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This literature review aimed to explore the influence of the media on the health and risk behaviour of young people in nightlife. It was carried out as part of the EU funded Club Health research project ‘Healthy and Safer Nightlife of Youth’. A search of academic databases and grey literature was conducted during 2010-2011. The extent of the influence of the press, broadcasting, music and the internet was examined in relation to nightlife entertainment and more specifically, youth health and safety. Whilst understanding that the media can contribute to negative imaging and the establishment of hazardous social norms leading to unhealthy and dangerous behaviour, there is also acknowledgment of the potential of that same media to contribute to a safe, healthy and enjoyable nightlife. Bearing this point in mind, public health professionals who are the target audience for this review, are encouraged to consider ways of using media opportunities to enhance their work in harm reduction and the prevention of risk behaviour associated with nightlife.

**MEDIA LANDSCAPE RESEARCH**

Young people rely principally on the internet for information about psychoactive substances, which implies that emerging substances and use trends are detected by youth ahead of the legal system or researchers. Additionally, with regard to sexual health, there are indications that the media are providing a premier, non-threatening source of information for youth. However, not all the information is professionally produced and young people are not only consumers of mass media but have also become producers of it. Thus there is the implication in the historical sense that for the first time there is access to the spreading blueprint of behaviour that previously might have surfaced briefly and then disappeared.

For public health promotion this implies:
- The internet has become an extensive database of erotica and pornography where in contrast to broadcasting and press, almost no regulations exist and would be impossible to impose. However, heavy and prolonged exposure to sexual content creates misconceptions and social norms of an increased perception of sexual activity together with the overestimation of less widespread sexual activities in the populace. Traditional mass media could contribute significantly in correcting these false perceptions. This will require giving up the limited regulation focus on genitals and genital penetration in the definition of erotica and pornography for broadcasting and press. Erotic content regulation will have to be conceptualized in a meaningful behavioural context that includes both motivational and experiential conditions, as well as emotional and behavioural consequences.
• A legal system based on chemical components of substances is set to have increasing struggles in the unremitting launching of new adapted substances and internet selling techniques. Moreover dealing over the internet does not immediately imply overt deviancy or criminality. We could thus move towards a legal system where drug use and dealing is contextual, including objective, style, place, method, and circumstances.

• Mainstream social network services are not a play space where anything goes, but rather a communication channel where everything is recorded. This could prove a tremendous data pool for public health researchers studying spreading and impact of hazardous behaviour.

• Internet monitoring already is a widespread practice for corporate gain and judicial goals, but not so much from a public health point of view. We should assess the possibilities of corporate responsibility of all industries involved in public health (nightlife) and media to act more proactive on the ever faster digitally spreading of social conduct and the promotion of healthy lifestyles.

HEALTH PROMOTION CAMPAIGNS

Dealing with media and prevention in nightlife, professionals should realise that new media technologies could just be the kiss of death for big media and broadcasting campaigns, since with a fragmented media landscape, an increased offer of television channels and digital TV features limits viewers’ exposure to such campaigns.

• In nightlife, youth search for relaxation and having fun with friends. Substance use happens in this promotion focus (rather having fun then being healthy) and prevention messages need to connect with this mental state. They need to be correctly framed. Social marketing prevention efforts should consequently focus on gain- (e.g. if you delay drug initiation you are more likely to be healthy in the future and experience more years of having fun), rather than loss or fear framed (e.g. if you use drugs at an early age you are likely to get sick) messages.

• Targeting hedonistic young people with messages that increasing healthy choices will lead to more years in which to experience happiness and fun may even be a successful way of actively engaging them. Developing tailored interventions implies not stopping at the profiling, but actively ‘culturally’ involving the target group to increase credibility and the peer to peer component in the preventive effort.

• In selective prevention efforts we want to diffuse specialised knowledge on risk behaviour such as substance use and sexual health. However, spreading these prevention messages in the general population has the potential of establishing social norms. A dangerous social norm is when youth overestimate the prevalence of hazardous behaviour. Because of this, previously we were held back using mass media for selective prevention. However, the new forming media landscape with its
social reality might offer some paths for effective selective public health communication. Social platforms, micro blogging and sharing tools on the internet enable us to focus for example on online communities, constituted by youngsters who bear the same risk profile (even internationally).

- Thus the work of prevention currently also includes being active on the existing networks. An often lamented faux pas is when we try to attract a youth community to a tailor made web spot. We should get out there and find them where they are.

**MEDIA TECHNOLOGY RESEARCH**

Media technology is here to stay and has fundamentally changed our forms of communication. Even though they can have negative repercussions for public health, we find potential in the work for a safe and fun nightlife environment.

- Related to drink driving, mobile technology (telephones, GPS) enables to give away mobile speeding controls and other police checking points and digital membership communities exist for fine fee driving. However, professionals and researchers can be creative to employ them for the benefit of public health and general well-being. Including safety warnings in GPS systems on dangerous traffic points and disseminating social norms messages among fine fee driving communities.

- Mobile devices nowadays generally include Bluetooth technology that can be tracked without infringement on personal privacy. The overall infrastructure of risk events (free events, top of the bill names and often no professional or experienced organisation) could be scrutinized in much more detail tracking Bluetooth devices for the benefit of a safer party environment: where to put water fountains, check how many people go to chill out rooms and for how long, how the people circulate, how long and where people hang outside the event, etc.

- Free risk events also often struggle with estimating the expected turnout as the case of the Duisburg Love Parade 2010 sadly demonstrates. Internet facilities, QSR codes and social network services can contribute to a more accurate turn out assessment as they facilitate tracking promotional activities: number of views, time spent on website, times forwarded, shared/liked on social network services and so on. Moreover, compulsory online registering for free risk events can also prevent dramatic events such as the Duisburg Love parade 2010.

**PRESS RELEASES**

Ideally mainstream media should perform the task of a responsible instigator of debate with an appropriate framework and objective information, however public health officials often complain about erroneous and exaggerated use of terminology and the
amplification and over-simplification of health issues. However, in an atmosphere of intensified competition, declining editorial resources and organisational constraints, journalists have been forced to increase their output, which has led to a growing dependence on public relations practitioners and press releases. This opens a window for influencing news coverage from a public health point of view.

- Actively seeking media coverage is neither evident nor recommended on all nightlife topics, but reporting the weekend accidents does have a preventive impact on drunk driving. Future interventions may thus benefit from actively seeking to influence news coverage.

- Reporting on sexual health can also have a preventive impact as it carries with it the possibility of correcting certain false normative beliefs. Moreover, an open climate about sexuality in the media contributes to the creation of facilities and resources for conducting important epidemiological research on sexual behaviour.

- Other nightlife topics such as drug use or pill testing results however are more sensitive and assessing the impact reporting will have is more difficult.

  - In the case of sensitive data and issues surrounded by societal debate, one should consider the social basis of the proposed measure or issue. It is expected that issues surrounded by social debate and criticism are likewise presented in the media. This diminishes political engagement and leads to slower and gradual change (if any) in policy actions over time or can even prove contra productive.

  - A risk assessment is also needed for disseminating risky behaviour among the greater population, and in a case such as this a general press release might not be the preferred media channel.

  - The importance of the issue also needs to be assessed, if it is a pressing issue efforts could be made to attract a lot of media attention for ad hoc measures to be taken. However if an issue requires more structural solutions, searching mass media attention is not the only way to go. Researchers and public health officials should then act proactively in thinking about the options a decision maker has at choice to remedy the situation. Thought should be given to how popular the policy maker will be when undertaking the suggested policy pathway. One needs to scrutinize if there is a critical mass supporting the policy and if not, the policy together with the policy maker may be doomed to failure.

  - Finally, before giving publicity to the public health issue and the suggested policy, one needs to anticipate different framing of the issue other than the scientific one. Often cultural values are an important factor for the establishment or rejection of a policy measure.

**TRAINING**

Besides understanding the selection criteria for a newsworthy story, researchers,
prevention workers and emergency officials need to understand the quality control mechanisms in reporting when they pass on sensitive information concerning public health. This could be established during basic media training. On the other hand, journalists and journalism students would benefit from workshops in basic prevention and public health promotion. This could eventually pave the way for attracting journalists to specialise in the theme of public health as public health reporters at present might cover sports one day and culture the next. This would in turn lead to closer alliances between public health and media stakeholders instigating reciprocity of practices for the benefit of general public health promotion.

• Public health promotion training for media stakeholders: basic guidelines on how to report public health would have to be reviewed and kept up-to-date by agencies and practitioners, together with press stakeholders. However, media guidelines are not well supported or used by editors and journalists, thus requiring attractive workshops on rationale and techniques behind those guidelines. This would include simple methods such as trying to reflect on who benefits most from the story and imagining how to report if it was someone close to you, using vocabulary that represents factual and correct information and avoids sensationalism. Next, balanced, up-to-date local statistics which put the problem studied in the right context on the right scale should be included. Also, when seeking information one should not solely depend on law enforcement. Other useful sources can be medical professionals, government officials, advocacy groups and other professionals in the field of nightlife. Last but not least, localising a national or international story should be discouraged.

• Basic media training for professionals around public health issues is also welcome. This could include concepts of what gives a story news value for attracting or avoiding media coverage, the quality criteria in the press, the formulation of a good press release, handling interviews and questions, etc.

ADVERTISING

This review disregards the societal debate around alcohol advertising as this is extensively discussed elsewhere. However, advertising for daily products are also often linked to youth subcultures with references to substance use and sexual behaviour, impacting on social norms and false perceptions.

• Regulation is already extensive concerning advertising but it generally puts the agency with the consumer. Only if a consumer complains, is the advertising scrutinized with regard to the regulations. To activate the industry advertising towards good public health promotion engagement, we found one promising practice. The PRISM award is given to the company who had the best advertising campaign from a public health point of view. This award is accompanied by government advertising
deals and the Entertainment Industries Council also offers full service from ‘script-to-screen’ guidance.

