

A.2.1. European comparative perspective

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STATE OF THE ART

Introduction

The international panorama of studies on leisure is dominated by the Anglo-Saxon approach. The analysis based on the experiences of countries with Anglo-Saxon language and culture is a significant majority, not only in academic magazines, but also in different recent international compilations. The first contribution of this book consists, precisely, of analysing other contexts in Europe, and then comparing them with the United Kingdom and Ireland. The second feature to be highlighted is that this work provides for paying more specific attention to a thematic field that has taken up little space within leisure and free time studies, namely nightlife, focusing on its relationship with young people (Blackshaw, 2013; Rojek, Shaw and Veal, 2006).

The different national case studies presented up to now illustrate different approaches to the nightlife thematic field, and also very diverse research contexts. The first point to be underlined is the continuity and break with the traditional way of focusing on leisure. Historically, this subject has been tackled from the viewpoint of control and regulation, being dependent on other areas and professions, such as urban planning, health, social work and even policy work, all of them professionals who in the industrial urban era had a main role in the definition of what were respectable forms of leisure as well as in resource allocation (Rojek, Shaw and Veal, 2006: 6). Many of the topics presented in the previous chapters show how these areas remain present in the allocation of symbolic and economic resources with relation to legitimate or illegitimate leisure. At the same time, the six case studies include new agendas, new leisure practices and different stakeholders taking part in their implementation.

There are four main issues in which the six case studies presented (Italy, Spain, United Kingdom, Switzerland, Ireland and Hungary) coincide and emphasise:

- The first one is the increase, in the last few years, of the free time young people have available, although this said time tends to decrease as they acquire working, training and/or family responsibilities. Studies such as the case of Spain qualify this as a problem by signalling that gender differences exist (girls have less time available).
- The second issue is the value of night as a time to break with the daily routine and as a place to affirm the spaces and behaviours that young people define as their own and which distinguish them from “adults”. Again, the Spanish study (which is the case that focuses most on the psycho-sociological approach and which provides more information on the expectations and perceptions of young people) presents a useful category to illustrate the specific value of night: the temporal dualisation. This idea not only refers to the division of times and to the scarce continuity between them, but also affects or interferes with the means of relationship and the expectations granted to nightlife, the extraordinary, which differ from the vital projects (relationships, expectations, future...) imagined for ordinary time.
- The third issue is the importance of interpersonal relationships as a structuring element for leisure practices. Being with friends or meeting new people (either to broaden the circle of friends or for affective-sexual relationships) is the most important goal for nightlife. In each national example we may see, in addition, how different communities and different forms of relationship appear. This ranges from communities of a cultural nature or groups with a close affinity and pre-existing nightlife which accompany the activities of young people, to other communities or more extensive relationships which are those created or sought in different leisure practices.
- Lastly, they insist on the importance of leisure in general, and of nightlife in particular, as a space where different social and emotional skills are developed and where there are different opportunities for socialisation and interaction

with peers. On the other hand, nightlife also appears as a domain particularly important for the development and expression of different youth identities.

Beyond these four common issues, the research contexts (for example, statistical resources) are very different, as well as the trajectories and approaches of the authors of the report. Psycho-sociology and sociology live together with city planning or economy in order to analyse youth nightlife. There are even different ways of regarding what is youth and when to speak of young people. The plurality of approaches implemented in each chapter allows us to focus on different thematic fields which are at the core of the studies on youth nightlife or to which we should pay attention.

The purpose of this concluding chapter is to offer a selection of the research agendas and methodologies provided up to now, and to signal some potential lines of research for the future. To do so, we will focus on two main issues. The national cases have provided an in-depth description of the patterns of youth nightlife from standpoints focused on autonomy and the consumer role. They have noticed the processes of definition and choice of youth nightlife by young people. The first topic of our focus deals with the adequacy of supplementing the said agenda by analysing which are the features that may condition the said choices. If we share the idea set forth in the theoretical framework, that leisure is a right, this means paying attention to the factors which determine its practice, which limit or favour the access to this said right. The first section of this chapter will focus on signalling some of the conditions presented, both from an economic level and from a symbolic level.

