

Report

Nightlife in nine European cities. Ecological analysis of risks and prevention (the KAREN approximation approach)

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Presentation

In the last few decades nightlife activity (NA) has become a hegemonic entertainment model for young Europeans. Alcohol consumption and other drug uses form part of this entertainment model. The context becomes a significant factor in interpreting consumption and drug use and their repercussions on health and safety. As a result of a project financed by the European Union, we were able to explore the NA contexts in nine European cities between 2005 and 2007. This article presents an analysis of the recreational nightlife contexts in Europe, their consequences for health and coexistence, as well as the preventive capacity that is being developed.

It is a multi-level survey carried out in nine European cities, 13 recreational areas and 21 nightlife venues (discos, bars, clubs, pubs, nightclubs). A common instrument created for data collection and known as the Kit for Assessment of Recreational Nightlife (KAReN) was applied. The impact of the NA was analysed on three levels, the city, the recreational areas and the venues. The primary data were obtained by a qualitative methodology.

This report describes the principal results, which point to the recreational industry expanding NA in all European cities. This expansion defines specific areas for it, where the venues are concentrated. Both the areas and the venues bestow elements of identity, status and prestige, on themselves, and which they transfer to their young clients. There are important population movements between areas, cities and countries, with the objective of taking part in the NA. In parallel, risks emerge that affect the health and safety of the young (a result of drug use and other risk behaviours, such as violence, sexual practices, driving, etc.) as well as problems of coexistence (overcrowding, noise, dirt, vehicle saturation, etc). The prevention that is being implemented is partial and scattered. Prevention requires global strategies, coalitions between institutions and commitment from the recreation industry. An effective prevention requires social engineering that implements integral programmes at the level of venues, whole areas, cities, countries and country networks.

Drugs and the risks in their context

Drug use and its associated risks evolve in close relationship with social and cultural conditions. Nighttime recreational activity (NRA) shapes the context in European countries where entertainment is linked to drug use and other risks (Measham et al 2001, Forssyth 1997, EMCDDA 2003, Calafat et al, 2000, 2001, 2003) and, therefore, the context in itself is a risk factor (Calafat 2006, Wislow and Hall 2005, Bellis et al 2004). Once the context is designated, the social and cultural elements must be mentioned; of space and time, the physical, relational and symbolical shared by a collective. Evidence exists that excessive drug use behaviours and the risks they imply increase when they are culturally acceptable (Vermeiren et al 2003, Rossow 2001, MacAndrew 1969).

There are conditions in the context that influence risk control. Some examples are ease of access to the venues, the lighting in the entertainment areas, police presence, etc. It has been shown that when changes do occur in these conditions, the incidence of risks also changes (VPA Working Group on Youth Violence 2007, Robert 2004). There are studies that show that uncomfortable venues, with too many people, which are very permissive and badly organised, can contribute to an increase in aggression, particularly when an individual is under the influence of alcohol and other drugs (Graham et al, 1996). Other studies show the importance of the professionals –disk jockeys, waiters, doormen– in the symbolical and cultural control that they can exercise over the context (Hardfield 2003).

In spite of what has been said, the subject of risks, in terms of the health and safety problems that result from the recreational nightlife context, is a little studied phenomenon. Its extent, its causes and consequences, how the relationship between the context and alcohol or other drug uses is created, are poorly understood aspects. and little is known on how to act to prevent them. Definition of the risks is in itself complex. Here, they are being restricted to those that emerge directly from, or are related to alcohol consumption and other drug uses linked to recreational activity; drunkenness, heat stroke, risky sexual practices, aggression, violence, accidents, risky driving, etc.

The risks in recreational contexts are found in a complex relationship between use, personal characteristics, the ambience, traditional consumption patterns, the features of the venue –such as the lighting, the kind and volume of music, available space and the behaviour of those employed in the venues (Hughes et al 2007, Hadfield 2007, Chatterton and Hollands 2003, Homel et al. 1992,). There is already evidence of the relationship between risks and drug use in a recreational context in some European countries (Bellis et al 2004) but not in others, where the phenomenon has still not been studied. And this is because the risks linked to the consumption of alcohol and other drug uses are not properly registered by the health, police or judicial systems, so that it is a somewhat invisible relationship and an under-reported one (Rivara 2000). It is precisely this lack of knowledge that so enormously concerns the WHO (2002, 2004), which has devoted numerous studies to issuing warnings on the risks of such occurrences as violence, and proposing measures to combat them.

The Hegemonic Recreational Nightlife Model (HRNM)

We have already commented that the nighttime recreation phenomenon extends throughout the whole of Europe and this has happened in a progressive way over the last few decades. Production, regulatory and consumption processes are known (Chatterton and Hollands 2002, 2006) in some countries but not in others. In addition, an assessment of its direct and indirect consequences on the young as well as on the cities (urbanism, coexistence, residual costs) is still pending.

The spread of this model has been accompanied by elements that permit it to be defined as hegemonic (Calafat et al 2004) in the juvenile sphere. It even extends to Eastern Europe as a tribute to (or consequence of) the integration of these countries in the Western European lifestyle. The hegemonic recreational nightlife model (HRNM) must be understood as a phenomenon whose effects reach beyond the boundaries of entertainment. It has to be assessed as a movement that comprises society as a whole, one that is becoming a space where the identity of many young people is being managed (Winlow and Hall 2005) and which evolves an influential market (Chatterton and Hollands 2006, Hobbs et al 2000), and one that effects the development of cities.

The effect of the HRNM is modifying urban significances and the coexistence norms in cities. This is an experience that is the culmination of a historical evolution marked by changes in the function of urban public spaces. Urban planning in the XX century followed zoning policies, as explained by Ayllón (1995). In response to the challenges of an increasingly complex society, planning by the institutional management sphere is coming to an end and the influence of the corporate sphere is growing (Mazón, 1997). This management directly affected what Robert E. Park (1915) called “moral regions”, public spaces where the public with similar interests, tastes and temperaments could meet, and whose residence did not have to be restricted to its fringes.

Increasingly, the new entertainment areas came to resemble each other, not only the nearby cities but in comparisons with areas in other cities with different historical trajectories. We are confronting a spatial and cultural dimension that transforms city zones into a standardised, anonymous place, a “non-place” (as coined by Marc Augé in 1996). The NA is characterised not only by the hedonistic quest for pleasure but by an inertia that transforms the European cities, segments the identities of the young, and conditions their leisure activities (Chatterton and Hollands 2003).