MEDIA EDUCATION

Growing up into adulthood, youth are consuming media like tapeworms and often we underestimate the ability of youth to make a critical assessment. Discussing the matter of media influencing nightlife and the options we offer to alter it for the benefit of safety and public health, an incessant voice in the back of our minds was continuously asking if we weren’t too patronizing towards the partygoers’ lifestyles and life choices. Shouldn’t we leave them in peace, having faith they will figure it out and find their own solutions relying on their resilience and life skills? In any case, we can add to their media skills through media education. Media education can diminish the negative effects media can have and works twofold. First, one is able to decipher a media message rather than accept it at face value and secondly media literacy enables the media user to make profound choices about their own media usage.

Bergsma and Carney (2008) provide some insights in content of media literacy:

• All media messages are ‘constructed’. Intervention taught about how the media differs from reality, evaluating what is shown compared with real life experiences, or the producer/production of media messages.
• Media messages are created using a creative language with its own rules. Intervention taught about recognizing advertising/production techniques or creating/producing media messages.
• Different people experience the same message differently. Intervention explored how media affect people, what people can do to avoid negative effects of media or that people can take action to change the media.
• Media have embedded values and points of view. Intervention taught how to identify stereotypes, myths, biases, values, lifestyles and/or points of view represented in or omitted from media messages.
• Most media messages are constructed to gain profit and/or power. Intervention taught about the purpose of advertising or marketing strategies, scepticism toward advertising or creating counter-advertising.
INTRODUCTION
“Communication through the mass media has become a dominant part of our lives. Not only is a considerable amount of our leisure time spent in reading newspapers, listening to the radio and watching television (and surfing the World Wide Web), we have also come to rely upon the media as a major source of knowledge about the society that we live in. As such, the media influence our attitudes and opinions, providing a forum for political debate and shaping our choices (Gibbons 1991: 1).” Indeed, no one would deny the central position mass media has come to take in present society. Gibbons goes further stating: “The media play a central role in bringing information to our attention, and then placing it in some context, offering interpretations of it and suggesting a proper meaning for it. The media are able to contribute, therefore, to our understanding of what is normal and deviant, acceptable and unacceptable (1991: 1).” Normative behaviour is acquired through the socialization process every individual is bound to go through. An important part of this socialization process for youth in modern society takes place in nightlife settings. In recent decades we have seen a proliferation of night time entertainment in the form of parties, raves, discotheques, nightclubs, festivals, themed restaurants, bars, casinos, sport stadia, concert arena, music venues, multiplex cinemas, etc. This nightlife entertainment has not only become a place where youth have fun, search for relaxation and escape from the social constraints of the rest of the week. It has become an important place where one feels out the boundaries of acceptable behaviour, socializes with friends, experiences sexual relations and experiments with psychoactive substances. It is essential to understand that these experiences are at least as profound as those obtained during daytime activities. In this open playground called nightlife, media exerts at least an influence as big as it does in the light of day. As such we mustn’t underestimate media’s influence on health and safety in youth lifestyle. In reviewing the literature we try to grasp the influence of press, broadcasting, music and the internet on the course of nightlife entertainment in relation to youth health and safety. We ask how media contributes to negative imaging, establishing hazardous social norms and disseminating unhealthy and dangerous behaviour, but at the same time we have an eye for the tremendous potential media has today to contribute to a healthy, safe and above all fun nightlife. We focus on three aspects of media in nightlife. The first is media’s influence on risk behaviour in nightlife, the second is media’s connection to the work of prevention and the third is media’s implications in policy and decision making related to nightlife. Before this however, we introduce some concepts linked to media influence theory, youth media use today and nightlife in Europe.
Much research has been conducted regarding the relationship between human behaviour (especially adolescent unhealthy and deviant behaviour) and the media. Juggle the term ‘media influence’ with adolescence, youth, violence, drugs, alcohol, tobacco or sex on a relevant scientific database and it will produce numerous references. This not only indicates that a great deal of research has been conducted on this topic but also that there is considerable debate in academic circles regarding the relationship between mass media and youth conduct. A glance at the literature indicates many different theories on the impact and influence of the mass media on our behaviour have been developed. Most psychosocial theories would support that media manage to contribute to changes in human behaviour. However, the theoretical mechanisms of how these changes come about differ. Social learning theory posits that individuals learn to display behaviour by imitation (Escobar-Chaves, Tortolero et al. 2005). What follows is that behaviour is acquired and influenced by social context. As mass media has undeniably gained importance in our social lives over recent decades, we should acknowledge media content as gauge for personal and social behaviour.

**THE ABSORBING INDIVIDUAL**

Priming theory presupposes that the personal experience of certain behaviour or content activates similar ideas for a short time afterwards. The idea of ‘priming’ an audience is a general practice in the world of marketing. It is argued for example that if you first make a target group aware of the importance of a healthy lifestyle and the low intake of calories, they will be more open to the purchase of a diet drink compared to a soft drink with a high calorific content (Bouckaert 2006). Disinhibition theory, developed to explain risky and hazardous behaviour, goes further than merely suggesting that one message activates similar messages. Disinhibition theory elucidates that the experiencing of abnormal, deviant or detrimental behaviour actually desensitizes the individual. It is argued that continued exposure disinhibits the viewer and makes him/her less averse to or even makes him/her more inclined towards formerly rejected behaviour. This theory specifically refers to the competition mechanism of media where they are continually in search of ever more striking images and shocking stories to keep the audience loyal to their media product. On a less cognitive
and more intuitive basis, arousal theory suggests that certain experienced content can stimulate activation of the nervous system, referred to as arousal. This arousal causes certain behaviour. Exposure to television violence for example increases aggression because violence increases excitation, or “arouses” its viewers.

THE INTERACTING INDIVIDUAL

Priming theory, disinhibition theory and arousal theory have in common that the individual is principally regarded as an absorbing, passive body. The viewer is considered nothing more than a receiver of impulses. In the light of related research however, media viewed as a much more interactive ‘given’ which is created, consumed, distributed and altered by our target group: nightlife youth. The media practice model assumes that youth are not merely receptors of messages. Based on who they are and who they want to be, they choose media and interact with it. This affects what content they pay attention to and to what extent they become involved with it (Brown and Witherspoon 2002). Cultivation theory is a good attempt to integrate the current more interactive character of media. Cultivation brings forward the ideas of social norms or normative belief. As individuals want to belong to or rebel against a certain group, they tune their behaviour with reference to the norms of that group. However, we base our behaviour on what we perceive to be the groups’ norms. As media tends to be a big part of our life sphere, it has the power to heavily influence our perception of group norms. What is more, media particularly display deviant and abnormal behaviour, creating the idea that the behaviour is more widespread than it actually is. This behaviour, in reality not the norm in the group is consequently perceived as such and becomes a social norm. As an example, adolescents always overestimate the use of psychoactive substances among their peers. As group belonging (also linked with peer pressure) is very important in an adolescent’s life, this overestimation holds a prominent position in the decision process (not) to try drugs. It is shown that if we can alter these false perceptions, adolescents may refrain more from experimenting with substances (Faggiano, Vigna-Taglianti et al. 2006).

Another theoretical idea closely linked with cultivation theory and the idea of social norms is the third-person effect hypothesis. It holds that people tend to believe that mass media messages exert greater influence on others than on themselves. When asked about the influence of commercial messages on TV, one can imagine thinking “it has little influence on me, but I think it does influence the general public.” This attitude is closely linked to social norms, because following this logic, public attitudes and behaviour influence me because I perceive that they are influenced by the messages.

It is believed that these theories are especially useful in explaining the influence of
media on adolescents and youth as peer ideas and behaviour gain more importance in this life phase of individual identity formation. Through mass media one can cunningly take advantage of this. TV producers and advertisers create characters that are modelled on target group aspiration as this strategy increases purchasing and viewing numbers.

3 IMPORTANT MEDIA DYNAMICS IN NIGHTLIFE

In scrutinizing media influence on health and safety in nightlife, three major, but very distinct dynamics emerge. The first is the mechanism of reporting and coverage. Surely one can imagine that the way and extent nightlife’s’ virtues and sins are represented in popular press and entertainment leaves its footprints on that very own nightlife. When we deal with the influence reporting can have on nightlife, we will primarily be concerned with the unintentional spreading of hazardous behaviour, i.e. (new) (ill) legal drugs, dangerous crazes and other possible unhealthy and dangerous behaviour that through reporting can spur on sensation seekers. As a society, we should be dedicated to counter the spreading of dangerous, unhealthy or even life-threatening habits. That is why we should be alert to any reporting on this kind of behaviour. What is more, we cannot but be reluctant towards the willing marketing of unhealthy and dangerous behaviour, and yet some companies would push the barriers of responsible advertising for corporate gain.

The second media dynamic in nightlife relates to the mechanism of advertising. Related to this research, consider the advertising of parties, marketing competition between pubs and clubs, the announcing of concerts and festivals, spreading of gadgets related to nightlife and so on. Probably the most infamous and most often discussed representative within nightlife advertising would be the immense marketing machine related to the alcohol industry. However, as in recent years numerous studies have been devoted to the link between alcohol advertising and unhealthy drinking behaviour (ICAP; Grube 1993; Casswell and Zhang 1998; Saffer 1998; Saffer 2002; Saffer and Dave 2002; Strasburger 2002; Chen, Grube et al. 2005; Ellickson, Collins et al. 2005; Austin, Chen et al. 2006; Saffer and Dave 2006; Snyder, Milici et al. 2006; Collins, Ellickson et al. 2007; Ofcom 2007; Anderson, de Bruijn et al. 2009; EUCAM 2009; King, Siegel et al. 2009; Smith and Foxcroft 2009), this study will largely disregard alcohol and advertising.

The third dynamic is contra-advertising in the form of prevention campaigns. These are intended to incite the population to behaviour change with the purpose of increasing public health in general. In nightlife, campaigns for safe sexual behaviour, designated driving, drugs harm reduction, anti-violence, etc. are numerous. However
do they pay off and can they stand ground against commercial advertising?

