme right

38. How would you describe your attitude to religion?

Strong believer 1.2.3.4.5 non-believer

Thank you very much

Interviewer's comment and name

1. Name
2. Where the interview took place.
3. Evaluation, degree of difficulty.
4. Other comments or anecdotes that pollster consider.

ANNEX - 2

ATHENS, GREECE
FIELDWORK REPORT
By **Ioanna Siamou**

In 2001 a research concerning the different patterns of nightlife between the users of licit and illicit drugs and the non-users was conducted on Athenian nightclubs. The methodology and the results of the fieldwork is presented below:

Methodology

Personnel: 5 social scientists

Names of social scientists

Kossova A. Kalaitzi E. Panteloglou P. Tzivanidis V. Flegas A.

Duration of training, group meetings and fieldwork

–One training course: 2 hours

–9 group meetings: 27 hours

–9 weeks of fieldwork: 380 hours

Sampling

–Sixty (60) night clubs and coffee shops were visited. Twenty nine (29) of them were sampled and selected.

–Two hundred and four (204) club/party goers

Data collection procedures

–Providing training to social scientists who were conducting fieldwork. Between night club-visits, 9 meetings took place with the coordinator and the social scientists in order to evaluate the fieldwork progress.

–Thirty-eight (38) visits at nightclubs and coffee shops for the recruitment of the sample and the completion of questionnaires.

–Ten (10) observations on the most representative night-clubs where the sample was mainly recruited

–Short weekly reports concerning the following subjects:

1. Description of the most representative youth music scenes where the recruitment of the sample was made (kinds of music, nightlife activities, club goers' life styles, etc)
2. Places where the recruitment of sample was made
3. Problems related to the recruitment of sample or the completion of the questionnaire
4. Researchers' comments on the fieldwork

Results

• Music scenes: according to the researchers, the representative youth music scenes in Athens are the following:

A. Local music scene:

Greek Chart music

It is popular Greek dance music. This music is lacking the main characteristics of a music scene, such as music history or the sense that people belong to a music culture, therefore it is not regarded as a music scene.

The clubs of the scene were big and in most of them, they were D.Js who played Greek and/or foreign charts. Moreover, in Athens there are music radio stations where Greek dance music is exclusively played.

The entrance fee of those clubs was not expensive and inside clubs, there was a big number of security staff. Most goers went to those clubs between 01-01:30 a.m. Chill rooms were not noticed in the clubs of the scene.

The majority of goers aged from 17 to 25 years old. Most young persons of both sexes were dressed in a fashionable style (e.g. young women wore short skirts and had perfect make-up), while the external appearance of most adolescents was casual. Moreover, the external appearance of young women seemed to be influenced by the special code of dressing of famous Greek or foreigner women singers (e.g. Madonna).

Young companies consisting of 4 persons or more were waiting for a long time outside the clubs due to the strict entrance control. The presence of both sexes in a company was the main criterion for entering the club.

The goers usually drank alcohol, listened to the music, while some of them were dancing. Moreover, the researchers did not notice young persons being under the influence of drugs in those settings.

Contemporary Greek music

Different kinds of local and foreign music, such as folk Greek music, rock, ethnic, etc have influenced this music and it is popular among “intellectual” young persons aged between 20 to 26 years old.

B. Rock scene

Rock concerts take place in two concert halls, which are situated in an entertainment zone at the centre of Athens. The central square of this entertainment zone is a traditional meeting point of “alternative” youth groups, such as anarchists, “intellectual” young people, fans of rock music or drug users.

The parties were mainly organized by student groups of extreme leftist parties or anarchists at University settings. The partygoers were mainly students. In those events, alcohol and cannabis use was reported to be prevalent.

Bars are mainly small places where goers mainly drink alcohol and listen to the music. The public of these settings was considered to have adopted an “alternative” life style compared to the mainstream life style.

Heavy metal music

According to the researchers, the fans of heavy metal rock music had a particular external appearance (e.g. code of dressing, hairstyling, etc) which was almost similar to both sexes. The majority of young persons, who belonged to the scene, were male adolescents. The goers seemed to be familiar with the settings where the concerts took place.

According to the researchers, in a heavy metal rock concert, different groups of friends seemed to communicate with each other, while some of the goers drank beers or had a local drink (“ouzo”).

Heavy metal concerts and rock concerts were promoted through posters or rock radio stations.

Indie music

This music scene in Athens is not a very big one, since a few D.Js and music producers deal with the scene. However, indie music is present in the entertainment industry of Athens (music magazines, radio stations, concerts and festivals).

According to the researchers, the public of Indie music consisted of both boys and girls aged from 18 to 25 years. Moreover, they had a special external appearance, i.e. colourful dressing, dyed hair or “rasta”. However, the Indie style tends to become mainstream.

Concerning the drug use, the researchers thought that most of them seemed to have experienced cannabis. Synthetic drug use could be regarded as a behaviour pattern, because the style of the scene promotes the fans to be open to different kinds of music, such as the dance music, as well as to new drug experiences.

C. Dance scene

The fans of the scene hung out mainly in 3 clubs situated in the centre of the city and in the southern suburbs of Attica. In some of those clubs, a list of acquaintances (i.e. former personnel) or friends was mainly formed by the club owner allowing free admission. Moreover, the entrance fee in those clubs was more expensive compared to clubs of other music scenes.

Israeli trance music is most popular in the Greek dance scene.

Concerning parties, researchers reported that certain groups organised those events in clubs on Sunday afternoons mainly for adolescents or in open-air places on Saturdays (on boats, in the countryside, etc). Young persons who were interested in going to open-air parties sent e-mail concerning their participation. Mass media also reported that police made arrests in two parties organised in venues other than clubs, where small quantities of cannabis and/or synthetic drugs were seized. Moreover, groups of pupils occasionally organised parties in the context of school entertainment activities. It was also reported that after hours parties took place in a club of the scene. Finally, some goers reported that they had gone to parties taken place in different European cities.

According to the researchers, most of the club/party goers had a particular external appearance (e.g. code of dressing, hairstyling, etc) which was influenced by the style of the scene. More specifically, they wore colourful and comfortable clothing. Some young persons had sunglasses on and a lot of males had spiky hair. Moreover, it was reported that many club goers had their hair dyed colourfully, while tattoos and earrings on their face and body, were indicative of their aesthetics. Finally, the differences concerning the external appearance between males and females were not significant.

The majority of them danced and used “energy” drinks such as red-bull, while some of them drank alcohol. Moreover, researchers reported cannabis use in most settings. Finally, the age of goers ranged from 16 to 30 years old, while men outnumbered in most clubs.

The hard-core fans of the scene frequented a certain club. Those club/party goers seemed to be a group of persons who knew each other. To be precise, they discussed or made jokes with one another, as well as smoked cannabis outside the club. Some also said that ecstasy had the best effects. Their favourable music was progressive trance, a non-popular kind of dance music in Greece.

Regarding club-control measures, the researchers said that the security staff checked club goers at the club-entrance and inside the clubs, so that physical fights and drug use were prevented.

All clubs had a chill room.

Freestyle/electronic music: Lounge scene

It is a slow, relaxing music played in clubs. Moreover, a concert took place that time in a music hall.

Researchers said that the fans of the scene aged from 18 to 30 years old and their nightlife patterns were considered to be relaxing and fun. Finally, their external appearance was noticed to be similar to “ravers’s” (colourful clothes, dyed hair).

- Drug use in music scenes

According to the researchers, most illicit drug users from different music scenes were using cannabis. However, synthetic drug use was mainly connected to the dance scene in Athens.

- Places of recruiting sample

The recruitment of sample was made to the following places:

1. Outside clubs and concert halls of most popular youth music scenes (local, rock, dance, freestyle/electronic)
2. At the settings of two parties: one party took place at University settings and the other organised by a group of pupils at an Internet coffee shop.
3. At coffee shops of two entertainment zones of the city and of a western suburb of Attica
4. Concerning interviews with female adolescents using any illicit substance, the recruitment of 4 interviewees was made by the “snowballing” method. More particular, researchers contacted relatives, friends or acquaintances who were very likely to know female of this sample. Those persons arranged a meeting in their own house with the researchers and the interviewees.

Most interviews were made at the greater area outside the recreational settings, only a few was made inside those settings (clubs, coffee shops).

- Difficulties in the recruitment of sample and the completion of questionnaires

Sample recruitment:

Security staff of clubs

Dance scene: on account of media widely covering police activity on dance-scene parties, people involving in dance scene activities were suspicious of the researchers. As a result, some times security staff hindered researchers in the fieldwork. Moreover, the strict control measures at those settings were due to the club owners’ policy concerning the management of their clubs. The fact that synthetic drug use has been related to the dance scene was considered to have influenced the club owners’ policy.

Music scene

Dance scene: The prevailing perception that synthetic drug use is mainly connected to the goers of the scene was the main reason for their being reluctant to participate in the project.

3. Licit and illicit substance use

- A. Licit and illicit drug users

According to the researchers, some drug users who seemed to be cautious for the outcome of the research, refused to report that they were using drugs, so that they were not included in the sample. Moreover, those persons believed that the emerging patterns of drug use would mainly result in repressive measures against illicit drug use, rather than in secondary prevention interventions. However, those drug users who participated in the project, were considered to be more sincere when they answered the questions compared to non-users.

- B. Female, adolescents who were using drugs

The researchers reported that they had great difficulty in recruiting this category of the sample because that population was a minority among the club/party goers. Moreover, they stated that many persons of that category were reluctant to complete the questionnaire on account of their early age and their sex. That’s why, 4 interviews were made by the “snowballing” method.

- C. Alcohol use

The difficulty in recruiting non-users of licit and illicit drugs was put down to the fact that alcohol use has been traditionally established in Greece. The limits imposed by the research protocol between alcohol and non-alcohol users could be considered to be strict.

Questionnaire

Many interviewees mentioned that the questionnaire was too long. Concerning the context of the questions, some adolescents could not make head or tail of the scale questions. I think that a self-

completed questionnaire should include further details concerning the process of its completion and the context of some questions should be comprehensive to all categories of the interviewees.

- Comments on the fieldwork

At first, the recruitment of the sample took place in big events, such as concerts, parties, or in certain entertainment zones where there were many clubs around. Accordingly, researchers visited separate clubs so as to recruit the “difficult” categories of the sample (adolescent users).

The researchers stated that a successful contact resulted in a fast completion of the questionnaire. For example, researchers had the opportunity to discuss with 2 groups of adolescent club/party goers of the rock-heavy metal and the dance-techno scenes about their personal problems or their patterns of drug use. This fact was fruitful for the outcome of the fieldwork.

Conclusions

- The popular music scenes in Athens are the same (rock, local and dance) as we have already found in 1998.
- The lounge scene is a new electronic scene and their fans’ style has been influenced by the rock and dance aesthetics, while the style of the fans from the indie rock music seemed to be influenced by the dance scene.
- Among hard core fans of the dance scene, those who took drugs, such as cannabis and/or ecstasy had no restraints to confess that pattern of behaviour.
- The target group of synthetic drug users has been located at the dance scene settings in Athens. The relevant data from 1998 also showed that synthetic drug use was mainly connected to the dance scene.
- The recruitment of the sample was mainly made in big events (concerts, parties) taking place in music halls or clubs.
- Problems arising from the fieldwork were the following: 1) the professionals and the fans of the dance scene were suspicious of the researchers because of media widely covering police activity on the dance-scene parties. 2) Considering that the recreational illicit drug users constitute a “hidden” population, the difficulties in locating them increased when certain characteristics, such as the sex and the age must have been also taken into account. 3) The large questionnaire raised difficulties in its completion.
- Many difficulties may be solved through a good and positive contact between the researchers and the interviewees.

BERLIN, GERMANY
FIELDWORK REPORT
by A. Viktoria Kersch

1. Introduction and General Observations

Berlin is the capital city of Germany and is inhabited by more than 3,6 m. people. It is a multi-cultural city, consisting of districts, suburbs and marginal areas whose character, appearance and populations differ completely.

In Berlin the percentage of migrants, which makes up a large part of the population in certain districts, plays a significant role in the structure of the city and characterises the cityscape, youth groupings and leisure activities in general.

Berlin offers a wide variety of leisure facilities. Theatres, cinemas, museums, cultural associations, discos, clubs, bars of every orientation and sport clubs of every kind – to outline only a minimum of what is available. There is a great variety on offer, with something from every culture represented in the city, so that there is always the possibility of extending one's own experience during one's leisure time. However amidst the variety it is also possible to lose one's orientation or appetite.

Tourism has a determining influence on the dynamic of the city. In the inner city, the former West Berlin, and the current city centre, the former East Berlin districts of Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg, tourism plays an important role, and leisure activities are considerably influenced by it. Visitors to the clubs, discos, bars and cafés here are made up of city dwellers and tourists.

Aside from its club scene, Berlin also has a strong café and bar culture frequented by a wide range of groups and where varying different music styles are played. The trend, apart from cafés playing rock, soul and funk, is towards ambient jazz and easy listening.

Nightlife

Club culture is concentrated in particular areas. There is a large number of discos and clubs in the districts of Mitte, Prenzlauer Berg and Friedrichshain. The clubs are surrounded by a rich variety of bars, cafés and cinemas. "Going out" as a leisure activity takes place throughout the week.

In Kreuzberg and other districts "going out" is typically a visit to a bar or café. In the main, residents of a particular district use the bars in the area. Here too the discos and clubs are in close proximity to the bars and cafés.

Nightlife has crystallised around the former eastern part of the inner city. The nightlife spots of the Kudamm area in the former western sector are mainly frequented by tourists. In other parts of the city, aside from the bars, nightlife is less centralised.

Clubs such as Tresor, centres of techno culture, are famous far beyond the city boundaries and meanwhile count as a must for young tourists from all over Europe. Also the club Matrix, which offers a wide range of musicstyles is famous over the boundaries. According to interviewees' reports the techno movement has undergone a considerable change towards commercialisation. It appears that techno has, after the enthusiasm of its early years, passed its zenith. The culture has become part of the establishment. However, techno culture still plays an important role in Berlin and overflows into other scenes.

The discos – in the meantime they tend to call themselves clubs – such as the Sophienclub, the Knaackclub, Maria, Havana or 90°C, attract a wide range of visitors – the mainstream.

These discos take on a similar image to the clubs, but offer a wider variety, mixing different musical tendencies together in a more moderate form. What is "in" is continually changing, as are the clubbers/disco-goers themselves. Nightlife is subject to a continual evolution.

In Berlin, the discos and clubs have opening hours of up to 4 am during the week. At the weekends they are open until 6 or 8 am. After-hour clubs open at night or in the early morning and offer those wanting to stay out when everything else is closed the possibility of continuing clubbing through the day. As an alternative, some clubs provide chill-out areas or cafés within their premises to keep their customers longer. Recently, after-work parties have become especially popular and are presented in many different clubs. In Berlin Mitte every club offers such an event on a different day of the week.

The weekend, with its goal of going out, begins in Berlin on Thursday evening and ends on Sunday or on Monday morning. On Mondays actually only in the more homogeneous techno scene with the chill-out. This – especially at the weekends – round-the-clock nightlife makes it difficult to distinguish groupings exactly. One can say that the boundaries between the youth groups merge, in the same way that in the meantime the music styles also seem to overlap. It can be observed that many clubs play different music styles on different days. These styles lie within the range of techno, house, rap, dancehall, drum'n bass, break beats or jungle. In other clubs the evening begins with more commercial music, then changes style several times during the night to turn to more specialised house or rap sounds, or to the unambiguous chart sounds of a particular subculture. Certain clubs remain loyal to their particular music style, e.g. Tresor. However even here, in contrast to earlier days, small changes are evident. Early in the evening especially, a much more moderate techno is played, resembling the trance hits made popular by the music broadcasters MTV or VIVA.