The second issue to deal with focuses on highlighting some differential features presented in the foregoing articles, which allow us to identify what type of public policies have been implemented up to the present in the field of youth nightlife. This second section is aimed at analysing the current interventions in this area and the parameters from which these interventions are performed. In so far as the relationship between risk behaviours and youth nightlife is clearly present both in national cases and in the preparation of nightlife policies, we will reference how this has been dealt with in the introduction of this section.

1. The problem of accessing nightlife as a right

The leisure economy focuses on the distribution of and access to leisure properties. Not only is this access conditioned by the choices made by consumers (young people, in this case), but also by the decisions made by the stakeholders who distribute the said properties (companies, public administrations, etc.), by the economic assets available to young people and by a series of informal institutions such as gender, origin... which influence the possibilities of accessing nightlife (Rojek, Shaw and Veal, 2006; Veal, 2006). As we already mentioned, the chapters collected in this compilation pay special attention to the decisions made by young people. In these conclusions we intend to lay emphasis on the actions that condition the enjoyment of leisure and the conflicts arising thereof (in addition to those linked to violence or nightlife).

In spite of the different weight given to decisions and conditions which appear in national studies, we may find some references to the access problems which signal potential lines of research for the future. We shall present these references in three blocks: a) Income, access and diversity; b) City organisation; c) Problems regarding the study of access practice.

1.1 Income, access and diversity

Blanca Bordallo presents (in the Irish case) some evidence regarding the relationship between income and the access to nightlife. Income differences and social class were presented as decisive in the choice of activities (for example, people with higher incomes choosing more organised activities, and people with lower incomes choosing more informal and unorganised activities). Bordallo points to another feature, namely the lack of (public or private) leisure structures in the most underprivileged local communities, whereby the lack of income adds to the lack of nearby premises, which entails added transportation expenditure. This author also remarks upon some of the symbolic consequences of the lack of leisure alternatives, by presenting the problems arising from hanging around". Wandering around with friends doing nothing is a response to the lack of leisure premises, opportunities, etc. That is to say, in spite of the fact that this is an activity performed by most young people without resources, it is not something they choose to do. In addition, young people who spend most of their leisure and free time this way find themselves stigmatised, perceived by adults and police as a threat to public order. In some cases, monitoring devices are used to prevent these young people from using public spaces. Therefore, two forms of exclusion are combined to reduce the access to leisure: economic and symbolic.

At present, the panorama of economic crisis would seem to place the income-leisure relationship in an important position within the analysis. The Spanish case outlines the current status of young people with the increase in employment and uncertainty for young people as well as the reduction of residence autonomy, either for being unable to leave, or for being forced to go back to, the family home. In order to see how this scenario affects leisure patterns for young people, the last Youth Report in Spain states that 80.6% of young people between 18 and 24 years old, and 76.3% of those between 25 and 34 years old, consider that the crisis has affected their leisure expenditure. In both cases, it is the item that has suffered the greatest impact with the crisis (INJUVE, 2012: 155).

In the Italian case we may see a different display of the consequences that the crisis has had on youth nightlife patterns, particularly related to the consumption of alcohol and other drugs. The said habits have changed, yet there has not been a severe reduction but rather a moderate decrease of consumption and a substantial change in the manner of consuming. Pursuant to the aforementioned studies, young people choose to reduce the quantity but prefer to stress on the quality of the substances they buy or make collective purchases in order to reduce costs. There is a certain retreat to the private sphere, either because they go out less or because they consume at friends' houses before going out. The attempt to reduce costs also impacts the clubs chosen (for example, those which do not charge an entrance fee), while owners choose cheaper services.

Along with the transformation in consumer habits arising from the crisis, we may find other effects which affect the development of nightlife-focused public policies. Regardless of the type of action implemented (of a preventative nature, control, etc.), the diagnoses presented in the Italian and Irish cases coincide in pointing to the same phenomenon: a cut in the budget and in the forces used to operate the programs for the prevention of damages, safety and control of the consumption of alcohol and other drugs.

In spite of the fact that both Lazcano and Madariaga and Lombi advance some of the consequences of the crisis, the influence on the access to nightlife in the period of recession and adjustment that started in 2008 still needs to be researched. Some of the problems to be tackled by those research studies have already been outlined in this book: the transformation of young people's consumer habits or the deterioration of certain public services aimed at preventing the risks associated with nightlife. The transformation of the public policies on leisure as a whole within the new context, the implications regarding the expectations associated with nightlife or the changes in the organisation of the sector and its consequences regarding access to leisure, are other subjects that may be part of the agenda focused on the youth crisis-nightlife correlation.

