

Tourism, nightlife and violence: a cross cultural analysis and preventive recommendations

Amador Calafat
Nicole Blay
Mark Bellis
Karen Hughes
Anna Kokkevi
Fernando Mendes
Barbara Cibirin
Philippe Lazarov
Lubomira Bajcarova
George Boyiadjis
Maria Angels Duch
Montse Juan
Cátia C. Magalhães
Rosario Mendes
Andreas Pavlakis
Ioanna Siamou
Athanasios Stamos
Sabrina Tripodi

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info@irefrea.org

www.irefrea.org

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Authors:

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Tourism and violence: the new dynamics of tourism in southern Europe

At first glance, violence and tourism do not seem closely related. Holidays are that time in which we get away from our daily routines in search of fun and rest, somewhere different, spending leisure time with family and friends, or even alone. So people's spirits and expectations should be high in anticipation of their trip. But why do we frequently hear news about young people dying in tourist resorts after falling from the balconies of their hotels? Why do we read about fights in discotheques, in which somebody can end up having a bottle smashed over their head? Why are the emergency services saturated in some resorts, especially in summer, attending to hundreds of cases of young people poisoned by alcohol or other substances? It would seem, indeed, that the panorama is not the idyllic one we might expect.

A first response, simple and somewhat conjectural, is that the kinds of problems described above are caused by the typical behaviour of young tourists from central and northern Europe who visit Mediterranean resorts. But this cannot be the case: neither is it the majority who behave violently, nor do they normally behave like that in their countries of origin. What is it, then, that triggers such

inappropriate, sometimes vandalistic, aggressive and frenzied behaviour? This is the question to which we try and respond in this report. Over a period of four years (2007-2010) we have collected data from young tourists visiting the Balearic Islands (Spain), as well as other destinations, such as Algarve (Portugal), Venice (Italy), Crete (Greece) or Cyprus.

In these studies and in others there is a constant factor, which is the abusive consumption of alcohol. We know that alcohol is a powerful disinhibitor of executive control. This control is exercised in the prefrontal cortex of the brain, telling us what it is appropriate to do and what it is not, and helping us to weigh up the consequences and make decisions accordingly. In states of intoxication this control disappears. Thus, a large part of such inappropriate behaviours could be attributed to the abuse of alcohol and drunkenness. But this is only the first part of the explanation. The next step is to ask ourselves how these contexts facilitate such behaviours. In many tourist destinations alcoholic drinks are offered at giveaway prices. Indeed, it is sometimes as cheap (or as expensive) to buy a beer as it is to buy a bottle of water. The nightlife scene is

frequently livened up with images and promotions with recreational-sexual content, creating an atmosphere of “anything goes”. This strategy can often be seen in offers from tour operators and local businesses targeting young holidaymakers in particular. It is hardly surprising, then, that tourists arrive with pre-programmed expectations of wild parties and a culture of excess, which act as facilitators of these inappropriate behaviours.

But the health-risk behaviours associated with the abuse of alcohol and illegal drugs extend beyond violence to cover, for example, sex-related behaviours – promiscuity, sex without condom, sexual harassment; moreover, being under the effects of alcohol or other substances makes it more likely for one to be the victim of theft, road accidents and accidents of other types (e.g., falls). We can see, then, a whole range of problems deriving from this holidaymaking style revolving around the nightlife context, though naturally it also involves positive aspects of socialization.

Why do we not create the global conditions for this type of tourism to give way to a more high-quality kind of tourism, without involving financial losses for the sector? In the countries of origin of these young tourists, many companies in the nightlife leisure sector have opted to promote a high-quality type of nightlife recreational context, based on the latest criteria developed in the field. However, it is not common for such measures to be applied in holiday resorts. On the contrary, there seems to be a certain reluctance to adopt new measures for fear of losing markets; there is a view that some of the changes mooted would increase costs and lead to a loss of competitiveness; permissiveness has become a selling point. The tourist industry itself will not take the matter seriously until there is a global and synergic initiative that forces the different groups involved to seek consensus-based solutions.

Such efforts should be supported by a law or by local regulations providing the conditions for achieving standards of quality in our tourism, and by the application of prevention programs of

proven efficacy. Equally essential is the cooperation of the consulates and tourist ministries from the tourists’ country of origin. Without an awareness of the need for change at an international level and common goals in the medium and long term with benefits for all the parties involved, it will be difficult to produce a robust response to this problem.

This report sets out, on the one hand, to offer a detailed analysis of the situation, but at the same time to serve as a resource of concrete and viable ideas and proposals for better practice in all those sectors involved in the tourist industry.

We have islands, coasts, seas, cultures, gastronomies and climates that are the envy of all Europe: so let us take advantage of these resources, and let us all give the Mediterranean the position of prestige it deserves, as the beautiful sea on which Ulysses sailed many centuries ago.

Brief introductory note on the structure of the chapters

The chapters are grouped thematically, and the majority of them begin with some introductory information to put the issue in context, in some cases with reference to relevant and up-to-date literature on the topic. Where appropriate (Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6), we include epidemiological data on the risk behaviours of young tourists in relation to their recreational nightlife activity based on the surveys within the *TRAVELS, tourism, recreation and violence* project, and carried out in the period 2009 to 2010; we also use some data from the previous study (2007-2008) where relevant and illustrative for the section in question. Finally, each chapter closes with a series of recommendations or descriptions of measures already in place or which could be introduced to deal with the problem at hand.

1

The sociological, economic and cultural importance of tourism. Specificity of nightlife recreation

Tourism as a mass phenomenon

At the beginning of the 1960s in Spain and other Mediterranean countries there was a tourist boom. Having functioned until then on the basis of its primary and secondary sectors, Spain discovered the huge economic and employment potential of the service sector, specifically in the field of tourism. This natural resource started to be exploited, and as in other Mediterranean areas, there began the organization of a highly seasonal economy based on the supply of tourist services, giving an enormous boost to the market.

The new dynamics of tourism in Europe

From its origins up to the present day there have been changes in the way tourism is promoted and sold. Given the form in which the model was conceived, profit is based on the volume of sales; put another way, it is a question of offering very low prices and trying to achieve the maximum possible number of tourists to consume the product, usually sold as a "tourist package". This situation has been

exacerbated in recent decades due to increased competition among tourist destinations with similar climate and conditions along the Mediterranean coasts. Emerging locations such as Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia or Egypt, offering highly competitive prices, have obliged the traditional tourist destinations to reformulate their offers and reduce prices even more. This, in combination with the phenomenon of low-cost flights, has meant that even for tourists with low acquisitive power it has become relatively easy to visit places with such characteristics. Among these tourists, we naturally find young people.

The late night economy. Tourist industry, tour operators and tourist resorts based on nightlife recreation

Indeed, the young population has become a specific marketing target within this mass tourism model. A key factor in the promotion of holidays for this sector of the population has been what is called the 'complementary offer', consisting largely in an attractive package based around

nightlife. While some destinations, such as Ibiza, have been paradigmatic within this model, it has been extended to other locations, becoming an international phenomenon. The late 1990s saw the emergence of the so-called *cream events*, run by a British brand which began to popularize and commercialize dance music events (with all the associated paraphernalia) in the international tourist context (Creamfields web site, 2010).

In this relatively new dynamic, the markets have had to adapt to selling the demanded product: all-night parties, seasoned with plenty of alcohol (and, implicitly, illegal substances), and whose marketing has involved ferocious promotions with the inducements of sex and of drinks at low prices. The cocktail is a potent one, providing the perfect medium for young tourists to create chaos, fuelled by continual drunkenness (sometimes leading to alcoholic comas), and leading to risk behaviours such as jumping impulsively from balconies into swimming pools, sexual promiscuity, sex without condoms, and so on. All of this will be analyzed in detail in the following chapters.

Nightlife recreation as a local, national and international phenomenon

Recreational nightlife is seen today as a concept with absolute and positive value in all European societies. Having time and the acquisitive power to enjoy it forms part of the definition of quality of life. Leisure time is lived as something of one's own, something we choose ourselves, as opposed to our life during the rest of the week. Young people, more than any other group, experience the weekend, and its nights, as something that is especially their own. This results in demand from a particular sector of the population, rapidly met by the nightlife recreational industry. The consumption of this supply and the associated marketing helps the expansion of the predominant leisure model,

going out at night, as almost the core activity of young people's recreational space. The model is undoubtedly perverse, since it transmits to the youngsters values associated with freedom and rebelliousness, so that they feel they are defining this leisure model themselves, when in reality it is the model that defines *them*. Moreover, recreational nightlife is increasing in intensity in many countries –just consider the situation in southern Europe, around the Mediterranean, where closing times are becoming later and later, and the time devoted to a night out is become more and more prolonged.

There is a strong cultural and instrumental connection between recreational life and the use of drugs, and this contributes to the legitimation of their use in recreational contexts (at the same time as the trivialization of the health risks), almost always accompanied by alcohol. Drug use is seen, then, as a facilitator in the rite of passage from everyday life to partying, from a normal emotional state to full-on pleasure-tripping. Drugs act as an almost essential element for this recreational style, which becomes hegemonic for young people and adolescents. It is a quick and easy model of fun, in which pleasure is obtained immediately and passively, without effort, and conditioned by money. Thus, a large part of the socialization of many young people is bound up with participation in this recreational context, marketed and promoted by the nightlife recreational industry.

If we focus on young holidaymakers, things are no different; indeed, the problems increase, given the abuse of alcohol and the uninhibited behaviours typical of the nightlife scene. Tourists tend to behave differently from how they usually behave at home. This phenomenon, referred to by some researchers as *behavioural inversion*, contributes to the suppression of personal limits at the same time as favouring the abuse of alcohol and other drugs, with the consequent health-related problems (de Oliveira and Paiva, 2007; Lomba, Apóstolo, and Mendes, 2009).

The data from the survey carried out in summer 2009 in five Mediterranean countries show that if young people go out once a week on average in their country of origin, an average two-week holiday might account for a fifth of all the nights they would go out *per year* in their own country. This is a very high concentration of nightlife recreational activity, with all that that implies.

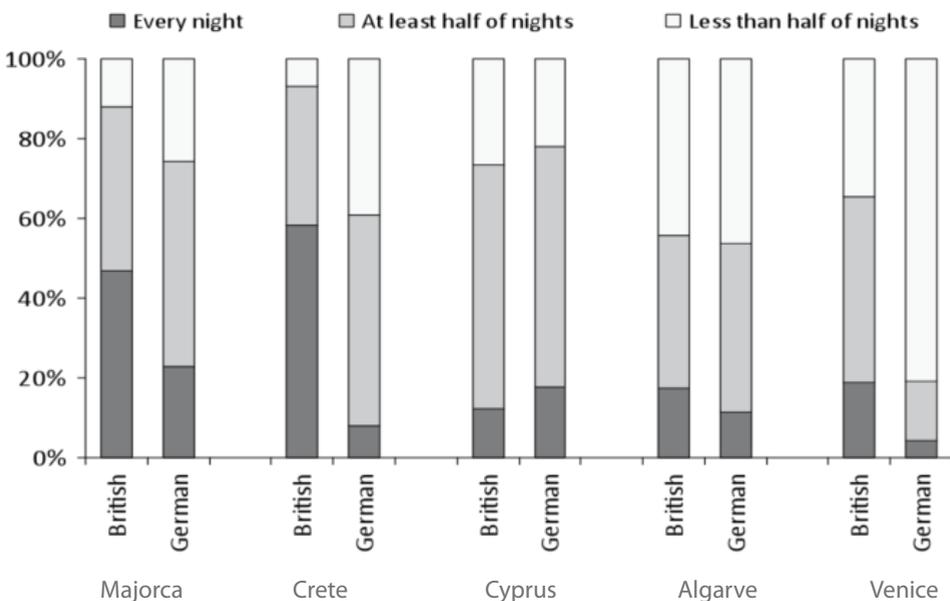
However, it should be pointed out that participation in nightlife activity is not as intensive, nor of the same type, for all the nationalities studied. The highest levels of participation in nightlife were found among tourists in Majorca, and among British tourists visiting Crete. The following figure illustrates the distribution by countries visited and by nationalities:

Why do they choose these destinations? The motives of the young tourist

In the two studies carried out (summers of 2007 and 2009) it was decided to include an item asking the tourists about the reasons for choosing that holiday destination. The response options were: price, nightlife, culture, climate, work, and visiting friends and/or family. In the first survey (2007), carried out only in the Balearic Islands (Majorca and Ibiza), the principal motives for choosing the destination were “nightlife” in first place, “good weather”, second, and at some distance in third place, “price”.