In this paper we address these three dynamics in relation to three nightlife issues. First of all we scrutinize media potential for influencing nightlife behaviour. We distinguish between press mechanisms, broadcasting mechanisms and social media. Much has been written on the former two categories, but only recently more effort is expended on the latter category. The following chapter is dedicated to the topic of media and prevention. In particular public health campaigns related to nightlife are scrutinized. In a changing media market we have to be aware of new possibilities and unforeseen pitfalls. In addition the way public health officers in the field of nightlife should deal with media is carefully examined. The final chapter takes on the issue of media and nightlife policy. It is argued that media can shift policy priorities as politicians are inclined to respond to ‘mediatised’ issues. As such there is an important place for media advocacy for professionals concerned with public health.

YOUTH AND MEDIA USE TODAY

Media canals have never been as diverse as today. Worldwide there is still an increasing trend in internet use, digital TV is marching on in Europe and traditional press and radio are an uninterrupted essential in the media landscape. At the same time all types of technologies such as mobile phones, PDA’s and smart phones, laptops, tablet pc’s and GPS systems enable us to be swiftly in communication at an increasing pace, reaching an ever increasing audience. To assess media influence on outgoing youth and their night time behaviour, we need to understand their media diet and the content they devour and digest.

UBIQUITOUS INTERNET

In Europe, in the last ten years we have seen an increase of internet penetration of more than 300% in the population, in 2009 counting for 53.0% of the Europeans connected. In Macedonia and Moldova the internet has proliferated in the last ten years as much as around 3000% and in Norway, Sweden and Iceland a penetration in the population of around 90% prevails, followed swiftly by Netherlands; Denmark, Finland and respectively the other western European countries. Last comers of around 20% are respectively Albania, Kosovo, Moldova and tail-end Charlie Vatican City. Internet
penetration in Belgium reaches 70%, more or less the middle bracket of the EU15 (InternetWorldStats 2009). The widespread popularity of the internet is certainly due to the social and interactive character of the media canal, opposed to other ‘one way’ media canals. Through the internet, we are witnessing a proliferation of media created by private individuals. Portal sites, blogs and internet forums are just some examples of how individuals engage in communication and interaction on an unprecedented scale. Facebook, MySpace, Twitter, Netlog, YouTube and congeners enable people to unleash their contemplations and behaviours upon the world-wide web. It is clear that the internet has become the preferred media canal in society today and even more so for the young. In Flanders 87% of secondary school students have a personal profile on social networking sites and of the ten year olds, 96% already have a computer with internet access at home. The internet is thus a central part in understanding exchange of information among the younger generations as it has dulled other means of gathering information and building social networks.

CORPORATIZATION AND THE NET

However, the internet is still a wasteland of unexplored possibilities that is rapidly and constantly changing the means of personal interaction. Just to catch up personally is ‘mind-blowing’, let alone for research to catch up. Research conducted on the internet phenomenon is often outdated by the time it is published. Yet, the most important trend today is probably the striving for a very personalized internet experience. Sites and spaces get connected, exchanging personal information to offer the best search terms, products, music, etc. matching individual profiles to former searches. For this service, however, consumers often do not realize that they disclose a substantial part of their personal life sphere. Online shops such as Amazon.com for example, monitor the purchasing behaviour of their clients. If one shows interest in a product, Amazon gives a wink to other products people were similarly interested in and yet other products they purchased. This corporate monitoring becomes even more spine-chilling when searching for information on Google. A search query builds up generally by first entering the query in broad terms. Depending on the hits, you would refine the query and fine-tune the search terms. Doing this, also the ads on the right side and on top of the search results increasingly match your query. The more clear-cut your query, the more relevant the advertising, matching exactly the information you are looking for. This process is increasingly blurring the line between information and corporate advertising. But not only do corporations retain a log of our internet behaviour, we are increasingly doing it ourselves. Social network sites as Facebook, Twitter and MySpace are growing day after day. On the 16th of March 2010 Facebook even dethroned Google as the most frequented website in the US. Facebook also announced that web applications will have to be redesigned to meet the interactive/social character of the internet, as such even changing the complexion of the World Wide Web. More corpo-
rations include different applications in their websites to combine the social networks with their own websites. As such with just one click you can let all your friends know you like this website or that product. Related to nightlife you can let your internet community know which party or venue you are going to frequent and invite them to join.

Pertinent questions can be raised related to this ‘mediatisation’ of our private lives. Would the young generation for example vote for a politician who has no social history on Facebook or Twitter? Would this politician be considered socially credible and trustworthy? What considerations do we make when we create online profiles? In Flanders e.g. one third of the teachers consciously do not create a social profile to avoid fusion of private and professional life spheres. What precautions and considerations do studying youth and secondary school pupils make disclosing sensitive information? Bullying via mobile phone and text messaging was not long ago a recent trend replaced already by internet bullying. Often stories of improper sexual behaviour of children reach us via the media. Together with threats however, many other possibilities enter the youth life sphere via the internet cable.

**PRESS AND BROADCASTING STILL THERE**

Still, newspapers, magazines, television and radio continue to have an important place in the information landscape. Related to nightlife and leisure time for the young, printed magazines (complemented with the respective website) still take an important place. “Recent and rapid expansion of the magazine industry has targeted young people who constitute a large readership. Market research has shown that music magazines, in the UK, are read by 18.3% of the young adult population. It was evident, from earlier observations, that drug references occur more frequently in music and dance magazines than in more general lifestyle magazines (EMCDDA 2005: 8).” But also outside Great-Britain the magazine industry still is big business. Britons are the third biggest spenders per head on consumer magazines and 40 million of UK magazines are sold outside the UK (PPA 2010). The EMCDDA thematic paper on Youth Media (2005) acknowledges magazines in the spreading of knowledge on illicit substances, as such endorsing the importance of magazines to youth. Since 1985, magazines have contained accounts of ecstasy use, long before drug agencies began to collect and report data on ecstasy. Moreover, from earlier observations they have evidence that drug references occur more frequently in music and dance magazines than in general lifestyle magazines. The magazine industry thus seems to have a vast connection to the nightlife and leisure time industry. For years ID&T, one of the biggest dance manifestation organisations of the Flanders and The Netherlands, had its own lifestyle magazine ‘Release’ heavily promoting ID&T music and products. These youth magazines are produced and consumed by its target group in the search to be trendsetters and afraid to miss out on the latest craze. Consequently, the magazines
are amplifiers of the lifestyles and risk behaviour of youth today, revealing much about young people's substance habits when they surface, whilst not appearing in official statistics. Simultaneously, this information is installing social norms and possibly diffuses hazardous behaviour, intensified by the magazine's own forum and social network sites. Even though the impact on actual behaviour is still a heavily debated item, there seems to be evidence that when a drug is displayed with a more positive image (also depending on the availability of the drug), there is growing potential for its diffusion (EMCDDA 2005). After digital and print media, broadcasting also holds an important place in the youth media diet. However, the broadcasting landscape has undergone dramatic changes which are influential on the risk behaviour of young people. We find an increasing spreading of digital TV in Europe and some functions which fundamentally change the viewing experience. As from now it is possible to forward commercial blocks, increasing possibilities of pay per view and programs and movies on demand, increasing interactivity and generally an expanded channel offer. As will be touched upon later, these functions are not to be overlooked in using media channels for public health promotion.

NIGHTLIFE IN EUROPE

WORKING HARD, PLAYING HARD

Whilst exploring the relationship between media phenomena and the nightlife scene, it is worth taking a closer look at the manifestation of nightlife entertainment in Europe. Nightlife in Europe finds its roots in the period of industrialisation. Before this era, only a fortunate few could enjoy leisure time and there was an underlying moral to spend it meaningfully and productively on a personal and social level. Enjoying cultural activities and organizing social events were among their pursuits. The industrial revolution, however, was accompanied by the rise of labour unions, securing all sorts of fundamental rights for the workers. Through industrial action, leisure activities came within reach of these social classes. Their first concern was not so much in strengthening personal and social capital still inherently present, but in seeking distraction. They sought free and easy diversion without constraints and this was in sharp contrast to their working week where strict rules and codes of conduct applied. Under pressure of these new leisure time consumers, leisure time possibilities differentiated and slowly
evolved into what we experience today with immediate satisfaction and hedonistic consumption as its foundation. In an article on binge drinking youth in Chersoneses in HUMO magazine, a Belgian girl testifies that: “[…] in Belgium, no guy can get hold of me. I want a steady relationship and it has to be with someone I completely correspond with. And I have not yet run into that guy. Here, however, away from the family and my classmates I go nuts. Here, I have sex every night (Maris 2010: 33).” The writer, in a burst of nostalgia in one of the night clubs on the island, makes the following contemplation: “You should see the girls dancing. One by one they feel like the queen of the dance floor and that is exactly what they are. At the same time I see them somnolently going back to school in a while, kicking up a row with their mother, worrying about a decent job. How they will slide back into the respectability of every day. This here is the week or ten days they have looked forward to for a whole year, for which they have saved money and what they are enjoying. Here is where they let it all go (Maris 2010: 33).” The testimony and contiguous contemplation contribute to the idea that since the industrial revolution, entertainment has developed with an individual set of rules of conduct that are opposite to the social rules of daily life.