The NA has followed a historical evolution but it is only recently that it has become a hegemonic activity for the young. The standardised range of products and services that organises the HRNM is not comparable with the nightlife that emerged in the XVIII century following the installation of the new public lighting. The night as a new space for experiencing creative, elitist freedom and overstepping boundaries of the XIX century and beginning of the XX century has no similarity with that of the HRNM in the XXI century. One of the main differences is the uniformity of current leisure (in spite of its apparent diversity),

which is linked to a parallel privatisation process of the public nighttime space (Hadfield 2006). But, although the night-time experience of the XIX century is substantially different from the current manner of entertainment, there are key links between the two, the current one legitimising itself by inheriting its liberating and boundary breaking significances and also by giving continuity to a debate on confrontational interests between the population that sleeps by night and the one that is out enjoying itself. The NA makes use of public space (zones, streets) not as a shared asset but as a private asset, insofar as it is appropriating a territory and a space that is communal.¹

Up to now, drug use with its risks is a phenomenon that, if it is interpreted from the context in which it is being produced, must be looked at from the different dimensions that enter in the bionomy of space (cities, recreational areas, recreational venues) and time (night, historical evolution). It must also integrate macrodimensions (social and cultural) with microdimensions (individuals, relationships, objects).

The need to assess the contexts

When we speak of context we have to consider not only the physical space but also the social and cultural dimension, its complex multidimensional character where institutional practices and epistemological discourses on our lifestyles also intervene. The complexity of analysing the recreational context requires instruments and an analytical methodology that approaches the phenomenon from this very complexity. None of the known methodologies and technologies in the social sciences is sufficiently exhaustive in itself alone. Therefore, it is necessary for methodologies, techniques and approaches, and data of diverse provenance to intervene and converge. Methodological and data triangulation together with ensuring the comparability of the cities was accomplished in this study with the creation, implementation and operation of the *Kit for Assessment on Recreational Nightlife* (KAReN).

The KAReN endeavours to meet one of the demands of the WHO (WHO 2004) regarding the drugs problem. The WHO establishes priorities: first, defining the problem (magnitude, form of expression, consequences, situation of the indicators), followed by studying the risk and protection factors, moving on to identifying and evaluating potential interventions and, finally, putting programmes into operation that have demonstrated their efficacy or which show promise. A recent study of the subject finds that, as of now, no systematic review exists of the risks that affect the HRNM (Waller et al, 2002). What does exist is a critical literature that shows how the recreation industry is organising the cities, creating areas and venues from which an entertainment is being fabricated that is more and more hegemonic (Hadfield 2006, Chatterton and

¹ "El botellón es un uso de lo público no como bien compartido, sino como bien privado, como apropiación de lo común" (El País Newspaper. 14 Feb. 2002).

Hollands 2003). This entertainment model seduces many young people and contributes to promoting lifestyles and to shaping identities (Winlow y Hall 2006). From this epistemological dimension, the models of entertainment, economic processes, juvenile ideologies and identities intermingle and form a whole. Here, these postulates are taken into account as an analytical shell but the analysis promoted by the KAREN is derived at tangible and pragmatic levels that contributed to equipping the theoretical postulates with their empirical content or to questioning them.

With the KAREN we take one step further in understanding the recreational context because explaining only the risks is no longer enough. The analysis must be useful in orientating change dynamics and actions. Prior to the intervention one has to know the problem that has to be solved and that the 'diagnosis' will assist in doing so. In order to prevent drug use and its consequences in the recreational context, one must first assess what is happening in this context, how it happens, who are its players, what awareness of the problem exists in a city, what is being done at present to improve it, what should be done. This comprehension of the context implies deploying a number of instruments that will enable the creation and organisation of effective information. The instruments were prepared taking into consideration previous studies and examples of preventive action that had already been applied (for example those proposed by Hughes et al 2004, 2005, Robert 2004, Webster et al 2002, etc.)²

One must be starting to plan preventive policies even at the analytical stage. This planning involves a process that accompanies the entire length of the study and is reviewed at the end. The nighttime recreational context is a plural social space and closely connected to the city as a whole. The implementation of preventive actions must be coordinated, must include the intervention of different local government departments and professionals. The nighttime leisure spaces are intimately linked to the economic policy of the city. Manipulating or altering liminal and deviant aspects of nightlife affects and depends on municipal government. It is a historical responsibility of the local authorities to allow these new forms of deviance and social control in accordance with the prerogatives of the market (Hobbs et al. 2003). It is for these reasons that a serious study of the NA must be made from an ecological and integral dimension that embraces the micro and the macro.

² See: <http://contenido.irefrea.org/index.asp?idcontenido=3839>

The KAREN as an instrument to investigate the HRNM from a European dimension

The KAREN is a practical protocol that causes four dimensions to converge with four settings, which means that **four levels** are being proposed in the research to achieve four objectives:

4 Levels

- Individuals
- Recreational venues
- Recreational areas
- Cities

4 Objectives

- Search for evidence to ‘diagnose’ health and safety problems relating to the recreational context.
- Assess the kind of data already in existence and which should be elaborated systematically by the institutions to ascertain the phenomenon.
- Ascertain preventive experiences; those which already exist (applicability, efficacy and acceptance) and those which are still to be implemented in order to guarantee a safe and healthy recreational life.
- Creating indicators that enable comparison between contexts. Analysing the phenomenon in its extension at a European or multisite level.

Methodology

The KAREN has been designed to assess the nighttime recreational context. Its objective is to contribute to understanding the risks to health and safety that emerge from this context and providing information on them, as well as orientating prevention. The KAREN may be considered a Rapid Assessment Method (RAM) which, in addition to its utility in each city, is a tool for a comparative multisite approach to contexts. In this survey, it was applied to nine European cities. A multicontext comparative analysis was made of the

information collected. The fieldwork in the cities took place simultaneously, between December 2005 and July 2006. The comparative analysis was made with the information collected from the nine cities, 13 recreational zones and 21 venues (discos, pubs, clubs, nightclubs, etc.).

Through the KAREN we obtained quantitative and qualitative data and information. The information collected in each city comprises secondary data that already existed, proceeding from different sources, and primary data created by the research team, basically of a qualitative nature. Therefore, in the analysis a methodological triangulation and articulation of the data was used, providing greater reliability in the results. (Morse 1991).

There are two protocols (for the cities and for the areas) that require the collection of elaborated data supplying information relating to the proposed subjects (secondary data). In addition, actions and a structured protocol are proposed for the collection of qualitative data (through observation and interviews). The third and fourth protocols are questionnaires, one for the venues and the other directed at the young who take part in the nighttime recreational context. For the venues questionnaire, the information is collected following qualitative methods (observation and interviews), the information is structured a posteriori following the guidelines of a questionnaire. The fourth questionnaire, the one targeting the young, is structured and its objective is to produce an opinion poll that requires a statistical and network analysis. As we said above, here we will be dealing with the first three protocols which supply information on the context, proceeding from the young users of the night in the form of a survey as described in other reports that can be found on the irefrea website (www.irefrea.org).

The application of the three protocols relating to the context that make up the KAREN led to an ethnographic study in each of the nine cities. Said protocols orientated the type of information we were endeavouring to find and our manner of finding it. Therefore we applied a common methodology. The results were compared in order to reach a conceptualisation that emerges from the empirical data themselves and which permits the creation of a double analysis. On the one hand, a global analysis of the European nighttime recreational life and, at the same time, an assessment of the specific aspects that show the diversity of the realities. Unity and diversity as part of the analytical process of what is the nighttime recreational life in which the young are participating. A metaphor perhaps for what is, in fact, the construction of Europe at the present time.