Nevertheless, income is not the only feature that influences the decisions about or the access to leisure. Many data presented in national studies state that there are differences in consumption or leisure patterns between men and women, but do not advance any hypotheses or explanations thereon. The access to leisure deals with the existence of diversified supply, but diversity is also an area that needs to be included in nightlife studies. The foregoing chapters present a great deal of information with which a map can be drawn of what happens with leisure in six different countries. From this base we should pay attention to how the said leisure may or may not be affected by other differential features: What happens to the nightlife of young people with functional diversity? How is diversity of culture and origin related to nightlife activities? Is there a nightlife queer and, if so, what are its specific features? These are some of the questions that future research should answer as not only may we find diversity of habits, but also different modes of exclusion and problems to access leisure.

1.2 City organisation and access to nightlife

Despite the fact that these are national studies, several cases place particular emphasis on the analysis of nightlife in different cities, either turning them into the core element of analysis (Szabo János focuses on Budapest) or providing them with significant influence when setting forth the practices associated with nightlife (Switzerland and the United Kingdom).

There is a clear relationship between the evolution of cities and the transformations in formal (in specific spaces-premises) and informal (in the street or the public space) practices of nightlife. Urban regeneration policies may attempt to attract commercial investments in the leisure and catering industry, as we shall see below in the Swiss case. But they may also directly confront certain forms of youth leisure that are stigmatised or generate leisure possibilities that were not included in urban planning. Ireland, Hungary, Switzerland and the United Kingdom exemplify these cases.

Blanca Bordallo presents in the Irish case how urban regeneration processes have altered the configuration of public spaces by expelling the young people that formerly used them. This type of operation belongs to a certain urban risk management that interprets certain activities carried out in public spaces as dangerous or capable of having negative effects on young people. The solution, according to this approach, consists of altering the urban structure and of eliminating the possibility of meeting in the said spaces, considering that expelling young people from the street results in a decrease in risk behaviours.

Szabo János focuses on the evolution of nightlife in the city of Budapest and particularly in ruins bars. The way that urban regeneration plans have been implemented in Budapest has meant that many derelict areas have survived waiting for final interventions to be undertaken. In the face of these empty spaces some bottom-up (as János defines them) or social innovation processes have been developed which occupy these buildings for a specific period of time, generating some recreational (particularly nightlife) premises. Ruins bars are of an ephemeral nature (they may operate under certain weather conditions and before the building is refurbished or someone invests in it) and have a specific relationship with the building itself which provides them with a particular history. In its evolution, this type of premises adapt to the city changes and may become mobile projects that move around different parts of the city (usually the same) undertaking the same project in different buildings. Lastly, we should state that, although they are neglected by public administrations, these spaces have become an icon for the insertion of Hungary into the flows of tourism and global leisure.

Marie-Avritil Berthet presents another example of the relationship between leisure and urban regeneration in the Swiss case. Her study is framed within the analysis of nightlife economy and links the transformations in the governability of leisure through law and urban planning with the changes in consumer habits and the generation of more or less diversified and/or excluding leisure settings. Starting in the 1990's, the law on leisure and catering experienced important transformations aimed at liberalising the industry. This liberalisation has been accompanied by the progressive juridification of this area (i.e., the increase in the legal production addressed at generating good conditions for investment and competition) and the closure of informal spaces (squats, particularly in Geneva). This process has resulted in an increase in licences and a certain homogenisation of nightlife (both in Geneva and in Lausanne). The most significant feature is that, in both cases, the industry's renovation has meant not only a decrease in the diversity of options available to young people, but also an increase in the forms of exclusion (by income, age...) linked to the access to nightlife.

Lastly, we need to refer to the example of the United Kingdom. Blanca Bordallo compares three cities (Newcastle, Leeds and Bristol) analysing the urban distribution of nightlife and the different styles present in each city. What is interesting about this case is that it adds information to the question of where young people spend their nightlife. She signals how nightlife is distributed in different urban cores, how more exclusive pull factors are generated, where the most alternative styles are located or what meeting and night diversification typologies are being affected by urban regeneration.