**NIGHTLIFE INC.**

The opportunity of leisure time for the working classes is only one of two important evolutions for the emergence of nightlife as we know it today. The second is an advanced corporatization and globalization that got into its stride after the Second World War and accelerated with the increasing efficiency of mass communication techniques. Some party destinations attract tens of thousands of partying youth every year and some events lasting several days bring about mass migration of youth in Europe. Sziget festival in the city of Budapest for example, attracted 400 000 partygoers from all over Europe in a record year (2009). This global corporatization of nightlife entertainment is responsible for the emergence of what Calafat and colleagues define as a hegemonic recreational nightlife model (HRNM) (Calafat, Bohn et al. 1999; Calafat, Fernández et al. 2003; Calafat, Fernández et al. 2004). They argue that in the past two decades, there has been a tremendous change in the offer of nightlife entertainment in Europe. Whereas previously, nightlife was concentrated around local discotheques, nowadays we frequent mass events that offer a total spectacle to stimulate all the senses of the visitor (with light shows, sexy dancers, fireworks, DJ’s, live music, purchase opportunities, tattoo and piercing facilities, etc.). As such events grow and acquire fame; we are also prepared to invest more time and money to be a part of them and other similar happenings across Europe. To acquire this experi-
ence, youth are prepared to work and sacrifice other pleasures. This spending pattern and purchasing power has given rise to an increasingly important industry that is spreading beyond entertainment environments and becoming linked with many other items destined for the young such as fashions, music, cars, mobile telephones and, of course, drinks and drugs.

Whereas city authorities in the industrial city were especially concerned with regulating working class leisure activities, making sure they did not intervene with capitalist production or provoke its protagonists, it seems that the contemporary leisure industry has entered into partnership with the local authorities. We find that this reorientation of urban management has become increasingly connected to the development of night time leisure economies. For several cities and regions in Europe this entertainment industry has become a substantial part of income and several cities, regions and islands are renowned almost exclusively for nightlife and its excesses. Destinations such as Ibiza or Salou even play this sexy ‘let’s go wild’ image out as their trump card.

Like any other multinational organisation, this huge industry built around the recreational sphere follows consumerist logic. Furthermore, Calafat, Fernández et al. (2003) argue that this industry is actually imposing its characteristic laws on the whole idea of recreational nightlife itself. As this industry has grown and strengthened, it has also contributed to creating and defining the content of entertainment, and always in a way that favours its interests. “The recreation industry […] has emerged - particularly in the last few decades - as one that exercises almost a monopoly in defining, managing and promoting the free time of young people (Calafat, Fernández et al. 2003: 293).” It seems that entertainment and leisure opportunities which do not follow corporate consumerist logic have no place in the hegemonic nightlife model. As an example, in Wolverhampton, a city centre on the rise in night time entertainment and thriving on private sector investment, a proposed artists’ quarter could only be developed with funding from non-commercial sources such as the Lottery and the European Regional Development Fund (Hobbs, Lister et al. 2000).

We should be aware of the important individual life decisions being made in this hedonistic consumerist context (Calafat, Fernández et al. 2004) because in this corporatist space, a high number of young people are learning to be adults. As adolescence and youth is seen as a time when one is in search of their personality and place in society, in search of boundaries and experimenting with risky behaviour, youth are
to a large extent being socialized in the recreational arena described above and particularly on issues closely linked to health, such as substance use, violence and sexuality. In this socialization process, as posed by media influence theory, media can play a central role. That is why, working in the field promoting public health, we have to at least take into account the media dynamics in and around nightlife, but preferably counter negative media outings on public health and promote positive media contributions to the promotion of public health. In the next chapter we discuss media impact on risky behaviour in nightlife and we try to formulate some recommendations before addressing prevention and policy issues.
MEDIA AND NIGHTLIFE BEHAVIOUR
Even though nightlife has many good things to offer to youth in terms of personal relationships, life skills, relaxation, happiness and so on, it is difficult not to recognise the disadvantages on a personal and societal level that are also related to nightlife. Harms associated with nightlife especially include the harassment of those not involved e.g. noise, street drinking, vandalism, intimidation, rubbish and pieces of glass, irregular occupation of emergency services, reckless drivers, etc. But also for those involved there are risks for mental and physical well-being such as irresponsible substance abuse, risky sexual activity, violence, drink-driving, etc. In the following paragraphs we attempt to briefly introduce some of the main issues in nightlife harms and connect them to the matching media dynamics. First of all we discuss illicit substances; next we address the issues surrounding alcohol; following this risky sexual activity is considered and finally we look into the different types of injuries associated with nightlife. In the closing paragraphs of this chapter we try to build up to some essential media related recommendations for stakeholders in reporting, advertising and social media.

**HEALTH AND HARMs IN NIGHTLIFE**

**ILILIT SUBSTANCES**

EMCDDA (2009) acknowledges that drug use is one of the major causes of health problems and death among European youth. Substance use has long held a prominent position in Western nightlife scenes, but in the last few decades, society has become especially concerned with the central role played by illicit drugs... In assessing harms associated with drugs, we need to pay attention to the distinction between drug-induced deaths and harm on one side and deaths, and harm related to drug use on the other side. Drug-induced deaths refer to those fatalities directly caused by
the pharmacological action of one or several substances (at least one of them being illegal), what is popularly termed ‘overdoses’. Overdoses are influenced by factors typical to the user (e.g. patterns of use, age, co-morbidities) or typical to the context (e.g. available treatment, emergency services, drug culture). In relation to the nightlife setting it is difficult to assess how many drug-induced deaths occur because with substances like cocaine and amphetamines it is difficult to identify the direct cause of death. This results in infrequent reporting throughout Europe, thus producing unreliable statistical material. For this reason it is more useful to scrutinize overall mortality related to drug use, i.e. those fatalities that are indirectly caused by the use of drugs. In this case we speak of other concurring factors (e.g. acute toxicity, accidents of all types, violence, suicide, chronic conditions, and climate). This makes it an even more complex research field, but: “Although the number of deaths indirectly related to drug use is difficult to quantify, its impact on public health can be considerable (EMCDDA 2009: 86).” To anticipate impact on public health, we need to dig a little deeper, unveiling drug use trends and related nightlife customs.

**DRUG TRENDS**

In the nineties we witnessed a steady increase in the use of cannabis, a more pronounced trend among the youngest. The highest levels of last year prevalence are generally registered among the age group of 15 – 24 year olds (EMCDDA 2009), the same age group that en masse participates in nightlife. From the ESPAD study we know that those youngsters using cannabis are also more likely than abstainers to use alcohol, tobacco and other illicit substances (Hibell, Guttormsson et al. 2009).

After cannabis and cocaine, amphetamines and ecstasy are the third most commonly used illicit substances in Europe. Virtually unknown in the 80’s, it was on the increase in the following decade. In the 21st century however we found the use for the most part stabilising or even (moderately) decreasing. Whilst there is a chronic problem of ecstasy and amphetamine use, there is a more general association between those illicit substances (especially ecstasy) with dance clubs and events and recreational use. This results in significantly higher levels of use among young people and a much higher prevalence rate in certain settings and sub-populations in nightlife (EMCDDA 2009). Immediate risks include dehydration (prolonged dancing, bad ventilation, little non-alcohol drinking), traffic and other accidents, ‘dirtied’ pills and harmful poly drug use, often combined with alcohol (EMCDDA 2002).

Cocaine remains the second most used illicit substance in Europe, but it seems to be related to amphetamine use prevalence as communicating vessels. Where we find a high prevalence of amphetamine, we find a lower prevalence of cocaine and vice versa. Use of cocaine is particularly high among 15 to 34 year olds, whereas the high-
est prevalence of ecstasy and cannabis were among the 15 to 24 age group. In Czech republic it was found that more than 30% of the fans of electronic music had used cocaine at least once, (EMCDDA 2009).

Even though opioid use in general has been declining during the last ten years, there could be an increase in the use of synthetic opioids and the injecting of stimulant drugs. The EMCDDA (2009) states that this reflects the increasingly multi-faceted nature of the drug problem in Europe.

Indeed as the Psychonaut research group finds, there could be a fall-back on alternative substances next to the already popular illicit substances. In this project researchers scoured the internet in search of websites containing information on (unknown illicit, but also legal substances and peculiar methods of poly drug use. A database was developed with fact sheets for all encountered types of mind altering substances that users or ‘cooks’ discussed on these websites. Even though we do not know how frequent the different types of drugs are consumed by a certain method in a certain setting, the research does give away that in society there is an active search and curiosity for different/new psychoactive experiences, facilitated by interactive mass media technologies. What is more, Europol and EMCDDA find a record number of new drugs were officially reported in 2009 through the EU early-warning system (EWS) (EMCDDA and Europol 2009). No doubt these two dynamics are related.

An intriguing trend however is the online marketplace for those new substances that are legal i.e. new unregulated synthetic compounds openly marketed as ‘legal highs’ and specifically designed to circumvent drug controls, (EMCDDA and Europol 2010) or flirt with the boundaries of law. Snuff products are [not even subtle] marketed as an alternative for controlled substances as cocaine and amphetamines. A white powder that is snorted with the brand name ‘Blow’ leaves little to the imagination. Online shops and ‘head’ or ‘smart shops’ also offer different herbal blends as a substitute for cannabis, known as ‘spice’. The ingredients are diverse and next to herbal components it is found that they sometimes contain a synthetic cannabinoid. This last substance marks, according to the EMCDDA (2009: 91) “the latest stage in the appearance of ‘designer drugs’” and some countries have taken measures against them. Recently, following wide media attention on its emergence, the research chemical 4-Methylmethcathinone, popularly known as mephedrone, has been added to the list of regulated drugs in several European countries (Belgium, Denmark and France among others). However, the mushrooming of substitutes for newly controlled substances and online shops underscores that the present market place and its communication canals are very flexible and creative in their response to the swift changes in the legal status of psychoactive substances. As well, sometimes the substances offered on questionable websites are simply illegal. You can order cannabis, hallucinogens and
party drugs, filling your cart as you might on any other web shop and it is delivered in
a blank envelop without delay (gn 2009).

Next to the development of new designer drugs however, we also witness a fall back
to those types of herbal substances and derivates traditionally used only in local
contexts and traditional communities. Needless to say that increasing globalisation
and popularized mass communication, most notably the internet, are at the bot-
tom of this trend. Some example substances are kava, khat, kratom, salvia divinorum,
hayahuaasca and Hawaiian baby woodrose.