In the second study, despite the fact that the sample was much larger (6502 individuals) and from several countries, the results were very similar: in Majorca, Crete and Cyprus, between 60 and 80% of respondents reported the nightlife as the principal reason for their choice of destination, followed by the weather. Venice was an exception, since the main motives for visiting are cultural, though the Venetian case, with its different contextual characteristics, will be looked at in detail in a later chapter.

Attending nightlife frequency during holidays according destination



2

Introduction to the problematic aspects of nightlife recreation

Problems most commonly associated with the nightlife scene

The current model of nightlife recreation is a model too based on alcohol and illegal substances as facilitating elements which help the users to quickly get into a party mood, to endure many hours dancing or going from one club to another, to lose their inhibitions, and so on. Alcohol, then – often accompanied by other substances – is an inherent part of youngsters' concept of nightlife fun. The way young people consume alcohol often follows the pattern of *binge drinking* (defined as the consumption of 5 or more units of alcohol drunk successively in a single session), or simply "drinking until you're drunk", which largely amounts to the same thing. In the present study, as we shall see later in more detail, 71% had got drunk at least once during their holidays. In recent years this form of drinking has also become common among women, traditionally identified as more moderate drinkers. In Spain this drinking pattern is exemplified in another context by the social phenomenon of the *botellón*, in which groups of young people meet up at weekends with the objective of drinking alcohol straight from

the bottle in city streets and squares. Such patterns of massive alcohol consumption and/or abuse of other substances clearly have a series of consequences for the health of those involved in the nightlife scene.

If we consider the principal causes of mortality among young people aged 15 to 24, we find that in the European Union at least 50% of these deaths are the result of road traffic accidents (Zimmerman and Bauer, 2006). The majority of such accidents for this age range occur at weekends, at night or in the early hours of the morning, the driver often being under the influence of alcohol or other drugs, chiefly cannabis or cocaine. It could be said, then, that one of the significant risks involved in this recreational model is reflected in the night-time accident rate. In a study published in 2009 on young people from 9 different European cities, we found that 37% had agreed to travel in a car driven by a friend in a state of intoxication (through drink and/or drugs), 17% had themselves driven while drunk, and around 12% had done so while under the effects of some other drug (Calafat, et al., 2009). Such behaviors are more common in males, but affect all young people. The problem gives most cause for concern in southern European countries, since people there are more

likely to use private cars than public transport when they go out drinking, putting them at greater risk of drunk driving.

Another of the main problems deriving from substance abuse in the nightlife context is that of interpersonal violence. Numerous studies have shown the relationship between alcohol abuse and violence, even in terms relative to the amount of alcohol consumed. Wounds to the head or other parts of the body from broken glass (mainly bottles) as a result of fighting are commonplace in nightlife recreational contexts. For example, almost half the violence among young people reported in England and Wales takes place under the effects of alcohol (Flatley, Kershaw, Smith, Chaplin and Moon, 2010). In a 2007 study among young Spaniards, it emerged that over the previous year and in the nightlife context, 5.2% had carried weapons, 11.6% had been assaulted or threatened, and 23% had been involved in fighting (Blay et al., 2010).

Likewise, sexual risk practices are closely related to the use of substances, and both alcohol and illegal drugs are consciously used to facilitate sexual relations and heighten pleasure. A qualitative study (Calafat, Juan, Becoña and Mantecón, 2008) carried out in nightlife recreational contexts confirms the importance of that context and of substance use in seeking sex and in sexual experiences among young people. Young people have a very clear idea – even if they are not consumers of these substances – of how each substance works in relation to different sexual practices. Alcohol is by far the most popular, and that which gives most perceived advantage, in relation to three of the four sexual practices analyzed (facilitating sexual encounters, becoming involved in more risky practices and heightening arousal); the exception is “prolonging the sexual act”, in which case cocaine is preferred. Cannabis is not popular for these purposes in recreational contexts, because it relaxes one too much. Women tend to be very fond of alcohol for risky experiences, heightening sensations and prolonging sex, and are less likely to use cocaine. All of this suggests a culture

of substance use as a kind of alchemic element for improving sexual relations or “breaking the ice”. But this magical aura enveloping these substances disappears when we see how drink and drugs can help bring about risk behaviors such as sex without condom, as well as non-consensual sexual relations or sex which is later regretted.

The principal substance associated with unwanted sexual relations is alcohol. Many women think they have had unwanted sexual relations because they had been drugged, when in fact it was due to the consumption of alcohol, which is all that was found in their bloodstream. The most comprehensive study carried out to date in the United Kingdom reported that only 21 (2%) of 1014 cases of alleged drug-facilitated sexual assault were attributed to involuntary drug ingestion (Scott-Ham and Burton, 2005). But there are also other problems related to sexual behavior. In studies carried out with young tourists visiting the Balearic Islands in summer 2007, 34% of those who had sexual relations with someone other than their stable partner did so without using a condom, with one or more sexual partners. Data from the survey carried out in 2009 in five Mediterranean tourist resorts show that 8.6% were sexually harassed at some point during their holidays and 1.5% had sexual relations against their will. As regards unprotected sex, around a quarter of those who had sexual relations did so without using a condom. These issues will be analyzed in more detail in the corresponding chapter.

Some additional problems in nightlife-based tourist resorts

The situation in tourist destinations in which nightlife is a major attraction often leads to an intensification of the problems that already occur in the recreational life of the tourists’ cities of origin. The young people drink more, they are geared up for new experiences and meeting new people, and so on. This particular mood and attitude interacts with the local conditions. We should consider that:

- unfamiliarity with local strong drinks can lead to over-consumption
- relative cheapness of alcohol can lead to over-consumption
- local availability of illicit drugs can lead to over-consumption
- demand for illicit drugs increases local criminality and attracts criminals from elsewhere
- if problems occur it is difficult to obtain help given the language difficulties, lack of knowledge about who to contact, etc.

Specific aspects quite frequently identified in recreational settings at local (home country) level or abroad and which are related to problems such as violence, excessive drinking and other risk behaviors include: overcrowding and bumping (Macintyre and Homel, 1997), smokiness (Homel and Clark, 1994), bad and loud music (Forsyth, 2009; Home and Clark, 1994), activities such as dancing or pool (Graham et al., 1980; Quigley et al., 2003), overt sexual activity and permissive atmosphere.

Our most recent study among tourists shows that 95% report having consumed alcohol on their holidays, and more than two-thirds have been drunk (Hughes et al., 2011). Previous studies in this same series had shown how it is common for young people to increase their consumption level (of both alcohol and illegal drugs) when on holiday; indeed, for some of them this is the occasion for their initiation into the use of certain substances, a phenomenon particular common in Britons visiting Ibiza (Hughes, et al., 2008).

Therefore, it would appear an established fact that substance use and sexual activity among young people both increase during their holidays. Research carried out in 1998 among young holidaymakers in the Balearic Islands had already shown that their levels of alcohol and drug use were much higher than their normal consumption levels when they were at home (Elliot et al., 1998). All other studies on the same issue have produced findings in this same direction. International holiday

destinations for young people almost always have a strong nightlife focus, with high concentrations of bars and clubs offering the opportunity for varied, easy and hedonistic relations every day of the week. But all of this can lead to health and safety problems. Therefore, knowledge about risk behavior among tourists is fundamental to the development of appropriate measures for the protection of health and the reduction of harm and damage.

Another common consequence of intoxication is the theft of wallets and other personal effects during nights out, either by prostitutes or by small organized gangs who mug drunken tourists. Also not uncommon are cases of drunken women being raped by strangers.

With regard to road accidents and risky driving behaviors, there is a similar pattern. In the summer of 2009, informants from Malia, on Crete – a place we chose for one of the studies presented here – reported that many young tourists' expectations of driving drunk and wildly were frustrated by an increase in the number of police checks on the road that year. Indeed, one of the selling points of such tourist destinations, of their image, is that "here you can do whatever you like – there are no limits", and it is the encouragement of these types of expectations and attitudes that paves the way for wild and unbridled behavior. In some cases, furthermore, tourists make videos of such "exploits" and post them on the Internet. In Majorca and Ibiza in 2010, eight young people lost their lives and many were seriously injured as a result of the craze for *balconing*, a practice consisting of jumping from the balcony of a hotel or apartment towards a swimming pool or jumping from one balcony to another. Such risky behavior tends to occur under the effects of alcohol. The fact that many young people posted videos on YouTube or similar sites encouraged others to copy the practice. This phenomenon will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 6, given its serious consequences for the image of the resort in question.

3

Use of alcohol and illegal drugs

Consumption and fun

In the minds and conceptions of young people, fun, nightlife, alcohol and drugs are often associated with one another. Alcohol and other substances fulfil various functions. They can serve as facilitators of social interactions with both one's own sex and the opposite sex; they also often provide the disinhibition one needs to dance. The consumption of alcohol also forms part – especially among younger users – of a normative profile, whereby we fulfil our peers' expectations on going out with them (smoking, drinking, dancing, etc.). Therefore, drinking is often the result of group pressure that one is unable to properly channel. It should also be borne in mind that getting drunk or high on drugs are in themselves things that many young people seek and identify as positive.