These examples allow us to advance at least three ways in which the city and nightlife organisation are related: a) policies intended to regulate the leisure industry and to eliminate or promote the diversity of nightlife alternatives; b) management of public spaces from a police approach intended to limit the presence of young people (specially of some groups of young people) therein to prevent conflicts; and c) practices to recover degraded areas in order to provide for access to leisure. Within the analysis on the spatial organisation of leisure in the Irish case we find references to the situation of young people in rural areas. The author states that, according to young people, leisure premises are insufficient in those areas. The conditions to access leisure in rural contexts is one of the potential lines for future research, starting from the hypothesis that the differences with urban areas could not be more evident and the consequences in terms of mobility and the generation of community structures shall be very different.

1.3 Problems regarding the way the access practice is analysed: From spatial distribution to the space practised

The different case studies pay attention to what the youth leisure spaces are. Bars, public spaces, houses, discotheques... make up the usual spatial repertoire for youth nightlife in the different examples analysed. The methodologies used help us to give specific weights and percentages to the said spaces, drawing a nightlife map. From this basis, we may point out two lines of research in order to understand youth practices better, how the access to leisure is undertaken. Firstly, by paying attention to the different interaction patterns, consumption, etc., within each of the aforementioned spaces (bars, discotheques, etc). Secondly, by analysing who occupies the said places, which allows us to go into the category of the youth nightlife public in greater depth.

The analysis of practices and public is an important supplement for the existing details. A great deal of the contributions that may arise from these analyses are already present in the Italian case and in the study of two specific events performed by Linda Lombi : raves and goa parties.

- Raves. Our attention is caught by the fact that they are the most studied phenomenon in Italy. It should be highlighted that the public that attends is very heterogeneous and that these are rituals in which the organisation is different to that of a discotheque, especially in the symbolic position of the DJs whose role is not of central importance but rather of a more secondary nature. They may be legal or illegal, and the latter are more associated to counter-cultural issues, although in both cases their recreational purpose is paramount. The other great purpose is the ritualisation of new social relationships where social differences are mitigated (but do not disappear completely) in order to provide for new ways of social interaction between participants. These events may last for one night or several days, and have a narrative continuity in social networks where different rave accounts and images contribute to building a history of these practices and to maintain some of the links generated.
- Goa parties. They have a specific cultural framework (PLUR, which stands for Peace, Love, Unity and Respect) which conditions the way certain illegal substances are consumed or which substances are accepted. For example, those drugs which may result in aggressive behaviour are rejected. The choice of whether the materialisation of the event should be illegal or legal does not respond to any counter-cultural factor. Just like raves, they seek to generate communities within the different events, not only resorting to the aesthetics and the atmosphere, but also to different music genres which contribute towards generating a sense of belonging among participants.

In both examples, in addition to the way in which these events are organised, it is interesting to note the distinction between the public present, beyond gender or socio-economic status variables. In the case of raves, the distinctive criterion is “integration” (understood as the inclusion into the labour market or educational system), which allows us to distinguish particular forms of interaction between participants. The approach to the issue of attendees is different when analysing goa parties. The distinctive criteria are as follows: the inhabited territory (whether or not they live in the place where the party is held), their link to the “goa spirit” (which determines the style of dress and way of acting at the party) or whether they attend discotheques or these events more regularly. These forms of distinction influence behaviour patterns, from dressing to the way of using drugs.

This type of research, based on participant observation, allows us to know more about what happens in these spaces, what conflicts arise, their relationships, what type of identities are generated, who the participants are and what potential distinguishing criteria we may use. The greater complexity of practices and publics is a key complement to understanding where and how young people gain access to nightlife. International comparison shall be important for the study of practices and public. We may advance an example related to Lombi’s research. Measham and Hadfield’s (2009) work shows how events similar to those presented in the Italian case have a completely different development in terms of inclusion/exclusion. Far from being open spaces for a heterogeneous public, different events initially related to the PLUR speech have generated elites which regulate the access according to social and cultural discrimination criteria.