**DRUGS CULTURE**

Important to the development and implementation of preventive actions is the un-
derstanding of the function of substances in the present nightlife scenes. Kohn (1997)
would argue that drugs today have lost their revolutionary symbolism as it is no longer
the antithesis to the social order. The previous public image of drugs and its user was
one of rebellion, connected to beatniks, hippies and punks defying the social struc-
tures (Kohn 1997). Backed by other scholars (Thornton 1995; Hobbs, Lister et al. 2000;
Hollands and Chatterton 2003) Khon argues that today the use of (illicit) substances is
not marginal but has become central to understanding current mainstream nightlife.

Partygoers who use(d) drugs within the dance culture during the last ten years, gener-
ally pose no challenge to convention during the rest of the week, or to conventions
during nightlife itself. The new type drug users, as the prevalence patterns demon-
strate, are not societal pariahs nor are they marginalised individuals. As nightlife
industry has evolved around consumerism of a wholesome experience, drugs and
mind altering substances have found a privileged place, facilitating the uptake of
this ‘thrilling’ experience and the wide use of stimulant drugs to keep people awake
have had a considerable spin-off for the music, entertainment and alcohol industries
(EMCDDA 2002). It is noteworthy that the dance culture of the past two decades has
not cultivated an anti-system look. Users of today look ordinary and their lives outside
the night time recreation are rooted in normality (Kohn 1997). A possible explanation
for this is offered by the theory of subcultural evolution. Thornton (1995) explains that
related to leisure time it is far too simplistic to speak about main culture against un-
derground culture in terms of thesis and anti thesis. Instead it should be viewed within
a landscape of subcultural evolution, adhering to the interplay of subcultural capital
and consumerist corporate logic where type of substances and method of use find its
place. As an illustration, we have witnessed a tailing off in the UK in 2003 of the use
of two key illicit substances in the dance scene: XTC and cocaine. “An alternative inter-
pretation is that we might expect the favoured drug of choice amongst young people
to change after 10 to 15 years. In much the same way as happens regarding styles
in clothes, music and other consumer goods, they may be spurred on by both the allure of the new and the drive of capitalist consumerism for rapid turnovers in what is considered to be fashionable or desirable, in order to stimulate demand for new products (Measham 2004: 312).” In this same light we can understand the search for, and cultivation of, new types of high on the internet. Certain types of high correspond with certain type of scenes that are related to their own commodities, inducing their particular experiences in an ongoing search of one’s personality and belonging.

**DRUGS INC.**

Needless to say this process is extremely susceptible to commercialism and ingenious marketing. An immense industry has evolved around it and as such, entertainment has taken on such dominance that it is acquiring potency as a creator of values (Calafat, Fernández et al. 2004). Sumnall, Bellis, et al. (2010) explore the choice European youth make between fun and health in nightlife. It shouldn’t come as a surprise they found that approximately one third of their nightlife respondents claim they would rather have fun than be healthy. For the other two thirds however alternatives are being created where they do not have to make the choice. In July 2010 Belgian media introduced digital drugs into the picture, called I-Dosers. They are audio tracks that ought to influence the brainwaves and provide a high or glow. The marketing however is sly and they do not promise just any kind of glow. You can actually buy the track that promises you the high of cannabis or cocaine. Maybe you would rather enjoy a hallucinogenic trip of the same kind after having had peyote? The question of whether or not it works is not relevant within this framework because what is more important is companies trying to connect with popular illicit substances and their shroud of cultural symbolism for economic gain. Of course, T shirts with hemp leaves print exist longer and also Dutch coffee shops are not selling cannabis without a profit motive. The difference here is that they actually try to sell the drugs experience and that it is easily accessible through the net, even though they disclaim an 18+ policy. A relevant question would be if these kinds of drug affiliates foster an unhealthy curiousness towards substances for the youngest in our society.

**ALCOHOL**

**ALCOHOL TRENDS**

According to Anderson and Baumberg (2006) Europe is the heaviest drinking region of the world. In the EU 15 (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom) we see a levelling out of alcohol consumption and this consumption level
is now closer to the EU 10 (Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia and Czech Republic) than ever before. This generally means that southern countries experienced a decrease in alcohol consumption while northern countries experienced an increase. In relation with socio-economic status we find that those with lower SES are less likely to drink at all than those with higher SES. However, drunkenness and addiction are more likely among the drinkers with lower SES. Across all cultures studied, there is a gender gap for alcohol consumption, with men noticeably drinking more. In Europe, however, we find this gender gap is lowest among the young adults, i.e. the group that is particularly active in nightlife activities. Moreover we know that the young are most likely to drink in public spaces.

**ALCOHOL CULTURE**

In Europe it is difficult to imagine nightlife or any leisure time activity without the consumption of alcohol. During the industrial revolution, alcohol, just as any consumer goods, came to be produced on a much bigger scale than ever before; most noticeable was the production of strong spirits. In industrializing countries this resulted in more readily available, stronger and cheaper alcohol. Because social struggle assured an increasing availability of leisure time for the working classes, this led to a significant increase in the consumption of alcohol. Especially the urban poor and the working classes in those countries experiencing a fast and deep industrialization process ‘got hooked on the bottle’. This was most apparent among the poorest classes of society, and drunkenness was then especially associated with vulgar and cheap people (Anderson and Baumberg 2006).

Much has changed since that time. In Europe today alcohol is being consumed at all types of occasions: during everyday meals, religious festivities, family reunions and celebrations. Alcohol consumption crosses all classes in society. For the majority of drinkers, the consumption of alcohol is a social activity. The choice of consumption or abstinence has a highly symbolic meaning that is heavily entangled with other aspects of social life. Moreover, the method, time, type, place and company of alcohol consumption can contain a treasure-trove of information for sociologists and anthropologists. As in the case of drug use, it clearly serves as a divider between the (ideally) substance free time spent working on one side and leisure time at night and especially in weekends on the other side. In Europe clear variations exist in use patterns across nations and subgroups, indicating that alcohol consumption can connect to group identity and belonging. In all European countries alcohol has today unarguably come to be inherent in the present nightlife and leisure time.
ALCOHOL INC.

This is the first general comment Calafat and colleagues make in conclusion of the 2009 review of preventive interventions in nightlife, acknowledging the risks connected to the use of alcohol in nightlife. Likewise, this statement refers to the rampant alcohol consumption that more often than not accompanies nightly leisure activities. And yet, why do they find many prevention efforts merely graze the thematic of alcohol? It is plausible that corporate profit seeking by means of advertising and lobbying has a hand in it. This paper does not intend to address this issue. A huge body of papers, books and articles already cover the topic of alcohol advertising and since opinions differ like day and night, it would lead too far. Moreover, this paper tends to concentrate on alcohol in relation to media topics that have not been covered so extensively. From a public health point of view we are especially concerned with the drinking context and the frequency of drinking and drunkenness and the positive or detrimental media impact on alcohol related harm in nightlife. This review is limited to how alcohol appears in the reporting media, with a special focus on the personal and societal consequences of irresponsible drinking behaviour.

 SEX

Sex, drugs and Rock and roll are not exclusively of the previous century, but have been a holy trinity throughout history. The decadent orgies of Roman antiquity for example might be most appealing to one’s imagination. Also today, sex and leisure time go hand in hand. One part of the socialization process adolescents go through is how to deal with intimate relationships and sexuality, broadly defined as “an integral part of development through the life span, involving gender roles, self concept, body image, emotions, relationships, societal mores, as well as intercourse and other sexual behaviours (Koch, 1993: 293 in Stern 2002: 269).” Nightlife, detached from daytime norms and values, presents youth the arena to experiment with sexuality and intimacy. Next to substance use and violence, risky sexual behaviour is a key issue in public health for youth today.
SEXUAL HEALTH IN NIGHTLIFE

Young people in European countries are experiencing escalating levels of sexually transmitted infections (STI’s) (Bellis, Hughes et al. 2008). STI’s, unintended pregnancy and non-consensual sex are the biggest risks associated with early sexual activity and these risks highly correlate with other night-time related risk behaviour such as alcohol use, drunkenness and substance use (Bellis, Hughes et al. 2008). Furthermore, compared to youth who abstain from risk behaviours, involvement in any drinking, smoking, and/or sexual activity is also associated with significantly increased odds of depression, suicidal ideation, and actual suicide attempts (Hallfors, Waller et al. 2004; Escobar-Chaves, Tortolero et al. 2005). Research conducted among British holiday makers on the Balearic Islands (a pre-eminent party destination in Europe) reports that the frequency of drunkenness and use of substances is associated with having unprotected sex or new sexual encounters with one or more partners. Meanwhile, only two thirds report using condoms consistently (Hughes, Bellis et al. 2009). This reveals a possible clustering of multiple risk behaviours in some individuals. As the dangers of smoking tobacco are widely recognized, it implies that continuing to smoke can be considered risk behaviour. This last study also found a correlation between tobacco use and having multiple sexual encounters during holidays, further supporting the multiple risk behaviour hypotheses.

In 2008, Bellis, Hughes et al. try to disclose personal intentions and preferences of substance use in relation with risky sexual behaviour. They find that during nightlife, several substances are being used during different phases of the courtship display. At first, because it is valued to dispel inhibitions to get acquainted with someone, especially alcohol is being used to facilitate sexual encounters. Some respondents also explain the use of substances, mainly cannabis, to enhance sexual sensations, and some substances, often cocaine and ecstasy are being used to prolong sex. The use of substances in sexual encounters however, brings some increased risks. Sexual consent whilst being disinhibited can lead to less informed decisions such as unprotected sex and more often regretted sex afterwards. Also having sex under the influence of stimulating substances has an increased risk of STI contagion due to insalubrious sex.