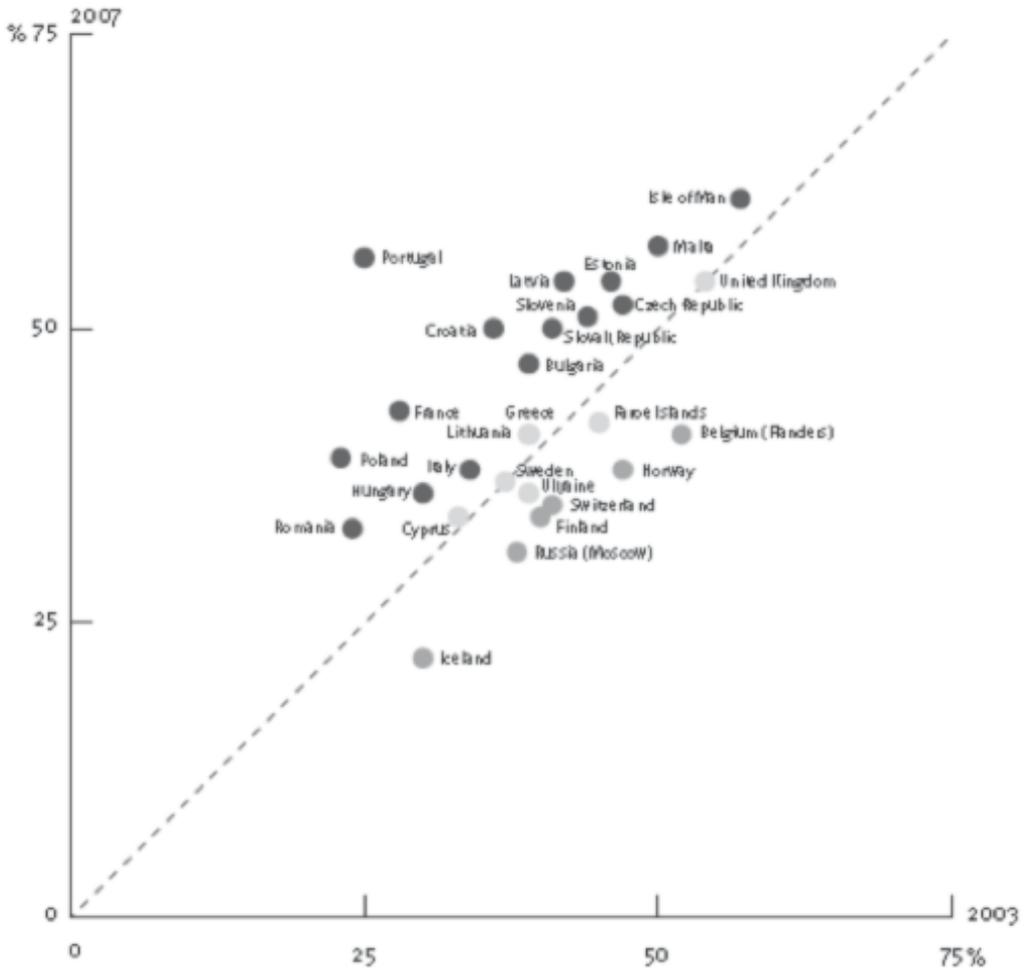
Use and abuse

Defining the boundary between the use and abuse of not just alcohol, but of any substance,

is difficult. Detecting a pattern of addiction may be simpler, but the way people get to that point is not always the same. Many young people who go out at night believe that the use of alcohol or any other drug only becomes a problem if they drink or take drugs every day, so that if they only abuse alcohol at weekends they are "safe" from problems. The reality is quite different, since we now know that the practice of *binge drinking*, or the rapid and intensive ingestion of alcohol, is an established risk factor for the development of alcoholism (Robin, Long, Ramussen, Albaugh and Goldman, 2006).

Binge drinking has increased in social popularity in recent years in a number of European countries. A comparison carried out by ESPAD (The European School Survey Project on Alcohol and Other Drugs. www.espad.org) between the years 2003 and 2007 among students aged 15 and 16 revealed that in a majority of the countries studied (in red in the figure below) the incidence of binge drinking has increased, and this includes even Mediterranean countries such as Portugal, France or Italy.

Increase in binge drinking in European countries between 2003 and 2007. Data from ESPAD, self-reports by adolescents aged 15 and 16



ESPAD (Hibell et al, 2009)

Evolution of binge drinking by gender

As the study (ESPAD) indicates, there is a particularly worrying increase in women’s involvement in the abuse of alcohol. On average, episodes of heavy drinking (more than five units on a single occasion) reported for the previous month increased in the period 2003 to 2007, but the figures are especially significant in the case of women, whose binge

drinking increased from 35% to 42%. In 1995, *binge drinking* was very common among boys and men, but by 2007 this gender gap had closed significantly.

Clearly, alcohol abuse and drunkenness in women no longer carries a social stigma. This may be linked to women’s increased social and economic power and to changes in gender roles, and to the consequent changes in the marketing strategies used by the alcoholic drinks industry (Hibell et al, 2009).

Alcohol and illegal drug use while on holiday

Tourist nightlife areas provide the ideal context for the abuse of alcohol and other drugs. Alcohol is a particularly high-risk substance for tourists in the short term. In spite of this, little attention has been paid up to now to interventions for reducing the massive intake of alcohol in the recreational nightlife context (Tutenges and Hesse, 2008).

As we saw in the previous chapter, during holiday periods tourists drink more than they would in their countries of origin. In the first study, carried out in summer 2007 in Ibiza and Majorca, the majority of participants reported having drunk alcohol while on holiday. Those taking part were of three different nationalities: German, British and Spanish. Levels of drunkenness were lower among the Spaniards, but the majority of the Germans and British reported having got drunk at least twice a week during their stay. Use of illegal drugs was significantly greater in Ibiza than in Majorca for all types of tourist, with British holidaymakers consuming most drugs in general, though in the cases of cannabis and amphetamines it was Spaniards who used them most (Hughes et al, 2008).

This phenomenon of greater consumption during holidays is now being widely reported in the media. In 2009, according to an article in the UK press Britons on holiday drank an average of 8 alcoholic drinks per day, giving an average of 80 drinks over the course of their holiday. The majority of interviewees for the article admitted drinking three times their normal intake while on holiday (BBC News, 2009).

A study carried out with young Britons on a camping holiday in Australia showed how their level of drug use was higher than a group of the same age in their country of origin. Their alcohol intake was also higher: while 20% of the UK group reported having drunk 5 or more alcoholic drinks per week, 40% of the tourists in Australia reported this rate. More than half of these holidaymakers

(55%) reported having used at least one illegal drug whilst on holidays, while lower percentages reported having initiated their use of drugs during this period: 3% in the case of cannabis; almost 3% in that of ecstasy, and around 1% in that of methamphetamines (crystal meth) (Bellis, Hughes, Calafat, Juan and Schnitzer, 2007).

In the study with tourists in the Balearic Islands, the results are in the same direction: drug use in Ibiza was characterized by being frequent, with a large part of interviewees taking drugs 5 or more nights per week. The proportion of cocaine, ecstasy and GHB use increased between 1999 and 2002 in Ibiza and Majorca.

Another highly relevant finding, and one with considerable repercussions from a preventive point of view, concerns the initiation of illegal drug use during holidays. In 2002, 1.7% of young English tourists began their use of cocaine and 3.3% that of ecstasy during their holidays in Ibiza (Bellis et al 2003). A substantial proportion (20% of Britons, 15% of Spaniards and 5% of Germans) took an illegal drug for the first time in this period (Bellis et al, 2009). But apart from these high percentages of people who initiated drug use, some people who had spent more than a year without taking drugs relapsed (between 2% and 5%, depending on destination and nationality).

Finally, the data obtained in summer 2009 in various Mediterranean countries show that one in ten tourists took an illegal drug. Among those who consumed such substances, 86% took cannabis, 32% took ecstasy, 18% took cocaine, and around 6% took ketamine and amphetamines (Hughes et al, in press).

Differences according to tourist destinations

In all the tourists destinations it is typical for the young people to drink (95% of those interviewed in 2009 reported having drunk alcohol during their holidays). But if we consider how frequently

they got drunk, differences emerge both between destinations and between nationalities. The figure below shows, in the darker colour, the percentages of those who got drunk on more than half of the days they were on holiday. It is in Crete and Majorca where we find the highest frequencies (e.g., between 70 and 80% of British tourists). High frequencies of drunken episodes are also found for Germans visiting Majorca and for Germans and Britons visiting Portugal. In contrast there is the situation of Italy, where the rate of drunkenness is lower in general, with less frequency and fewer sporadic episodes. This is particularly noticeable among Germans on holiday in Italy. Clearly, Venice and its environs (despite the existence of a nightlife area for tourists) is different from the other places studied due to the culture-based nature of its tourism.

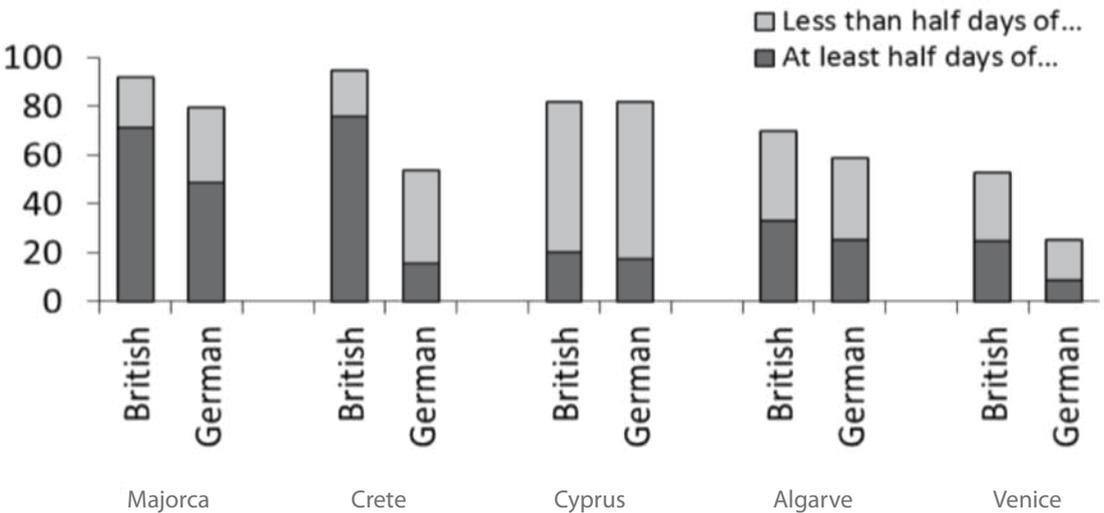
As regards the use of illegal drugs, the highest levels of use were found among tourists in Cyprus and German tourists in Portugal (Hughes et al, in press).

Approach

One of the principal challenges for the construction of a safe and healthy nightlife is that of managing the sale and availability of alcoholic drinks. If overall levels of alcohol use can be reduced, and if sound management policies can bring down the rates of binge drinking, we would be reducing not only the harm resulting directly from drinking – such as alcoholic coma – but also the associated problems, from road accidents to fighting between drunken people, and even sexual abuse. Therefore, the measures we shall set out in this section involve reducing the use of alcohol, this being considered an essential recommendation with a view to managing the associated problems. On presenting such measures here, we shall not list them again in the sections on approach in the remaining chapters, to avoid unnecessary repetition.

In Majorca, for example, an initiative has recently been launched with the aim of reducing the use and

Having been drunk during holidays (the darker side of the column indicates when people have being drunk more than half of the days)



trafficking of illegal substances in nightlife areas. In line with this initiative, *the manager of the premises, the waiter or the security staff can contact the police if they see something suspicious, such as someone going in and out of the toilets very frequently*. Through this structure of close collaboration between recreational industry staff and the police it is hoped to reduce the scale of the problem in question (El Mundo, 2010).

Another classic initiative that has shown itself to be quite effective in reducing drinking and associated problems is the introduction of legislative measures to prohibit the use of alcohol in the street. This measure was introduced as a pilot scheme in Coventry (UK) in 1988, becoming a permanent law two years later, and other cities followed suit. The results of an assessment one year later showed that rates of alcohol-related anti-social behaviour had decreased, while perceptions of safety among the public had increased (Ramsey, 1990). Other studies on similar initiatives, however, showed that their effectiveness depended on whether the measures were implemented as part of a broader program; thus, they were more effective when complemented by programmes for controlling minors' access to alcohol (Allen and Goody, 2002).

An initiative that has proven effective is the training of bar staff in responsible serving practices. The first programme was launched in Stockholm (Sweden) as part of the STAD project, and a full training programme has been developed on its basis. Introduced in 1997, training in the program had become compulsory in Stockholm by 1999 for bar staff working in premises with closing times of 1 a.m. or later. It is aimed principally at waiters, but can also be applied to other personnel, such as door staff or even proprietors themselves (Mansdotter, Rydberg and Wallin, 2007).

Training programmes for those serving and selling alcohol have become quite popular, and includes education in various strategies aimed at reducing the problems associated with the use of alcohol and other drugs. Training in the dispensing

of alcohol forms part of the *Responsible Beverage Service (RBS)*, and is more effective when adapted to each community and each type of premises or event, and especially so when there is monitoring of its application and sanctions for failure to put its stipulations in practice. Moreover, its effectiveness increases when it is associated with other preventive policies introduced by the bar or club. In 1986, the state of Oregon introduced training for all those serving alcohol (Calafat, 2010).