The qualitative techniques option allowed the following objectives:

- **Exploration of the social reality of a subject lacking readily available information.** There is a lack of data on cities supplying information on the night-time recreational context, their health and safety problems and their consequences for juvenile lifestyles. Part of the key information is difficult to access as it refers to illegal or liminal situations.
- **The research is supported by the context.** The nighttime recreational phenomenon which we wish to explain forms part of a historic, social and cultural time/space. The research focuses on the significances and interpretations that are made in each city regarding the reality of the situation there. The phenomenological and ethnographical theoretical perspectives are the best ones for exploring the context.

- **Establishing links between local and global dimensions.** There was a need to explore and describe what is happening in the different European cities in the nighttime entertainment sphere but by creating common indicators that enable the assessment of common dynamics and differences at an overall European level. In doing so, it was necessary to create typologies (of risks, recreational zones, venues, prevention programmes, etc) but flexible ones as it is dealing with the exploration of a sensitive subject relating to drug use, sexuality, violence, driving, etc. The researchers who carried out the fieldwork were people closely involved in the topic being researched, and knew the recreational environments of each city very well. In addition, they were trained for this task in order to achieve a greater similarity in the collection of data that had to be comparable.

What the cities are like:

The nine cities that took part in the survey are uniquely individual, each one of them. Depending on the size of the population, there are small, medium and large cities. There are cities with a bigger or small number of young people, with a higher or lower rate of immigration. As for the significance of the nighttime recreational activity (NRA) in the city, there are five that are recreational capitals, which means that the young people from other municipalities and cities in the country travel to this city to enjoy themselves. Other cities have a recreational life but are not capitals; their young move out to other cities where there is more action. Some of the cities that are recreational capitals (Berlin, Lisbon, Palma, Liverpool) are also incoming markets for recreational tourism originating in other countries. In some of these cities, the local government itself plays a role in creating and promoting nighttime recreational spaces. There are two cities (Brno and Ljubljana), which are in the process of becoming such recreational capitals.

Table 1: the nine cities

3 small cities (less than 400 thousand inhabitants), Brno, Venice, Ljubljana
 3 medium cities (from 400 thousand to one million inhabitants) Lisbon, Palma & Liverpool
 3 big cities (more than one million), Vienna, Berlin, Athens
 Young people (15-29): from 12.37% Venice to 22.7% in Liverpool
 < 20% = Vienna, Venice, Lisbon
 > 20% = Brno, Berlin, Athens, Ljubljana, Palma, Liverpool
 Immigrants: From 1% in Brno to 20.2% in Palma

< 10% = Brno, Athens, Venice, Lisbon, Ljubljana, Liverpool

> 10% = Vienna, Berlin, Palma

Position of the city in relation to recreational activities in the country

5 cities are capitals of recreational activities (Berlin, Athens, Lisbon, Palma and Liverpool)

2 in the process of becoming capitals (Brno and Ljubljana)

2 non-capitals (Vienna, and Venice)

Recreational tourism: 4 cities (Berlin, Lisbon, Palma, Liverpool)

The local government participates in recreational promotion in 5 cities: Brno, Berlin, Ljubljana, Lisbon and Palma

Expansion, time and space. Although each city is unique, there are dynamics that homogenise them. One of these equalising features is that recreational night-life has installed itself in them all or, more to the point, it should be said that it has installed itself in the lifestyle of the young, in their desires for amusement and enjoyment. The HRNM is spreading out in all the cities, although in some this expansion materialises in the physical, whereby the areas and venues increase, attracting young people from other districts into the city, whereas in others this expansion is rather more cultural than physical (as in Venice). In cities where the NA shows less growth, there is a rising trend for the young to travel to nearby cities. Therefore, there are young people in both incoming cities and outgoing cities. This entertainment model generates marketing tactics that reach beyond the boundaries of the city; they act as a lure to the young, to the extent that it has become a tourist and economic attraction. The only city in the nine in the survey where recreational life is not growing excessively is Venice but the young Venetians are searching for this kind of entertainment and move out to nearby districts or even to other cities.

The expansion of NA is expressed as much in space as in time. There is NA every weekend in the nine cities. There are times during the year when the NA increases in intensity and others when it falls. There are cities, such as Vienna, Athens, Venice, Palma and Ljubljana, where the NA rises during summer; in others, such as Brno, Berlin, Lisbon and Liverpool, the busiest periods are in spring and autumn. In addition to the seasonal rhythm, there are special events in some cities (the *Mathew Street Festival* in Liverpool, *Love Parade* in Berlin, *Donauinselfest* in Vienna, *Carnival* in Venice, *Sant Antonio* in Lisbon, *Sant Sebastià* in Palma) during which the NA reaches the highest levels of participation.

Venue closing times is another indicator of expansion. There are cities, such as Berlin, Liverpool, Lisbon, in which there are venues open all night long, where NA can continue endlessly. In other cities, venues close between four and six o'clock in the morning. In some cities, Palma for example, there are clandestine after-hour venues that remain open with a certain tolerance being shown to them by the authorities.

The space. The spatial growth has continued to remodel areas in the cities devoted to NRA. Some city centres have become the favourite and most popular areas for NA (Vienna, Brno, Ljubljana, Liverpool, Athens), whereas in other cities the main recreation areas have grown up close to their historic centre (Palma, Lisbon, Berlin). The exception is Venice, with its limited means of territorial expansion, where the closest zone is Mestre a suburban area. Although the most popular areas are in the centre, there are other residual recreation zones in the cities, they grow up in industrial areas and in elitist districts, and target a more specific public. The NA trend in eight of the nine cities is to reinvent the urban centre, adapting it to the demands of nighttime, which signifies an aesthetic, symbolic and economic transformation.

The economy is also important insofar as what is being described is a consumer leisure model. The money that the young spend on NA is considerable. The amount depends on the city, ranging from an average minimum of 15 € a night in Brno to an average maximum of 63 € in Liverpool. The cities in which they spend an average of less than 30€ are Brno, Berlin, Lisbon, Ljubljana. In the others, the average per night exceeds this amount. A profitable 'bottom line' is a major feature of this entertainment model.

Table 2: characteristics nightlife activities

Main changes in the city: More consumption in general, more oriented at attracting tourism, more recreational industry in all cities. Expansion of recreational industry in all cities is growing, except in Venice.

Main time for recreational nightlife:

Summer: Vienna, Athens, Venice, Palma, Ljubljana,

Spring-autumn: Brno, Berlin, Lisbon, Liverpool.

Special times or events: Most cities hold special events. No data on Athens or Ljubljana

Venues close at 4a.m. or before. Most about 5-6 a.m. Three cities have venues open all night: Berlin, Liverpool, Lisbon.

Recreational areas in the city. All cities have different areas for nightlife. The centre or near the centre are the most popular mainstream areas. Specific subcultures in outskirts areas. (Vienna, Brno, Athens, Liverpool and Ljubljana).

Accustomed to go others cities for NA: More than 50%: Vienna, Brno, Venice, Lisbon, Liverpool, Ljubljana and Palma.