Some of the most important known risk factors for adolescents’ early sexuality and the associated risks are (next to substance use) socio-economic status (SES), peer influence and parental influences (Huston, Wartella et al. 1998). In this interplay of risk factors it is believed that the media play an important role (Bar-on, Broughton et al. 2001).
SEX CULTURE

“Several studies have demonstrated clearly that sexual content is pervasive in TV programming, movies, music videos, and magazines; however, much less is known about sexual content on the radio (including remarks by disc jockeys) and the sexual content of video and computer games. It is surprising that only a few studies have assessed the sexual content of the Internet or cable TV […] This is particularly troublesome given that what little evidence there is, indicates that the Internet and cable TV may contain the most sexually explicit content. Additionally, few studies have examined the sexual content of music, a medium that reaches virtually all adolescents (Escobar-Chaves, Tortolero et al. 2005:320).” Related to nightlife, scantily dressed women often adorn party flyers, banners, posters and even entrance tickets. In the same realm defiant women perform frequently in music video clips, especially urban music (Dancehall, Hip Hop, R&B) and popular dance music. These women [conform] to a young adolescent male’s sexual fantasy and are rarely portrayed “as anything other than sexual objects to be lusted after or aggressed against (Brown and Witherspoon 2002: 157).” However, youth do indicate currently that all these media are a premier, non threatening source of information on sexuality for them (Bar-on, Broughton et al. 2001).

SEX INC.

It is clear: sex sells and especially to youth at a time when they are very curious for experimentation and ‘knowhow’. That is why sex is a preferred topic in youth magazines… They seldom deal with how to find a good partner, but provide do’s and don’ts in bed and develop tests to measure one’s sexual behaviour against ‘popular’ expectations. Additionally talk shows often deal with what is ‘hot’ and what is not, what is expected and what is considered normal sexual activity. At the same time aberrant sexual behaviour is eagerly taken up (Bar-on, Broughton et al. 2001), whilst the internet has become an immense database of sexually explicit websites with a preference for displaying deviant and extreme sexual content. While a number of studies have been carried out regarding adolescents and sexual experimentation, contraceptives and prevention in relation with youth media, especially television and youth magazines (Klein, Brown et al. 1993; Arnett 2002; Brown and Witherspoon 2002; Brown and Witherspoon 2002; Stern 2002; Sutton, Brown et al. 2002; Batchelor, Kitziener et al. 2004; Escobar-Chaves, Tortolero et al. 2005; Pardun, L’Engle et al. 2005; Braun-Courville and Rojas 2009), relatively little research has been conducted into media association with actual sexual behaviour and young adults’ dispositions towards sexuality (Zillmann 2000; Braun-Courville and Rojas 2009). We are aware that heavy
and prolonged exposure to sexual content creates an increased perception of sexual activity together with the overestimation of less widespread sexual activities (e.g., group sex, SM and bestiality) in the populace (Zillmann 2000). Notwithstanding the fact that this sexual content doesn’t often reflect reality, when it is interpreted as such, it has the power to establish social norms and reinforce certain stereotypes. As explained by super peer theory, from a public health point of view these stereotypes are potentially hazardous because they have the inherent potential of normalizing certain behaviours and encouraging it among youngsters. In this distorted arena adolescents and youngsters learn to be sexually active individuals.

INJURIES

CROWD CONTROL

One of the nightlife issues media seizes on is when big events turn bad. In the summer of 2010, during the Love Parade in Duisburg in Germany, a mass panic causes 21 deaths and more than 500 injured party goers. The organisation expected a turnout of around 250,000 but it was estimated afterwards that the actual turnout was around 1.4 million. When the festival terrain was completely saturated, it was decided to close the entrance tunnel. A panic broke loose among the waiting mass with the known dreadful consequences. This tragedy received wide media attention placing the Duisburg mayor under heavy pressure to resign. Freddy Thielemans, the mayor of Brussels unwilling to share his colleague’s fate, reacted by obliging the organisation of the Brussels City Parade (little brother of the Duisburg Love Parade) to set up a presale system in order to better monitor the expected turnout.

Dealing with masses, injuries and accidents are lurking risks for the festivities. The 2010 Love Parade is a poignant example of how a decision of crowd management can turn to the worst. Fortunately in Europe these mass panics on similar mass events are exceptional. After all, legislation on capacity and crowd control with security personnel and emergency evacuations (e.g. on football matches) is often rigorous. However, more can be done to prevent casualties. We ask how media canals and media technology can contribute to prevent mass panics and foster research on mass movements and crowd control.

If we scrutinize the Love Parade example, the organization clearly didn’t expect the turnout to be so huge. A difficult decision had to be taken that eventually resulted in tragedy. Organizers should at all times avoid being in a position when suchlike decisions need to be taken. It is necessary to have good information on the expected turnout. The Brussels authorities understood this and asked the organization to think of
a presale system. However we do certainly not plea that all free events start charging entrance fees, only for the sake of crowd control. This is where media could have an important role to play in the future.

In the case of the Love Parade perhaps the worst could have been averted if the organisation was able to make an accurate prediction of attendance. Much promotion is still based on posters in the street, but this is nowadays complemented by electronic propaganda tools. Posters often refer to web pages or social network profiles, including QR codes for immediate access with smart phones. These media technologies now facilitate tracking promotional activities: number of views, time spent on website, times forwarded, shared/liked on social network services and so on. Moreover, compulsory registering for free events is a perfect solution for the monitoring of the expected turnout, thus avoiding the need to refuse a mass of waiting people and adapting the infrastructure to the needs, while at the same time avoiding compulsory entrance fees.

Other communication technology could also contribute from an unexpected angle. In Belgium two years running a research team of Ghent University is tracking Bluetooth devices on major festivities. Any device with an active Bluetooth application carries an original MAC address. As such, the researchers can track movements of these unique codes. Data from this research is still to be analysed but results are very promising with applications on a societal and economical level. One of the researchers explains: “if you have an event with two bars and we find that only one bar is inordinately been frequent- ed, we know there must be some obstruction for the other one (Van Londersele 2009).” For the benefit of injuries prevention, we are thinking of similar studies where to put water fountains, check how many people go to chill out rooms and for how long, how the people circulate in a club, how long people hang outside when leaving the club, etc.

In general, the overall infrastructure of events, clubs and bars could be scrutinized in much more detail for the benefit of a safer party environment. At the 2010 Club Health conference, professor Ross Homel spent some minutes on this topic of his speech about the main factors of violence and aggression in bars (Homel 2010). One of the variables they found to be correlated with aggression in and around drinking establishments was the number of times people bumped into each other as people tend to get irritated when others barge into them several times... Note that barging into each other is a result of the establishment's interior arrangement. Imagine needing to cross the dance floor for the toilets while you are hanging at the bar … Homel (2010) found that establishments with a design that prevents crowds of people flooding the dance floor suffer less aggression and violence. These designs could be tested and adjusted using the Bluetooth technology on big events and CCTV or other technologies for smaller events and clubs.
Violence, crime, aggression and vandalism are like a ghost that has always been abroad in the night time economy. Again how media influences this kind of behaviour in nightlife and how we can turn it to the better is a multi-faceted question. As a frontier zone where youths find the arena to experiment, different risk behaviour clusters together and even without the causality being clear, nobody would deny the connection between certain risk behaviours, including substance use and violence. Forsyth (2009) is backing up the general accepted idea of the causal relationship between excessive alcohol drinking and violence. Also the use of cannabis and cocaine are found to be predictors of violence (Hughes, Bellis et al. 2008). Startlingly however, both studies find the use of ecstasy to be negatively correlated with nightlife aggression. They both acknowledge that probably not only the effects of the drug vouches for this, but presumably very much the context of usage, i.e. type of music, age of users, users’ nightlife aspirations, etc. Not to be underestimated is the influence of the policy and atmosphere of the venue. Homel et al. (2004) for example acknowledge the link between alcohol serving practices and violence but argued that the mere control of drinking (however necessary) is not sufficient to reduce aggression and violence in drinking establishments.

Next to substance use, individual factors, and the overall context of the nightlife venue, it appears that the emergence of violence is also culturally specific. Hughes et al (2008) find a much lower level of drunkenness and violence among Spanish holidaymakers, compared to German and British holidaymakers. This could indicate different social norms in force. To reinforce positive social norms, it is essential to uncover the prevailing ‘violent’ social norm. Graham and Wells (2001) documented 169 incidents of aggression in nightlife in Ontario, Canada and unveiled the general issues that triggered the aggression. In a lot of incidents, the observers quoted ‘looking for trouble’ as a primary or secondary cause of the fight. As some patrons were just out to pick a fight, we need to investigate and compare prevailing social norms in violent and non-violent nightlife cultures and search, and ascertain how we can reinforce positive social norms for the prevention of violence in nightlife.

UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF … MUSIC

Homel and Tomsen (1993), however, do underscore that violence and aggression is not the result of a single set of variables, such as interior design. Rather it is a phenomenon that thrives in certain environments more than others. The emergence of
violence also correlates with the type of patrons, social atmosphere, drinking patterns, presence of drugs and drug dealing, staff skills and experience and so forth. In their qualitative research Homel and Thomsen (1993) find that among social atmosphere, boredom is one of the predicting factors for violence to occur. They found quality music and quality bands can counteract aggression. Unfortunately, for obvious reasons, they never succeeded constituting what it is that constitutes quality music and bands. After all, the party landscape is much more diverse than a dichotomy between good and bad musicians can contain.

The issue was picked up again by Forsyth (2009). They qualitatively studied several environmental factors that contribute to the prevention of violence and conclude that it is hard to overestimate the active part the music and the deejay play. For example ecstasy (MDMA and MDA) is often related to the electronic dance scene, together generally suffering a bad reputation. Forsyth’s (2009) research suggests however that ecstasy and the related music could be preventive of violence inside this scene. In a comparative study they found a nightclub where they played old-skool rave, where the use of ecstasy was apparent and yet there was no file on violence within the local authorities. This heavily contrasted with the other more mainstream music, mainly alcohol consumption directed venues. Music thus has the potential of bringing certain crowds together, setting certain ground rules for social acceptable behaviour and even suggesting a drug of choice. Following, music as such (often in the personification of the deejay) can contribute significantly to the general safety and atmosphere in nightlife.