Setting a minimum price reduces the opportunities for irresponsible price promotions, whilst simultaneously protecting consumers through reduced access to alcohol. Particularly harmful is the concept of *happy hour*, which encourages customers to drink large quantities of alcohol. Moreover, selling less alcohol but at higher prices probably translates into similar profit levels, so that public health and economic interests are not at odds with one another.

It is also necessary to maintain the prices of non-alcoholic beverages accessible relative to the prices of alcoholic drinks, so that customers have this option as an alternative or as a means of alternating between the two. It is also very important to ensure that the club or bar provides clients with easy access to free tap water.

It is important to encourage both among local and national authorities and within the nightlife recreational industry the use of training programmes for bar staff. Specific elements of training in the responsible dispensing of alcoholic beverages should include skills for refusing to serve alcohol to someone who is drunk, strict control of sale to minors, and offering alternative transport arrangements to drunken clients.

As far minors' access to discotheques is concerned, it should be controlled exhaustively, with legal sanctions for those who fail to observe the regulations on this aspect.

Establishments located in tourist areas that sell alcohol other than bars, restaurants or clubs (kiosks or stalls, supermarkets, etc.) should have strictly

controlled hours for selling alcohol, so as to ensure that young people cannot buy alcohol all day and until late at night, and the authorities should have sanctions in place for those failing to comply with the regulations.

According to a review carried out in 2009, the most effective strategy would seem to consist in a combination of training, cooperation and control over compliance with laws. Other classical evidence-based measures, such as price increases, the reduction of levels of alcohol in blood permitted for drivers and setting a minimum legal age for the purchase of alcoholic drinks, have also shown their effectiveness (Calafat, Juan, & Duch, 2009).

It is also important to develop and implement awareness-raising campaigns for visiting tourists, so as to alert them to the risks (and sanctions) existing in the country in question, informing them of the consequences of drunk-driving or the use of illegal substances.

In general, efforts should be made to encourage the media and large tour operators to avoid promoting the image of a tourist destination as a place to lose control and go wild, where "anything goes".

4

Violence and nightlife recreation

Relationship between violence, consumption and nightlife recreation

We have already seen that the use and abuse of alcohol – and sometimes of other drugs – tend to be an integral part of nightlife recreation among large sectors of young people. We have also referred to the possible relationship between such consumption and violence, in addition to the presence of other risk factors. The fact that the nightlife scene is a risk context for violence is in part due to its association with the abuse of substances, chiefly alcohol. In this chapter we look at the evidence on this issue and consider some results on the presence of violence both from the first study, carried out in 2007 with tourists in the Balearic Islands, and in more detail from the latest Daphne Project, a survey of tourists in several Mediterranean countries carried out in the summer of 2009.

The pattern of alcohol use in adolescents, especially that which involves regular drinking of distilled beverages, is a factor that influences levels of alcohol-induced violence (Stafström, 2007). Research elsewhere has shown how those young people who drink at

home before going out at night are at least twice as likely to have been involved in arguments or fights whilst on a night out in the previous year (Hughes, Anderson, Morleo, Bellis, 2008). These findings were backed up by those of a study carried out in Germany which suggested that high levels of alcohol use, and especially drinking at home before going out, were associated with various types of negative experiences in the nightlife scene (Wahl, Kriston and Berner, 2010).

Various studies have shown consistently that violence is most likely to occur during weekend nights, and that the most common locations for it are inside and around nightspots (clubs, discos, bars, etc.). Moreover, violent incidents tend to be concentrated in a small number of bars in particular, though it is also true that those who get involved in arguments or fights when they go out have a predilection for a certain type of nightspot (Calafat, 2010).

Types of violence

There are different types of violence and multiple forms of categorizing it, but within the context assessed in the study – the nightlife scene – we drew a basic distinction between quarrels (which

could include aspects such as verbal assault, insults or threats) and physical assault. Respondents had to indicate whether they had been involved in any incident, and categorize the incident according to this distinction. They were also asked about the circumstances: whether they were under the effects of substances, whom they were fighting or arguing with, whether there were any injuries, and other relevant circumstances. In addition, we explored other aspects, such as the tourist's perception of the conditions and safety in the nightlife scene, compared to those found in their country of origin.

■ *Violence in figures*

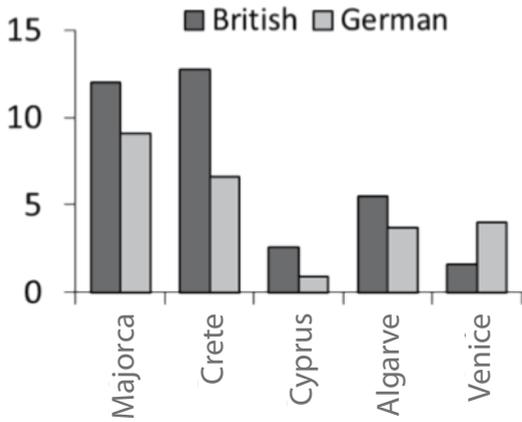
In the first Daphne study (2007-08) participants were asked whether they had seen or been involved in arguments or fights while out at night during their holidays. A third (32%) reported having seen such incidents at some time during their holidays; around 5% said they had seen them often, and 4% that they had witnessed violence every night they went out. This was less common in Ibiza and among German tourists in both destinations (Majorca and Ibiza). As far as direct participation in violence was concerned, 4.4% responded positively. Such incidents were more common in Majorca than in Ibiza. In Majorca, violence was more common among British tourists, and especially in males aged between 16 and 19. Being male was identified as a risk factor that increased by as much as three times the likelihood of being involved in arguments or fighting; being aged 16 to 19 increased the risk more than four times. As regards the relationship between violence and substance use, those who reported having taken cocaine were found to be three times more likely to be involved in violent incidents, while those who took cannabis were twice as likely to be involved as non-users. Surprisingly, users of ecstasy showed lower levels than the mean for involvement in violence. A possible explanation of this is that ecstasy users have a specific profile based on enjoyment of the music and the intensification of physical and

sexual sensations, and their expectations have little to do with fighting and more to do with music and dancing. Alcohol was also found to be an important factor in relation to violence: those participants who reported having been drunk 5 or more times per week were 2.5 times more likely to have been involved in a fight (Hughes et al, 2008).

Over three-quarters (78.4%) of reported fights involved strangers (cf., friends 12.2%, partners 9.5%), and the majority involved opponents of the respondents' own nationality (e.g., 66.7% of fights reported by British participants involved British opponents). Almost half the incidents occurred in the bars or clubs themselves, and in a little over 4 out of every 5 cases those involved had been drinking. In a quarter of cases the incident was reported to the police, and 17% of those involved needed medical attention afterwards.

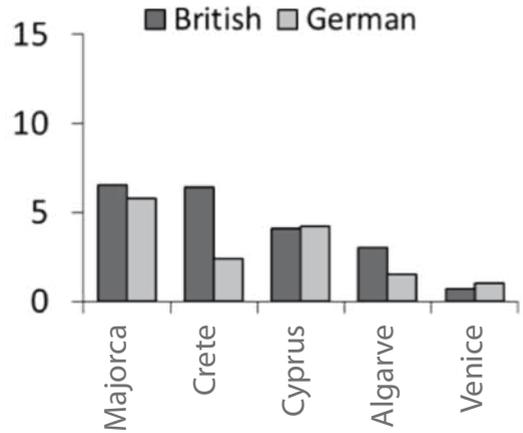
In order to better understand the role of the different tourist destinations in the incidence of violence, a second Daphne study was carried out (2009-10). It was found that around 4% of all holidaymakers in the different destinations had been involved in arguments or fighting of some kind. This result, in general, is closely in line with the findings from the previous study; also, practically 6% reported having been involved in some kind of accident. Levels of violence varied considerably between destinations, and in some resorts, between nationalities. In general terms, the destinations with most problems of violence were Crete and Majorca, violence on the island of Crete being particularly common among Britons (Hughes, 2010). In Italy, levels of violence, as with other problem behaviours analyzed in the study, were very low. In the case of the Venice region it must be borne in mind that this is a predominantly cultural destination. But the differences can also probably be explained by various other factors, such as the supply (or relevance) and quality of the nightlife, the way the resort is marketed (the extent to which drinking and permissiveness are important selling points, etc.), prices, and so on. These aspects will be analyzed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Tourists involved in arguments/fights by destination and nationality



Drinking alcohol on holiday was associated with violence, as were frequent drunken episodes (“frequent” being understood as drunkenness on more than half the days of one’s stay). But in addition to this statistical relationship between two variables, the young people reported being under the effects of alcohol in over 90% of cases of fights or arguments. In the case of illegal drugs the percentages were much lower (just 16% reported being under the influence of drugs at the time of the fight). Thus, alcohol would seem to be the most relevant substance if we are talking about violence. If we consider the place where the fight took place, as in the previous study, in half of the cases it was in bars or discotheques, whilst in only 36% was it in the street. This finding is far from insignificant, given that the nightlife recreation industry tends to systematically deny that fights occur on its premises, when the data show that a substantial percentage of such incidents do indeed occur there. Therefore, it would seem logical to implement measures for the prevention of and response to violence both inside and outside bars and discotheques. Furthermore, drunken episodes were associated with suffering accidental injuries, while active involvement in nightlife and the use of illegal drugs were factors associated with violence.

Tourists injured in accidents by destination and nationality



As regards the characteristics of opponents, once again the majority of incidents occurred between strangers of the same nationality (82%), as in the first study.

All the data, relative to both risk factors and characteristics of the violence, would appear to correspond closely between the two studies, permitting us to identify a common profile of violence, with similar mechanisms across the different destinations. The good news, then, is that an effective response to the problems in each place would probably involve initiatives of the same type. In other words, what works in one place is likely to work in the others.

What type of bars/clubs do young people prefer when going out at night?

The young people were also asked about their preferences with regard to the type of nightspot. It was found that those who fought showed a predilection for places that sold cheap alcohol, offered sexual opportunities, played loud music and were frequented by people who were drunk. On the other

hand, those who did not participate in fights preferred places with a friendly atmosphere, close to where they were staying and with clean toilets (Hughes et al, 2008). It is difficult to determine whether the preference for certain places implies the expectation of violence or whether it is the preference for certain atmospheres of risk that raises the likelihood of involvement in fights. In any case, the relational study highlights the association between certain contexts and greater incidence of violence.

Perceptions about the holiday resort: do tourists feel safer than at home?

Another question put to the young people concerned their perception about the safety and general conditions of the nightlife scene in their holiday destination, compared to their city of origin. It is noteworthy that, despite the problems cited in the previous section, a little over 60% consider the nightlife scene to be better managed in their holiday destinations than in their own cities. With regard to the other aspects there was no consensus, with views depending on the interviewee's nationality; for example, whilst three-quarters of the Germans and British reported feeling safer than at home, in the case of the Spanish the perception of safety between the two places was similar. Also, Germans and British considered that access to illegal drugs was easier than in their own country, and this may explain their high levels of use, compared to the levels at home. They also felt that the bar staff in their tourist destinations were more tolerant of drunkenness than they would be in their own country, and that the legal consequences would be less harsh in their holiday location. This is a highly relevant finding in relation to the risk behaviours undertaken by the young people: the perception of a lack of excessive legal consequences of such risk behaviours.

Dealing with the problems

Apart from all the measures described in Chapter 3 in relation to the reduction and control of alcohol sales, there are also some specific measures that could help reduce violence in the nightlife context.