The boundaries, it can be seen, are not clearly defined. The youngsters or young adults often take part in several nightlife scenes and change their allegiances too. However, every youth culture appears to have its definite, homogeneous “hard core”. This is more to be seen in the clubs during the week; at the weekends the population is less homogeneous. This applies to almost all the clubs, including the exclusively techno-oriented ones.

The age of the club-goers varies from club to club. Young techno and house fans tend to frequent Tresor or Matrix; older clubbers and followers of dance floor or mainstream tend to visit the Knaackclub, the Sophienclub, Maria or Havana, which offer a more mixed musical programme. Important here is the daily changing musical style of some of the clubs, which attracts the relevant audience and age-group. It can be said that as a rule the audience for techno, house and jungle is younger than for the remaining music styles.

There are additional musical cultures in Berlin, but they only play a side role. These trends also have their bars, discos and venues, and they also attract young participants, whose number however seems to be limited.

The city is flooded with flyers announcing the coming nightlife programme. Parties take place at which particular local, national or international DJs provide the music. These parties are not restricted to the techno, trance or house movements; they also feature electronic pop, such as Depeche Mode, and rock music. Many clubs organise such parties, catering to a relatively fixed group of regular visitors.

The term “party” has become an important one in the nightlife context. Parties take place privately and spontaneously, or are organised as above by the clubs. These club parties are not, as the word is usually understood, private, but take place in courtyards, tenements, squares and warehouses, and are announced in flyers or posters in clubs and cafés or bars. Information about parties also passes by word of mouth. For young people the term “partying” is almost synonymous with “going out dancing”.

In the course of club visits prior to the survey it became clear from the atmosphere that in some of them it would be difficult to find non-users. But in others this did not appear so problematic. It was possible to hypothesise as to which drugs would be used in which clubs or discos. This then tallied with the information gathered by the interview team. There appeared to be an alcohol-hashish culture, and a club-culture in which Ecstasy/amphetamines stood in the foreground along with alcohol and hashish. The drugs LSD, mushrooms, Ecstasy, etc. are found more in techno, Goa and trance circles than elsewhere, although Ecstasy is also consumed outside these scenes.

Nightlife Surroundings; Leisure-time Meeting Places

There are particular meeting places in the city where young people meet to spend their leisure time. These include cinemas, bars and cafés, and also public places such as Potsdamer Platz, which offers a wide array of free-time activities. The Kudamm can also be included amongst these public places. On enquiry the youngsters – it is younger people who are to be found here for the most part – explained that it is a leisure-time activity to come here, to stroll and to talk. This survey was important in order to complete the group *under 19-year-olds*, especially the non-consumers. There are many cinemas at these places, and visits to the cinema are an element of the leisure-time activities of all age groups in the survey. Nightlife starts mainly in a café or bar that has been chosen as a meeting-point. How the evening will continue is discussed there.

Mainstream in Berlin – Music, Clubs, Fashion

As already shown by the last Irefrea working group meeting in Vienna, the phenomenon *mainstream* is strongly determined by the character of the relevant city and country. Urban and rural areas also differ in terms of the mainstream. Chart music, commercial music, the musical style defining the mainstream, will also be differentiated as to its popularity amongst young people.

If one listens to chart music in the relevant radio stations in Berlin, or watches the television music channels such as VIVA or MTV, it becomes clear that every musical style has its own charts, which may also overlap.

Dancehall/Dancefloor is the mainstream in Berlin, made up of the most varying musical styles. It is closely connected to the music in the charts and on the radio/TV. Of course there are homogeneous movements, but the mainstream appropriates everything that is commercially in fashion. The researcher decided to concentrate on the mainstream, which includes a wide range of youngsters and young adults.

Since techno and the trance movement have undergone a process of commercialisation, in no small part through the annual Love Parade, and hip hop and rap too, one cannot exclude these music styles from the mainstream. This also applies in a bit limited way to rhythm'n bass, break beats and rock.

Walking through Berlin at night between Thursday and Sunday, one hears everything that techno, trance, house, rap, pop and hip hop have to offer from the cars of young people having a night out.

Amongst the 22 clubs or discos visited prior to the survey, some were more clearly oriented towards the charts and commercial music (Far Out, Speicher, Palace) whereas others tended towards one particular direction and a subcultural orientation (Knaackclub, Maria, Dolmen, 90 Grad, Havana, SO 36) although they should still be included within the mainstream phenomenon.

- The music the clubs play consists of
- House/Techhouse
- Dancehall/Dancefloor
- Rhythm'n bass/Break Beats
- Hip hop
- Rap
- Chart music, pop
- Rock

That is, there is no representative, sharply defined grouping that can successfully summarise the mainstream. The phenomenon mainstream is a colportage attempting to unite various differing groupings within it, and through commercialisation it appropriates aspects of many different subcultures and trends. The mainstream consists of relatively ordinary people wanting a night out who do not count themselves part of a subculture. The aim is going out, meeting people and dancing. Our observations revealed no specific drug use. Drug use appears, as mentioned above, to be specific to venue, club or subculture.

This relatively ordinary group of club-goers is also to be found at the weekends in the techno and house clubs, whose visitors are only made up of a homogeneous, scene-specific group of clubbers during the week. Rock music and jazz sounds do not play an important role in the Berlin mainstream for people between 15 and 30.

The clubs and discos that have taken to presenting a different music programme each evening, or who begin the evening with dance floor and then change direction in the course of the night, show a customer orientation whose aim is to incorporate a wide range of visitors. This customer and consumption orientation, along with the music broadcasters, contributes in a large part to the mingling of the various different groupings. It is also noticeable that mainstream performers borrow aspects from all kinds of musical styles in order to keep up with trends and to maintain a wide audience.

Only the age of their visitors distinguishes the “mainstream” or “dance floor” clubs.

An important group are the homosexual mainstream clubbers. They generally attend the discos and clubs of the gay scene, which is prominent in Berlin and contributes to its nightlife – also for young adults. The range of parties and events cannot be overlooked.

Within the mainstream there is no clearly differentiated fashion philosophy amongst its various groupings. The only obvious general tendency is to dress somewhat brasher or smarter at the weekends than during the week. It appears that group delineation through clothing does not play a very important role. It plays even less of a role for young adults than for youngsters. The style of dress is relatively discreet, characterised by “trainers” with a casual, sometimes classic, outfit. Amongst the youngsters there is a tendency towards uniform clothing, which seems to be based on a group image. This stricture eases and changes with age. The trend of brand label clothes (Fishbone etc.) is important amongst youngsters. The fashion tendency borrows strongly from the 1970s and 80s. Throughout all the mainstream groups, women and girls dress to stress the body. It is noticeable that piercing has become a completely normal form of body decoration. Many young women have pierced navels or noses. Tattooing has also taken hold in the wider youth culture.

As could be observed, people generally go out in groups. Solitary disco-goers are a rarer sight. The groups are often male or mixed-sex; groups of women are more unusual. The groups loosen in the course of the evening. Staying together as a group is more pronounced amongst younger clubbers than older ones, as is the concentration on one’s own sex. Amongst older club-goers the sexes tend to mix more. According to observation of mainstream nightlife, men are slightly more in the majority than women, regardless of venue.

Procedure

As already mentioned, 22 discos and clubs were visited and evaluated prior to the survey. 10 clubs were then chosen for the survey itself: Speicher, Sageclub, Sophienclub, Knaackclub, Far Out, Maria, Dolmenclub, Icon, Havana and 90 Grad. To reach a young sample the research group decided to keep open the possibility of visiting a techno club at the weekend.

The research team consisted of the researcher and 8 interviewers, 7 women and 1 man. The interviewers were between 21 and 32 years old and experienced clubbers. Some of them belonged to the house and techno scene, the rest to the mainstream.

2/3 of the interview team had past experience with drugs, including hashish, Ecstasy, cocaine and amphetamines, and could thus reliably assess the specific drug use of a club from its atmosphere. This also ensured that the interviewers would be able to respond adequately to their interviewees. A number of the interviewers were students of psychology.

The study began with a training process which explained the exact procedure and the sample distribution. It became clear during the training that it would be very difficult to complete the non-user sample or to find very young users in the mainstream. Each interviewer filled out a questionnaire in order to assess any difficulties and also to be able to enter into adequate discussion about it.

The interviewers were instructed to estimate the percentage of men and women in the various clubs and to make observations as to groupings.

The date and time of the survey was fixed for the first clubs. The survey was always carried out between 10.30 pm and 3 am. The early start ensured that the group of >under 19 years< could also be found. Three weeks of the survey took place in the time of Easter vacations in schools. This fact increased the number of visitors in the clubs/discos of younger age.

The days for the survey were also strictly defined. It was only carried out from Wednesday night to Saturday night. The interviewers carried out the survey in groups of at least 3.

A lively contact to the managers of the clubs/discos took place prior to the survey. Some proved most co-operative; some at first required an exposé of the survey's aims. It became very clear that the club owners or managers were mistrustful of surveys, especially those relating to drugs. On the managers' request, and for reasons of data protection, the exact survey venues, and particularly the distribution of the commonly used drugs, are not mentioned.

So as to interfere as little as possible with the running of the club, exact dates for the survey were arranged with those managers who permitted its taking place.

A few owners did not grant permission for the survey out of mistrust or because they felt the evening's entertainment would be endangered. A common reason given was that "a club is a place of relaxation and fun, and a survey would interfere with this."

The survey took place between 18 March and 15 May 2001.

Weekly meetings of the interviewer team took place for the purpose of collecting information about difficulties with the questionnaire or the interviewees, etc. and to develop new strategies.

Again and again it was important to motivate the interviewers, especially when the survey in the clubs appeared to be stagnating as no non-users could be found.

3.1. Difficulties with the Sample

The sample groups *male and female users over 19* were completed very quickly. The *male and female non-users over 19* were more difficult to find. There were very many young people who consumed tobacco and alcohol, or regularly consumed either tobacco or alcohol but did not use any other drugs, so that according to the sample definition they were neither users nor non-users.

To complete this group the survey strategy was changed after four weeks. The interviewers used the matching method to question their acquaintances, friends, student colleagues, etc. or carried out the survey in bars and cafés. Aside from the sample placement, the survey was begun with the question:

"When you go out, which clubs do you go to?". The clubs named were noted and collected at the next meeting.

In the so-called mainstream clubs the groups *male and female users under 19* and *male and female non-users under 19* both proved problematic. There were many youngsters in this age group who consumed tobacco and alcohol, or one of the two, but no other drugs. It was practically impossible to find *non-users* of this age group. Despite this the research group carried out the survey for four weeks in the clubs.

The survey strategy was also changed here once it became clear that the groups >male and female users under 19< and >male and female non-users under 19< would not be able to be completed. Part of the research group began looking for >male and female users under 19< in the clubs where mostly techno, jungle and house music was played. They were successful, and the sample sub-groups were able to be completed through surveys in public places and in youth clubs. This procedure proved very useful for the inclusion of several groupings. The young users did go to the clubs and discos we had selected, but also to others, such as Tresor, Matrix, Subground, Ostgut, etc. This clearly indicates that drug use and music style are linked for the group *male and female users under 19*.

The group of *non-users under 19* was found in bars, cafés and above all in public meeting places such as Potsdamer Platz and the Kudamm. *Non-users under 19* enjoy attending youth clubs, which are provided by the city in every district. They tend to go to the cinema and only very occasionally to clubs.

Especially important are private parties organised by the young people themselves that take place in the traditional way. The youngsters went to clubs such as Blondes, Palace, Bergwerk and Globus, i.e. completely different ones from those we had selected, where the clubbers are very young. Young non-users also enjoy going to bars and cafés.

3.2. Difficulties with the Questionnaire

It became clear that users, who were at the time of questioning relatively strongly under the influence of drugs, often had difficulties with the questionnaire. They were unable to cope with its differentiation or found it too difficult and were also quickly bored.

Users who were questioned in the clubs appeared, in the judgement of the interviewers, to be always under the influence of drugs. More so in the case of the men/boys than the women/girls. Many users of both sexes were interested in the survey and began conversations with the interviewers.

Not all interviewees wanted to fill in the questionnaire face to face with the interviewers. About 40% were thus filled in alone, without the help or direct presence of an interviewer. In such cases the interviewers were instructed to check the filled-in questionnaire afterwards. In this case only the first questions on sample placement were filled in by interviewer and interviewee together.

Young women (under 19, users and non-users) in public places proved willing to take part in the survey. However, it quickly became clear that the questionnaire was too long and the interviewees got bored quickly.

The interviewers noticed that women/girls of both age groups filled in the questionnaire more clearly, quickly and precisely than their male counterparts. There was no difference here between users and non-users. Men/boys were more quickly irritated or wanted to discuss the questions, and needed more time for filling in the questionnaire. They seemed less precise and decisive.

There was in general a high compliance towards taking part in the survey. Some of those taking part from the group of *male non-users under 19* showed little real compliance and were more inclined to start discussions or became quickly bored or made immature jokes about the questions.

For some of the young interviewees the questionnaire was too difficult and they appeared to be able to make little sense of it. This especially applied to young non-users. In principle it can be said that the questionnaire was too long to keep most of the interviewees interested.

BOLOGNA, ITALY
FIELDWORK REPORT
By Patrizia Zavatti

To limit the interview to mainstream settings it was decided to exclude the marginal groups that are characterised by political or social-cultural points of view and/or by behaviours belonging not to the majority of young people.

Following the instructions of research group to select the mainstream people- in the first time- the interviews were done in recreational settings, that it means fashionable nightlife places attended by every kind of young people independently of the age and the using of drugs. Some of them, situated in Bologna downtown and in suburbs, are very fashionable and attract every kind of young people because they use to offer different musical stiles in different nights of the week for each types of young people (age, look, etc).

For example MATIS and CHALET DELLE ROSE are discos, while PEPE NERO and DNA are disco-pubs ; CAFFE' DEL MUSEO is a very trendy pub specially this year.

These kinds of locals are mainly frequented in the weekends and they have no specific clothing or drug use.

These places are connected with the popular music that can be listened to also at the radio.

Some interviews were done in the parking and in the spaces in front of the locals. In these settings were contacted above all consumers and specially girls that have been more interested in the interviews and in the purpose of it.

However it was necessary a lot of nights to do few interviews.

Another setting used for this work was the universitary zone, above all libraries and other common places were the students have a rest during their studies.

Here were contacted especially non consumers young people between 19-25 years old, above all girls.

Finally to collect the individuals for the sample it was used the snowball technique.

It was very difficult for this work to find no-consumers/male/teenager.

In fact the need to keep out of the sample alcohol and tabacco's consumers (over a certain range) has made the research particularly difficult.

Generally the interest in this research it seems directly correlated with the age, the female gender and the level of abstinence by drugs.

There have been a lot of critiques about the use of the questionnaire for the research.

Many interviewers complained about the length and the complexity of the scale from 1 to 4.

Other critiques have been the item's repetition and the tendency to create stereotypes: the young people felt themselves catalogued in ways they don't recognise.

They have had a lot of difficult to perceive themselves like a user or a non user.

Lot of them have compiled the items 15 and 16 and both sections of item 14.

Often it has been necessary interviewer's help.

It has been difficult to understand the meaning of item 30.

A lot of young people didn't want to answer the question about their sexual life and their political and religious point of view.