Music: There is techno in all cities but it is more preponderant in Brno and Berlin.

Fashion: The majority of people in cities dress up according to venues and musical styles. In all the cities there are different music tastes and fashions vary.

Average cost of a night out for young people: 14.8€ in Brno to 63.2€ in Liverpool
 < 30 € = Brno, Berlin, Lisbon, Ljubljana
 > 30 € = Vienna, Athens, Venice, Palma, Liverpool

Recreation is motivating a new symbolic order in the cities. Some, such as Ljubljana, are being restructured by adopting this order. In this sense, the city is being redesigned as something that offers an abundance of recreational resources, experimentation and opportunities, a place where liminal social spaces are to be found and where the festive is experienced like a carnival.

The emergent and changing recreational life requires a constant vigilance of the risks involved. Entertainment constructed on the bases of a disorder of the norms that govern daily life implies risks. To such an extent that the urban nightlife contains a number of contradictory tendencies that run as much towards deregulation as towards a reregulation (Chetterton and Holland 2006). But this trend is not to be found in all cities and, therefore, recreation may be turning into an element differentiating cities.

Table 3: risks in nightlife

Have risk venues: All cities

Admission age controls: Only Athens has prohibitions on minors under 18 years.

Licences for alcohol administration: Vienna, Venice, Liverpool

Cannabis use by adolescents: in all cities. More in Palma and Brno

Cocaine use: More in Palma, Berlin, Liverpool and Venice

Ecstasy use: More in Brno, Venice, Lisbon, Liverpool and Berlin

Increases in drug use by women, noted by six cities: Brno, Venice, Lisbon, Liverpool, Berlin and Palma

Social legitimisation of drug use as new trend: Noted by Lisbon, Ljubljana and Palma

Binge drinking as a new trend; researchers in all cities consider BD is expanding

Main problems in NA:

- Noise: All cities
 - Violence. Noted in Lisbon, Athens, Berlin and Liverpool. The others cities have no data on this subject but the subjective opinion of informants is that
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violence linked to the leisure time is increasing.

- Private car used in all cities but more in the southern cities such as Venice, Palma, Lisbon, Ljubljana and Athens
- Drugs selling noted in Berlin, Venice, Palma and Liverpool.

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The abuse of alcohol and drugs linked to this kind of entertainment is a constant in all the cities. The most outstanding new trends are the growth of binge drinking, the use of cannabis and its social legitimisation, and the involvement of women in use. Drug use in itself is a risk which, in addition, potentiates other immediate risks such as risky sexuality, violence and dangerous driving. And, one must add the conflicts that arise from the coexistence of those who are enjoying themselves and those who live in these areas and who find themselves affected by noise, rubbish and too many cars.

What the areas are like

13 recreational areas were analysed. These were: Concert Square in Liverpool, Paseo Marítimo and Gomila in Palma de Mallorca, City Centre in Ljubljana, Innere Stadt in Vienna, City area and Body Centrum in Brno, Kreuzberg in Berlin, Psiri and Gazi in Athens, Marghera in Venice, and Bairro Alto and Santos in Lisbon. The majority are areas in the centre of the cities or very close to them. They are all popular areas; the latest in-place frequented by young people from different subcultures and identities. Only one is on the outskirts. There is, therefore, a tendency for the recreational areas to grow in urban centres. In addition, all the areas are spaces of other daily activities, shopping, commerce, services, cultural tourism, etc.

The recreational areas have their own name. It is part of the logic of contemporary marketing. The construction of a brand image and its publicity are essentials for permanence in the market. On some occasions, the name of the areas proceeds from the district itself, on other occasions, from a street, a square or some emblematic venue. The brands thus seek to evoke sentiments of an emotional connection through the linking of the product image to aspects of consumer identity, lifestyle and aspirations, and to the development of his or her loyalty (Punta Ballena, Pacha, for example). The recreational areas and their venues create a style, a brand that identifies its users and with which they in turn can identify. In all the cities there are trends that define the recreational area. Some are more dominant, others residual and others emergent. In this study, the areas we selected and observed were popular during the period of the survey.

The areas we analysed have NA throughout the year. Some of them experience heightened activity during the summer (Palma, Lisbon and Ljubljana). In others, summer is the time of least activity (Vienna, Lisbon, Brno and Athens). All the areas are popular and visited by broad collectives of the population, although the young and students predominate. All the areas contain venues with a variety of styles and aesthetics (in music, clients, settings, etc). Discrimination is more apparent in some venues, which are particularly orientated towards a clientele from a specific subculture, although not in the area itself.

The majority of the venues are basically small or medium in size. Among them, some are orientated towards specific groups (a musical subculture, ethnic group, homosexuals). The mainstream venues, including the bigger venues, such as the disco, endeavour to make their setting attractive to all populations. This is where the latest music is being played and where the settings change in accordance with the time of night or the day of the week to attract different segments of the public. In Berlin, Liverpool and Lisbon, there are venues open 24 hours; the entertainment has a constant rhythm. In other cities (Palma for example) the venues close at 6 a.m. but there are alternatives such as clandestine venues or venues in other municipalities where there are no restrictions on opening hours.

The conditions of the NA are forcing the cities to reach a new consensus not only between collectives with opposing interests, those who are out enjoying themselves or running a business at night and those who are resting or sleeping, but also a new internal consensus regarding the management of recreation, as deregulation is leading to an extension of the venue opening hours, the opening of new leisure spaces, and a new internal 'regulation' of the night time recreation through **style codes**, providing private security and pricing policies.

Those areas of the city that are converted into recreational centres experience a reactivation of urban cultural life, one which constitutes part of a broader urban renovation policy, seen as an important source of income and employment as well as image building. The NA impact has positive and negative aspects. The area experiences an activation of resources and amenities. It acquires more prestige in the city, takes on protagonism. In some areas (as for example in Barrio Alto and Santos in Lisbon), private pressure has improved the conditions of the areas. In other areas, they experience the opposite situation, the impact and the splendour of the recreational life of one era may give way to decay and to considerable damage when the trend changes and the area is no longer in fashion (for example the Gomila district in Palma, the cool zone of the eighties which is now a deprived area). Historical precedents indicate that recreational life has residual risks that impact on the areas and that the city should consider them in its actions. From the moment when the recreation industry begins to grow in an area until much later when said area is no longer popular, the negative aspect exist, being seen in more traffic and the presence of cars, parking problems, crowds, noise, violence, etc. In cities such as Brno, there is more violence, and the presence of drug pushers and stolen cars is becoming more evident.

Another consequence of this leisure model is that it increasingly implies that there are less and less opportunities for the daytime cultural spaces that are non-consumers and integrators of a greater diversity of population (in age and

status). In spite of the fact that it gives the appearance of greater diversity, in locales and venues, in the incorporation of new collectives –such as women, homosexuals, students, etc.– the model of night time entertainment is anchored in alcohol, with binge drinking circuits and addictive consumer styles, and revolves around a homogenising entertainment model that has consumption as its centre.