First of all, the capacity of the premises should be respected, avoiding overcrowding, and rest areas and places to sit down should be provided. It is also important to keep the whole premises properly lit, avoiding dark areas in corridors, and to provide appropriate access to toilets.

Switching on bright lights inside discotheques at closing time is a dissuasive strategy, since the brighter the lighting the greater the clients' perception of being watched, and the less likely they are to cause trouble.

Street lighting is also a relevant aspect: it is important to avoid dark or poorly lit streets in the area around nightlife zones. It is also crucial to provide good public transport, and to properly manage taxi queues, where they commonly form at closing time (WHO, 2006).

In some countries campaigns have been launched to substitute glasses and bottles with receptacles made of methacrylate or similar material. An example would be the *Crystal Clear* campaign carried out in Liverpool, whose aim was to reduce alcohol-related violence in the city, raising awareness about the risks of glass injuries and encouraging young people to take responsibility for their own actions (Hannon, Morleo, Cook, Philips-Howard and Bellis, 2008).

The Best Bar None programme, a Home Office initiative to encourage excellence in the management of British bars, clubs and pubs, has so far been introduced in 80 towns throughout the UK. Its more specific objectives are to reduce levels of alcohol-related crime and irresponsible drinking. To this end, it promotes a responsible management style in authorized premises. All the bars involved are assessed by accredited evaluators, and minimum standards must be attained to obtain certification

(control of admission, crime-prevention strategies, alcohol and drug use, emergency procedure, etc.). Premises that obtain recognition from the campaign can put up a plaque outside, and will benefit from discounts on insurance policies on being considered safer places to visit (<http://www.bbduk.com>).

Some programmes have shown their effectiveness in the management of violence related to alcohol and other substances in the nightlife context. For example, the Canadian programme *Safer Bars* includes a three-hour training programme in conflict resolution, provides proprietors with a tool for risk assessment and instructs them about their legal responsibilities. The introduction of this programme led to a reduction in levels of violence in those premises in which it was applied. In the United Kingdom there is also a mandatory training programme for the door staff of clubs (Graham et al, 2004). Another way of preventing nightlife-related violence is to introduce specific regulations for highly conflictive premises. Supervision, advice on improvements and the threat of closing down bars or clubs have also been effective in reducing violence in the nightlife context (Wagenaar Toomey and Erickson, 2005; Wiggers et al, 2004).

Another aspect to take into account on designing safe environments for the prevention of violence is the management of the music inside premises, since styles of music are associated with certain behaviours of clients, related, for example, to alcohol and drug use, sexual activity and levels of violence. This is why it is recommended to take this aspect into account in training programmes for bar staff (Forsyth, 2009).

According to a WHO report on effective strategies for the reduction of alcohol-related violence, a series of initiatives should be considered, including price increases (higher taxes on drink can reduce levels of violence), the regulation of alcohol sales (the less available are alcohol drinks, the lower the levels of consumption and of violence), the restriction of access to alcohol for minors (e.g., through the

strict control of access for minors and appropriate sanctions), the modification of the contexts in which drinking takes place (poorly-managed premises are associated with higher levels of violence), legal measures such as sanctions for inappropriate behaviour under the effects of alcohol or other types of restriction on consumption, and measures such as the provision of good, safe public transport at night, better street lighting and closed-circuit television systems . All such initiatives can help to reduce alcohol-related violence in and around nightlife recreational premises (WHO, 2006).

But the prevention of violence should not focus exclusively on control of the bars and clubs themselves. The wide gap between alcohol prices in nightspots and at other points of sale, such as supermarkets or shops in general, means that levels of drinking prior to going out increase, and in turn, so do the problems of alcohol-related violence (Hughes et al, 2008a). Therefore, the regulation of alcohol pricing policies should be across the board.

The clearest indicators of the effectiveness of violence-reduction initiatives emerged from so-called multi-component programmes. In particular, programmes that combined mobilization of the community, training in responsible serving of alcoholic drinks, the display of house rules in premises and the strict application of legislation on opening and closing times resulted in the effective reduction of assaults, road accidents and the sale of alcohol to minors (Jones, Atkinson, Hughes, Whelan and Bellis, 2010).

5

Sexuality and nightlife recreation

Relationship between alcohol and illegal substance use and risk sexuality. Review of the evidence

Among sexual practices we can distinguish between those which are voluntary and those carried out against one's will. Examples of the latter would be sexual harassment or rape. There is currently increasing social alarm about the rise in cases of harassment and even sexual abuse in the nightlife context, which is associated with unwitting intoxication with illegal substances (put into the victim's drink when they are not looking). The truth is that social perceptions do not always correspond to empirical reality: according to a scientific review of various studies in 2009, in just 2% of cases among women who reported having been abused after involuntary intoxication with illegal drugs, just 2% were found to have traces of such substances in subsequent blood tests. Furthermore, a three-year longitudinal study by forensic services in the United Kingdom found no evidence of the use of flunitazepam (rohypnol) in sexual abuse victims. In the USA, this substance is

more widely used for recreational purposes, which means that it is more difficult to attribute the fact of having been the object of abuse to the involuntary ingestion of the drug (Beynon et al, 2008). What is clear is that alcohol is indeed the omnipresent substance in all cases. A possible explanation for this phenomenon of false attribution is that victims try to offer some explanation for their lack of sexual control, finding it in having being drugged by someone else without their knowledge; in this way they avoid the cognitive dissonance between the distress over their experience and their own responsibility. In any case, what emerges is that alcohol abuse is one of the principal causes of these problems. However, this is not the only problem related to risk sexual behaviours that is associated with nightlife recreational activity. It is also important to take into account the fact that women get drunk more easily than men with the same quantity of alcohol, and that they more easily lose control in sexual encounters as a consequence of alcohol use.

There is widespread evidence of the link between alcohol abuse and risk sexual behaviours. A review of studies published over the last ten years found

that the results across these diverse studies are generally consistent: drinking alcohol correlated positively with the decision to have sex and with two different risk behaviours: having multiple sexual partners and/or having casual sexual partners. A very interesting result emerging from this review is that condom use is not determined solely by level of alcohol use (Cooper, 2002), and this has implications for prevention: even if a young person drinks less alcohol, or no alcohol at all, it does not guarantee that they will use a condom.

In a study carried out among university students in New Zealand, reported levels of risk sexual behaviours were higher: among those who drank alcohol, and over the previous three months, 11% of males and 15% of females reported having had unprotected sex, 6% and 7% had had sexual relations that were unpleasant, and 16% and 19% had had relations which they later regretted. Thirty-four per cent of women and 25% of men had had unwanted sexual proposals from someone who had drunk alcohol (Cashell-Smith et al, 2007).

On the other hand, unsafe sexual behaviours have been associated not only with alcohol abuse, but also, and again more strongly, with the fact of young people having expectations that alcohol has a disinhibiting effect on behaviour (Dermen et al, 1998). This means that when they are drunk they let themselves be led by this belief about disinhibition, and lower their guard in relation to self-protective behaviours (Dermen et al, 1998). Thus, these authors suggest a paradoxical effect, whereby, in preventive interventions on the effects of alcohol abuse it is advisable to minimize the expectations of lack of control, since the opposite approach could actually lead to encouraging the behaviour in question (saying "this is dangerous" to young people anxious to experience the dangers of life is not to be recommended).

Concentrating on young holidaymakers, it should be borne in mind that holidays are

characterized by being a period free from responsibilities and obligations, so that the level of stress is lower and there is an increase in the rate of hedonistic behaviours, which would include sexual exchanges. In addition to this general tendency, depending on the tourists' age and type, expectations are generated round sexual exchanges during holidays. A study carried out on young British backpackers in Australia showed how during their holiday the number of sexual partners increased, with 40% reporting having had several sexual partners. Of those young people who arrived without a stable partner and reported having had sexual encounters, around 40% used condoms only occasionally and 24% maintained risk sexual practices with several people. Some risk factors that were determinant for these types of behaviour were a high frequency of visits to bars and discos, and high levels of alcohol and illegal drug use (Hughes et al, 2009).

In holiday resorts sexual encounters are common, and in many cases mediated by substance use (Downing et al, 2010). As referred to in Chapter 2, holidaymakers tend to behave differently from the way they do at home. This phenomenon, *behavioural inversion*, leads to a relaxation of personal limits and precaution, favouring not only the abuse of alcohol and other substances but also unprotected sex (de Oliveira Santos, and Paiva, 2007; Lomba, Apóstolo, & Mendes, 2009).

The figures: risk sexual behaviours among tourists according to the Daphne studies

Around a third (34%) of young people visiting the Balearic Islands in 2007 without a sexual partner reported having had sexual relations. Of these, some 35% failed to use a condom regularly and 16% had relations with several people. On analyzing

Sexual behaviours among young people travelling without a sexual partner, by destination and nationality (Ibiza and Majorca, 2007)

	Majorca				Ibiza			
	British	German	Spanish	P	British	German	Spanish	P
Number of sexual partners on holiday (%)								
0	70.4	60.5	57.3		74.7	65.2	61.9	
1	12.1	18.1	25.3		13.4	15.7	16.0	
2 to 4	11.1	10.4	10.1		8.2	12.5	15.5	
5 or more	6.5	11.0	7.3	**	3.7	6.7	6.6	*
Number of unprotected sexual partners (%)¹								
0	66.9	53.8	74.3		65.1	70.4	63.8	
1	17.8	22.2	20.3		19.3	18.5	13.0	
2 to 4	7.6	10.3	4.1		6.0	4.6	10.1	
5 or more	7.6	13.7	1.4	*	9.6	6.5	13.0	NS

Analysis limited to those reporting having had sexual relations whilst on holiday. (34% of N=3003)

this behaviour by destination and nationality, it emerged that German holidaymakers in Majorca were the least likely to use a condom, whilst in Ibiza such behaviour was more frequent among Spanish tourists. This highlights both the expectations of each nationality and the characteristics of the context. Probably, Majorca is to German tourists what Ibiza is to Spaniards: a place with few restrictions and with possibilities for the abuse of alcohol and other excesses, among them those of a sexual nature.

In the study carried out in several Mediterranean holiday resorts in the summer of 2009, over half of the visitors reported having had sexual relations during their holidays (53%), of whom almost three-quarters failed to use a condom. Asked about sexual harassment, 8.6% reported having been harassed whilst on holiday. Such behaviour varied considerably in frequency, depending on the destination: for example, whilst in Crete and Majorca the levels of harassment reached 15%, in Cyprus and Portugal the figure was scarcely 5%. The place with the lowest value in this regard was Italy, with a figure of 2.8%. As regards the fact of having had non-consensual sexual relations, the mean was 1.5% for the total sample, again with

differences between destinations: the highest rates were in Majorca, Crete and Portugal, and the lowest in Cyprus.

As regards gender patterns for sexual harassment, there were differences by destination: whilst in places such as Cyprus harassment was much more common among women than among men (11 vs. 0.5%), in places such as Majorca there was a higher proportion of men who were harassed.

In the present study, marked differences were found between destinations. The lowest levels of risk sexual behaviours were found in Italy, undoubtedly because unlike the other destinations, Venice (the main city studied in Italy) is not promoted as a destination of *beach, nightlife, sex and alcohol*. In contrast, Majorca, a destination clearly marked by the promotion of nightlife activity, presents the highest levels of sexual harassment (15.4%) and non-consensual sexual relations (2.2%). Thus, the way in which the tourist destination is promoted is directly related to the frequency of the problems experienced, in this case of a sexual nature. Another highly relevant finding to be taken into account is that in certain places (such as Majorca) sexual harassment affects both women and men, so that preventive actions would require an approach

aimed at both sexes. Another relevant aspect with regard to prevention is that bars or clubs which are quite permissive about sexual behaviour may become places where sexual harassment is rife.