This is replay to the Italian's custom of being balky to give information about looks of their life that they feel private.

Lot of questionnaires have been eliminated because they were incomplete.

LISBON, PORTUGAL

FIELDWORK REPORT

By Teresa Olaio and Fernando Mendes

Most people who go out at night for fun in Lisbon, are used to go to more than one place a night and, usually, they go to one or two pubs in the beginning of the night and then, at a late hour, they go to clubs; essentially what differs is the kind of people that go to each place. During our research we distinguished two major groups of people, who go out at night, but differently: the ones who go to many pubs and clubs a night and for whom the time, the places or days of the week do not matter and often go to the “after hours”) and those who “go out at night” (they prefer the “trendy” places and normally go to just one or two pubs and a club in the same night).

The nightlife in Lisbon presents a great variety of choices to all cultural social or musical tastes. There are two big entertainment areas in Lisbon: the Bairro Alto and the Riverside area (from Santa Apolonia [main train station] to Docas [the Tejo docks]).

Bairro Alto is a “mosaic of many colors”, since it is visited by gothic, gays, skin-heads, intellectuals, revivalists, people of the fashion world and by many others that, although not characterized by any specific trend, like the entertainment variety available in this area. This space has got a big quantity of so called “alternative” pubs, such as *Trumps* or *Paginas Tantas* and some clubs, like *Fagil* and *Fitima* Lopes. The music is available according to the trend adopted by each place and it ranges from Heavy-metal, Pop Rock, Jazz, Acid-Jazz, Bossa Nova to the more generalist House Music. Finally, and regarding the neighborhood, one should refer that mainly elderly and people from the world of art live in that area.

The Riverside area is attended by a more commercial public and also by certain people who go to Bairro Alto, since the pubs and clubs there close at 4 am.

The Commercial Public (the ones “who go out at night”) goes to the available pubs in this area, especially to *Santos-O-Velho*, *Docas*, *Jardim do Tabaco* and *Avenida 24 de Julho*. In this area almost every pub plays music from the top charts, although we can notice a change in order to create new musical habits around -that area. As an example we can mention the pub *Fluid*, which divulgates every day new musical and aesthetical tendencies, brought from New York and London, following the style of Philipp Stark and the Project *Saint-Germain*.

A growing phenomenon is the youngster’s seek for laces where alcohol is cheaper, namely the so-called “Tascas”, where beer is the elected drink. In *Avenida 24 de Julho* predominate the clubs to everyone’s taste. Starting in Santa Apolonia with the Club *Lux-Freigil*, where many clients of Bairro Alto and some of the Commercial Public from *Santos-O-Velho* go to. We now arrive to *Industria*, a recent space that has won a special status among the youngsters, on Friday and Saturday nights, with a “Soft-House” sound, by a well-knowned DJ . *Kapital* is another club that the commercial public prefers; it has three floors where every night all the “sounds” of the moment are played.

By the river, and very recently, we have Docas- the *Blues Cafd*, *Indochina*, *Docks* are exclusively commercial, because they have as target-public the people who live in thee outskirts of Lisbon and who go out at weekend nights. Here we find something that is an exception to the rule, the club *Queens*. This club opened its doors in the 90’s, with a “Gay Friendly” connotation, and the philosophy of the house changed when the missed *Alcantara-Mar* closed and the staff, managed by Pedro Lorena, moved to *Queens*. Nowadays “aficionados’ attend this club.

The golden times of *Alcantara* were occupied by spaces such as *Benzina*, *Bananas* and the mentioned, but not forgotten *Alcantara-Mar*. Now there are many African clubs like *Luanda* and *Kianda* and some failed attempts of Dancing Clubs, such as *Wand Kasino*.

In what concerns the “older generation”, we should mention the club *Stones*, passage of many generations and that in its thirtieth anniversary moved next door to the well-known *T-Club*. *Plateau*

(with revivalist people) and *Kremlin* (the “convent” of dance music in Lisbon), which stand in the mythical stairs to the beach, have managed to be popular for over a decade. These clubs have got a varied public and they are often the connection to a new night reality: the “after- hours, in the club *Garage*.

The concept of “after-hours” was imported from Ibiza and was released in Portugal by Beto Perino and it started with some private parties but has now become an entertainment phenomenon in Lisbon.

Finally, in the riverside neighborhood there are many business companies and warehouses, which contribute to the late close of those places. Two interviewers who underwent a thorough preparation made the questionnaires. That preparation consisted of the detailed selection of the place where the interview took place, in order to include all kinds of mainstream public.

As interview places we chose the two major areas mentioned above: Bairro Alto and the Riverside. In our opinion, based on the experience we have acquired with this research, Lisbon at night is filled with consumers. From what we could gather, the people interviewed thought of our work in two different aspects: at-a first stage they were curious (and so they quickly agreed to answer the questionnaire) and at a second stage, they were willing to collaborate with the project because of its principles and aims.

The questions which seemed harder to answer to were the ones that mentioned sex and heavy drugs, since, despite the fact the questionnaire was confidential, we think that there is still prejudice against these issues and young people sometimes do not feel comfortable talking to strangers about these matters.

In what concerns the categories that were harder to find we highlight “ Non- Users Young Women”. In order to solve this problem we decided to join the phenomenon “Ladies’ Night” in the clubs *Plateau and Docks*. On these nights it was possible to find non-users women under 19 who would cooperate with us, because these women go to these places not because drinks are free but because they know in advance that men will be there.

When we accepted the task of passing these questionnaires we took into account the difficulties that would eventually come along, for which we were ready due to the deep knowledge of the “movida alfacinha” (the Lisbon beat). Those difficulties arise at the moment someone intends to make some work with an informative character on the night and everything that surrounds it and the night “bosses” in Lisbon do not allow access to those places, revealing little willingness to know what goes on in their own businesses and which might be helpful to our study.

Another important factor is the general fear people have that these detailed surveys on delicate social issues may affect or make the access hard to our country, tightening inspection.

LIVERPOOL, ENGLAND

FIELDWORK REPORT

By Karen Hughes and Mark Bellis

Recreational life in Liverpool

Liverpool has always had a vibrant nightlife, but over the last decade has gained international recognition as a night-time destination through its association with the club-night Cream, which is still hosted by the Nation nightclub. The city centre area provides night-time entertainment for young people living in the city, as well as those living in the suburbs and in the surrounding area. Although Liverpool is not a particularly large city, it has a large population of young people due to the 60,000 higher education students in the city's universities and colleges. The presence of Cream and the fame of the Beatles means that younger and older people alike visit the city from around the UK and the rest of the world to explore its musical heritage and its nightlife.

The rise of the clubbing scene in Liverpool brought with it the development of the city's 'bar culture' which still dominates today. Baa Bar, the first 'club-bar' in Liverpool, opened in the early 1990s, providing an alternative pre-club venue to the new breed of 'chemical' clubber who had little interest in drinking pints of lager in a traditional pub. Its success led to the opening of many similar venues, featuring trendy interior décor, designer bottled beer, late licences and in-house DJs. The appeal of these venues meant that they were soon being frequented by a much wider audience than the original clubbing set. Many of these bars are now considered venues in their own right, and are no longer just places for people to meet before attending nightclubs.

There are several different nightlife areas in Liverpool, although as these are all within walking distance it is not unusual for people to visit more than one of these areas during the course of one night. On one side of the city centre shopping area lies the 'Concert Square' night-life area, containing numerous trendy bars and several nightclubs, including Cream (Nation). This area attracts mainly young people as many of the bars play dance music and popular chart music at a high volume. The area is very busy on Friday and Saturday nights, and often also during the week as many of the bars and clubs offer cheap drinks, hold special student nights or feature a particular kind of music. People frequenting these bars tend to dress in high fashion evening clothing at the weekend and 'casual but trendy' during week nights.

Further out from the city centre passed the Concert Square area there are a number of bars and clubs attracting a more casual, arty audience, which cater for a wide variety of musical tastes such as funk and soul or which feature live bands. The city's two major universities have student union venues on this side of the city and there are also a number of lively pubs that cater mainly for students. Most of the venues in this area do not have strict dress codes and people tend to dress casually.

On the other side of the city centre lies the 'Cavern Quarter' containing Mathew Street and the Cavern Club made famous by the Beatles. Several bars in this area have adopted a Beatles theme and many play sixties and seventies music alongside popular hits from the pop and dance charts. This area also houses many traditional pubs, and various restaurants, bars and clubs catering to a variety of audiences, including probably the most extravagant nightclub in Liverpool, Garlands, which began life as a gay venue but now attracts gay and heterosexual clients alike. Unlike the Concert Square area which attracts mainly young people, the Cavern Quarter attracts people of all ages due to the wide range of musical styles available.

Outside of these main nightlife areas there are a number of individual clubs or smaller nightlife areas such as the Albert dock complex which houses several restaurants and bars attracting a fashionable clientele, and the L2 club, one of the largest clubs in Liverpool, which holds a variety of different nights (e.g. 70s disco, indie music) and attracts students and locals alike. Outside of the city centre there are several local areas popular for their nightlife, such as the Lark Lane area of Allerton,

and also some individual clubs such as the Paradox which plays dance and chart music and attracts a young, mainly local audience.

‘Mainstream’ scene in Liverpool

The mainstream scene in Liverpool involves mainly bars and clubs in the Cavern Quarter and Concert Square areas which play a mixture of chart and dance music and attract clientele mainly between the ages of 18 and 30. The typical ‘mainstream’ night out would involve a visit to a number of different bars in either or both of these areas and possibly entrance to a nightclub playing the same style of music. Many people will not actually visit a nightclub but will end the night in a bar, all of which are open until 2am.

Survey Dates

Start: 5th April 2001 Finish: 5th June 2001

Number of pollsters and preparation

To find consumers and non-consumers partaking in recreational life, seven pollsters visited Liverpool city centre on various Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights throughout April and May. All pollsters were provided with a clipboard, pens, stapler, folder, instructions and copies of questionnaires. The aims and proposed methodology of the research was explained to pollsters at recruitment. On the first night of the survey all pollsters met for one hour to reiterate these aims and to discuss techniques. With the exception of the first and last nights of posting questionnaires, pollsters were split into two groups (one of four pollsters and one of three) who visited Liverpool on different nights. On the first and last nights of posting, all pollsters were out in Liverpool at the same time, although in different areas. In total, pollsters spent seven nights in Liverpool city centre.

Initially, it was decided that pollsters would find consumers and non-consumers on the streets of Liverpool in the nightlife areas and speaking to people as they walked between pubs and clubs. However, this method was unsuccessful due to the English weather –people were unwilling to stop in the cold weather and rain. Only six young people actually stopped in the streets to fill out a questionnaire, two of whom walked off before the questionnaire had been completed.

Due to the lack of success of the first method of posting questionnaires, it was decided that pollsters would enter pubs and bars in the city centre and find consumers and non-consumers inside these establishments. This method was far more successful. Pollsters approached young people who appeared to be the right age to complete the questionnaire, and offered an explanation of the research project. If the young person was willing to take part, the pollster ascertained whether they fulfilled the criteria for participation by asking the questions on the front page of the questionnaire. If individuals were eligible, the pollster either asked the questions and filled out the questionnaire for the respondent or allowed the respondent to fill out the questionnaire themselves with supervision and assistance when required, depending on the respondent’s preference. If a group of young people were approached and more people were willing and eligible to complete the questionnaire than there were pollsters present, the pollsters stayed with the group and allowed the group to fill out the questionnaire themselves with supervision.

At the end of the seven nights spent in Liverpool city centre, questionnaires had been completed for the required 100 consumers of various ages and sexes. However, only five non-consumers had been found all of whom were aged over 20. Considering the difficulty experienced in finding non-consumers participating in recreational life in Liverpool it was not considered appropriate for pollsters to seek solely for non-consumers in the city centre at night.

Alternative Strategies

Two attempts were made to find non-consumers in Liverpool city centre shopping area during the day (rather than at night), on the first occasion by two pollsters and on the second occasion by three pollsters, both sessions lasting about two hours. On the first occasion two female non-consumers were found, both aged under 19. On the second occasion only one non-consumer was found, again female and aged under 19. However, neither of these non-consumers were particularly active in recreational life. It was decided that this method of finding non-consumers was not going to be successful.

The most successful method of finding non-consumers employed was sending out an email to the entire student body of Liverpool John Moores University. The University's student body is highly diverse, comprising local, national and international students of all ages and social/educational backgrounds enrolled on both academic and vocational courses. It was considered appropriate to target the student body for research due to this diversity, and also due to the fact that many of the consumers surveyed in Liverpool city centre had themselves been students of the University.

There are over 20,000 full- and part-time students in the University, although it is not possible to ascertain exactly how many students received the email explaining the project and requesting participants. Due to the university's policy of averting junk mailings, it is not possible to send an email to more than about 20 students at a time. For many emails sent, a reply was received saying that the address of one or more of the student addressees did not exist. Also, many students may not have been in the habit of checking their emails regularly, if at all. Therefore, it would be expected that a significant number of students in the university did not actually receive the email.

Replies were received from around 200 students, many saying they were willing to participate, all of whom were sent an electronic version of the questionnaire in Microsoft Word format. Brief instructions were given on how to fill out the questionnaire and participants were asked to email any enquiries to the co-ordinator. Participants opened the questionnaire in Microsoft Word format, and simply typed an 'x' or text as appropriate into the appropriate boxes, saved the file, and sent it back to the co-ordinator by email. About 130 completed questionnaires were received via email, of which only 29 could actually be classified as non-consumers. Although all participants reported not taking and drugs or smoking and not drinking alcohol except very occasionally when they actually filled out the questionnaire it was found that many did not fulfil all criteria for non-consumption. In most cases the substance preventing individuals from being non-consumers was alcohol, with many people having been drunk during the last year.

In further attempts to find non-consumers friends of the co-ordinator took questionnaires into a church youth group and a Territorial Army group, where 8 non-consumers were found (5 in the church group and 3 in the TA group). However, as with the non-consumers found in Liverpool during the daytime, these non-consumers only very rarely participated in recreational life.

Groups easier to find and to interview

Consumers of all ages and sexes were easier to find than non-consumers. Older consumers of both sexes were easier to find than younger consumers. By law, young people under the age of 18 in the UK are not allowed to drink alcohol in a bar or buy alcohol in a pub and most night-time venues have an over-18s door policy - therefore most people in pubs, bars and clubs in the UK are aged 18 and over. Older people were slightly easier to interview than younger people - younger people were more suspicious and less willing to divulge information on their drug-taking. Older people were generally more confident and more relaxed about discussing their substance use and sexual behaviour

Groups difficult to find

Pollsters encountered great difficulties finding non-consumers participating in recreational life. Only five non-consumers were found in bars and clubs in Liverpool city centre, all of whom were over the age of 20.

Interviewee Comments

Many interviewees commented that the questionnaire was too long – interest started to wane about midway through and it was obvious that pollsters had taken up too much of their time. The timing was particularly difficult when people were in couples and only one person was eligible to fill out the questionnaire or when people were in groups and other members of the group wanted to leave the establishment. Some people who started to complete the questionnaire gave up half way through.

The question that caused most difficulty was number 17 – “What image do you think that those who drink alcohol or use drugs have of those who do not drink or take drugs (whether you are a user or not)?” – interviewees found it very difficult to comprehend, particularly non-consumers, and pollsters found it difficult to explain.

Most interviewees were interested in the research – many said that it had made them think about their own substance use and levels of consumption.