The entertainment and the diversity of the HRNM incorporates a large consumption of aesthetic and symbolic devices, of which one of the most important is the car, whose function goes beyond utilitarianism. In some cities, public transport has also been regulated, adapting itself to the recreational needs. In others, there is not much change. There are five cities that have a good nighttime public transport system that provides access to the recreational areas (Vienna, Brno, Berlin, Ljubljana, Liverpool). In the other four cities (Athens, Lisbon, Palma and Venice) there is a scarcity of public transport; the car has a greater presence and also a greater prestige. Transport becomes one of the principal hazards of the night, in addition to inconveniencing the neighbourhood.

There are other risks relating to hygiene, safety, and noise in these areas. There were protests from the neighbours in all the zones we analysed. Daytime and nighttime coexistence is presented as a contradiction in terms.

Main Problems in the area from the point of view of the neighbourhood

- **Rubbish.** In six areas, recreational activity is creating more rubbish. Only in Venice does this not happen. In two areas (Ljubljana and Liverpool) there are no available data.
- **Fouling.** In some areas young people urinate in the streets during recreational time. This is notable in Vienna, Brno, Lisbon, and Palma. In Berlin, Ljubljana and Liverpool there are no available data. Venice does not have this problem.
- **Lighting.** There are areas with sufficient street lighting (Vienna, Brno, Palma and Liverpool). It is insufficient in Athens and Venice. No available data on others (Berlin, Lisbon, Ljubljana).
- **Safety.** There are areas where people feel safe (Vienna, Athens, Palma, Liverpool). This does not mean there are no problems: this is just the feeling of the young people participating in these areas. In other areas, there is more awareness of safety problems (Venice-Marghera, Berlin). In Brno there is police and camera control.
- **Vandalism.** Evident in Berlin, Brno, Liverpool, occasional in Lisbon, increasing in Ljubljana. In others cities, such as Vienna and Athens vandalism it is not apparent. No data available on Palma and Venice.
- **Noise.** Noise is the main problem in recreational areas in most cities. Only Brno said it was not a problem.
- **Drug use.** Binge drinking is the most common (particularly in

<p>Sex</p>	<p>Vienna, Venice, Lisbon, Ljubljana, Palma and Liverpool). Others drugs are present but less conspicuously. Only in Athens and Venice is it not a problem.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Drug dealing. The recreational areas are a prime site for pushing drugs. This practice is evident in Vienna, Brno, Berlin, Lisbon, Palma and Liverpool. No data on Ljubljana. ▪ Parking. The use of private car is common in such cities as Palma, Athens and Ljubljana. This is not a problem in the other cities. <p>Two aspects were stressed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1. Sexual activity by young people as part of recreational activity is evident (Vienna, Berlin, Palma, Ljubljana), taking place in parks, gardens or venues. ▪ The other sexual activity is prostitution in these nightlife areas. Evident in Palma, the Bobby Center in Brno, Athens and Venice.
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Protection factors in the areas. The fact that the majority of these areas are located in the city centre or close to the city centre kindles the interest of the local authority in improving conditions. This is more difficult when the areas are on the outskirts. Local pressure groups are important in raising awareness and in calling for controls and improvements in conditions (for example in Liverpool).

The specific identity, the interests of the recreational public may be key elements that act as protective factors. Local government may act as an intermediary between global necessities and those of its citizens. In doing so, it would be essential to give significance to cultural values underlying the sentiment of the shared public space. The authorities have a role in favouring meeting spaces for different age groups and for diverse activities where the consumption of alcohol –drinking for drinking’s sake– plays a minor part. Within the current trend, it is necessary to create nightlife cultures that are rooted in the local life and which emphasise diversity, creativity and differences.

What happens in recreational venues

The NA takes place in areas where there is an abundance of specific recreational venues that expand in a group (discos, pubs, clubs, bars, nightclubs, etc.) and make up a network. Another activity is the festival or sporadic event and which generally take place in a public space, some with permission from the authorities (local festivities) and others that have an unofficial component (the *botellón*, raves).

In this study, we created an instrument to assess these spaces and we applied it to the public venues operated by the recreation industry. This means run by

officially formed companies with permission from the authorities. These are 'normalised' spaces in the most popular areas. Our sample comprised 21 venues in the 9 cities. 10 of the venues are classified as mainstream, meaning they are popular and their users vary greatly in their tastes, ages and aesthetics. The unifying feature of these venues is their orientation towards commercial success and making a profit. Some are owned by large national and international companies that use thematic recreation programmes and brands to attract certain segments of the young.

The remaining 11 venues were defined as nighttime spaces, alternatives to current fashions and which attract more specific cultures, with different identities and tastes. Some are venues linked to risk behaviours. The majority are venues for users from some specific subculture and as a result are more selective in their type of clientele. Residual community spaces have not been taken into account such as taverns, the street, private parties, unofficial raves or social centres in squats. In any case, the mainstream, residual and alternative spaces are those in constant change, with ill-defined limits where the marginal cultures of today become the commercial fashion of the near future.

The venues are linked to the identity, culture, life styles and transitions of the young. Recreation may be shaping club cultures and new formats of urban tribes but they have a volatile and unstable affiliation (Calafat et al 2000). These affiliations combine with the continuous and rapid changes in the nighttime cultures through a progressive individualisation, fragmentation and globalisation that stimulate a complex series of nighttime entertainment settings. It may be said that both the juvenile identities and the recreational venues are characterised by assuming hybrid aesthetic and consumption forms which, in all probability favour the nighttime economy. Nevertheless, some authors consider that this aesthetic movement is superficial and that a more conservative substratum of the social divisions is being maintained. Chatterton and Holland (2006) state that the principal focus for the development of the nightlife in the city centres is a 'dominant' form that is exploding the existing social divisions in the population, segregating the young in particular spaces and sites. And that this is a process that is active, driven in part through the competition between groups of young people intent on maintaining their social distinctions and statuses. These authors consider that the mainstream venues and trends are responsible for marginalizing older nighttime spaces and residual groups as well as the alternative and conflicting cultural forms.

In the data collected from the venues, it is possible to assess some of the physical aesthetical conditions, in addition to the attitude of those who operate the venues, as a whole, as well as comparatively, broken down by those that are the most popular and also by those more closely linked to risk behaviours. Here, 55 of the items observed were taken into account of which 44 respond to basic preventive policies that the venues could or should implement to guarantee health and safety.

Some of the venues in the NA are subculture specific, to gays or to lesbians for example. There are two in the sample. The emergence of gay and lesbian spaces must be understood as a counterpoint to the dominance of heterosexual and masculine ideologies. Nevertheless, sexual and gender identities can be seen to be conditioned by the infiltration of heterosexual cultures and corporate interests. Chatterton and Hadfield (2006) state that the gradual openness of

sexual identities runs parallel to a certain tendency to depoliticization and to incorporation within the current dominant commercial current.

There is an accumulated experience that enables policies to be designed to make the venues safer. The professionalism of the managers and staff is one of the keys. Among the accepted 'rules' in the venues are the admission criteria. It is well known that monitoring admission is ensuring that "suspicious individuals" do not interfere in a way likely to harm the business. Door control acts as a filter where the 'credentials' of the potential clientele are evaluated.