Qualitative interviews with key local informants carried out in this study reveal that the problem sometimes resides in the fact that tourist destinations are promoted as *places where anything goes*, with the consequent negative effect, in terms of health, on young visitors' expectations and behaviours.

■ *Dealing with the problem*

Multiple studies and reviews have highlighted the relationship between the use and abuse of alcohol and risk sexual practices or unwanted sex (Connor et al, 2010; Cooper, 2002; Hughes et al, 2009; Dermen et al, 1998). Given that risk sexual behaviours – both harassment and unsafe sex – show a certain relationship with the abuse of alcohol and other substances, all measures aimed at the reduction of such abuse, and described in Chapter 3, are indirectly effective for the reduction of these problems.

There are a series of measures which, if implemented in recreational premises (Calafat, 2010), could reduce the potential for sexual risk behaviours. In this regard, it would be expected to be beneficial for bars, clubs, etc. to have condom dispensing machines, to avoid showing images with sexual content on the screens or in advertising, to have *house rules* prohibiting public displays of sexual activity, to install closed-circuit TV systems to increase feelings of security and control among patrons, to ensure that entertainment is not overly violent or sexual, and so on. Another recommendation would be to try and make sure there is a mix of ages and types of people among clients, since this could help to avoid problems.

For their part, the young people themselves could avoid many problems by going out accompanied by friends and staying with them all night. Clearly,

they should also avoid consuming alcohol or drugs to levels which take them beyond their realistic possibilities of keeping control, as well as staying away from environments or places where there is high permissiveness in relation to sexual behaviours. It is also important to bear in mind that some groups are more vulnerable than others, such as women and girls under 19, and in some contexts, homosexuals and bisexuals.

As regards the prevention of gender violence that may exist in these contexts, there are various community-based programmes with national ambitions whose objective are to reduce gender violence, through both changes in the toleration of violence in social norms and the development of the relevant awareness and social skills in women (LJMU for the WHO, 2009). However, to date there have been no specific initiatives for preventing both harassment and sexual violence or risk behaviours among young holidaymakers in the nightlife context.

Awareness-raising campaigns disseminated via the media (radio, TV, internet, press) can be effective for modifying attitudes about norms related to gender. The most effective may be those which attempt to foster understanding of the problem in the target population, trying to involve them in the development of interventions. Nevertheless, there are still no studies providing scientific support for the reduction of sexual violence after the application of such initiatives (WHO, 2006).

The idea of night-time taxi services for women, originally introduced in London in 2006, has spread to other places, and a scheme is now under way in Barcelona. The so-called pink taxi line, a service provided solely by women and for women, was the first of its kind in Spain. Other cities with similar schemes include Dubai, Medellin in Colombia and Puebla and Mexico City in Mexico. Although some feminists have criticized the initiative for perpetuating stereotypes – indeed, the colour pink does not exactly help – the success of the project suggests that pink taxis have a promising future (ABC, 2009).

In general terms, all community-based preventive programmes should work towards modifying social acceptance of alcohol abuse, in both men and women, and attempt to involve all social agents – not only the clients of the nightlife scene but also those responsible for its design and promotion – at both the local level (the recreation industry) and the international level (tour-operators, hotel chains and travel agents).

6

Internet: a window for young tourists

Do the new communications technologies involve risks?

It is only a slight exaggeration to say that today, for good or ill, if you are not connected to the Internet you do not exist. The Internet has sold itself to the public as a source of information, of contacts, of trade and of entertainment. This is especially true for young people.

Adolescents and young people merit special attention as regards their relationships with Information and Communications Technology (ITC), especially given their sensitivity to trends and the social environment, and the fact that such technologies have a strong presence in their lives. Indeed, adolescents and young people have been considered as risk groups by some researchers, in view of their special relationship with and devotion to the Internet. One of the risks to which young people are exposed in using the Internet concerns the phenomenon of perceiving as normal certain risk behaviours which are in fact not at all normal. This misperception is due to an overestimation of the number of peers who practice such behaviours (Castellana and Lladó 1999) when knowledge of such behaviours comes via the web.

One of the elements to consider is the presence of advertising in many social networks and other Internet applications. Young people's dependence on the Internet means that advertising and similar content has particular influence on this group, who have a tendency to build their world around what they see on TV and on the web (Albero, 2003). Moreover, these media often carry advertisements for alcoholic drinks that directly target the young, revolving around the idea that the use of alcohol helps one to have more fun and be socially successful.

The tourism industry makes considerable use of the Internet and information technology in general. It is an industry in which decisions have to be made quickly, that handles a great deal of information to be shared in different places, in which there is fierce competition, and in which it tries to cut out intermediaries and speak directly to the final client, and so on. In advanced economies such as that of the USA, the two sectors (tourism and technology) together account for 20% of GDP (Álvarez, 1998).

If we were to identify one characteristic that distinguishes the tourists of the 21st century from those of the mid-to-late 20th century, it would be

their increasing opportunities for choice and for obtaining information directly from the supplier. Today's tourist has access to a vast range of holiday and leisure offers, in addition to greater accessibility to this supply thanks to increased leisure time, continual improvements in transport and the advent of the Internet (Ávila and Barrado, 2005).

The interactions between the tourism industry and its clients are complex. There is a free bidirectional flow of information between the two, this mutual influence being regulated by tourist organizations and associations, as well as by government agencies.

Many official agencies supply information on regulations regarding entry to their country; they also regulate, in line with the current legislation, the functioning and content of products and services for tourists. Moreover, they provide a great deal of information about the destination to travellers and intermediaries, publishing and distributing all kinds of tourism-related material. Consultants and market researchers are also crucial elements in this system or environment of information flow. Furthermore, governments and other local, national and international public authorities are highly supportive of technological developments in this sector, given its strategic qualities (Sheldon, 1997). Thus, public authorities and governments cannot relinquish the legislative and regulatory responsibility they hold in this system of tourist information flow. They play a key preventive role in matters of health and safety.

On the other hand is the role of the recreational and tourism industries in the way they reach out to young people. These sectors often use the Internet to target this group of consumers, making tourist destinations more attractive by stressing selling points such as wild and frenetic nightlife scenes where drinking and promiscuity are the order of the day. Some places are even billed as "24-hour party zones". The large tour operators, travel agencies, hotel chains and nightspots (bars, discos, etc.) all bear their share of responsibility for the image of the

tourist resort that is promoted, and can be seen as partly responsible for the risk behaviours practised by young people in such destinations, given the image of generalized permissiveness sometimes projected in promotional material.

Nightlife recreational destinations from the perspective of the Internet

In order to identify the differences between tourist destinations, in addition to interviews with key players, an analysis of Internet content was carried out. To this end, a search was made of Internet sites using a series of key words (*holidays, nightlife, sex and holidays, violence and holidays, and party*), followed by the name of the tourist destination in question (in each case, the name of the place where the research was carried out: *Algarve, Majorca, Venice, Ayia-Napa and Malia*). The search was carried out in English, and using two main sources: Google and YouTube, where young people often post videos showing their personal experiences whilst on holiday. For each search made, the first ten results were selected, the analysis being confined to those links. The material selected was subjected to a qualitative assessment based on its promotional content: whether it targeted only young people or also families; whether or not it presented a healthy image of the destination; whether it highlighted a culture of drinking, easy access to sex, violence and/or vandalism; and so on. The objective of the analysis was twofold: to identify the image projected by the tour operators and travel agents for each holiday destination, and to examine the image presented by young people themselves of their holiday experiences in each place. We continue by presenting some relevant aspects of this analysis of web content:

The results for Majorca (Spain) and Ayia-Napa (Cyprus) were similar to each other. Those emerging from the search "holidays" + "name of tourist destination" were generally positive – that is, a wide variety of activities came up, with recreational

alternatives for young people but also for families. However, the results that came up for the searches under “sex”, “nightlife” and “violence” gave quite a different picture. In these cases there emerges an image of places notable for high consumption of alcohol, easy access to sexual opportunities and lack of control in the nightlife scene. As far as Ayia-Napa is concerned, several videos were found showing sexual content associated with substance use, along with other content of a less-than-healthy nature.

The case of Malia (Crete) is even more extreme: the vast majority of holiday references concern solely its nightlife, with very little mention of other features. It is noteworthy that those links related to press and radio news items tend to give a negative image of this tourist resort, providing little or no support to its promotion as a healthy and attractive destination. As in the cases of Majorca and Ayia-Napa, there frequently appear images linking the use of alcohol with easy access to sexual opportunities. In the case of Majorca these types of images were not only found in home videos made by young holidaymakers, but even as promotional material used by large tour operators (one targeting British young people and another aimed at Germans).

In contrast, the search referring to the Algarve, in southern Portugal, reveals a calmer image. In general, the target group is families – though there is also some marketing aimed at young people –, and the general impression in advertisements and promotions puts one in mind of postcards depicting tranquil, idyllic scenes. A search under the term “violence” led to a tour operator’s page which stated explicitly that *In the Algarve, violent behaviour is not welcome*. These examples reflect the differences in the way a destination can be promoted: as a safe and peaceful place where one can also have fun, or as a place where in order to have fun it would seem necessary to lose control and abuse alcohol or drugs (Majorca, Malia or Ayia-Napa).

A destination that merits separate treatment, given its peculiar characteristics, is Venice. The

image of the city in promotions, including those aimed at young people, is basically cultural, with few if any elements that might incite risk behaviour. Its promotion focuses on historical, cultural and gastronomic aspects and on the aesthetic features of the city itself; no links were found that transmitted a negative image. Even on entering the search terms “violence” and “sex”, what came up were references to scientific and medical studies on these themes. These findings are totally in accordance with the results from the survey study using questionnaires, presented in the other chapters. Indeed, Venice presents the lowest levels in problem behaviours (violence, sexual harassment, drunkenness, illegal substance use, etc.) relative to the other destinations analyzed.

■ *Implications*

The implications of this for the market are that competition is tougher and players are obliged to design ever more attractive and aggressive packages for young people. Promoting a tourist destination as a place where there is considerable permissiveness of frenetic, out-of-control and unhealthy behaviours, and using the selling points of sex and access to alcohol, are highly tempting options for the suppliers of holidays for young people. There is a need, then, for those suppliers to seek new, more creative forms of promoting destinations for young holidaymakers, focusing on aspects less potentially harmful to their health and safety. Regional systems of information, communication and marketing in relation to tourism should reflect the shared objectives of the various public authorities and business sectors, which could be summarized thus:

- The development of standard and stable technological contexts;
- Organization, quality, accuracy and variety with regard to content. (Álvarez, 1998)

The other essential aspect to regulate is the behaviour of tourists themselves. The emergence of the new information and communications technologies have made possible and optimized the transmission, sharing, distribution, exchange and posting of information at a speed never before seen. This is having a profound impact on the development of the ethical and legal framework of what is referred to as the governability of the web. Today, the Internet is a medium with less censorship than any other (Trujano, Dorantes and Tovilla, 2009). Some young people enjoy posting on the web accounts or videos of their activities, many of which clearly fall into the category of risk behaviour. This facilitates a contagion effect of proportions previously unknown. Even violence can be seen in such videos, which are presented with the advantages of anonymity and the immediacy of information sharing. Our study on holiday destinations in the web unearthed multiple links to content showing holidaymakers who were drunk and out of control or in contexts such as *rave*-type all-night parties (scenarios in which the use of illegal drugs is known to be widespread). Ideally, there would be self-regulation, whereby web users themselves refrained from making public certain behaviours, thus avoiding the contagion or copycat effect. Other forms of regulation might also be considered, especially where the content of an inappropriate message can be traced to organizations or agencies with responsibilities for or interests in the holiday business or a particular resort (travel agents, discotheques, tourism organizations, etc.). These, indeed, should devise a system for supervising the content of information appearing on the web in relation to tourist destinations.