2. Public policies for youth nightlife

In this second section we intend to identify three specific issues referred to nightlife public policies. The first and the second are closely interlinked. Firstly, we aim to see what are the frameworks from which these policies are drafted and the resulting typologies. Secondly, we intend to see how the said frameworks are influenced by the media and by the patterns of understanding young people and nightlife, which are introduced into the political agenda.

The third question is that, if we agree that leisure, particularly nightlife, is a right as stated in the theoretical framework, we should see how public policies contribute towards their democratisation (Donnelly, 1993; Hemingway, 1999); i.e., towards the improvement of the conditions to access (as opposed to more excluding frameworks influenced by gender, status, etc., variables), the diversification of supply and the participation of young people (and adults) in the debates on the said policies.

2.1 Risks and media: The foundations of nightlife public policies

The relationship of youth nightlife with the use of drugs and risk behaviours is one of the features shared in traditional analyses and, as we shall see below, one of the axes of the public policies on leisure. If we retrieve the most relevant conclusions of the cases studied, we may state that:

- Alcohol and other drugs. Alcohol is the most common drug used by young people in their nightlife. In fact, the association night-alcohol is relevant in every country, drinking alcoholic beverages is common practice. We should highlight the cases of Ireland (the second country in Europe with the greatest consumption of alcohol) and the United Kingdom. In both cases, the consumption among young people aged 13 to 14 exceeds 20%. In these two countries young people start drinking at a younger age, in contrast to Switzerland (14-15 years old) or Spain (16 years old). The pattern of poly-drug use is widespread in most countries analysed and the most common association is alcohol + cannabis. In the last few years, the gap between men and women in the use of synthetic drugs tends to decrease.
- Violence and risky sexual behaviours. When analysing these problems, most studies focus on their link with the consumption of alcohol (in particular, and also with the use of other drugs). In some cases there are relevant data which state a correlation between the consumption of alcohol and different violent behaviours. In this regard we should highlight the case of the United Kingdom where, among young people aged 10 to 17 (therefore including children) who had drunk at least once in the last week during the last 12 months, 17% had caused criminal damage, 10% had committed drug-related crimes, 39% a violent crime and 34% theft. While it is true that data such as these illustrate a clear link between alcohol and violent behaviours, the understanding of the phenomenon of youth violence requires overcoming the framework of “drunk and anti-social” young people in order to seek the causes of these behaviours in other elements, in addition to the consumption of alcohol. We find a similar problem when analysing the link of alcohol (and other drugs) with risky sexual behaviours. Firstly, we need to define what we understand by risky sexual behaviour, as it seems to be limited to sex without condoms. Secondly, if we focus on the Spanish case, the consumption of alcohol represents 1.5% of the reasons to have sex without a condom. This figure does not establish a cause to explain the behaviour, and so we need to go beyond the relationship with alcohol in order to find an explanation for risky sexual behaviours.

As regards the media, we find different examples in the national cases of what type of approach is being adopted in relation to youth leisure and how this is influencing public policies. In Hungary, the media coverage of the event at the West Balkan discotheque (where three people died) targeted the regulation of nightlife. While this fact shows how the media may target processes of reform of inefficient and outdated law frameworks, it is also an indicator of the weight of the press in the activation of public leisure policies. In view of the lack of research on the topic, the relevance of crime, risk behaviours or the accidents of young people in the media coverage of nightlife, there are substantially fewer possibilities of making an integral intervention in youth leisure from the public administrations.

A similar process was experienced by Spain with binge drinking *botellón*. Far from being a tragedy, *botellón* went from being a particular youth phenomenon to become a social problem with important coverage in the national media. This presence generated a problem with a national agenda where nightlife started to be interpreted from the *botellón* point of view and the *botellón* itself started to be explained from the parameters of noise, the problems of public health, the conflict with the neighbours in certain areas... In sum, the media placed the specific realisation of youth night practices at the core of the debate on youth leisure, and did so reducing the space to interpret the *botellón* itself (focused on safety and cohabitation), impacting on the swift preparation of public policies (at the pace set by the media) which focused on prohibition measures without elaborating or considering other analyses and proposals. Switzerland and Ireland present similar examples. Marie-Avril Brether insists that the media coverage of youth leisure focuses on three features, namely noise, disorder and health, while Blanca Bordallo states how certain youth practices such as hanging around are stigmatised.