Forsyth (2009) also observes that music in a nightclub is used to lure a certain clientele in the heat of the night, while also repelling clientele at closing time with slightly slower, more silent music or even music from outside the scene. As such, music has far-reaching power able to lure those who belong and repel those who do not (Hirsch 2007). In relation with the reporting media, this could however have some other consequences. Marcel Mauss (2000) the famous anthropologist would probably describe music in youth culture as a ‘total social fact’. A total social fact is an object that can be linked to the general functioning of a community. In nightlife: the music genre, volume, symbolism and language is directly linked to the clothes you wear, the language you use, the symbols and gestures you make, the relationships you engage in or reject and the substance you choose to use or refrain from. These types of subcultures that are based on music are often called scenes and they have an ambiguous relation with the media and their own musical ambassadors. Thornton (1995) rightfully acknowledges: “Local micro-media like flyers and listings are means by which club organizers bring

“Quality bands that entertain an audience generate a positive social atmosphere that has been observed to counteract other negative variables. A smaller crowd with a bad band seems more likely to present trouble than a large crowd entertained by quality musicians (Homel and Tomsen, 1993:60).”
the crowd together. Niche media like the music press construct subcultures as much as they document them. National mass media such as the tabloids develop youth movements as much as they distort them (117).” As scenes are very much oriented as insiders against outsiders, media misrepresentations, oversimplifications and exaggerations are very likely to occur and when they occur, there is always a clear and present danger of accidentally disseminating certain (nightlife) risk behaviour.

**PARTY CARS**

What is eye-catching in some Monday edition newspapers are the traffic accidents experienced by young party goers. It is estimated that up to 10 000 yearly road deaths in the European Union are related to alcohol impaired driving. While numbers for drug driving are non-existent or often inconsistent, drunk driving alone counts for one quarter of all road deaths in Europe (EMCDDA 2009).

For many years, public health authorities in Europe have been dedicated to drive back the number of casualties the weekend traffic accidents are claiming. Their first tool to achieve this is the large scale media campaign on the absolute necessity of designating an abstinent or non-intoxicated driver for the night out. The messages conveyed are generally based on the fear of arrest and its legal consequences; social norms reinforcement; fear of harm to self, others and property and stigmatization of drinking drivers as irresponsible and dangerous (Elder, Shults et al. 2004). However, for the campaigns to be effective, it is believed they should always be accompanied by other appropriate interventions, e.g. law enforcement efforts, grassroots activities and other media messages related to impaired driving (Yanovitzky 2002; Elder, Shults et al. 2004).

In Belgium a media campaign is traditionally launched every year around the holidays and a booster campaign before summer. The designated driver in the campaign is commonly known in Belgium (and the Netherlands) under the name Bob. This is (or after these extensive campaigns, it probably was) a common name, while it is also an acronym for Bewust Onbeschonken Bestuurder which means ‘deliberately sober driver’. This campaign is always accompanied by increased surveillance to heighten the risk of being caught. Every year however, to push the bar and keep the scaring effect for the legal consequences, authorities promise ever more police checkpoints than the previous year, including on the smaller regional roads. Manpower to redeem this promise though is lacking, resulting in a stagnation of the risk of being caught (belga/adv 2009), possibly leading to a stagnation of the overall campaigns’ effectiveness.

“The challenge to legislators is to design sound and effective laws that can be enforced, and that give a clear message to the public”, says Wolfgang Götz, EMCDDA Director (EMCDDA 2009: 1).
Moreover, dealing with media and prevention in nightlife, professionals should realise that new media technologies could just be the kiss of death for similar media campaigns. First of all, in 2004 Elder and colleagues already warn for the changing media market that allows viewers to avoid exposure to broadcast messages. An increased offer of television channels, national and international, makes it increasingly difficult for a campaign to be omnipresent and digital TV features like ‘on demand’ allow viewers to fast forward all publicity. Secondly, mobile phones enable us to give away mobile speeding controls on the highways, so it has now become an established feature in the traffic info on the radio. And even this has already largely been outpaced as companies are now creating communities to ‘snitch’ all sorts of police checking points. They bring together information from authorities, media and tips from their own community to provide different types of information on the current traffic situation. One such example is Police Spotter. Even though they advertise the benefit of safe driving, if you go through the website you swiftly realise that the main reason of their existence is focused around the idea of fine free driving and avoiding the controls. Professionals should be aware of the new media pitfalls and be creative to employ them for the benefit of public health and well-being.

In the last few paragraphs of this chapter we will scrutinize the media processes that (can) influence risk behaviour in nightlife just described. The most significant media processes we identify are audio-visual and written journalistic reporting of nightlife issues, advertising that contributes to possible hazardous behaviour in nightlife and finally we dedicate some space to the ongoing digitalisation of the media sphere.
SOCIAL NORMS

Although an important one, Dasgupta, Mandl et al. (2009) correctly identify media as only a part of the social environment where substance use finds its place. Only in a complex interaction with other aspects of the social reality do media exert its influence on risk behaviour. A talk show on sex holidays in Salou, a Mötley Crüe documentary, a movie in the style of Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas or the last reporting on mephedrone misuse alone do not pull youngsters into drug use. Just as with most social processes, it is more subtle than this. Confronted with experimental drug use, e.g. parents often presume their youngsters were lured in by bad friends, but the social reality of peer pressure, an important factor in the onset of drug taking among adolescents and youth, is much more sophisticated.

It is theorized (McAlaney, Bewick et al. 2010) that youth base their behaviour on what they think is normal behaviour, referred to as social norms or normative belief. One such social norm gets established when youth generally tend to overestimate the use of substances among their peers. These wrong presumptions are as such taken into account when a youngster decides to use or not. As theorized above, media can have a strong influence on these kinds of conceptions. At the end of the previous millennium, for example, there was some evidence that many young people in Britain might have regarded ecstasy as the most dangerous drug in circulation. This was supposedly a reaction to the widespread scare stories following wide media attention to a few ecstasy-related mortalities. “If children see other drugs as relatively less harmful, then they may be more inclined to use them instead. This would be particularly alarming if drugs such as alcohol, opioids and benzodiazepines were chosen in preference to ecstasy (Forsyth 2001: 450).”

“While availability and individual predispositions influence initiation of substance use, elements of the social environment, including news reporting may enhance the popularity of psychoactive substances among potential […] users and foster demand. Even derogatory media reports may raise awareness and pique the curiosity of those inclined to experimentation (Dasgupta, Mandl et al. 2009: 2).”
MEDIA’S ROLE IN SOCIAL NORMS

Reinarman and Duskin quote a 1950’s scare of two boys “who had gotten high accidentally by inhaling model airplane glue. This led to nationwide anxiety, which in turn spread the practice of glue sniffing [Brecher, 1972 in Reinarman and Duskin 1992: 78].” Such media representations and their influence on behaviour is a hotly debated topic. However, most research focuses on qualitative analysis of media content, stemming from the sociological angle. Fewer studies have tried to quantitatively link the media reporting of drug issues to prevalence and behaviour with temporal and geographic specification (Dasgupta, Mandl et al. 2009). In their research on media reporting influence on opioid-related mortality, they found a strong association between the volume of reporting and prescription opioid overdoses. Even though a causal relationship could not be established, Dasgupta and colleagues (2009) do back up the idea of the media’s role on drug use trends. More specifically, the media count for perpetuating public beliefs about psychoactive substances and the spreading of drug use ‘trends’.

Regardless of the different media influence theories, we regard reporting and entertainment media as key in the establishing and spreading of social norms in society. Even though the mere reporting on some health issues can have negative repercussions on popular nightlife representations, the reporting style of health issues in nightlife suffers some recurring pitfalls. Most noteworthy are an erroneous and exaggerated use of terminology, the amplification and over-simplification of health issues and the glamorising of drug use. Additionally, this unfortunate reporting is often reproduced and magnified by popular entertainment media. In the literature, most attention is paid to the coverage of drug issues with the leading question: “does reporting on coverage of e.g. drug deaths, new drugs, drug scenes, drug addicts, drug criminality, drugs and celebrities, etc. impact on patterns of illegal drug use and risk taking by young people (Orcutt and Turner 1993; de Loor 1998; Coomber, Morris et al. 2000; Forsyth 2001; Taylor 2008; Dasgupta, Mandl et al. 2009)?”

CREATING NEWS VALUE

Orcutt and Turner (1993) underline that the competitive pressure in the journalistic arena is at the foundation of certain norm distortions. Media players not only want to be the first to have the story, they want to have the one with the highest news worthiness.
To understand what kind of issues are reported, we need to understand what gives a drug story news value. First of all rare behaviour and infrequent fatalities make more interesting news. “With the exception of heroin, the drugs which were responsible for relatively few deaths tended to receive more attention by the press than those which were responsible for the most deaths [i.e. alcohol and tobacco] (according to toxicology records) (Forsyth 2001: 450).” Secondly, the degree of illegality correlates positively with the level of newsworthiness. Also in movies the scripts around highly illegal activities are very much sought after. In ‘Scarface’, the drug dealer is so deviant and provoking, it has a high ‘must see’ level. In ‘Blow’ on the other hand, the drug dealer is portrayed as the good guy and in this case, the illegality makes him very glamorous for the public. Thirdly, drugs with names and pseudonyms that are easy to remember facilitate the story making and transfer to the public. Speed and ecstasy make better stories than Gammahydroxybutyrate or dextropropoxyphene for that matter. Fourthly, the newsworthiness also increases with the public nature of recreational drugs. Drug stories involving middle class young people, are much more interesting than drugs stories on marginalized characters. Creating the feeling that it could happen to your own son or daughter makes it the talk of the town. Finally, the media and reporting also have a tendency to create their own stories. An ongoing story increases in importance, thus creating the paradox that media attention increases newsworthiness. This last dynamic is considered an important contributing factor to the establishment of general beliefs or social norms and is often defined as the intermedia convergence (Reese and Danielian 1989).