A clear example of how this contagion effect occurs through the Internet can be seen in the phenomenon referred to as *balconing*. The activity in question involves jumping from the balcony of a hotel or apartment block into the swimming pool. Such "feats" are filmed by other young people and posted on the web, encouraging others to copy the

behaviour (which, moreover, tends to occur under the effects of alcohol or other substances). In the Balearic Islands alone, this behaviour cost the lives of more than ten people in 2010.

In sum, we are talking about a circular system which can receive feedback from various points. It is crucial that the image promoted by the recreational industry and other relevant agents – including the media – is conceived from an attitude of responsibility that takes into account this reality, and does not engender expectations which can prejudice the health and safety of holidaymakers.

7

Working towards safer nightlife tourism: Recommendations addressed to the social agents involved

The prevention of violence, substance use and other, related harm among young tourists is a social issue that requires input and collaboration from different social groups, organizations and agencies, apart from the holidaymakers themselves. We have seen how the nightlife recreational context in tourist resorts plays a particular role in facilitating certain risk behaviours. It is important, then, to identify the role of each stakeholder and the way in which they can help to improve the situation, with a view to making changes in the direction of a healthier and safer nightlife scene, as far as possible without taking the fun out of it. Over the course of this study we have presented some data which have helped us not only to improve our knowledge of the problems in question, but also to identify some of the measures that could be really useful. Therefore, we have developed some recommendations addressed to each specific group involved, providing practical and technical advice to help them implement preventive measures.

Recommendations addressed to policy makers at EU level

Nightlife is by no means a marginal activity. It involves large numbers of people, and a large proportion of the economies of some regions or cities depend on it. Therefore, there is a need to ensure that European citizens, when travelling abroad, will enjoy similar health and safety conditions to those of their home countries when they participate in nightlife. Results from the two studies on holidaymakers have revealed that violence, unintentional injuries, sexual harassment, alcohol intoxication and other illegal substance use constitute a reality for young Europeans visiting southern European tourist resorts. In accordance with this, we should look for a common European strategy.

Cooperation between countries at different levels is essential: people travel from one country to another, standards in nightlife organization differ between countries, and violence should be

tackled from a European perspective for the benefit of the international structure within which tour operators and other sectors of the leisure industry work. European standards in nightlife should be established through research, evaluation of best practices, and consensus among institutions.

Legislative and coordination policies and measures should be created and implemented, not only to minimize the health consequences for the risk population involved, but also to avoid the undesirable effects of the dissemination of this mass tourism model to other, emergent locations.

European organizations, such as the European Commission, should provide a practical political and organizational frame of reference in which all parties involved can identify the best practices in their sector, as well as coordinating local and national efforts through the creation of a permanent working commission. In this framework, the tourism industry—which includes travel agencies, tour operators, airline companies, hotel chains and representatives of local industry, such as bar and nightclub owners—should be made aware of the limits to its profits with the current conception of mass tourism, focused on high alcohol consumption and the promotion of unhealthy forms of behaviour. Such a model will bring only short-term benefits, as people experiencing problems will not return to the same place. At the same time, promoting this kind of tourism degrades the destinations in question, making them poorer and more limited, so that in the longer term young people will seek alternative locations.

Whatever the agents or bodies responsible, the most practical, quickest and most realistic way forward is undoubtedly to establish direct collaborative relationships between the countries affected by these activities. Such collaboration and cooperation is in the interests not only of the countries who supply tourists, but also of those who are basically receivers of holidaymakers and have well-established recreational structures.

Recommendations addressed to policy makers at regional and local levels

Local authorities have high levels of responsibility in terms of public health and safety. In general terms, there are many measures that could be undertaken (see Calafat, 2010, for a critical view of the different approaches being used and of their efficacy). Important initiatives would involve the control and regulation of opening times for leisure venues, the organization of night-time public transport, the promotion of law enforcement, and working towards international quality standards that will stimulate tourism in the resorts in question. Local authorities are excellently placed to act as mediators between the different converging interests: tourists, industry, local residents, and so on. The local nightlife industry, hotels and travel agencies may be willing to promote single actions, but these usually have low impact unless they form part of a wider strategy with community participation and a multi-component approach that sets up short- and long-term objectives. A central message of this guide is that both multi-sector involvement and clear leadership are essential to the success of national, municipal and community-based efforts to prevent violence. Moreover, local authorities can draw up common strategies between local police, national police and private security staff with a view to maximizing the human and technical resources available.

Only active collaboration between all the groups involved and the implementation of evidence-based programs will guarantee success. Therefore, local authorities should proceed in some specific ways:

- Ensure legislation works towards the implementation of these changes and ensure the provision of sufficient resources to enforce the law.
- Promote the implementation of evidence-based programs.

- Promote a local working group, to encourage joint prevention actions and assign responsibilities; each key stakeholder (industry representatives, consulate representatives, town council representatives, health and safety ministries, neighbourhood representatives and all other civil groups and parties directly involved) should participate to present its particular point of view and set out problems, as well as suggesting solutions.
- Sponsor awards for those agents, especially within the tourist and nightlife industry, who work towards a safer and healthier nightlife, acknowledging efforts to work together and to promote a public health-based approach to tourism.
 - The advertisement that promotes the best image of a tourist destination
 - The most innovative advertisement in promoting a good image of a tourist destination.
- Avoid using sexual and/or violent content (e.g., which encourages tourists to be violent or behave uninhibitedly), as well as symbols relating to alcohol and drug use, in their advertising campaigns.
- Avoid all subliminal and indirect messages that promote an image of tourist resorts as a “place to have fun through breaking rules”.
- Offer alternative activities, related to the resort’s culture, including outdoor activities, sports, etc. In general terms, tourist locations should be promoted as attractive and healthy places, where people are expected to behave as they would in their own countries. At present, a great deal of promotional material for tourists resorts and their nightlife venues can be found, addressing young people, that includes references to easy opportunities for sex, access to cheap alcohol, and deviant and unsocial behaviour (including home-made videos on the Internet showing drunken people, sometimes performing acts of vandalism in tourist resorts).

Recommendations addressed to tour operators

Tour operators are the agents chiefly responsible for the international image of tourist destinations that is promoted. Therefore, they must be extremely sensitive and careful with regard to the ways in which they promote resorts. In practical terms, they should:

- Create strategies for systematically controlling the content of advertising for tourism in the mass media – TV, radio, the Internet, newspapers, travel agency pamphlets, airport and street hoardings, etc. – with a view to reporting unethical advertising and applying the appropriate sanctions, through the creation, for example, of a web page setting out specific rules and acceptable terms and types of promotion and publicity.
- Create a permanent commission of experts to detect irregularities.
- Promote an international contest to reward:
 - Make clear which behaviours are unacceptable among the local population, such as anti-social acts, drunkenness, vandalism or breaking traffic rules.

Recommendations addressed to consulates and tourist organizations

Consulates are responsible for the welfare of foreign nationals visiting the countries in which they are based, tourists among them. Therefore, they should help to ensure that health and safety measures are appropriately applied. But another important responsibility of consulates is to sensitize,

to raise the awareness of young holidaymakers to the country in question. More good media campaigns in this direction are required, and such initiatives could be launched before the summer season, coordinated by Tourist and Health Authorities and similar organizations.

Recommendations addressed to the recreational nightlife industry

The recreational nightlife industry should be responsible for implementing international quality standards of best practice for its customers and the local residents. Therefore, as a responsible agent, the industry should work on prevention, as other industrial organizations across Europe have been doing since they became aware that introducing such policies works to their benefit.

Managers working in the nightlife industry should:

- Apply a standardized protocol to ensure that door staff are adequately screened.
- Create a support network for door staff to prevent burn-out syndrome (debriefing techniques, frequent staff rotation, longer breaks at the end of the season, etc.)
- Create and guarantee minimum health conditions at the venues, such as the use of plastic glasses, condom machines in the toilets, hygiene standards, adequate lighting, well-marked and located emergency exits, and a maximum capacity per square metre.
- Establish specific training for all night staff and set out specific tasks and responsibilities for waiters, door staff, dancers, DJs, and so on.
- Establish restrictions on opening hours for discotheques, and especially for after-hours parties. This has been shown to effectively reduce the number and/or seriousness of hospital emergency cases.
- Set up sobriety checkpoints for staff working at nightlife venues.

- In activities for youngsters, such as parties where the minimum age for entrance is 13, ensure that only non-alcoholic beverages are on sale and alcoholic drinks are out of sight.
- Establish specific context strategies to control overcrowding and the forming of groups. In places where concentrations of tourists are more likely to result in outbreaks of violence, specifically-designed actions would be required for each context.
- Supply tap water free of charge to all customers at nightlife venues.
- Exercise control over the use of low alcohol pricing as a marketing strategy, given that research shows how higher alcohol prices have a preventive effect. At the same time, prices for non-alcoholic beverages should be much lower than those for alcoholic drinks.

Nightlife door staff, should:

- Deny entrance to persons who have previously been involved in any violent incident at the venue.
- Willingly undergo sobriety checks.
- Undergo training courses providing:
 - Basic foreign language knowledge (English, German, etc.), so as to avoid misunderstandings.
 - Conflict resolution skills.
 - De-escalation training (also for waiters and other staff).
 - Specific medical/first aid training (heat stroke, heart attack, paranoid behaviour, overdose, etc.)
 - Specific information about the risks and overdose effects of the most widely consumed party drugs.

In general terms, minimum quality standards for nightlife venues should be as follows:

- Provide secure access and admission: monitor people in line, develop and display house

policy statements, enforce age verification, ensure capacity is not exceeded, and avoid overcrowding.

- Provide a good physical environment: control room temperature and ventilation, provide seating areas, clear away empty glasses and bottles, maintain a good ratio of staff/patrons, identify intoxicated clients, avoid dark or hidden areas and control music volume.
- Make sure the social environment does not encourage disorderly behaviour: ensure that entertainment is not overly violent or sexual, prevent the promotion of excessive drinking, establish and enforce behaviour standards.
- Staff training: make sure staff understand and engage in responsible server practices and build staff competences in negotiating skills to guarantee the best quality standards and avoid incidents and harm.
- Set up an internal/external coordination plan with a view to standardizing in-house operational activities and establishing protocols for collaboration with police and medical services.
- Regulate pricing and availability of alcohol beverages: avoid discounts and promotions and ensure they do not encourage excessive drinking or are linked to sexual or violent images; promote non-alcoholic and low-alcohol drinks or alcohol-free alternatives; offer water to those customers who may need it and serve soft drinks and snacks when preparing for closing time.

It is also important also for the nightlife industry to understand that selling fewer alcoholic drinks does not mean losing profits. Conversely, establishing a good pricing policy can be a demonstration that venues care about their clients and are working towards the establishment of health and safety standards to protect their well-being, while maintaining profit levels by selling less at a higher price.

Recommendations addressed to tourist themselves

Of course, all of the strategies and measures proposed are aimed at reducing risk behaviours in tourists, their alcohol and drug use, and indirectly, other health-risk behaviours, such as violence, sexual relations which are later regretted, or injuries and harm in general. If the holidaymakers themselves do not take responsibility to manage their own behaviour, none of the proposed measures will be effective. Therefore, it is important to work towards a social change, and specifically towards changing the conception of having fun on holidays among young Europeans visiting southern European resorts.