Harfield (2006) defines the good manager as one with sufficient skills and abilities to manage conflict in an environment in which there is a large mix of people with different lifestyles and interests, and where there is friction at times. The worst risk occurs when an indulgent attitude allows the clientele to think that aggressive behaviours will be tolerated. A manager must possess a sixth sense, an intuition honed by experience in dealing with people, must recognise problematic situations and anticipate their development. The staff in the venues must meet certain standards; they must be people with communicative attitudes and be reliable, combining diplomacy and good humour with assertive and calming manners in maintaining order and establishing familiarity and reciprocity links with their unknown clientele. Although 'when limits to negotiation have been reached, some kind of physical force may be necessary', which must be put into operation quickly and effectively in order not to interfere with the general ambience.

The survey evaluated how some of the key elements in the venues, which are known to contribute to the quality of the context and to the prevention of risk behaviours, were regulated. Nevertheless, not all the venues apply standardised criteria.

There is an admission charge in the majority of the venues. Less than half monitor capacity and apply age policies. Preventing the entry of inebriated clientele is one of the practices followed by most but not by all. Arms and drug controls are practiced in very few of the venues. The professionals who man the doors and monitor safety have been trained, although their training has very specific characteristics in accordance with the legislative regulations applying to these contexts (Winlow et al 2003), and it does not always respond to health and safety criteria and compliance with the norms of coexistence.

Access and security admission

	Total	Mainstream (10 venues) Yes in...	Risk/subculture (11 venues) Yes in...
Admission charge?	15	8 between 1€ - 75€	7 between 3€ - 25€
Is the capacity of the venue ever exceeded?	15	7	8
Does staff operate policies on reaction if the venue is overcrowded?	10	5	5
Are age policies in operation?	12	5	7
Does the venue have a policy on searching?	5	2	3
Does staff operate policies managing admittance of	18	9	9

inebriated clientele?

Does staff operate policies preventing admission by minors?	12	5	7
Does staff operate policies preventing clients from entering the premises with weapons?	5	2	3
Does staff operate policies preventing clients from entering the premises with drugs?	4	2	2
Are door staff trained?	16	8	8

The objective of the recreational venues is to achieve a balance between the degree of inebriation and control over the clientele. As a result, a new context is achieved, created by the marriage between leisure and business, which leads to a pragmatic union of the deregulation of the formal and informal coexistence norms.

The NA is becoming the setting of a liminal area that requires innovative forms of social control that adapt to situations devoid of the limiting rules of daily life. This control should be one of the basic concerns of all the staff in the venues as it concerns managing the liminality, the controlled transgression in accordance with the specificity of each establishment, producing a hybrid form of vigilance. Informal methods of pragmatic and symbolic control have been created. The manipulation of the mood of the client and his or her behaviour comprises a mix of safety elements that provide an image of a 'safe' and 'controlled' social space.

It has been known for some time that the physical design, the presentation and the maintenance of the venues influence not only the behaviour but also the expectations of the clientele (Hadfield 2006). The design of the venues avoids any aesthetics associated with the formal daytime culture, particularly that of the workplace or the educational space. In some venues, the equipment and the lights have been designed to offer 'blind spots' where vigilance is impossible; there are lights that blur the environment, there is smoke, corners, which are managed according to the setting being promoted. Several crowd control strategies are known, such as ensuring service is super-efficient to minimise the frustration of the clientele (in addition to improving profits!), although not all venues apply them.

In spite of the wide extent of the current knowledge on prevention and on safety, the latter is limited. In the venues we visited, the majority do comply with the officially required standards and with minimal hygiene norms. Nevertheless, preserving health and safety in an effective way requires compliance with even more requirements that are not yet contemplated in the normative but which the industry are well aware –or should be– that they exist. If the industry were to apply physical and ethical improvements to the management of the venues, many aspects of the existing conditions would improve considerably.

An example of the state of health and safety conditions in the venues is that there is generally sufficient staff in the majority of them but not in them all. However, the staff is not well prepared and untrained in the basic aspects of safety (only eight of the venues we visited confirmed that their staff had received some training) and, as we have already mentioned, the expertise of the staff is fundamental in detecting and neutralising conflicts. In general hygiene conditions are met in the majority of the venues but, once again, not in

them all. There are six venues where the clientele is allowed on to the dance floor with glasses and glass bottles. Four do not have a chill-out area. Condoms are not available in one half. In eight venues, the staff does not patrol the cloakrooms. There have been incidents (the majority were robberies) in the last month. Aspects that it is well known improve the quality of a venue, such as cloakroom patrols, the provision of a chill-out area and access to condoms, are still insufficient.

Inside conditions (N= 21)

	total	mainst	subcul
Enough staff employed, specifically at busy periods	17	8	9
A suitable number of glass collectors are employed.	16	9	7
Staff receive some training (health and safety, first aid, conflict management)	8	5	3
Provision of safety conditions as required by legislation (fire-fighting equipment, emergency exits, lighting,)	19	9	10
Air conditioning/ventilation is adequate	19	10	9
There are hygienic conditions in bathrooms (water available, remain clean all night)	18	10	8
Clients allowed to take glasses and bottles on to the dance floor	15	8	7
There is a chill-out area	17	9	8
Cloakrooms patrolled by security staff	13	7	6
Condoms widely available/accessible	10	4	6
Venues reporting incidents in last month	13	7	6

In the recreational contexts, the mixture of people is dynamic and a wide variety of strangers intermingle. One result of this anonymity is that it leads to a low perception of control. The mass of people in the urban recreational areas creates a sensation of invisibility; nobody knows anyone else, which provides more freedom for wrongdoing. The separation of venues by age and subculture makes it much more difficult for people linked by family or friendship to meet, and it is even less likely for those in different age groups.

The aesthetics of the majority of the venues is well thought out. Trends have been created that assist in reducing damage, such as a certain 'feminisation' of the design and in the marketing of the venues. Images of violence and aggression have been eliminated in the majority. In only three were aggressive images observed. One of the incentives is sexual attraction, which is normally linked to the promotion of specific drinks or brands. One of the damage reduction strategies which has been adopted by some of the venues is the deployment of new brands of non-alcoholic drinks or of supplying food in the early hours of the night.

The venues have a corporate stamp, a brand identity which they use to sell themselves and to attract clientele. Informal strategies are used in advertising and publicity. Some of these use drink promotions, sexual attraction or a permissive or easygoing attitude to the use of other drugs, all of which is part of

their marketing campaign to attract clients and create a brand image for the venue. Of the venues we visited, 13 were mentioned by their users as being linked to drug use.