The presence (and, therefore, the comprehension) of nightlife in the media is limited to problems of “anti-civic behaviours”, risks, noise, accidents or public health. The problem is that this biased construction of youth leisure has a major impact on the preparation of public policies that shall have a reductionist focus on its implementation.

2.2 Typology of nightlife public policies

Regarding the policies aimed at youth nightlife, we find a major paradox illustrated by the Swiss and Hungarian cases. Although nightlife gained relevance in the political agenda, this is not reflected in public policies plans, in spite of the fact that all the studies collected in this work show the importance of this area in the development and construction of youth identities, and the different problems related to the access or the risks associated thereto. It is not so much a question of whether they exist or not, but rather of the position they hold. The Swiss case shows that it is a peripheral agenda, dependent on issues such as health, citizen security or transportation. This implies that the framework of intervention in nightlife, far from becoming consolidated as an integral policy, will be marked by the priorities signalled from other areas, particularly health and security. In Hungary, nightlife has a marginal place within the national youth strategy (2009-2024), and the interventions arising from the said agenda are fragmented and lack a specific set of goals for their articulation.

The Swiss and Hungarian cases clearly state another problem which implicitly appears in the rest of the studies: the lack of effort by the public administrations to analyse nightlife in order to implement policies that may respond to diagnoses other than those arising from the partial framework built by the media. The Hungarian example is particularly interesting in this regard. In Szabo János' study, spaces such as the ruins bars have a central place in the organisation of nightlife and in urban flows linked thereto. Nevertheless, there are no studies dealing with these premises and they are absent from official statistical studies, which seem to be only interested in the institutions or premises that receive public funds.

At the time of specifying the specific typology of public policies analysed in different works, we may identify four large areas and one major question: to what extent they succeed in democratising the access to leisure and in contributing towards promoting youth identities and community structures and their innovations or the agenda of young people themselves.

The first type of public policies, as referred to above in the cities and leisure geography section, are nightlife policies which include an intervention in the city from the viewpoint of regulating its uses. The presentation of the Geneva case shows, for example, that the development of the leisure industry experienced a first campaign of prohibition/criminalisation of informal spaces, to turn subsequently to deregulation and juridification of the night industry. The consequences of this type of policies as regards the reduction of the diversity of nightlife and the consolidation of more exclusive leisure have already been presented.

Beyond urban regulation, the second type of nightlife policies is that which conceives nightlife as a risky space (consumption of alcohol and use of other drugs, violence, conflicts, etc.). Therefore, health, safety and control of young people and of the leisure premises are the framework goals for public administration action. Apart from confirming the limitations of this focus if we take into account the complexity of the practices and the forms of youth leisure, there are two great modalities of public policies which have appeared in the national cases:

- Prevention policies based on repressive approaches. These are the most common policies, focused on actions such as control of the sale of drugs and alcohol to minors, traffic controls, etc. It is noteworthy that that none of the cases collected in this study includes details to assess the efficacy of these interventions or their potential deficiencies. On the other hand, beyond the prevention of the environment (according to Linda Lombi's definition), the Spanish example shows two other forms of prevention and control focused on young people and their practices: monitoring specific areas (such as those where alcohol is consumed in the street) or identifying "problematic groups" of young people that receive more police attention.
- Prevention and damage reduction policies based on cooperation. A first type is based on educational strategies aimed at explaining to the youth population (in many cases including the active participation of young people) what the consequences of using drugs are. A second type focuses on reducing damages and is largely based on cooperating with premises and businesspeople. On the one hand, by improving the safety conditions of the premises (safety, presence of professionals, seating capacity, etc.) and, on the other hand, by recognising that people may use illegal substances in the said premises and implementing forms of reducing the impact of such use (from water to individual tubes to snort cocaine thereby reducing the risk of disease transmission). In these cases, the cooperation of these premises is more difficult because of the stigma attached to acknowledging use in these spaces. There are other practices, such as stands to analyse substances (used to analyse the drugs to be used and what possible dangers may result from their composition), that appear in a marginal fashion and which, in some cases, are openly prohibited.