8

Conclusions of the study

Two studies were carried out based on interviews with young tourists at airports as they prepared to return home after their holidays. In the first study, from 2007, 3000 British, German and Spanish holidaymakers were interviewed at the Spanish airports of Ibiza and Palma de Mallorca. In 2009, some 6800 British and German tourists were interviewed at the airports of Palma de Mallorca (Spain), Faro (Portugal), Venice (Italy, Treviso and Marco Polo airports); Crete (Greece, Heraklion airport) and Larnaca (Cyprus). The questionnaires were designed to obtain information on violent behaviour and

other risk behaviours among tourists in resorts in southern Europe. It emerges that, notwithstanding the recreational and socializing functions of such tourism for young people, there are also certain problems that demand immediate attention. This research does not set out to call into question the enormous benefits of such tourist activity for the young people themselves or the local towns, resorts and businesses. The aim is to reveal whether in addition to these positive contributions, which are considered as given, there are health and safety problems that seriously affect these young people.

Here we summarize some of the most prominent data (the figures may correspond either to the first Daphne project 2007-2008 or to the second 2009-2010 project and do not correspond necessarily to all destinations):

- For some destinations (Majorca, Crete and Cyprus), between 60 and 80% of those interviewed referred to the nightlife as the main reason for choosing that destination.
- In total, 71% had been drunk at least once during their holidays.
- It is noteworthy how frequently tourists, and especially those from Britain, had seen drunken people (92%); the frequency is slight lower for Germans (82%) and much less frequent among Spanish tourists (67%) (Daphne Study 2007-2008 referring exclusively to the Balearic Islands).
- A total of 34% of those who had sexual relations with someone other than their usual partner did so without using a condom, with one or more sexual partners
- A total of 8.6% reported having felt sexually harassed on some occasion during their holidays, and 1.5% has sexual relations against their will
- A total of 32% reported having seen fights at some point during their holidays; around 5% said they had seen them frequently, and 4% even that they had seen them every night they went out
- Around 4% had participated actively in fights
- Just over half (51%) of violent incidents occurred on the premises of nightspots
- In all, 92% of those who had fought reported having been under the effects of alcohol, and 9% under the effects of drugs at the time of the incident
- A substantial proportion (20% of Britons, 15% of Spaniards and 5% of Germans) had their first experience of some illegal drug while on Ibiza, though the proportions were considerably lower for other destinations
- People who had spent over a year without consuming some illegal drug relapsed (between 2% and 5%, depending on the destination and their nationality) during their holidays.
- Witnessing or being involved in violence was associated with holidaymakers being less likely to return to the same destination.

The data corroborate the thesis that holiday periods are times of excess in the consumption of alcohol and other substances, and involve other health risk behaviours, such as violence, drunk driving or unsafe sex – issues already mentioned in previous studies on nightlife (Macintyre and Homel, 1997; Elliot et al, 1998; Bellis et al, 2007; Hughes et al, 2008; de Oliveira and Paiva, 2007; Lomba, Apóstolo, and Mendes, 2009; Downing et al, 2010).

Despite the existence of a common pattern indicating the existence of problems in the nightlife scene involving young Europeans holidaymakers in all the places studied, the patterns actually differ substantially between the different areas studied. For example, in the Algarve (Portugal), among Germans

the use of illegal drugs was higher than elsewhere, in Majorca sexual harassment was reported by both men and women (whilst in the remaining destinations the majority of those harassed were women), and in Venice the incidence of alcohol and other substance use, as well as associated problems, was very low. These differences suggest that the local context is a determining factor for inappropriate behaviour among young people. Identifying the characteristics of each resort and finding out how these features influence behaviours are not easy tasks – not least because the young people choose the destinations themselves on the basis of their interests and expectations.

But some approaches to these questions can be made. There are important differences in the numbers, types and density of nightspots between the different tourist destinations studied. Moreover, through an analysis of how each destination is marketed or promoted on the Internet, we have observed how in many cases (except in that of Venice, and partly in that of the Algarve) the resorts are promoted for young people as places with a very substantial nightlife, whose selling points are a culture of drinking large quantities of alcohol, easy access to sex and high levels of permissiveness of behaviours of excess. Such promotions can influence the choices young people make about a particular tourist destination. These risk behaviours – such as jumping from hotel balconies into swimming pools in the Balearic Island, or drunken parties – are sometimes recorded on video by the young people themselves and subsequently posted on the Internet, feeding back to the circuit and consolidating the risk behaviour in question.

A very important step is to identify and make people aware of the problem. There is little awareness or knowledge of and concern about these types of problems associated with nightlife recreation. Few people seem to be interested. Society in general tends to see only the positive and pleasant side of holidays and nightlife recreation. As far as the problems are concerned, there is a tendency not to see them or to understand them as inevitable. But this is certainly not the case. Many of these problems are avoidable, and it is our responsibility to prevent them. Studies such as the present one help these problems come to the public's attention and increase the pressure for measures to be taken (indeed, measures have been taken in the Balearic Islands in recent months related to nightlife recreational activity, including the introduction of direct cooperation between nightspots and the police and the training of discotheque door staff). The prevention of these problems is important not only so as to avoid specific people suffering their consequences, but also because they represent a

significant burden on local resources (police, health services, etc.) and can, in the medium term, damage the image of the resort for potential tourists.

■ Cooperation between agencies

With a view to preventing this problem and reducing damage, it is necessary to act on different levels. The solution would involve, on the one hand, asking young people to exercise more control over their behaviour, at least as much as they would exercise in their home country. But in addition to this, the situation requires a multi-level intervention involving – obviously with the corresponding responsibilities and options – European, national and local government organizations, the large tour operators, proprietors of bars and other nightspots, travel agents, hotel chains and other service providers, the media, and so on. Only collaboration and cooperation between the different agents involved is a guarantee of success. Therefore, it is important to set up stable mechanisms or platforms for cooperation in these matters. We are talking not about one-off initiatives, but rather about strategies that should be implemented consistently over time. Thus, understanding how holidaymakers can be both prevented from committing violent acts and protected from those that commit them is a fundamental element in enhancing the economic success of resorts and the wellbeing of individuals. Accomplishing this requires multi-agency work in the resorts and an international network that exchanges intelligence on how violence can be managed in particular settings, the nuances that each nation's citizens bring with them when they engage in nightlife tourism, and importantly, the lessons that can be learnt from countries whose young revellers are less inclined to aggression.

Local authorities obviously play a very important role, since they are the closest to the problems and to the places where risk behaviours occur, and can make direct contact with the bars and clubs themselves. Many matters depend directly on

them, not only at a legislative level (regulation of opening hours of bars and other points of sale for alcohol, health and safety criteria and regulations for nightspots, etc.), but also in relation to law enforcement, lighting, transport, health services, the police, the emergency services, and so on.

Another clearly important element in view of its proximity to and knowledge of the nightlife scene is the nightlife recreational industry itself. It runs and manages the environment in which the majority of these problems occur. Therefore, its level of responsibility in the prevention of health problems among tourists is extremely high. Measures such as offering non-alcoholic drinks at reasonable prices, training bar staff in responsible serving, training door staff in conflict management and interpersonal skills, applying strict supervision of minor's access to alcohol, refusing to serve people who are clearly drunk, and so on, may mean the difference between a well-managed tourist resort and one that is less so. But it is not a case of placing all the responsibility on the industry – among other reasons because it is often only a part of the industry that runs risky management policies to increase sales; and indeed, some of the less reputable operators actually work outside of the legal context. It is important for both the industry and local authorities to understand that there are some standards that should be adopted at a European level for the management of these types of problems.

Finally, the media also have a considerable degree of responsibility. The treatment of news items is certainly no easy task. In general, the stories tend to be given a sensationalist angle, making them attractive not only for newsprint but also, and especially, for both TV and radio, which gain audience but focus on and magnify the most problematic aspects of each tourist destination. This may contribute to increasing concern about the issue, but it also increases the interest from certain groups of young people in travelling to these places in search of new emotions. Therefore, at the same time as fulfilling their duty to inform, the media

should place emphasis on the type of solutions required and on a public demand for solutions from the responsible agents. Clearly, they could also promote aspects of tourist destinations not so closely linked to mass tourism based on nightlife (rural tourism, gastronomic tourism, cultural and sports tourism, etc.).

Prevention initiatives should also pay special attention to issues such as:

- going abroad on holidays is not only fun. There can be problems such as accidents, violence or aggression, sexual harassment, having sex against one's will, not using condoms, etc.
- drunkenness and the use of certain illegal drugs such as cocaine or cannabis can increase the problems.
- the abuse of substances affects not only the aggressors, but also the victims. This issue is often not emphasized to avoid blaming the victims.
- certain tourist destinations for young people (especially the destinations with highest concentration of nightlife venues) present increased potential for problem situations.
- certain nightlife venues, which fail to fulfil recognized standards for the prevention of problems and where there is greater tolerance toward certain problematic behaviours, increase the potential for the occurrence of problems.

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16. During your stay in Italy, did you personally experience any of the following?:
- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Yes | No |
| Been injured in an accident | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Needed to see a doctor / go to hospital | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Had personal belongings stolen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Been physically or verbally threatened | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Been involved in an argument | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Been involved in a physical fight | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Been sexually harassed | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

17. Did you visit Italy with a sexual partner? Yes No
 Males Females
18. How many people did you have sex with in Italy?
 Males Females
19. With how many of these did you always use a condom?
 Males Females
20. On any occasion this holiday, did you have sex that you felt was against your will? Yes No
21. How many people did you have sex with in the 12 months before your holiday? Males Females

22. If you have been in a fight or argument during your stay in Italy, please answer the following questions:
 If not, please continue to question 23

<p>a) How many fights or arguments have you been involved in during this stay in Italy? Fights <input type="text"/> Arguments <input type="text"/></p> <p>b) Thinking about your <u>most serious</u> fight or argument in Italy, was this a: Fight? <input type="checkbox"/> Argument? <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>c) Was your opponent(s): A friend <input type="checkbox"/> A partner/spouse <input type="checkbox"/> A stranger <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>d) What nationality was/were your opponent(s)? <input type="text"/></p> <p>e) Where did the fight / argument occur? In the street <input type="checkbox"/> At a hotel <input type="checkbox"/> At a bar <input type="checkbox"/> At a nightclub <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>f) How many people were involved? Males <input type="text"/> Females <input type="text"/></p> <p>g) At what time did it occur? <input type="text"/></p> <p>h) Were the police involved or informed? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>i) At the time of the fight / argument, had you been drinking? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>j) Do you think your opponent(s) had been drinking? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>k) At the time of the fight / argument, had you taken any drugs? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>If yes, which drug(s)? <input type="text"/></p> <p>l) Was anyone injured? Yes, me <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, someone else <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>m) If you were injured, did you need medical treatment? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>n) Did the fight / argument start for any of the following reasons? (tick all that apply)</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Insult <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Disagreement <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Self defence <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Queue jumping <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Competition over a sexual partner <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Pushing / crowding / spilt drink <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Just for fun <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Other <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </table>	Insult <input type="checkbox"/>	Disagreement <input type="checkbox"/>	Self defence <input type="checkbox"/>	Queue jumping <input type="checkbox"/>	Competition over a sexual partner <input type="checkbox"/>	Pushing / crowding / spilt drink <input type="checkbox"/>	Just for fun <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>
Insult <input type="checkbox"/>	Disagreement <input type="checkbox"/>								
Self defence <input type="checkbox"/>	Queue jumping <input type="checkbox"/>								
Competition over a sexual partner <input type="checkbox"/>	Pushing / crowding / spilt drink <input type="checkbox"/>								
Just for fun <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>								

23. Excluding fights in Italy, how many other fights have you been involved in during the last 12 months (write 0 if none)?

24. How would you define your financial level according to your country's average income?
 High Medium High Medium Medium Low Low

25. Do you think you will return to Italy for a future holiday? Yes No

Thank You
 For further information on this survey contact k.e.hughes@ljamu.ac.uk





 Freedom, Security and Justice