Clients and symbolic meaning			
	Total	Mainst	Subcul
The aesthetic of most of clients is elegant, showing personal care	19	9	10
Direct or symbolic images of violence or aggression	3	0	3
Direct or symbolic images/scenes of sexual attraction	11	5	6
Does the venue have drink promotions or any drink advertisements?	18	10	8
Marketing includes sexual attraction	7	3	4
The meaning of the place in relation to drug use -in the imaginary of the young	13	5	8

In the most popular in-places, the employees and the clientele derive energy and enthusiasm from each other. This two way process is necessary to achieve a 'good night out' but also to contain potential conflicts. In the words of Hadfield (2006), once inside it is essential that the clients are 'entertained'. To do so the venue managers have developed means to control the pleasure of others. They must be attentive and astute in their manipulation of the desires of their clients, with the know-how to defuse aggressive situations, avoid favouritism, strike a balance between familiarity and authority, and have a strict management of time.

Sex and violence			
	Total	Mainst	Subcul
Indications of sexual activity on the premises	6	2	4
Indications of violence, or some other health risk on the premises	5	2	3

An important component of the NA for a goodly number of its users is seduction and/or finding someone to share a sexual relation. Having sexual relations in the venue is part of the potential of the logic of 'instant' or fast sex. In six of the venues we visited there was evidence that sex took place there. As we saw in the promotion of the venues, sexual attraction is exploited as a form of attracting clients. In the same way that attracting women clients or elite sportsmen is a way of ensuring clientele and success.

Violence is the Achilles tendon of this industry. And there is awareness that it is closely linked to the consumption of alcohol in addition to other drugs (Kodjo et al 2004, Vermeiren et al 2003, Rossow 2001, Graham et al 1999). A large number of conflicts are latent and there are known ways of keeping them under control, which requires considerable monitoring by the staff. Good venue managers know that violent incidents generally develop in stages. Therefore they must be prepared for an early intervention in order to minimise the conflict. Staff must be seen to be vigilant, monitoring the behaviour of the clientele to ensure that problems are detected immediately. Their presence in itself is a reminder of such vigilance. Staff in continuous movement, collecting glasses or taking orders from the clientele also contributes to monitoring the setting.

An essential position is that of the DJ whose job includes the exploration, evaluation and manipulation of the mood of the crowd, and who can play a fundamental role in any control strategies (Hadfields 2006). The DJs are the main generators and also monitors of the entertainment. They convey messages to the clientele on drink promotions, publicise new attractions and announce the last opportunity to obtain drinks from the bar. They also transmit messages of the clientele (birthday greetings, etc.) and dedicate songs. Although seen as expert musicians, their main function is to entertain and create an atmosphere of abandonment, carefully orchestrated in order to prevent both the boredom of their clients and their ill humour. Managing the music is an intelligent form of manipulation providing crowd control (Green 1997 Gilbert & Pearson 2003).

The DJ can create or manage an 'over enthusiastic' atmosphere that makes the collective delirium uncontrollable (Oleaque 2004). Thus he can avoid any musical styles with more violent overtones or any issues relating to national conflicts or sporting affiliations. The managers have the ability to programme musical sessions that orientate the atmosphere and consumption. This kind of control constitutes one more step in the homogenisation of the venues and is also a symbol of the corporate culture that governs such aspects as the music and the mood.

Alcohol is the soul and the poison of the NA. Many of the risks in this context are related to the abuse of alcoholic beverages (Bellis et al 2004, Finney 2004, Winslow and Hall 2006, Plants and Plant 2006). But the main business lies in selling alcoholic beverages. Therefore the balance between business and the control of abuse is a work of engineering that each venue builds in accordance with its own criteria. In the venues we visited, a profitable business is one based on the consumption of alcohol. Violence is, therefore, a predictable consequence. If thousands of individuals are becoming inebriated on alcohol and, in addition, belong to an age group with a propensity to behave in a violent way, it is hardly surprising that a spark ignites easily. In 19 venues, alcoholic drink advertisements are very visible and in only four were there adverts for

non-alcoholic drinks. Drinking alcohol is one of the principal activities of the young in 15 of the venues, and in 15 venues more than 50% of the clients have drunk more than 4 alcoholic drinks. Only ten venues exercise any control over serving drinks to those who are already inebriated. In only three are there policies in place to prevent those who are drunk from driving. Water or non-alcoholic drinks have a price that is not exactly affordable nor is it comparable with alcoholic drinks. We found that only in 9 venues did water cost half or less than half the price of a bottle of beer. The atmospheric conditions in the venues encourage alcohol consumption but at least the management does not create obstacles to effective damage reduction policies to palliate the effects of consumption.

Drinks			
	Total	Mainst	Subcul
Drinks promotions	19	10	9
Non-alcoholic beverage promotions	4	3	1
The main activity is drinking alcoholic beverages	15	6	9
More than 50% of people leaving the venue have consumed alcoholic drinks (more than 4 beverages)	15	6	9
Monitoring policy to prevent drunken customers from drinking more alcohol	9	4	5
Staff trained to refuse drinks to individuals who are obviously intoxicated	10	6	4
Any policy on monitoring drinking and driving	3	2	1
A bottle of water costs half or less than half the price of a bottle of beer	9	4	5

The NA is also associated with drug use. Use is not necessarily taking place inside the venues although certain indicators confirm that the venues (or some of them) are spaces of exchange and use of drugs. Each venue is labelled in the imaginary of the young according to parameters relating to the nighttime culture and one of these parameters is the kind of drug being taken by the users of these venues.

The necessity for diversification of clientele and the attraction of new clients means the promoters of the mainstream venues organise special nights with the aim of attracting different groups of people. These different client profiles and their drug use habits require specific responses by the staff in the venue. Some music and dance styles are associated with ecstasy use, others with cocaine, or with cannabis, etc. (Green 1997, Oleaque 2005). Although the substance is always present and dominant and the most abused one is alcohol, it is notable that both the musical fashions and the drugs are constantly mutating. The drug-music link may become much more complex with the growing popularity of multidrug use which includes the use of illicit drugs and alcohol as 'routine'.

In 15 of the venues we visited, drug use was obvious. In 15 venues, it was obvious nearby, usually in the car park. In nine venues we found that drugs were being sold inside the premises and in only six venues was there any available preventive information on drug use.

Use of illegal drugs

	Total	Mainst	Subcul
Indications of any illegal drugs being used on the premises	15	6	9
Indications of drug use in the area surrounding the venue	15	6	9
Indications that drug dealers are operating on the premises	9	3	6
Anti-drug information is available on display	6	2	4

There are risks that transcend the users of the NA. Transport is one of them; the use of the private car is very prevalent in southern Europe, more than in the centre or north. Cars invade the recreational zones and their surroundings creating noise, contamination and annoyance. Only nine venues could be reached by bus/metro, parking space in the area of the venue was easy to find in only nine of them but, even so, in ten of those visited more than half the clients reach them by car.

Transport

	Total	Mainst	subcul
It is easier to use public bus to reach venue	9	5	4
It is easier to use taxi to reach venue	18	8	10
It is easier to find parking at venue	9	6	3
Most people (more that 50%) use a private car when going out	10	5	5

There is noise in the recreation area created by clients of recreational venues. The majority of the venues are in popular areas in which a population coexists that is not an NA user. This situation leads to the recreational areas being acoustically contaminated and it becomes a health problem for the entire neighbourhood. As we have already seen in the description of the areas and the city, protests on the effects of noise and transport by neighbours coincide in all the cities.