The third type of public policies is aimed at developing alternative leisure activities. The said policies are based, again, on the promotion of health and the reduction of risks. While reference is made to the participation of social actors who intervene in nightlife (including young people), this participation is intended to legitimise the interventions implemented rather than to open a real space for debate and construction of alternative leisure activities. According to Lazcano and Madariaga, they are not understood as autotelic frameworks for personal development which acknowledge the contributions of young people and nightlife as a space for cultural and identity expression .

There is a fourth type of policies that we may define more as youth political practices of innovation or conflict around the definition of nightlife, specially present in the studies of Spain, Italy, Switzerland and Hungary. These cases stress the actions undertaken by young people themselves in order to regulate or define their nightlife, particularly through the creation of their own spaces or differentiated events. In the Spanish case this practice is pointed out theoretically by mentioning how young people have taken over forgotten or degraded areas or places, providing them with a new sense and meaning, and turning them into places for experimentation, cultural innovation and socialisation. However, no specific examples are mentioned. Linda Lombi refers to raves or goa parties as events that young people may organise legally or illegally, but which are characterised by their easy access and by their heterogeneous public. Szabo János mentions the ruins bars or art galleries as spaces for innovation in nightlife, although it is unclear how these spaces are managed and how the young public is given participation therein. Lastly, Marie-Avril Berthet pays attention to two ways of preparing leisure policies by young people. The first one dealt with the squats in Geneva as spaces with a more open and participated management where activities were promoted which intended to diversify the nightlife panorama and to provide easier access thereto, so democratising it. The second one mentions episodes of mobilisation of young people, of criticism to public/private means of managing leisure and the excluding consequences of the said policies.

In spite of the fact that in most of the cases dealt with it seems that leisure policies are more focused on health and on risk prevention, we should underline that the examples compiled present important innovations regarding the theoretical frameworks existing on the subject. If we take as a reference the SCCASMIL (State - Corporations - Consumers - Academy - Social Movements - Illegal Leisure) approach (Rojek, 2010) , there are certain issues which have already been mentioned, particularly regarding the interactions between these actors: on the one hand, the forms of cooperation between the State and corporations (by means of the regulation of the market or the prevention of risks, for example) and on the other hand, the lack of interaction between the academic world and public institutions when implementing public policies. Regarding the innovations present we may see:

- The need to place the media in this setting as actors that influence the means of understanding young people's status, in their leisure practices and in shaping a political nightlife agenda.
- The most significant deals with social movements and illegal leisure. Firstly, the concept of "social movement" is expanded to include the innovations that young people may produce in relation to leisure practices and the fact that leisure (and the access thereto) may become a mobilisation theme. The study of "illegal leisure" has been focused on the use of drugs or on practices such as music piracy. Nevertheless, in this study we find other examples which expand and diversify the practices and conditions to access leisure under illegal and alegal conditions. We should highlight the raves (Italy), the ruins bars (Hungary) or the squats (Switzerland).

We have seen how the participation of young people in leisure policies may take two forms: a) as a means to legitimise alternative leisure policies based on the promotion of health; and b) as a space for essentially young social innovation with little or no interaction with the public administrations. In the Irish case, Blanca Bordallo presents a consultation process undertaken by the Irish government to young Irish people (teenagers) in order to know the causes and means of consuming alcohol and the potential alternatives. Although it is only consultation, it allows us to introduce a fifth typology of public nightlife policies which includes some relevant examples.

This fifth typology refers to the way in which policies are prepared and rests on the participation and deliberation of young people and adults as a fundamental mechanism. We may start from Spanish examples (although not signalled in the national case study) in order to illustrate how this fifth typology is specified.

- Direct participation of young people in the preparation of leisure policies: The Catalanian municipality of Santa Cristina d'Aro (Girona) developed over eight years an experience of participative budgets; i.e., of citizen participation in a

process of deliberation (within an institutional structure promoted by the municipal government) in order to ascertain the priorities for public investment. In this process, young people, both in a specific youth forum and in others which interacted with the adult population and with the public administration, prepared projects of youth activities (including nightlife) which were then submitted to all citizens for approval. In addition, many of the projects passed were performed and managed by young people (Fernández, Ramos: 2009).