General comments

Pollsters generally found the people they approached in Liverpool city centre to be interested, friendly and willing to participate. However, the length of the questionnaire was a problem and this put several people off filling it out. There are definite problems in finding non-consumers in Liverpool. Alcohol plays a very large role in UK culture and most people drink more than the limits set for non-consumption. According to the Health Survey for England (1998), 90% of 16-24 year olds in England drink alcohol, and 82% drink at least once a week. Even those who drink only once or twice a year may drink enough on these occasions to consider themselves drunk (although one or two alcoholic drinks may be enough to make an inexperienced drinker feel drunk). It is likely that many individuals who choose not to drink, smoke or take drugs at all would opt to spend their free time in places other than pubs, bars and clubs.

NICE, FRANCE

FIELDWORK REPORT

Par Joseph Simon

La nuit à Nice, telle qu'elle a été déjà décrite lors des études précédentes (itinéraires de la nuit...), ne s'est pas vraiment transformée en l'espace de deux ans.

Quelques commentaires par rapport à l'enquête 2001 et pour rappeler son cadre :

La culture dominante de la nuit à Nice s'exprime à la fois dans les espaces « clos » tels que les bars, les pubs, les clubs, les discothèques, boîtes de nuit du vieux Nice et de la côte, mais aussi et peut-être surtout dans les espaces « ouverts » de la ville illuminée et animée la nuit des weekend que sont les terrasses des brasseries et des restaurants, des cafés, les places, les ruelles, les rue piétonnes, et évidemment à deux pas du Cours Saleya (véritable « before » à ciel ouvert) la plage, le bord de mer (réaménagé pour les piétons), avec ses terrasses de café, ses pubs et boîtes de nuit...

La zone nocturne de Nice, où affluent le weekend les « noctambules », s'étend principalement le long de la mer du Casino (à l'Ouest) à la colline du Château (à l'Est), qui domine le port et le vieux Nice, zone qui englobe aussi les rues piétonnes, notamment celle traditionnelle de la prostitution, où un peu en retrait de la gastronomie envahissante, se concentrent des établissements très fréquentés par les adolescents : salles de billard, espace jeux vidéo,

cyber – cafés.

En bordure de cette zone, mais à l'opposé de la piétonne citée, et aussi très fréquentés par les jeunes : le bowling (ouvert le weekend jusqu'à 3h du matin) et la patinoire (ouverte aussi très tard, mais fermée pour travaux depuis le 9 avril). Les discothèques ou « boîtes de nuit » se trouvent dans cette zone, mais aussi ailleurs réparties dans la ville...

Limitrophes également du vieux Nice, les jardins de la Promenade des Arts, et la grande place de Nice, place Masséna, où se tiennent les grandes manifestations, les grands rassemblements de la ville : touristiques, culturels, humanitaires... Le dernier weekend d'avril, un concert « rap » gratuit, pour sensibiliser à la prévention du sida, a réuni jusqu'à 2h du matin, un très grand nombre de jeunes.

La nuit, et surtout le weekend, le vieux Nice est entièrement livré aux piétons.

Au pied de la colline du château, c'est un espace historique bordé par les places Garibaldi et Masséna, resserré entre l'opéra, le palais de justice, la cathédrale, la préfecture et le bord de mer, avec trois places, hautes en couleurs : la place Rossetti, la place du Palais de Justice, et surtout le Cours Saleya, reliées entre elles par des axes piétonniers en perpétuel mouvement, le long desquels s'alignent pubs, brasseries, bars, restaurants, et leurs terrasses, mais aussi discothèques, clubs, cafés - théâtre, galeries de peinture, échoppes..., ouvertes au public très tard la nuit

Sur les places et le bord de mer circulent, se promènent ou s'agitent beaucoup de monde : rollers, groupes de jeunes avec leurs transistors, à pied ou à scooter, et il est fréquent le weekend (2 weekend en avril) de rencontrer des animations particulières, cracheurs de feu, exhibitions acrobatiques style « capoïera »... De plus, il se trouve qu'en avril un film a été tourné de nuit dans la vieille ville, ce qui évidemment a créé une animation supplémentaire.

Jusqu'à minuit, quelques heures réunissent indistinctement « clubbers » et gens des « free parties » (certains plus facilement reconnaissables par leur tenue vestimentaire, leurs percings, s'attendant en groupe place du Palais de Justice et attendant que les heures passent) ; c'est la soirée « before » dans la zone illuminée et animée du vieux Nice et des rues piétonnes... Dans une atmosphère de fête, de joie, de bruit, d'ivresse déjà..., où se distribuent des flyers qui annoncent les programmes de la nuit dans des pubs ou des boîtes..., comme un carnaval au quotidien..

Il y a ensuite « l'underground », le caché ailleurs dans des endroits improvisés non prévus à cet effet, au fond de la nature, sur des plages privées, où les gens, à la recherche d'innovations et de sensations, « s'envoient » aussi quantité de produits, avec ses rythmes « hardcore », « trance », et puis il y a des gens différents, les plus nombreux, habitués des pubs et discothèques, des « boîtes de nuit », des clubs, avec un ensemble de musiques « hardhouse », « latino », et plus largement le rock (2 pubs, du vieux Nice) et la pop music contemporaine...

Le vieux Nice fourmillent de jeunes en groupe qui flânent, discutent, attendent, vont et viennent d'une place à l'autre, entre Rossetti et la plage en passant par le Palais de Justice et le Cours Saleya, itinéraire quasi rituel qu'on peut parcourir plusieurs fois... On peut dire que le personnage courant de la nuit n'est pas typé socialement : il est le passant de la nuit, le noctambule, « celui qui aime vivre la nuit, qui prend la nuit pour le jour, qui, la nuit, a le sentiment d'appartenir à un monde différent avec lequel il est particulièrement en phase »

La soirée commence traditionnellement dans les bars, cafés, brasseries, ou au restaurant, va se continuer dans les pubs, puis se prolonge dans une ou deux boîtes de nuit...

Principales caractéristiques du déroulement de l'enquête:

Vu l'heure d'ouverture de plus en plus tardive des « boîtes de nuit », et l'âge limite d'accès à ces lieux (qui pénalise surtout les garçons), le choix a été fait d'investir le vieux Nice et les zones piétonnes y conduisant. Les sorties nocturnes eurent lieu les vendredi et samedi du mois d'Avril, jusque vers 1h ou 2h du matin (3h à 4h du matin pour les enquêteurs qui poursuivaient en discothèques).

Compte tenu par ailleurs des contraintes de l'étude relatives à la consommation, à l'âge (nécessité de répondre à la difficulté présumée de rencontrer la nuit des NC et des moins de 19 ans), la passation de questionnaires commençait vers 22h dans les lieux et espaces où commençait, se passait, ou encore s'étirait la soirée... ; bref, là où se préparait la nuit : terrasses de café et des pubs du Cours Saleya, Places et ruelles du vieux Nice, rues piétonnes, espaces jeux vidéo, billard, bowling, abris bus, animations du bord de mer...

C'est là sans doute que s'introduit dans l'approche au moins une différence avec les enquêtes des années précédentes : si la procédure d'échantillonnage était le même quel que fût le lieu (ouvert ou clos) de l'enquête, il était demandé aux enquêteurs qui abordait une personne NC dans la première partie de la nuit, par exemple sur les marches du Palais de justice ou à la terrasse d'un café, de poser une question filtre supplémentaire sur son intention ou pas de poursuivre sa nuit dans un pub ou une boîte de nuit... Cette façon sélective d'aborder les gens a permis à trois enquêteurs (Mastouri, Minazzoli, Brunelin) d'enclencher la technique « boule de neige » et à prendre des rendez-vous auprès de relations de jeunes rencontrés pour le lendemain ou même le weekend suivant., et souvent là où se rendaient les jeunes.

On peut dire que :

- 73 (36%) questionnaires furent remplis dans des lieux dits « clos » et traditionnels de la nuit niçoise, essentiellement :
 - Pubs (21 Q.) : le Casa del Sol, le De Klompt, L'Escalier, le Thor
 - Boîtes (52 Q.) : La Palouza, le Forum, le Niel's, L'Annexe, La Suite, L'Ambassade,
- 79 (40%) questionnaires furent remplis dans le vieux Nice (places, terrasses de café...) :
 - Places Rossetti (5 Q.) et du Palais de Justice (37 Q.) : lieux de rendez-vous et de passage obligé pour se rendre Cours Saleya, pour aller d'un pub à l'autre...
 - Terrasses de café devant des pubs du Cours Saleya : Zoom, Les 3 diables, Metal
 - Devant les Pubs (groupes de jeunes attendant l'ouverture) : Nice pub (Rock), le Bouche à oreille, l'Another Day Club et l'Havanita (House, Groove, trip-hop, Soul, Disco, Acid jazz, New Jazz, Old School, Reggae...)

- 48 (24%) questionnaires furent remplis à la périphérie du vieux Nice (bord de mer, rues piétonnes, espaces jeux vidéo / bowling / billard, concert Rap de la place Masséna ...

La consigne principale, sans cesse répétée, était de ne retenir pour l'enquête que les jeunes qui « sortent » habituellement la nuit le weekend, et pas uniquement pour se promener ; les uns consomment plutôt régulièrement, les autres consommant très peu ou pas du tout (selon les critères quantitatifs de la page de sélection du questionnaire). Il a fallu expliquer à plusieurs reprises aux enquêteurs la nécessité absolue d'éviter toute confusion entre NC et C, de ne pas instaurer une zone de flou, de maintenir le plus possible le contraste, la différence, comme le point important de la problématique de la recherche. Ce ne fut pas sans mal.

L'essentiel du travail de préparation s'effectua en groupe au cours de deux réunions : il porta sur la façon d'entrer en contact, sur la graduation des préliminaires pour arriver à retenir objectivement selon les critères de la recherche, un Non Consommateur ou un Consommateur. Ensuite, chaque sortie commençait par un échange sur les difficultés de compréhension rencontrées par les enquêteurs ou les enquêtés et permettait de revenir sur le point de la constitution de l'échantillon. Outre cet aspect constant, les questions principales les plus abordées furent les Q.11,12 ,15,16 et la page 8 du questionnaire centrée sur la recherche de sensations...

Pour la très grande majorité, la compréhension du questionnaire fut bonne.

Beaucoup ont exprimé un intérêt pour la recherche elle-même et sa dimension européenne. Assez nombreux aussi sont ceux qui ont trouvé le questionnaire trop long, certains ont montré de l'impatience, et même de l'agressivité contre une enquêtrice de la part d'un groupe d'adolescents du vieux Nice qui ne supportaient qu'un des leurs répondent au questionnaire ; passation interrompue au milieu pour deux questionnaires.

En boîte de nuit, la passation a été rendue un peu plus difficile à cause du bruit, de la musique, mais aussi des sollicitations du groupe exerçant une sorte de pression sur la passation.

La surprise au final (toute relative au regard du cadre imposé de l'enquête) est que la moitié des non consommateurs (contre _ des consommateurs de l'enquête) ont été contactés dans les lieux « clos » de la nuit que sont les pubs et les boîtes de nuit (représentés à priori comme des lieux de consommation) ; dont 1 NC sur 2 de moins de 19 ans en Boîte...(l'autre moitié ayant été rencontrée dans des espaces dits « ouverts » de la nuit (mais la nuit n'est - elle pas un tout fait de moments, de temps et de lieux différents ?) : bowling, vidéo, plage, place Rossetti, terrasses de brasseries).

Par contre, 3/4 des consommateurs ont été trouvés dans les espaces « ouverts » tels la place de Palais de Justice, la rue piétonne, les terrasses des pubs, le concert Rap, mais quelques uns aussi dans les salles de billard et le bowling.

Enfin, forte impression, mais la statistique le confirmera peut-être, d'une proportion importante « d'ex usagers de cannabis » parmi la catégorie dite des Non Consommateurs. Difficile de connaître la réalité vraie... Beaucoup se sont présentés sous un angle, et se sont révélés différents au fur et à mesure de la passation du questionnaire... La notion d'usage « modéré » de cannabis, différente de la consommation, émerge et rejoint tout simplement celles d'alcool et de tabac : notion qui désigne peut - être paradoxalement les « ex - usagers »

de cannabis comme des « usagers potentiels » capables de gérer leur consommation. On ne peut que paraphraser à propos du cannabis et de cette situation ce qu'un auteur célèbre disait à propos du tabac : « c'est facile de s'arrêter ; je l'ai fait plusieurs fois ».

PALMA, SPAIN
FIELDWORK REPORT
by **Montse Juan**

Research in the city of Palma

Palma is an important city in the sphere of entertainment. It is replete with recreational zones and venues of all varieties, and there is a very cosmopolitan population comprising all European nationalities taking part in the nightlife. There is a wide choice of entertainment styles although the majority would be included in what is known in Europe as mainstream. The areas closest to the city centre, la Lonja and the Paseo Marítimo are the most popular, those which are most in fashion and those which have the widest range of venues, ranging from large discos (such as Pachá or Tito's) to small bars (El Globo, La Bodeguita). These two areas were chosen as being excellent for research. Another place is 'Gomila' an area linked to the Paseo Marítimo but quite different, and one which acts as a meeting point for the younger set. There is also the 'botellón' on the city quay, opposite la Lonja. The 'botellón' is where many young people start the night before going on to bars and discos. It is a very popular place in summer, a little less so in winter but still crowded.

Commencement of research

The first phase began with training the interviewers, six in total. Each interviewed a colleague to familiarise him/herself with the questionnaire. Subsequently, there was a trial run with two acquaintances who met the requirements of the sample. The survey began in the first week in November 2000.

The first weekend, the interviews took place in the selected areas (Paseo Marítimo, la Lonja and Gomila), it having been agreed to begin the fieldwork early in the evening and continue until one o'clock in the morning. It was thought it would be easier to find non-users during this period of time. The first weekend, a total of 15 subjects were interviewed. According to the interviewers, the majority of the young people who were prepared to reply were those who did not fit the sample – those who drank alcohol and smoked in amounts/frequencies that were unacceptable but who did not take illegal drugs.

Most of these young people who drink alcohol and smoke are generally habitual users, some are even in the habit of getting drunk at the weekend. Practically all the interviews corresponded to users (alcohol and/or tobacco users in addition to some illegal drug). The moderate or non-users did not seem to exist. It was only possible to interview one woman in the adolescent group.

The same method was followed for the first four weekends. Practically, the entire sample of users was covered but there were difficulties in finding non-users. The most difficult group to find was the male user over 20 years of age. In December, a new strategy was introduced into the fieldwork when it was decided to visit public places such as cafes, bars, hamburger bars and pizza bars in the same areas as the recreational nighttime venues on the basis that those who used less went out at an earlier hour and complementing their clubbing by frequenting other places where they could talk to their friends. It was also decided to adopt the snowball system with non-users, in other words when one was found he/she was asked about friends that could be interviewed. This led to the commencement of interviewing during the week and through contacts. In the majority of cases, the meeting was set up with the informant in a public place where he/she was interviewed.

This, the slowest phase, lasted until the end of January 2001

Taking into account each of the eight subgroups interviewed, the easiest to interview was the male user group, both the adolescent and the older ones. The oldest non-user males were the most difficult group to reach.

The women were the most reticent in responding to the questionnaire. There were more women in the collective who did not fit the sample (alcohol and tobacco users). Among the women, the easiest group to find was the non-user adolescent and the most difficult the adolescent user. With the adolescent women, there was a problem insofar as, at the beginning of the interview, some minors behaved as if they were abstemious but, as the interview progressed, certain inconsistencies began to appear.