Noise			
	Total	Mainst	subcul
The venue has the physical means to control the noise inside	14	7	7
The venue has policies on noise outside the venue when clients leave	5	1	4
The venue controls decibel level inside for clients	11	6	5

The decibel level inside the venues is equally dangerous for staff and assiduous clients (RNID 2004). In spite of this, the decibel level is not controlled in 10 of these venues. In addition, there is a serious lack of epidemiological studies on the consequences in all these cities.

Prevention

One of the objectives of the KAREN is ascertaining what preventive activities are being implemented in the venues in the areas we analysed. In addition, the KAREN must be used as a means of discovering the preventive needs and where prevention should intervene. In the majority of the cities and recreational areas, there are no prevention programmes in NRA contexts. There have been some interesting experiences in Liverpool, facilitating transport to the venues, lighting in the entertainment areas, police presence, for example. Some policies such as better street lighting and an increase in the frequency of public transport can aid in reducing risks (Robert 2004).

The worst problem in the areas is there are no studies that assess the conditions and impact of the NRA. Only in the city of Liverpool (and in the United Kingdom in general) are there empirical studies and experts on the subject.

Prevention in the venues

There is already significant knowledge that could orientate effective policies targeting the venues. A review by Waller (et al 2002) accumulated examples of multicomponent interventions in the USA and in Australia. Another is *The Best Bar None Award*, a programme that promotes good practices in the NA in Liverpool (Babor et al 2003). The majority of the programmes involve very limited actions or their effects are only partial. Some involve training in selling alcoholic drinks responsibly (Rodríguez Martos 2004), others training door staff in the venues (Hobbs et al, 2003), the removal of bottles and glasses, as in the *Crystal Clear* campaign in Liverpool, etc. In any case, and in spite of the popularity of the harm reduction programmes, only in two of the venues we visited was there any information on harm reduction for drug users and in both

cases it was from an organisation outside the industry that carries out this work. In only one was there any information on risky sexual practices.

On their own, the majority of these experiences have a limited effect unless accompanied by a more integral preventive policy that embraces a number of measures and which takes into consideration the community as a whole (Aboelata 2004). Only in two venues was the management in touch with the authorities to organise prevention. A synergetic action plan to control conflicts between venues located in the same area is in place in only seven cases. We have seen that potential violence is the most visible consequence and the one the venues most endeavour to monitor. In all the venues we visited, this is the responsibility of their own staff. The problem resides in the fact that these personnel require a specific and thorough training to fulfil this role and, normally, this is not the case (Winslow and Hall 2006). The local police, outside the industry, intervene little and, in addition, are not prepared for it. However, managers of 15 of the venues confirmed that they had an understanding with the police to intervene in violent situations that could be beyond their ability to deal with, which means that six venues did not have this understanding.

Prevention			
	Total	Mainst	Subcul
There is an understanding with the police on prevention or intervention in the event of conflict	15	7	8
Any policies with other venues to prevent problems in common	7	4	3
Any drug use harm reduction programme	2	-	2
Any external drug prevention organisation acting in venue	2	-	2
Sex risk reduction programme	1	-	1
Any association with the authorities to organise prevention	2	1	1
Other significant actions on prevention	4	2	2

Conclusions

The methodology of the KAREn protocols provided an analysis and comparison of recreational life in 9 cities, 13 areas and 21 venues in Europe. The objective of the analysis was to assess the risks that emerge from the nighttime entertainment model, which is widespread, and very popular among the young.

The protocols lead to a study using ethnographical techniques. It has been designed as an instrument to permit the research of local situations in an integral way. Some of the advantages of the instrument are its contribution to the researchers orientating and limiting the description to the recreational contexts and its provision of ideas for accessing official and unofficial information. In addition, it requires the development of abilities to interact with informants from diverse spheres with differing communicative abilities and in the process of the research develops communal research skills. Some aspects depend on the expertise of the researchers themselves such as identifying illegal uses or behaviours among the young. All the teams were trained in the ethics of separating personal affiliations and values from their professional work.

The comparative analysis we made led to the underlining of several points;

- The context (or environment) is very important in understanding the keys to individual behaviours. The NA develops a context (aesthetic, social and cultural) which is propitious for the development of risk behaviours promoted by the consumption of alcohol and the use of other drugs.
- Drug use and its distribution forms part of the logic of the nighttime and weekend entertainment model which is widespread in all cities.
- There are a number of risks with consequences for health which coincide in all the cities, the most notable being drug use, violence, noise, driving, sexual practices, conflicts of interaction among the young taking part in the NA and the residents of the recreational zones.
- Mobility between cities is constant. Recreational entertainment also moves between venues, areas, cities and countries.
- The above condition creates the need for standard prevention criteria regarding health and safety, which must be adopted by the city and by the industry.
- Currently there is a total lack of data on the impact of the NRA. It is essential to create information with an empirical basis and to do so by involving different collectives (policymakers from the fields of health, the police force, the recreation industry, social scientists, etc.).
- At the present time, the European recreational venues are not in any condition to guarantee health and safety.
- Control policies on selling alcohol are insufficient. Advertising and promotion of alcoholic drinks, however, is a reality in the venues. The environmental

conditions encourage the consumption of alcohol but at least they do not create effective obstacles to risk reduction policies to palliate the consequences of alcohol.

- The risk of violence is the one that causes most concern. It is the one that can most damage the business and, as a result, there are several policies in existence to monitor it but these are insufficient. There are different points during the night when a spark could ignite that could culminate in violence (when there is accidental drink spilling, when someone tries to move in on another's date, etc.). At these times, the venue staff must know how to extinguish the spark with discretion. They must also know not only the substances being used but also the effects of such use and matters of health and safety in order to be able to deal with people who may be suffering from the effects of their ingestion. Some venues use a kind of signalling system to alert staff at the outset of any problem. These practical vigilance solutions are a frontline of defence when having to deal with any incidents. In few venues, do they call the police.
- Some of the basic conditions and policies for organising an effective prevention in the nightlife are the following:
 - Coalitions that integrate the collectives involved (industry, administration, civil society, professionals) whose objective is to create a first class NA observatory
 - Effective training of staff (doormen, security, waiters, DJs, managers, etc.)
 - Effective criteria for controlling admission to the venues
 - Effective criteria inside the venues

The need to carry out a well-organised prevention aimed at the recreational venues and which is diversified in its actions is a priority of the NRA. It is already acknowledged that creating and distributing information on the subject is also considered to be preventive (WHO 2002, 2004). Therefore, awareness and dissemination of the risks in this context may contribute to improving conditions and, in addition, the behaviour of clients.

Some of the measures assessed and proposed are very easy to adopt but on their own do not imply a prevention with any foundation. One of the dangers is precisely that part of the industry tends to adopt half-hearted and limited harm reduction measures giving the impression that they are involved in prevention. However, only if integrated measures are adopted that consider all aspects and, most particularly, the fundamental ones, can it aspire to be true prevention.

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