- Citizen deliberation on youth nightlife: As we already mentioned, botellón in Spain was a highly debated phenomenon in the media and relevant to condition the public interventions in the field of youth night leisure. In order to overcome the existing framework to construe this practice (and which was being translated into specific policies, basically prohibitionists) a Deliberative Polling on botellón was developed. Deliberative Polling is a deliberation methodology where, following the first polling, citizens wishing to take part are gathered in a forum for debate and subsequently the same questionnaire is performed in order to see how they have changed their minds. The purpose of this technique is to analyse what the public opinion would be if they were able to gain access to the information and to plural debates on the topic. In this case, it was performed in 2006 in Andalusia with a sample of 1,209 surveys of people aged at least 18. 136 people attended the forum for debate following the reception of an informative booklet on botellón. The deliberation lasted for two days and included lectures by experts and social actors reflecting a plural opinion on the subject, and workgroups where citizens would debate on the information received. The survey performed subsequently reflected changes in 77% of the variables considered in the study. Among these modifications we should highlight: a) the botellón phenomenon switched from being considered a simple space where young people get together to drink massively, to valuing the importance of the social relationships established in that space; b) beyond believing that the possibility to buy cheap alcohol is the main purpose for botellón, participants started to propose more complex reasons to explain the botellón; c) the understanding of the problem of the consumption of alcohol was expanded to include other places, practices and generations; d) the opinion of the young people who took part in botellón improved; and e) the opinions which favoured the prohibition decreased from 44% to 16% and the opinion which favoured other types of alternatives also increased (Jorba, 2009).

Both cases show the possibility and the benefits of opening public spaces to debate on youth nightlife both with young people only and with citizens as a whole. These social innovation spaces may allow for an advance in understanding the complexity of youth leisure practice and for proposing policies that may overcome the control and risk-nightlife framework.

3. Conclusions: Future lines of research

The transformations in nightlife practices in the current crisis context may become a research agenda. The apparent modification of consumption patterns has already been advanced in this work, but the consequences of this scenario may remain the subject of analysis. Likewise, this modification may result in new approaches for analysis which have not been of central importance up to now. For example, if nightlife has been basically a public phenomenon (in public spaces, premises, etc.) what new forms of leisure and of expectations may generate the retreat to more private spaces (basically houses). Within the context of the mobilisations against the crisis, whether nightlife is politicised, how it is done and what type of demands emerge may also be studied.

The framework for the preparation of public policies for youth nightlife has been restricted to the risk (and risk control)-nightlife relationship. On the one hand, we need to evaluate what have been the results of those policies (for example, the impact of the most repressive policies in contrast to prevention policies) in order to be able to observe its impact. On the other hand, we need to investigate in detail other types of public policies which address nightlife from a more integral approach, focused on leisure as a right. The preparation of best practices accompanied by a systematisation of indicators may contribute new data towards thinking about public intervention in this area.

The studies presented here have focused on national contexts or on large cities. It would be appropriate to expand this approach to include other types of locations, such as small cities or rural environments, not only to illustrate the differences between them and to improve our understanding of youth nightlife, but also in order to address the problems that may arise from an excessively unequal concentration of the leisure supply (for example, transportation and mobility).

The question of new technologies has appeared as another activity within potential nightlife alternatives. At a time when the communities which are structured around new technologies and their interaction interfaces are a relevant part of the daily life

of young people, studying their incorporation into the sphere of nightlife and the cultural changes that may be involved is a relevant agenda.

As we already mentioned, it would be appropriate to combine the studies that show how young people distribute their leisure in different spaces with what type of practices they perform therein and what type of public attends (and with that, what forms of inclusion/exclusion may be available).

It is important to recover the link which certain international academic production establishes between leisure and tourism. This research agenda is not only an optimum chance to create international cooperation processes between researchers, but also includes a thematic field that may contribute numerous indicators on nightlife as to how it is represented (in Spain there are common references to balconing as a relevant phenomenon for this interaction) or as to what the specific practices of young tourists are.

Lastly, we should add the subject of diversity to the analysis of youth leisure practices. The theoretical frameworks presented up to now have basically distinguished between issues such as access or consumption according to different variables such as income or gender. In addition to the need to go more deeply into the explanations on these variables (particularly the second one), we should incorporate issues such as functional diversity, sexual orientation, interculturality, etc., in order to see whether there are differences not only in practices but also in the meanings given to them and in the access to leisure.

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