In some cases, they confessed that they did indeed take drugs, alcohol at least and some took cannabis, thereby invalidating the interview. Secrecy in use among women is still apparent, particularly among the youngest and possibly because the sale of alcohol and tobacco to minors under 16 years of age is illegal in the Balearic Islands. This happened rather less with women over 20 years of age. For some, it was quite an achievement to be a user, as they considered it a characteristic of freedom. One woman said in the comments that she felt ashamed in situations where some women did not use drugs and whose partner did use (in reference to illegal drugs, specifically cocaine), adding that this situation showed a clear case of inequality.

TURKU, FINLAND
FIELDWORK REPORT

Kristiina Kuussaari
Department of sociology
University of Turku

Irefrea's non-consumer project's fieldwork was completed in Turku in the beginning of June. The result was failure, since we couldn't get enough people in the sample. It was very hard to find youngsters (under 19 years old) who could be included in the category of drug users according this research. The other six categories of the sample were however completed. The total size of the sample in Turku is 169 persons (instead of 200).

In this report I shall first tell you something about Turku as a city and how drugs appear (or don't appear) in Turku. Then I will try to define the mainstream culture here in Turku. After this definition I shall describe the places where the survey was carried out and point out some problems the pollsters had on their way. Finally I shall discuss what should have been done differently and I will make some critical remarks about my own contribution, my pollster's contribution and about the survey in general.

City of Turku and drugs in the City

Turku is a city located on the coast, in the south-western Finland. Turku is the fifth largest city in the country and in Turku there are about 170 000 inhabitants. There are three universities in the city (University of Turku, Åbo Academi and The School of Economics and Business Administration), and also a college in which for example cultural subjects are very popular. The variety of different schools brings a lot of young people to the city. Over the years strong youth culture has developed to Turku. Turku is also located quite near to Stockholm. Stockholm is a much more European city than average cities in Finland and one can feel Stockholm's atmosphere also here in Turku. New things, trends and cultures arrive often to Turku before they reach Helsinki.

In Turku there is a strong underground culture, which offers many possibilities for people to act against the mainstream culture. Poetry is one of the main things at the moment and there are for example alternative publishing houses. Also alternative food culture arrived to Turku quite early. The first vegetarian restaurant was established to Turku in the early 70's.

Turku is also known from three different rock music festivals. The oldest of them is Ruisrock, which was established in the end of the 60's. Ruisrock was the first rock-festival in Finland so in a way Turku has been a pioneer in the rock-festival field in Finland. The other festival in town, Down by the Laituri, is a pioneer in the field of city-festivals in Finland. Down by the Laituri was established in the end of 80's and it has grown to be a big and popular festival. The third festival in Turku is Kone festival. This festival is dedicated to tecno and it is the first techno-festival in all Nordic countries. All these festivals tell us about vivid rock-culture in Turku. In many ways Turku moves ahead of Helsinki.

Drug use in Turku has increased in the 1990's. The phenomenon is the same in all over Finland. However, drug problem is still a marginal problem and its character is quite different from the Middle- and Southern-European countries. About 10 % of the Finnish people have tried cannabis sometimes during their lifetime and only few per cent of the population has tried some other illegal drugs. The amount of the problem users (opiates and amphetamines) is approximately 12 000 people. About 10 % of the population don't take any drugs, not even alcohol. This amount of the people has however decreased in the recent years.

In the last few years Turku has been known about growing drug related death rates. In the year 1999 there were 11 heroin deaths in Turku. The amount was much higher than years before. The growing death rates have been explained in different ways. One possible explanation is that in Turku

there wasn't any heroin culture before and as something strange arrived to town, people didn't know how to act with it. It was easy to take an overdose, since the strength of the heroin wasn't in the users knowledge. The other possible explanation for the deaths has been, that some of the victims had just been in detox and as they arrived to the field again and took H, they weren't aware that the dose should be much smaller than before detox. It is also notable that in many death cases it was found out that the victim had used bentsodiatsepines together with heroin. In some international studies this has been found out to be a meaningful risk factor for ODs.

As it was hard to find young consumers from Turku, it might be good to take a quick review on how much experience youngsters have about the drug use in general in Finland. In following I shall review some results from the study that was carried out among the youngsters in the school. The data for this study was collected in years 1998 and 1999. In the study it was asked whether the person had used some illegal drugs or no. The data was collected among 8th (14 years old) and 9th (15 years old) graders, among high schools 2nd (17 years old) graders and among the kids from vocational school (17 years old). In the study it was found out that about 10 % of the 8th graders had tried some illegal drug more than two times. In the high school the amount of the experimentalists were couple per cents more and in the vocational school about 20 % had tried some illegal drug more than two times.

As one looks on the mentioned rates it should have been possible to find people who have taken drugs. However, the amount of the people who have taken drugs more than few times is very small. This is related to the fact how a person himself defines his/her drug use. Do you categorise yourself in to drug users category, if you have taken drugs more than for example five times. I shall come to this point later. About 5 % of the eight and ninth graders had used drugs more than five times and in vocational school about 10 % of the students had used illegal drugs this often. However, this is a national data and it must be noticed that drug use in Helsinki area is a little bit more common than in other parts of the country.

Mainstream in Turku

Mainstream culture is quite a wide concept and I find it pretty hard to explain what the mainstream is here in Turku. But in the following I will have a try. I shall approach mainstream through three elements: music, fashion and language.

Variety in *music* is quite wide in the mainstream in teenager's and young people's cultures. As you go to the local discos you can hear music from side to side. They are playing music from the 80's but there are also sounds from the more recent years. The local disco's music variety can be seen as a sign of mainstream. They are trying to offer something to everybody. There are no discos that offer only special music to some subgroups, but more so that everybody is getting something. However, from time to time there can be some theme nights in the discos. The theme can mean that the party is offered especially for some special group, for instance for the students. It is also possible that the theme is related to some era from the past or from the future. However, as you go to the local discos in an ordinary night, in an ordinary weekend, you can hear all kind of music played.

In the following I will give you the 10 most popular albums sold here in Finland in week 23. Maybe this enlightens you a little bit. As these are the most sold albums one can assume that this is the music the mainstream is listening. This is also the music played in the discos and in the radio. Even this list tells us about the variety of the music. There are some popular Finnish artists on the list and there are for example Eagles, which can be seen as a "memory from past". Last weeks (23) top ten was following:

- 1 RADIOHEAD Amnesiac
- 2 APULANTA Heinola 10
- 3 ANSSI KELA Nummela
- 4 EAGLES The Very Best
- 5 THE RASMUS Into

- 6 LINKIN PARK Hybrid Theory
- 7 STRATOVARIUS Intermission
- 8 MAIJA VILKKUMAA Meikit, ketjut ja vyöt
- 9 DEPECHE MODE Exciter
- 10 TO/DIE/FOR Epilogue

Fashion can be seen as another important element of the mainstream (or the culture in general). At the moment the fashion goes back to 80's. There are "hipster" jeans and trousers, tight tops and shoes with huge bottoms. There are long skirts and also very short ones. There are pretty much colours, even though black is always popular among youngsters. Sunglasses are in different colours and in hairstyle you can find everything.

The third element in the mainstream culture is the *language*. Some subgroups, especially in the youth cultures, have developed their own way to talk. They have kind of built a language into language. They have their own words and own phrases. Own language is a pretty effective way to separate self from the others. But what is the mainstreams relationship into language. Do they have their own way in talking? The answer into this is no. The teenagers and the young in the mainstream culture have adopted the standard language. There may be a youngster's way in talking but there are no real sub languages.

The places where the data was collected

The places where the data for the survey was collected can be divided into three different categories: pubs & cafés, discos and teenage places. Some of the data was also collected from the local shopping centre in the heart of Turku and some data was collected from the streets. The pollsters visited also the local music festival (Down by the Laituri). The places are listed in the Appendix one. There were five places in the pubs and cafés category and also five places in the disco category. In the teenage places category there were two different places: a disco for teenagers and a local youth house where the youngsters just hang around. All together there were twelve different places in the survey plus the street, the music festival and the shopping centre. In some of the places the pollsters visited more than once.

The places were located in the middle of the city. Only the youth house was in the suburban area. The places were chosen to be in the survey, because it was known that local, mainstream youngsters go into these places. The pollsters and I chose the places for the study. We also tried to get information from the field and some places we did discover this way.

Usually it was easy to get into bars, restaurants, discos and cafés to complete the survey. I was in a contact with the owner of the place beforehand and I did explain him/her what we are doing and why the data is collected. The pollsters had also small cards with them. In the cards there were my name and other significant information and in the card there were also the web-address of IREFREA. However, the owners were often worried if the filling up the survey would disturb their client's evening. They were also worried about the anonymity and the fact that we would have been forcing people to answer into questionnaire. There were some places that we couldn't get in. The reasons for these refusals were previously mentioned and also that it was too noisy and too dark for people to fill any questionnaires. Some of the owners simply thought, that this kind of survey didn't fit into nightlife.

Most of the interviews took place in the inside locals: in bars, restaurants and discos. Some of the interviews were however completed in the streets.

Process of the data collection

The data for the survey was collected in two phases. The students collected the first part of the data. There were seven girls doing the data collection (Appendix 2). This first part of the data was collected in February and in March. As the girls were doing small reports about the data, I did allow

them to add some extra questions into the questionnaire (the questions were in the end of the questionnaire). At this first part, the data was collected from everybody who wanted to answer in it. It wasn't necessary nor even the purpose of the data collection, but I thought it would be a good start to get an overall view about the situation. In this first part of the data collection 38 consumers and 13 non-consumers were reached.

The second phase of the data collection begun in the end of April. By this time I had hired two pollsters: one girl from the previous data collection phase (Pirita Häkälä) and one new girl (Piia Lehtisaari). The pollsters were active in May and in the beginning of June. In this second phase the pollsters were focusing on the non-consumer and consumer groups. There were however one exception, since in the youth house the questionnaires were delivered to everybody. This was necessary for the anonymity. Most of the data was collected in the early evenings (from 8 PM to 11 PM), after that people were so drunk, that it was impossible to get any accurate answers.

After the first data collection phase it seemed to be obvious that there were only very few non-consumers in the "normal" nightlife. As the second phase begun, we focused on some cafés that were maintained by the congregations. The cafés were open in the evenings and at the weekends and we did find non-consumers there.

Problems on the way

In the following I shall point out some of the problems we had on our way. Some of the problems are related to how the reality is turning out and some of the problems are related to the survey itself. I shall name the five most problematic areas.

1. Lack of young consumers

The major problem we had on completing the survey was the fact that it was very hard to locate teenage consumers. We did try many different ways: we went to discos, youth houses, streets and to a shopping centre, but still this group was very difficult to reach. Or one could say it was unreachable. We have wondered a lot where this group is or does it exist. There might be several reasons for hardness to reach young consumers. In the following I shall mention some possible reasons.

Size of the group. This is really a marginal group here in Finland, only few people this young categorise themselves as drug users.

Scene of the drug use. People who belong to this group are often so deep in drug use that they do not go out to pubs and restaurants. It is known that drug use here in Finland doesn't happen in "the open scene" but inside closed doors. We don't find drug users out dancing but in the "caves" were they do drugs. These "caves" are often private homes. Earlier one starts taking drugs, earlier one falls out from the "normal" social scene.

Matter of illegal action. Drug use is illegal. People who take drugs are afraid admitting it. They are afraid they will be exposed. There were few times my pollsters were suspected to be from police. There were many people who did refuse from answering. It didn't help that my pollsters tried to convince this group. They did choose to be silent.

New cultural phenomena. This is related to the above. Drug use is a new cultural phenomenon here in Finland. It didn't actually appear to be youngsters group action until in 90's. As drug use is pretty new thing here and as it is illegal, it is kind on understandable that people are worried about their privacy.

Categorising self. This is an interesting question. When do you categorise yourself into "user" category and when you still are in the category of those who just try drugs. In our study this categorisation was left to the person himself. So it is his subjective opinion about his own drug use. We did receive a lot of questionnaires were answerer had categorised him/herself into "experimentalists" category.

2. Lack of non-consumers

As we first made our grand tour in the nightlife in Turku, we found out that almost all the people in the bars and restaurants were drinking, or at least had they been drunk sometimes during the past year. So we figured out this would be our main problem in the data collection. At this point we went to some cafes that were maintained by the congregations. These cafes are night-cafes where you are able to hang around, have something to eat and drink and just chat with your friends. In these cafes we found people who didn't use any kind of substances. However, this is an important issue to be noticed in the sample. Our non-consumer group (or some part of it) weren't reached only from the mainstream places but from their own environment. This would make me assume, that some of the questions in the questionnaire (for example religion) are a little bit inclined and that the real mainstream's opinions might have been different. But as I mentioned, it was pretty hard to find these non-consumers from the mainstream scene.

3. Questionnaire. There were pretty much criticism towards our questionnaire. The main point was that questionnaire was too long. There were many cases that a person started to fill up the questionnaire but got tired on the way and didn't finish it at all. People criticised also the fact, that in the questionnaire the drugs were all the same. No light and hard drugs were separated from each other. This annoyed many people. Question number 30 was also commented to be a failure and hard to answer.

4. Night-life is a tough environment for the survey. It wasn't the easiest case to collect the data from dark and noisy environments. We did learn that, if there were bands playing in some club, it was almost impossible to do the survey at the same time. It was also pretty hard to find proper places to fill up the questionnaires since there usually were only few tables around. Also the fact that people were usually drinking some alcohol and the most were at least a little bit drunk made a situation a little unpleasant.

5. Hard task for the pollsters

The data collection seemed to be pretty hard task for my pollsters. At first they were inspired about the study but as time went by and they realized that the sample was very hard to reach, they kind of lost their inspiration. It was easy to notice that in the last meters their motivation floated away and I am afraid I wasn't able to motivate them enough. However, one must notice that they were novices and not one of them had done this kind of data collection before. It is quite understandable that it is hard to go and ask strangers if they are taking some drugs or taking none substances. As I mentioned before, the drug use is pretty new cultural phenomenon here in Finland and I think people are still a little bit strangers to the subject. And of course, drug use is pretty private matter. As someone totally strange comes and starts to ask you very personal questions, it is no surprise that there were many refusals. But even this was pretty hard task for my pollsters, I am still quite happy with them. And I am sure they did learn a lot on the way. At least I did.

Finally

From my point of view the non-consumer project has been very instructive experience. The thing I have been wondering maybe the most, is the sample, which was given to us. The sample was the same in every country, it wasn't related to different cultures or different structures in any ways. This is of course a matter of recourses, but as we act as we have done, we lose a whole bunch of information that could have been reached with almost same amount of work. In our setting it is of course important to focus on those questions that needed to be answered. But focusing so deep and leaving the context without any attention is a poor solution. This setting doesn't leave space for different cultures, views and worlds. And that, I feel, is a shame.

As we begun our data collection here in Turku, we didn't follow the instructions properly. We went to bars and restaurants and we let all the customers answer to the questionnaire. This way we did find out what the field is like, what is the amount of people who take drugs, who take only alcohol and who don't

consume any of these substances. In this phase it was also possible to identify the group that has had some drug experiences. I think this should have been the first step. After this first step we could have formed the sample, which would have been more related to the local culture and its characteristics.

International studies are of course always big compromises. Many important aspects must drop out since they are too heavy to carry on. However, this makes me wonder, what is the point in collecting the data from different countries, if the cultural aspects and cultural differences are all left out? Wouldn't it have been much easier and cheaper to collect the data only from one country? What extra did we reach as we acted as we have done?

Even I may sound a little bit too critical here, it has been a great pleasure for me to be involved in non-consumer project. As I said previously, I have learned a lot. I have learned some management but more important is that I have learned something new about how to do research and how different it is to act as a member of larger, international group. I believe that only way to grow up as a researcher, is to do and experience different projects and learn about these experiences. I may also be a little disappointed to myself, since we weren't able to reach the goal here in Turku. However, reality in Turku is different from reality in Berlin. Understanding that makes me feel a little better.

APPENDIX 1. PLACES IN TURKU WHERE IREFREA SURVEY HAS CARRIED OUT

Cosmic Comics Cafe	Pub	9.2.2001
Cosmic Comics Café	Pub	2.3.2001
Dynamo	Disco	2.3.2001
Puuteri	Disco	2.3.2001
Palatsi	Youth house	21.2.2001
	Rock festival	
Säättämö	Rock pub	16.2.2001
	Live music	
Palatsi	Youth house	27.4.2001
	Disco for youngsters	
Gallery	Disco	28.4.2001
Forte	Disco	4.5.2001
God's Gas	Café	4.5.2001
Berlin	Disco	5.5.2001
Mix –kahvila	Cafe	5.5.2001
Blanko	Restaurant	19.5.2001
	Live music	
Dynamo	Disco	19.5.2001
Nuorisotalo (Lauste)	Youth house	23.5.2001
	Ordinary night at the house	
Down by the Laituri Festival	Music festival	6.6. - 10.6.2001
Hansa-kortteli	shopping center in the centre of Turku	25.6.2001 8.6.2001

APPENDIX 2.

Pollsters
 Petra Haavisto
 Outi Hakola
 Piritta Häkälä
 Piia Lehtisaari
 Katri Paija
 Terhi Raitanen
 Iti Verte

UTRECHT, HOLLAND
FIELDWORK REPORT
By Frank Leenders

In order to assure the anonymity of the locations where the interviews took place we name the clubs *Club A*, *Club B* et cetera and the bars *Bar A*, *Bar B* and so on. Also interviews have been done at the streets of the centre of Utrecht during a music event which took place at several locations in the city centre, which will be called *Street Event*.

Results of the Dutch fieldwork

During a three-week period in August 2001 (from August 9 until the 1st of September) four fieldworkers did interviews in the town of Utrecht at about seven different locations and/or events (some locations were visited more often), where they interviewed a total of 126 respondents matching the target-group. Four of them dropped out during the interview, due to being under the influence of (probably) ecstasy, which disabled them to finish the interview. Three of them were male and one female. The signs these four people showed had some similarities. They got agitated, were restless and had difficulties understanding the questions. They also rolled their eyes, which indicate the use of ecstasy.

A total of 122 questionnaires are completed.

The fieldworkers reported that finding teenagers was more difficult than the young (>19).

Especially non-using teenagers were hard to find (nine females and five males). So the teenagers they did engage, who were willing to participate in the survey, were more likely to be users than non-users. One of the reasons teenagers are more difficult to find is that the clubs have an entrance-policy for admitting people who are eighteen years or older, some even 21 years or older. During the first week of the fieldwork the fieldworkers mainly interviewed young people (above eighteen years old). So we decided to attend a special club night at *Club B* meant for next-year students in Utrecht, who are between about seventeen and twenty years old. Also at *Club C* the average age is lower than at most other 'mainstream' clubs in Utrecht. This special focus seemed to work as the fieldworkers managed to interview considerably more teenagers. Then it turned out that most teenagers who are going out to clubs and bars are consumers of alcohol and/or other substances.

All the interviews took place in the old centre of Utrecht, where all the described clubs and bars are located. Thursday night in Utrecht is a typical night for students to go out and they form the majority in clubs like *Club A* and (dancing)bars like *Bar A* and *B*. Fridays and Saturdays, Utrecht has a strong regional function when it attracts a lot of people from outside the city.

Going out in Utrecht: the places, people and their habits

Describing one specific youth subculture as the mainstream culture would really harm reality of the current out going people. To describe such thing as 'the mainstream culture', one could best describe it as a mixture of different youth subcultures. Not only do representatives of different subcultures easily mix and interact with each other forming a different subculture, but also individuals themselves switch between subcultures depending on what day of the week it is. For example, a 22 year old woman who is a

Club A. One of the most famous concert halls/clubs in Utrecht, residing in an old movie theatre, providing room for 600 to 800 visitors. It has a big stage where almost daily concerts take place of national and international acts and bands. The concerts are held between eight o'clock and twelve o'clock pm. On Thursday, Friday and Saturday *Club A* is being used as a discotheque, open from eleven pm until five am. Each night has a different theme and accordingly attracts a different audience.

At Thursday a lot of students can be found. The music is a mixture of popular music from the eighties and nineties and varies from rock to techno.

At Friday nights the audience is more mixed, although more alternative than at Thursdays. Next to students you will find more working people and looking to fashion style and taste of music you see a variety of people: rockers, skaters (baggy trousers), and more casual types. The age varies between eighteen and 35 years old. Music could be described as more alternative, mixed with eighties music, than at Thursdays. Often there are also VJ's.

At Saturday nights *Club A* attracts an audience which is often referred to as being 'hip'. People wear fashionable clothes, some have the latest hairdo and among them the newest (fashion) trends can be observed. At Saturdays you can find the more established DJ's and VJ's from the (Dutch) club scene. The music they play show a variety of styles from techno, trance, drum & bass, break beats, two step, funk and hip hop. At Saturdays the interior of *Club A* is more often decorated with all kinds of attributes and special light effects compared to the Thursdays and Fridays. Saturdays nowadays seem to attract a younger (18 to 30) audience than the Fridays.

In general, *Club A* has two different floor levels. At ground level (after you bought your ticket (for about 7 euro and passed the bouncers) you find the entrance where the bathrooms, wardrobes are located. Also at ground level are the dance floor, stage and two bars and an extra room with couches (which was served as the location of the interviews). At both sides of the dance floor there are two stairs to the second level, which is a big balcony with a view on the dance floor and stage. The balcony is decorated as a lounge room with seats, tables and couches and at the end a cocktail bar is located. In terms of drug use people are allowed to smoke cannabis in *Club A*, but other kinds of drug taking is prohibited, although no one doubts that they are used. The general atmosphere is peaceful and tolerant.

Club B During the day and night time *Club B* is a grand café and a restaurant located in an old department store at one of Utrecht's canals in the old city centre. At Fridays and Saturdays the grand café and restaurant are closed at 11pm to re-open again one hour later as a fancy dance club. The interior at the main floor can be described as modern and classical at the same time with high walls and 'ancient' columns. In the basement at canal-level the club-entrance (after midnight), wardrobe, bathrooms, the night restaurant/bar, which could be described as a lounge room, are located.

Like *Club A* there are different themes at Fridays and Saturdays.

On Saturdays the main music played is loud club music (like techno and hard house) on the ground floor and more different styles played in the basement at canal-level. The visitors are between 20 and 35 years old and especially the women are fashionably and often sexy dressed. Although the audience is a mix of students and young working people, there seem to be less students than, for instance, in *Club A*.

At the Fridays weekly different themes are organised varying from funk parties to R&B nights. Accordingly the audiences attracted to these events differ. At the R&B night you can find a lot of people with different ethnic minority backgrounds and the music varies from hip hop, soul and R&B. At the funk parties many people dress up with clothes originating from the funk and soul era in the seventies. The music during these nights seems to develop from the old soul and funk from that era to the more modern styles of these types of music, often with more pronounced digital beats.

During the summertime sometimes special parties are organised, like a night especially for the new coming students in Utrecht with a well known DJ. The average age is much lower than at the regular club nights in *Club B*, ranging from 17 to 22 years old.

Club C. A small club playing loud popular house music with fast and steady beats. *Club C* opens every Thursday, Friday and Saturday from 10pm until 5am. Sometimes at Saturday an after party is organised after 5am. The interior has some kind of tropical atmosphere with a lot of wood and green colours. Entering the club, after passing the wardrobe, you can see a long L-shaped bar. At the other side there is another bar which only opens when it gets busy. Also there are many high round tables to

which you can stand or sit on a bar stool. At the dance floor there are some stages on which people dance.

Most people in *Club C* are between 18 and 25 years old and many do care about their looks. Many wear fashionable clothes often from some kind of fancy brand. The women are often sexy dressed. Drinking beer does not seem to be 'cool'. If you want to belong to the in crowd you better drink vodka Red bull™ or some kind of Bacardi breezer™. Only after 1am it is getting really busy and most of the times the crowd is very enthusiastic, dancing not only on the dance floor but also on tables, stages, chairs and even the bar. Many dance with a lot of physical contact. Someone mentioned that "the people here behave like you see in the video clips of the R&B stars on MTV. It is said that many people in *Club C* use so called dance drugs, like XTC, coke, amphetamines and GHB.

Bar A Bar A is a big rock café which attract a lot people between 20 and 30 years old. In the back of the café is a dance floor and a stage where often concerts of famous and local bands are organised. At the walls hang many golden and silver records and guitars of well known artists. Visitors drink their beer at the bar or at one of the many tables with easy chairs and look at TV screens with MTV on, listening to rock music. During the weekends one can also see some gothics and hard rockers. Among the regular visitors there are a lot of students.

Bar B This is a bar where you also can have a meal. Also it attracts a lot of students who come to drink and scream. They only play pop music known from the charts.

Bar C A small bar with a very mixed audience playing charts music at the background. This is a typical bar where people go have one or two drinks before they go out to a club.

Street event Once a year in the summertime for two days a big dance event is organised in the centre of Utrecht. At many different locations DJ's and bands play in the streets where drinks (beer, wine and non-alcoholic beverages) are sold. This event attracts merely young people who dance and drink in the streets. The fieldworkers interviewed people at different locations outside, until it started raining and most of the people went home, to bars or clubs.

The survey in Club A Personnel of *Club A* promised their cooperation and pointed out the room (with the couches) behind the dance floor. A slight disadvantage of this location was the loudness of the music, which made it difficult to let the interviewer read the questions to the interviewee. The fieldworkers solved this problem by letting them read and sometimes fill in the questionnaires by themselves with the interviewer sitting next to them to help them if necessary. An advantage of this location was that the interviewees could stay at the party scene during the interview, which made them more willing to participate.

The fieldworkers reported that most people they asked were willing to participate, but that a considerable amount of them did not belong to the target group (they did drink or smoke, but did not use any illicit drugs). Also they found it difficult to find non-users at *Club A*.

Survey at Club B The management of *Club B* was very willing to cooperate with us and organised all facilities we needed to do the interviews. They created a special corner in the bar in the basement where the interviews could be done. Also they provided the fieldworkers with coins which they could give the interviewees to buy themselves a drink. After each night they made up the bill for the used coins. The fieldworkers visited *Club B* four times to do interviews. Two times at the regular Saturday nights, once at Friday night at a R&B night and once at the special new-students-night, which took place at a Monday night during a week that every night different activities have been organised for the new students in town. We especially picked out this night after we had problems finding enough teenagers. Also because two other clubs in Utrecht were a lot teenagers go out did not allow us to do the survey at their club and they refused all cooperation. Fortunately at this Monday night in *Club B* the teenagers were willing to participate and most of them enjoyed the interview. The fieldworkers reported that during this night there were not many people who smoked or used drugs.

At the Saturday nights in *Club B* there were more people who seemed to be under the influence of drugs, which sometimes caused little problems with keeping people's attention to the questionnaire, e.g. understanding the questions or who were making fun of the survey.

Survey in Club C Also in *Club C* the club manager did not see any problems to cooperate with the survey in his club and provided, like *Club B*, a table to do the interviews and coins for drinks. After the fieldwork he made up the bill based on the amount coins the fieldworkers used during the fieldwork. Most visitors were willing to participate before 1am. After that it became more difficult to get in contact with the visitors, mainly because they were drunk or just in the mood to dance not to talk about some survey, the fieldworkers reported. The fieldworkers visited *Club C* twice.

Survey in Bar A The fieldworkers were not allowed to do interviews during the night time inside *Bar A*. Only early in the evening it was possible to do some interviews at the pavement of the café. It was easy for the fieldworkers to join the visitors at their table and do the interview. Because of the restrictions for doing the survey at *Bar A* the fieldworkers soon decided to go on to another bar.

Survey in Bar B The visitors were open to participate, but also were quite drunk and the fieldworkers felt that this was not really the place to be, so went on within an hour.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA
FIELDWORK REPORT
by Margot Koller

Interviewers:

Kathrin Figl; Andreas Gartus; Margot Koller; Markus Schirz; Sabine Seiberl; Sandra Strauß – preparation meeting in the beginning of the survey where the questionnaire was explained, meeting after the first interviews to speak about eventual problems; several follow up meetings during the survey to ensure motivation + “control the work”

Survey:

The main part of the work was done in May and June; during the summer we tried (hard) to find non-consumers.

Places where the Interviews took place:

The choice of the locations was made in common with the pollsters who all are very involved in Vienna’s nightlife.

Unfortunately we couldn’t get admission to 2 of the main discotheques in Vienna who refused to let us doing the interviews.

Flex: *Location:* The Flex is a well-known club near the Danube, in the centre of Vienna. The interviews were made outside the location, in the open-air area (in front of the entrance).

Music: They are playing very different styles of music depending on the day and the event (Drum and Bass, Hip-Hop, BreakBeats, Reggae/Raga, Britpop; Alternative/ Punk). There are also live concerts.

Interviewed people: We found very co-operative, mostly older people (20 to 30) (depending on the interview-day), a lot of students.

Fashion: People in the Flex are dressed more alternative than in other locations.

Marias Cantina: *Location:* Marias Cantina consists of a cafe/restaurant in the first floor and a disco in the cellar and is a popular meeting-point for students at the weekend.

Music: They are playing music from pop to house-music.

Interviewed people: You can’t find people here who are still a minor (you have to be 19 to get in). On weekends there are mostly students.

Fashion: People in Marias Cantina attach great importance to their appearance and dress rather elegant.

Schwedenplatz: This park is a meeting point for people (especially for teenagers) in the centre of Vienna before the go to the locals which are nearby. In some locals there are mainly younger groups of skate-boarders, ravers or foreigners. But there are also locals with mainly older people and students. The problem of the park at the „Schwedenplatz“ was that there are a lot of tourists in the summer-months. So we had to ask each time whether we were speaking to a tourist or not.

Sofiensäle: At a rave-event at the „Sofiensäle“ we found almost younger people. At the beginning it was much more easier to find interview-partners than after two hours. They had to pay a lot of money for this event, which is only once a month, and we noticed that they did not want to miss something by answering our questions. At the other locals, which you can visit every day, we did not meet such problems.

Tanzpalast: *Location:* This disco on the outskirts of Vienna is very popular with young people. Before you go into the dance-hall there is a foyer with comfortable cinema-chairs, where we made the

interviews. People come and sit there to relax from dancing, to talk to each other or to wait for someone. Especially on the early evening we found a lot of interview-partners, who were bored.

Music: Here they play hits from the hitparade (mainstream) and techno.

Interviewed people: In the Tanzpalast were people from 15 to 23 who were very interested in this research.

Fashion: People here are very fashion-conscious and go with the latest fashion.

U4: Location: The famous Disco U4 is named after the subway U4 where it is situated.

Music: Every day there is a different event with different music-types. They interviews were made on Tuesday at a student-clubbing with mainstream music and hits from the 80ies and 90ies and on Friday at the U4-Classic with songs from the 80ies, Metal- and Hardrock.

Interviewed people: People at the Tuesday clubbing were mostly young although it is a student-event (15-25). On Friday there were more older people (20-45).

Fashion: People on Tuesday dressed common but on Friday we also met some „grufties“ in the U4 (people wearing only black clothes).

Problems with finding interview-partners:

The main problem was to find enough non-consumers. It was much more easier to find consumers.

There were also a great amount of people who are smoking and drinking, but don't use illegal drugs. So we contacted a very big number of persons who finally did not fit into the sample.

Especially the young non-consumers were very rare.

Some users were afraid to admit that they take drugs but some answered at once: „Of course I take illegal drugs!“. Some people decided just after a few minutes to admit that they take drugs and did the interview then anyway.

An example:

A 18 year old boy, who's friends were interviewed as consumers, refused to admit that he takes drugs. The interviewer explained that it is anonymous and independent from the local. He asked very amazed: „Oh, so it's not a questionnaire from the owner of this local?“ The interviewer shook her head and the boy answered: „Yes, then I do take drugs!“

Another anecdote:

A young girl who ensured an interviewer to be a non-consumer, suddenly collapsed during the interview. It turned out that she had drunken too much and used drugs as well...

We often noticed that when one person of a group agreed to an interview the others would also do so, but if they saw how somebody refused to do an interview they would also say „no“ to the interviewer.

Problems with the questionnaire:

Sometimes the inmterviewed person did not understand the question at once. So we had to read the question a second time and sometimes had to explain it. It was difficult for them to follow and remember the wording of the question.

A lot of interview-partners found the questionnaire too long. Some did not want to do it because it would last much too long.

An anecdote:

In a disco a boy decided to do the questionnaire, because he was alone and had nothing to do or anyone to speak with. In the middle of the interview his friends appeared, he ran away and did not finish the questionnaire any more.

Problems and wishes form the interviewers:

All interviewers learned that they have to be persistent to get interview-partners.

Some interviewers would like to be more involved in the researching-process and felt a little bit uninformed.

The interviewers were all older than 23, so it was more difficult to find and contact younger people to interview.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abraham MD, Hendrien L Kaal and Cohen P, (2002). *Licit and illicit drug use in the Netherlands 2001*. Amsterdam, CEDRO/Mets en Schilt. 169-226.
- Ahmed S.W. et al. (1984) "Predicting children's use and Intentions to use Abusable Substances". *Annual Meeting of the American Public Health Association*. Anaheim.
- Amodeo M and Kurtz NR, (1998) "Coping Methods and Reasons for Not Drinking". *Substance use & misuse* 33, 8, 1591-1610.
- Babcock, (1996) "Does Feminism drive women to drink? Conflicting themes". *The international Journal of Drug policy* 7 (3).
- Bachman JG, Johnston LD, O'Malley PM and Humphrey RH, (1988) "Explaining the recent decline in marijuana use, Differentiating the effects of perceived risk, disapproval, and general lifestyle factors". *Journal of Health and Social Sciences* 29, 92-112.
- Bachman J G; O'Malley P M; Schulenberg J E; Johnston L D; Bryant A L; Merline A C (2002) *The decline of substance use in young adulthood. Changes in social activities, roles, and beliefs*. Mahwah, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bagnall G, Plant M, and Warwick W, (1990) "Alcohol, drugs and AIDS-related risks, results from a prospective study". *AIDS Care* 2, 309-317.
- Bailey SL, Camlin CS, and Ennett ST, (1998) "Substance use and risky sexual behavior among homeless and runaway youth". *Journal of Adolescent Health* 23, 6, 378-388.
- Bailey SL, Pollock NK, Martin CS and Lynch KG, (1999) "Risky sexual behaviors among adolescents with alcohol use disorders". *Journal of Adolescent Health* 25, 3, 179-181.
- Beck U, (1992) *Risk Society. Towards a New Modernity*. London, Sage publications.
- Becoña E, (1999) *Base teóricas que sustentan los programas de prevención de drogas*. Madrid, Plan Nacional sobre Drogas.
- Becoña E, (2002) *Bases científicas de la prevención de las drogo-dependencias*. Madrid, Plan Nacional sobre Drogas.
- Beg and Quinten, (2000) "Gewalterfahrungen von Suchtpatienten – eine empirische Untersuchung zum ausmaß und zu den wahrgenommenen psychischen Folgen

- zurückliegender Gewalterfahrungen“. *Klinische Verhaltensmedizin und Rehabilitation* 50, 13.
- Bellis MA, Hughes K and Lowey H, (2002) “Healthy Night Clubs and Recreational Substance Use, From a Harm Minimisation to a Healthy Settings Approach”. *Addictive Behaviors* 27, 6, 1025-1035.
- Blessing, (1997) *Tabakwerbung in Frauenzeitschriften*. Public Health, Technische Universität.
- Bloomfield, (2002) *Ausgewählte Ergebnisse der Boimed-II Studie "Alcohol Consumption and alcohol Problems among Women in European Countries"*. In, *Mann, Neue Therapieansätze bei Alkoholproblemen*. Berlin, Pabst Science Publishers.
- Bohrn K and Bittner M, (2000) *Substanzkonsum und – missbrauch bei Kindern und Jugendlichen, Risiko- und Schutzfaktoren, Probier- und Einstiegsverhalten, Verläufe und Ausstieg*. Viena, Institut für Sozial- und Gesundheitspsychologie. Im Auftrag vom Bundesministerium für Jugend und Familie.
- Boldt S, (1997) *Subjektive Erklärungsmuster zur Drogenabstinenz in der Techno-Party-Szene*. Berlin, Diplomarbeit.
- Bonomo Y, Coffey C, Wolfe R, Lynskey M, Bowes G and Patton G, (2001) “Adverse outcomes of alcohol use in adolescents”. *Addiction* 96, 1485-1496.
- Bradizza CM and Reifman B, (1999) “Social and coping reason for drinking, predicting alcohol misuse in adolescence”. *Journal on Studies on Alcohol* 60, 491-499.
- Brook et al. (1988) “Personality, family and ecological influences on adolescent drug use, A developmental analysis”. *Journal of Chemical Dependency Treatment* 1,123-161.
- Brook J S, Brook D, Cohen P, Whiteman M and Gordon AS, (1990) “The psychosocial etiology of adolescent drug use, A family interactional approach”. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs* 116, 2.
- Brown SA, (1989) “Life events of adolescents in relation to personal and parental substance abuse”. *American Journal of Psychiatry* 146, 4, 484-489.
- Bruckner P, (2000) *La euforia perpetua. Sobre el deber de ser feliz*. Barcelona, Tusquets.
- Brunswick AF, Messeri PA and Titus SP, (1992) “Predictive Factors in adult substance abuse, A prospective study of African American adolescents” in Glantz and Pickes (Editors) *Vulnerability to drug abuse*. Washington DC, American Psychological Association, 419-472.
- Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung (1994) *Drogenaffinität Jugendlicher in der BRD. Wiederholungsbefragung. 1993/94*. Köln

- Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung (2001) *Bericht zur gesundheitlichen Situation von Frauen in Deutschland*. Schriftenreihe Bd. 209, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart.
- Burkhart G, (2002) “Análisis de pastillas in situ”. *Adicciones* 14, 3. 293-301.
- Burkhart G and López M, (2002) *Party Setting Projects from EDDRA*. http://eddrapdf.emcdda.org/eddra_party_settings.pdf
- Burton R, (2002) *The anatomy of melancholy* (translation of the original of 1621). Madrid, Asociación Española de Neuropsiquiatría.
- Butsch R, (1990) *For fun and profit, the transformation of leisure into consumption*. Philadelphia, Temple University Press.
- Calafat A, Fernández C, Juan M, Bellis MA, Bohrn K, Hakkarainen P, Kilfoyle-Carrington M, Kokkevi A, Maalsté N, Mendes F, Siamou I, Simon J, Stocco P and Zavatti P, (2001) *Risk and control in the recreational drug culture. Sonar Project*. Palma de Mallorca, IREFREA.
- Calafat A, Juan M, Becoña E, Fernández C, Gil E, Palmer A, Sureda P and Torres MA, (2000). *Salir de marcha y consumo de drogas*. Madrid, Plan Nacional sobre Drogas.
- Calafat A, Bohrn K, Juan M, Kokkevi A, Maalsté N, Mendes F, Palmer A, Sherlock K, Simon J, Stocco P, Sureda MP, Tossmann P, van der Wijngaart G and Zavatti P, (1999). *Night life in Europe and recreative drug use. Sonar Project*. Palma de Mallorca: IREFREA.
- Calafat A, Stocco P, Mendes F, Simon J, Van de Wijngaart G, Sureda P, Palmer A, Maalsté N and Zavatti P, (1998) *Characteristics and Social Representation of Ecstasy in Europe*, Palma de Mallorca: IREFREA.
- Califano JA, (1999) *Dangerous Liaisons, Substance Abuse and Sex*. New York, The National Centre on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University (CASA).
- Clark P, Cook PA, Syed Q, Ashton JA and Bellis MA, (2001) *Re-emerging Syphilis in the North West, Lessons from the Manchester Outbreak*. Public Health Sector, Liverpool. John Moores University.
- Collin M, (1997) *Altered State. The story of ecstasy culture and acid house*. London, Serpent's Tail.
- Cook PA and Bellis MA, (2001) “Knowing the risk, relationships between risk behaviour and health knowledge”. *Public Health* 115, 54-61.
- Corbin A, (1996) “Il destino contrastato del football” in Alain Corbin (editor) *L'invenzione del tempo libero 1850-1960*. Roma, Editori Laterza.
- Corbin A, (1988) *Le territoire du vide*. Paris, Aubier.
- Critchlow B, (1983) “Blaming the booze, the attribution of responsibility for drunken behaviour”. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 9, 451-473.

- Cuenca M, (2001) “Fiesta y juego en el desarrollo humano” in Csikszentmihalyi M, Cuenca M, Buarque C, Trigo V, et al. (editors) *Ocio y desarrollo. Potencialidades del ocio para el desarrollo humano*. Bilbao, Universidad de Deusto.
- Cummings KM, Becker MH and Maile M, (1980) “Bringing the models together, an empirical approach to combining variables used to explain health actions”. *Journal of Behavior Medicine* 3, 123-145.
- Davies P and Walsh D, (1983) *Alcohol Problems and Alcohol Control in Europe*. London, Croom Helm.
- Decorte T, (2000) *The taming of cocaine*. Brussels, VUB University Press.
- Dobler-Mikola (1992) Drogenabhängigkeit bei Frauen in Bendel et al., *Frauen-Sichten-Süchte*. Zürich. Spa-press,.
- Dobler-Mikola (2000) *Frauen und Männer mit harten Drogen*. Eine empirische Analyse der geschlechtsspezifischen Unterschiede im Alltag. Zürich und Appenzell.
- Lewis DR, Hoyle RH, Clayton RR, Skinner WF, Colon SE and Rice RE, (1999) “Sensation Seeking and Drug Use by Adolescents and Their Friends, Models for Marijuana and Alcohol”. *Journal Stud. Alcohol* 60, 622-631.
- Donovan C and McEwan R, (1995) “A review of the literature examining the relationship between alcohol use and HIV-related sexual risk-taking in young people”. *Addiction* 90, 319 – 328.
- Dumazedier J, (1978) “Ocio” in *Enciclopedia Internacional de Ciencias Sociales*. Madrid. Aguilar.
- Durex (2001) Global Survey 2001, *Global survey into sexual attitudes and behaviour*. SSL International, Knutsford.
- Economic and Social Council. United Nations (2001) “Prevention of the recreational and leisure use of drugs among young people” *Report of the Executive Director. Commission on Narcotic Drugs. Forty-fifth session*.
- Elzo J, Orizo FJ, González-Anleo J, González Blasco P, Laespada MT and Salazar L, (1999) *Jóvenes españoles 99*. Madrid, Fundación Santa María.
- EMCDDA Report (2000) *Jahresbericht über den Stand der Drogenproblematik in der europäischen Union*. Lisbon. EMCDDA.
- Epicuro (1994) *Máximas para una vida feliz*. In Carmen Fernández-Daza (editor) *Máximas para una vida feliz. Y textos elegidos en defensa del ideal epicúreo*. Madrid. Ediciones Temas de hoy.
- EUROCARE (1998) *Alcohol problems in the Family*. A Report to the European Union.
- Editorial**
- Evans WP and Skager R, (1992) “Academically successful drug user, an oxymoron?”. *Journal of Drug Education* 22 (4), 353-365.

- Ferret (2000) *Der Gender-Ansatz*. Referat anlässlich des Kongresses - Qualität hat ein Geschlecht. Freiburg.
- Festinger (1977) *Theorie der kognitiven Dissonanz*. Bern-Stuttgart.
- Ford K and Norris A, (1994) "Urban minority youth, alcohol and marijuana use and exposure to unprotected intercourse". *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes* 7, 389-396.
- Fountain J, Bartlett H, Griffiths P, (1999) "Why say no? Reasons given by Young people for not using drugs". *Addiction Research* 7, 4, 339-353.
- Franke and Winkler (2001) Störungen im Zusammenhang mit psychotropen Substanzen In Franke, Kämmerer, *Klinische Psychologie der Frau*. Ein Lehrbuch. Hogrefe, Göttingen, Bern, Toronto, Seattle.
- Franzkowiak, Helfferich and Weise(1998) *Geschlechtsbezogene Suchtprävention. Praxisansätze, Theorieentwicklung, Definitionen*. Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung, Köln.
- Giddens A, (2000) *Un Mundo desbocado*. Madrid, Taurus.
- Greenwood DJ, (1992) "La cultura al peso, perspectiva antropológica del turismo en tanto proceso de mercantilización cultural" in Smith VL (editor) *Anfitriones e invitados*. Madrid. Endimión, 281-300.
- Hageman-White, (1984) *Sozialisation weiblich – männlich?* Opladen, Leske u. Buderich.
- Haggstrom-Nordin E, Hanson U and Tyden T, (2002) "Sex behaviour among high school students in Sweden, improvement in contraceptive use over time". *Journal of Adolescent Health* 30, 4, 288-295.
- Hammersley R, Jenkins R and Reid M, (2001) "Cannabis use and social identity". *Addiction Research and Theory* 2, 9, 133-150.
- Hammersley R, Khan F and Ditton J, (2002) *Ecstasy and the rise of the chemical generation*. London, Routledge.
- Hansen W B. (1992) School-based substance abuse prevention: a review of the state of the art in curriculum 1980-1990. *Health Education Research*, 7. pp. 403-430
- Harrison (1987) "Women in treatment, Changing over time". *The international Journal of the Addictions* 24.
- Hawkins JD, Catalano RF and Millar JY, (1992) "Risk and Protective Factors for alcohol and other drug problems in adolescence and early adulthood, Implications for substance abuse prevention". *Psychological Bulletin* 112, 64-105.
- Helfferich (1994) *Jugend, Körper und Geschlecht. Die Suche nach sexueller Identität*. Opladen, Leske u. Buderich.

- Höfler M, Lieb R, Perkonig A et al. (1999) "Covariates of cannabis use progression in a representative population sample of adolescents, a prospective examination of vulnerability and risk factors". *Addiction* 94, 1679-1694.
- Hughes K, Bellis MA and Kilfoyle-Carrington M, (2001) *Alcohol, Tobacco & Drugs in the North West of England, Identifying a shared agenda*. Public Health Sector, Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool.
- Hurrelmann (1994) *Sozialisation und Gesundheit. Somatische psychische und soziale Risikofaktoren im Lebenslauf*. Grundlagentexte der Soziologie. Juventa, Weinheim, München.
- Hurrelmann (2000) *Legal und illegal sagen nichts über das Gefährdungspotential aus*. Frankfurter Rundschau 09.08.2000, www.cannabislegal.de
- Hurrelmann (2001) *Sind Arzneimittel die Einsteigdroge für Ecstasy?* www.archido.de
- IREFREA (2001) *Prioridades preventivas, Culturas recreativas y consumo de drogas*. Palma de Mallorca. Irefrea.
- Institute for Medical Informatics, biostatics and Epidemiology (1999) *Alcohol consumption and alcohol problems among women in european countries*. Project and final report. Berlin. Freie Universität
- Jessor R, (1993) "Successful adolescent development among youth in high-risk setting". *American Psychologist* 48, 117-126.
- Jessor R, (1998) "New perspectives on adolescent risk behavior" in Jessor R. (editor) *New perspectives on adolescent risk behavior*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1-10.
- Jessor R, Donovan JE and Windner K, (1980) "Psychosocial Factors in Adolescent Alcohol and Drug Use, The 1980 National Sample Study and the 1974-78 Penal Study" (Unpublished final Report) Boulder, University of Colorado, Institute of Behavioural Science.
- Johnson GM, Schouth FC and Locke TP, (1984) "Relationships between adolescent drug use and parental drug behaviours". *Adolescence* 19.
- Kemmesies U, (2001) "Consumo de drogas dentro del entorno 'Burgues'. Influencia del control social formal e informal". *Adicciones* 13, 1, 101-110.
- Kersch V, (2001) *Sucht und Emotionalität*. Berlin. Technische Universität
- Kilfoyle M and Bellis MA, (1998) *Club Health, The health of the clubbing nation*. Liverpool, John Moores University.
- Kirby D, Brener ND, Brown NL, Peterfreund N, Hillard P and Harrist R, (1999) "The impact of condom availability in Seattle schools on sexual behavior and condom use". *American Journal of Public Health* 89, 2, 182-187.
- Kolip (1997) *Geschlecht und Gesundheit im Jugendalter. Die Konstruktion von Geschlechtlichkeit über somatische Kulturen*. Opladen, Leske u. Buderich.

- Korf D and Riper H, (1997) *Illicit drugs in Europe. Proceedings of the seventh annual conference on drug use and drug policy*. University of Amsterdam.
- Kraus und Bauernfeind (1998) *Repräsentativerhebung zum Gebrauch psychoaktiver Substanzen bei Erwachsenen in Deutschland 1997*. Sucht 44, Sonderheft 1.
- Kuntz (1999) *Ecstasy - auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Glück. Vorbeugung und Wege aus der Sucht und Abhängigkeit*. Beltz, Weinheim.
- Lafargue P (1980) *El derecho a la pereza*. Madrid, Fundamentos 115-164.
- Latour B, (1992) *Ciencia en acción*. Barcelona, Labor.
- Lee, Yang Su and Hazard, (1998) "The contingent effects of risk perception on risk-taking Behaviour, Adolescent participative orientation and Marijuana use". *Journal of Youth and Adolescents* 1, 27.
- Leigh BC, (1999) "Peril, change, adventure, concepts of risk, alcohol use and risky behavior in young adults". *Addiction* 94, 3, 371-383.
- Leigh BC and Stall R, (1993) "Substance use and risky sexual behavior for exposure to HIV, Issues in methodology, interpretation, and prevention". *The American Psychologist* 48, 1035-1045.
- Leigh BC, (1999) "The relationship of sex-related alcohol expectancies to alcohol consumption and sexual behaviour". *British Journal of Addiction* 85, 919-928.
- Leppänen K, Sullström R and Suoniemi I, (2001) *The Consumption of Alcohol in Fourteen European Countries. A Comparative Econometric Analysis*. Helsinki, Stakes.
- Logue AW, (1995) *Self-control, Waiting until tomorrow for what you want today*. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.
- Logue AW, (1998) "Self-control". In W. O'Donohue (Editor) *Learning and behavior therapy*. Needham Heights. MA, Allyn and Bacon, 252-273.
- Lynch R, (2001) "Ocio Comercial y consumista" in Csikszentmihalyi, Cuenca, Buarque and Trigo (editores) *Ocio y Desarrollo*. Documentos de Estudios de Ocio 18. Bilbao. Universidad de Deusto.
- McEwan RT, McCallum A, Bhopal RS and Madhok R, (1992) "Sex and the risk of HIV infection, the role of alcohol". *British Journal of Addiction* 87, 577-584.
- Mendes F, Relvas P, Lourenço M, Recio JL, Pietralunga S, Broyer G, Bussac MH, Calafat A, Stocco P (1999) *Family relationship and primary prevention of drug use in early adolescence*. Palma de Mallorca. IREFREA.
- Michaud PA and Narring F, (1997) "Saturday night fever, circumstances of the first sexual intercourse among Swiss teenagers". *Journal of Adolescent Health* 20, 2, 167.

- Millstein SG and Moscicki A, (1995) "Sexually-transmitted disease in female adolescents, effects of psychosocial factors and high risk behaviours". *Journal of Adolescent Health* 17, 83-90.
- Moon D, Hecht M, Jackson K and Spellers R, (1999) "Ethnic and Gender Differences and Similarities in Adolescent Drug Use and Refusals of Drug Offers". *Substance Use and Misuse* 34, 8, 1059 – 1083.
- Morel A, Boulanger M, Hervé F and Tonnelet G, (2000) *Prévenir les toxicomanies*. Paris, Dunod.
- Moreno I, (1999) *Las hermandades andaluzas. Una aproximación desde la antropología*. Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla.
- National Instituut voor Budgetvoorlichting (2001) *Financieel gedrag van werkende jongeren*. Utrecht.
- Nationaal Instituut voor Budgetvoorlichting (2002) *Nationaal Scholieren Onderzoek 2001/2002*. Utrecht.
- Observatorio Español sobre drogas (2002) Informe N° 5. Ministerio del Interior. Delegación del Gobierno para el Plan Nacional sobre Drogas.
- OEDT (2002) Informe anual sobre el problema de la drogodependencia de la Unión Europea y en Noruega. Lisboa. Observatorio Europeo de la droga y las toxicomanías.
- Oliver E, (2002) "Report finds secondary pupils work to fund alcohol-fuelled social lives" in *The Irish Times*, www.Ireland.com
- Olson JM, Roese NJ and Zanna MP, (1996) "Expectancies" in Higgins ET and Kruglansky AW (editores) *Social psychology. Handbook of basic principles*. Nueva York. Guilford, 211-238.
- Ostrow DG, (1994) "Substance abuse and HIV infection" in *The Psychiatric Clinics of North America* 17, 69-89.
- Otegui CH, (1999) "La construcción social de la masculinidad". *Política y Sociedad* 32, 151-160.
- Pape H, (1997) *Drinking, getting stoned or staying sober. A general population study of alcohol consumption, cannabis use, drinking-related problems and sobriety among young men and women*. NOVA Report 14/97. Oslo, NOVA.
- Pape H, (1999) "Alkohol - nei takk, I Guds navn. Kristentro og alkoholbruk blant norsk ungdom". *Nordisk alkohol & narkotikatidskrift* NAT 6, 16. 352-366.
- Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998) *Illegal Leisure. The normalization of adolescent recreational drug use*. London, Routledge.
- Parsons, Siegel and Cousins (1997) "Late adolescent risk-taking, effects of perceived benefits in perceived risks on behavioural intentions and behavioural change". *Journal of Adolescents*, 20.

- Pedersen W and Kolstad A, (2000) "Adolescent alcohol abstainers, traditional patterns in new groups". *Journal of the Scandinavian Sociological Association* 43, 219-234.
- Petraitis J, Flay BR, Miller TQ, Torpy EJ and Greiner B, (1998) "Illicit substance use among adolescents, a matrix of prospective predictors". *Substance use and misuse* 33, 13, 2561-2604.
- Piccinelli R, (2002) *Guida al piacere e al divertimento*. Fuoricasa 2002. Milano, editoriale Quasar.
- Pilgrim (2000) *Subjektive Risikoerwartung und Selbstwirksamkeitserwartung beim Drogenkonsum Jugendlicher*. Berlin, Technische Universität.
- Pi-Sunyer O, (1992) "Percepciones cambiantes del turismo y de los turistas en un centro turístico catalán" in Smith, V. L. (editor) *Anfitriones e invitados*. Madrid. Endimión, 281-302.
- Plant ML, Plant MA and Morgan-Thomas R, (1990) "Alcohol, AIDS risks and commercial sex, some preliminary results from a Scottish study". *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 25, 51-55.
- Plant and Plant (1997) *Risk-Takers. Alcohol, Drugs, Sex and Youth*. Routledge, london, XII.
- Porter and Roy (1996) "Gli inglesi e il tempo libero" in Alain Corbin (editor) *L'invenzione del tempo libero 1850-1960*. Roma, Editori Laterza.
- Powis B, Griffiths P, Gossop, B.A; Strang, G (1996) "The Differences between Male and Female Drug Users, Community Samples of Heroin and Cocaine Users compared". *Substance use & misuse* 33, 5, 559-543.
- Quensel (1999) *Weil es gefährlich ist, Jugendlicher Drogenkonsum und Delinquenz*. **www.archido.de**
- Quensel (2000) *Gesellschaftlicher Wandel und neue Herausforderungen an die Suchtvorbeugung*. Referat vor dem Koordinierungsausschuss für Drogenarbeit in Münster. **www.archido.de**
- Rawson RA, Washton A, Domier CP and Reiber C, (2002) "Drugs and sexual effects, role of drug type and gender". *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment* 22, 2, 103-108.
- Resnicow K, Smith M, Harrison L, Drucher E (1999) "Correlates of occasional cigarette and marijuana use, are teens harm reduction?" *Addictive behaviours* 24, 2, 251-266
- Rhodes T, (1996) "Culture, drugs and unsafe sex, confusion about causation". *Addiction* 91, 6, 753-758.
- Richez JC and Strauss L, (1996) "Un tempo nuovo per gli operai, Le ferie pagate" in Alain Corbin (editor) *L'invenzione del tempo libero 1850-1960*. Roma, Editori Laterza.
- Rifkin J, (2000) *The age of Access. The new culture of hipercapitalism where all of life is a paid-for experience*. New York, Tarcher and Putnam.

- Ritzer G, (1999) *The Mcdonaldization of Society*. Pine Forge Press.
- Robins LN and Przybeck TR, (1985) "Age on onset of drug use as a factor in drug use and other disorders". in Jones, C.L. and Battjes R.J. (editors) *Etiology of drug Abuse, Implications for Prevention*. National Institute on Drug Abuse Research Monograph 56. Washington DC, Sup. Of Docs, U.S. Govert. Print-Off, 178-193.
- Rodríguez F, (1999) "Orígenes de las fiestas populares" in Varios Autores "Las fiestas. De la antropología a la historia y la etnografía". Salamanca. Diputación Provincial Salamanca.
- Rogers RW, (1984). "Cognitive and physiological processes in fear appeals and attitude change. A revised theory of protection motivation" in, Cacioppo, J.T.; Petty, R.E. (Eds.), *Social Psychophysiology*. New York, Guilford Press, 153-176.
- Roose MW et al. (1990) "The role of risk and protective factors in predicting symptomatology in adolescent self-identified children of alcoholic parents". *American journal of Community Psychology* 18, 725-741.
- Russac RJ and Powell RS, (1997) "Reasons adolescents don't use drugs, exploring a depth of acceptance model". *Journal of drug education* 27, 4, 349-361.
- Schuster MA, Bell RM, Berry SH and Kanouse DE, (1998) "Impact of a high school condom availability program on sexual attitudes and behaviours". *Family Planning Perspectives* 30, 2, 67-72
- Schwerin M and Corcoran K, (1996) "Beliefs about steroids, user vs. non-user comparisons" *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 40, 221-225
- Shields D, Carol J and Balbach E, (1999) "Hollywood on tobacco, how the entertainment industry understand tobacco portray". *Tobacco Control* 378-386.
- Sissa G, (2000) *El placer y el mal*. Barcelona, Península.
- Sissa G, (2003) Extasis portátiles. *En La democratización del placer*. (in print)
- Skinner BF, (1953) *Science and human behavior*. Nueva York, McMillan
- Strunin L and Hingson R, (1992) "Alcohol, drugs, and adolescent sexual behaviour". *The International Journal of the Addictions* 27, 2, 129-146
- Svenson G, et al. "Europeer Directrices Europeas para la Educación entre Iguales sobre el SIDA a Jóvenes" **INCOMPLETO**
- Taylor J, Fulop N and Green J, (1999) "Drink, illicit drugs and unsafe sex in women". *Addiction* 94, 8, 1209-1218
- The European Opinion Research Group, EORG (2002) *Eurobarometer 57.2* "Attitudes and opinion of young people in the European Union on drugs" October 2002
- Tossmann and Heckmann (1997) *Drogenprävention für die Techno-Party-Szene?* Unveröffentlichter Ergebnisbericht. Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung.

- Tossman, Boldt and Tensil (2001) "Demand Reduction Activities in the Field of Synthetic Drugs in the European Union". *Risk and control in the recreational drug culture*. Sonar Project. Palma de Mallorca, IREFREA.
- Traeen B and Kvaem IL, (1996) "Sex under the influence of alcohol among Norwegian adolescents". *Addiction* 91, 7, 995-1006.
- Traeen B, Hovland A and Odegard G, (1998) "Can I buy you a drink? Alcohol as symbolic communication in erotic encounters". *Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drug* 15, 68-83
- Ullram P, (1999). *Third report on the situation of youth in Austria*. Ministry of Social Affairs.
- Van de Wijngaart G, Braam R, Bruin D, Fris M, Maalsté N and Verbraeck H, (1998) *Ecstasy in het vitgaanscircuit*. Utrecht, Addiction Research Institute.
- Vogt, Leopold, Tödt, Breuker-Gerbig (1998) *Frauen und Sucht*. Ministerium für Frauen, Jugend, Familie und Gesundheit des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Hartmann Ahaus.
- Vosshagen (2002) *Alkoholkonsum und Männlichkeit*. in *Abhängigkeiten*. Forschung und Praxis der Prävention und Behandlung, 8.
- Wang M and Eddy J, (2000) "Smoking acquisition, peer influence and self-selection". *Psychological Reports* 2000, 1241-1246.
- Weatherley A, (1993) "The relationship between self-esteem, the knowledge of contraception and sexual activity of 16-18 year old girls". Unpublished masters thesis. The University of Auckland, New Zealand. Cited by Elliot KJ and Lambourn AJ, (1999). "Sex, drugs and alcohol, two peer-led approaches in Tamaki Makaurau/Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand". *Journal of Adolescence*, 22, 503-513.
- Webster R, Goodman M and Whalley G, (2002) "Safer clubbing. Guidance for licencing authorities, club managers and promoters". London, Drug Prevention Advisory Service
- Weinstein ND, (1993) "Testing four competing theories of health-protective behaviour". *Health Psychology* 12, 324-333.
- Wittebrood K and Keuzenkamp S, (2000) *Rapportage Jeugd 2000*. Den Haag, Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau.
- Woolgar S, (1991) *Abriendo la caja negra*. Barcelona, Anthropos.
- World bank estimates. <http://www1.worldbank.org/tobacco/>
- Wynn S, Schulenberg J, Klska D and Laetz V, (1997) "The mediating influence of refusal skills in preventing adolescent alcohol misuse". *Journal of School Health* 67, 390-395.