**INTERMEDIA CONVERGENCE**

We speak of intermedia convergence when a certain issue is given a lot of media attention through different media canals in a certain time. “The problems behind these stories [however] existed before the media “found” them and continue to exist after attention waned (Reese and Danielian 1989: 29).” The same comment: “Similarities in coverage may simply result from equally accurate news judgements. If convergence occurs in stories that are not purely event-driven, however, media organisations may be looking to each other for guidance in ambiguous situations (Reese and Danielian 1989: 30).” Just as euthanasia or the multicultural society, drugs are certainly one of those societal phenomena where taking a stance is not self-evident.

In the media landscape of today it is believed the written press still has a trendsetting function assessing societal issues and it is believed that television follows the lead of the print media in covering topics (Reese and Danielian 1989). However, the unremitting expansion of the internet forces the pace in this intermedia convergence. There is for example a constant reciprocity of inspiration for newsworthy stories between bloggers and reporters. Journalists scour the internet for germinating stories, while
the internet user is given the chance to immediately comment on the news stories. Moreover, commercial companies pick up these issues and then play a significant role in further spreading of possibly hazardous risk behaviour and the establishment of social norms.

KEEPING IT DOWN

Just as several dynamics deteriorate social norms, other dynamics are in place that counteract a downward spiral. As legal regulations are mostly nonexistent, the last dynamics are primarily inherent to the invisible hand of capitalist society. The EMCDDA (2005) stipulates that apart from France and Ireland no strong legal control on the reporting of drug issues exist in Europe. Yet no real excrescences of positive drug portrayals thrive in the media landscape. In interviews with editors the EMCDDA (2005) found that they felt more restrained by the general public opinion, their own morality and finally (and certainly not unimportant) the fear of losing advertisers when approaching a certain drug issue too positively.

PUBLIC SECTOR’S ROLE IN SOCIAL NORMS

An EMCDDA thematic paper on youth media is introduced as: “Because of the hidden (illegal or illicit) nature of drug use, a time lag usually exists between the appearance of a new trend in illicit drug use and the production and dissemination of data about it. An example of this time lag is the emergence of ecstasy as a drug used in recreational and dance music settings. The first published accounts of ecstasy use were found in articles written in 1985 by youth/style/music media journalists and these appeared long before drug information agencies began to collect and report data on ecstasy (2005: 5).” As such certain niche media could have an important signalling function on emerging trends, but at the same time they could be devastating for perpetuating normative belief on substance use prevalence and other harmful behaviour. This burdens us with the following dilemma: should these niche media channels be regulated concerning risk behaviour or should journalistic nosiness be spurred on to reduce the time lag in function of appropriate measures? Anyway, exaggerated and inordinate scare stories should be anticipated. To consolidate the two seemingly contradictory points, we need to have a closer look at how issues are usually reported and/or deliberately or accidentally distorted. An often heard lamentation from institutions in the field, researchers or experts is that they were misquoted or that their findings were misrepresented in the press and this often leads to a reserved position towards the press. As such the dilemma is often as to have a proactive stance towards the media or rather to hold a reserved position. To get to the bottom of this, we first need to
understand why issues are covered as they are. A close to home starting point is the covering of sensitive research data on risky behaviour, primarily drug studies.

**REPORTING DRUG STUDIES**

Reporters tend to respond to certain patterns when it comes to covering research findings and next to strong quotes they have a preference for graphs and numbers. Researchers on their part need to realize that graphs and numbers are most susceptible for hyping up. First, media seem to favour lifetime prevalence numbers as these are always the highest. Moreover, lifetime prevalence graphs are often cut in pieces, limited in historical scope. These pieces of graphs are then magnified, to intensify a certain trend on a shorter time period. This distortion, i.e. the relation of the size of effect in the media graph to the size of effect in the original data, is often called the lie factor (Orcutt and Turner 1993). The bigger this lie factor, the more a certain social issue is blown up in the press report. Good labelling could rectify this, but “Far from defeating distortion, labels within the graph and the ambiguous reference to ‘doubling’ in the text add conceptual energy to the ominous image of a growing epidemic (Orcutt and Turner 1993: 203).”

An example that is very sensitive is the research results of pill testing and online drug trend research. Together with media analysis, as discussed, this kind of research is essential for a good working early warning system (EWS). However, the same research institutes dispose of data that are very sensitive. Should we publicly disclose this information or put a ‘top secret’ label on it? The rationale behind publishing laboratory results of tested party pills in youth magazines and internet is that it could give information on what a youngster is taking. August de Loor, Director of Stichting Adviesburo Drugs (Amsterdam, Netherlands) an ‘open door’ pill testing institute yet pleads not to publish (all) lab analyses for different reasons. He warns for the look-alike phenomenon, when dealers imitate safe pills. Next, the result of just one pill of a set could give a distorted safe image. Furthermore, publishing lab results would also diminish delivery of pills for testing and it is known that producers often start with a higher dose of the active constituent and gradually cut back often using dangerous adulterates. Fourthly, also the prevention function, the face to face contact between youngster and prevention worker is eliminated. Also the feedback function between user experience and the researcher is eliminated. Sometimes this experience is of primordial importance to identify the pills’ ingredients. Next, de Loor estimates that producers and dealers would be scared off from pill testing as this public data could also be used by the justice department. Releasing those data, de Loor also expects that for testing proportionally more pills would be delivered from consumers instead of distributors, thus when it is too late you could say. Last but one, we should not overlook the international dimension. A pill in Amsterdam is not necessarily the same as in Warsaw, even though they
can look like the same. Last but not least, publishing the results could be spurring on drug use. The testing of pills takes place after one has decided to use, after the illegal activity of buying or making the pill has taken place. When results are published, the potential user actually gets help executing the illegal activity in the sense of what kind of pill he wants to buy. This can even be regarded as a form of complicity (de Loor 1998). Clearly a lot of different angles need to be closely examined before we make sensitive data public.

**REPORTING DRINK DRIVING**

When we speak of illicit drugs and use trends, it is clear we are handling sensitive data. No public health professional has the intention disseminating risk behaviour, thus the pros and cons of wide media coverage should be meticulously weighed. The wide coverage of other nightlife risk behaviour like drunk driving is less problematic. Reporting the week-end accidents has a preventive impact on drunk driving. Yanovitzky (2002) is very clear: “News coverage of alcohol-related risky behaviours seems to provide a cost-effective way of reducing the prevalence of these practices by attracting institutional attention and prompting related environmental changes. Future interventions may benefit from actively seeking to influence news coverage […] (Yanovitzky 2002: 342).”

**REPORTING SEXUAL HEALTH STUDIES**

Sexuality and related behaviour is yet another issue. It is often argued that media can have a very important role in sexual education but at the same time many studies point to the pitfalls of sexual education through the media. We summarized that nightlife related media is especially susceptible to reproducing distorted gender roles (Huston, Wartella et al. 1998; Zillmann 2000; Bar-on, Broughton et al. 2001; Villani 2001; Arnett 2002; Brown and Witherspoon 2002; Hofshire and Greenberg 2002; Sutton, Brown et al. 2002; Sørensen 2003; Batchelor, Kitzinger et al. 2004; Attwood 2005; Escobar-Chaves, Tortolero et al. 2005; Pardun, L’Engle et al. 2005; Calafat, Juan et al. 2009). In comparison however, it is believed European media is doing rather well from a public health perspective: “Given the dearth of information about sexual consequences, it should not come as a surprise to know that in the United States only one quarter of the population says that they learn about STDs from the media. Fewer than half of teens can name an STD other than HIV, and only 3% know of Chlamydia. In contrast, in Western Europe, more than three fourths of the population say they learn about STDs from television, books, or magazines (Brown and Witherspoon 2002: 157).” We also believe that an open climate about sexuality in the media contributes to the creation of facilities and resources for conducting important epidemiological research on sexual behaviour. These published reports in turn have an important contributory
impact on the preventive interventions in nightlife as they carry within the possibility to correct certain false normative beliefs.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As drugs are very susceptible to tall stories in the media, researchers and practitioners in the drug field ought to recognise this and think carefully what information should be disseminated through the media. Professionals in the field need to adopt the five points of newsworthiness, as different methods can be adopted to polish a press release. This could well be one of the most important recommendations for the public health sector, supported by Hughes, Spicer et al. (2010) when they find: “journalists are turning more and more towards use of media releases. […]This is not necessarily problematic. For better resourced agencies, this can be beneficial in increasing media engagement (Hughes, Spicer et al. 2010: 108).” Erroneous and exaggerated use of terminology and the amplification and oversimplification of health issues could be anticipated with well contemplated press releases. However, it is unrealistic to ban glamorising of drug use such as elite drug stories given the plethora of other entertainment media (Hughes, Spicer et al. 2010).

It is proposed that reporting on sensitive societal issues (in nightlife) should conform to some basic guidelines. Ideally, an expert group of drug agencies and practitioners, together with press stakeholders could set the basic guidelines, and the guide would have to be reviewed and kept up-to-date. If this idea were to be handled sensitively it would hopefully be seen as a support to quality reporting as opposed to a tool of oppression and censorship (Coomber, Morris et al. 2000). Even though similar guidelines are well documented for reporting on suicide, Hughes, Spicer et al. “do not see targeting media itself – through more proscriptive media guidelines – as the best approach to improving the use of mainstream media. Media guidelines are not well supported or used by editors and journalists (Blood & McCallum, 2005) (2010: 108).”

Some authors however do get their feet wet and give the initial impetus to the creation of such guidelines (Coomber, Morris et al. 2000; Dasgupta, Mandl et al. 2009; IHRA 2009) even though these are often very concise. Guidelines should include simple methods such as trying to reflect on who benefits most from the story and imagining how to report if it was someone close to you, using vocabulary that represents factual and correct information and avoids sensationalism. Next, balanced, up-to-date local statistics which put the problem studied in the right context on the right scale should be included. Also, when seeking information one should not solely depend on law enforcement. Other useful sources can be medical professionals, government officials, advocacy groups and other professionals in the field of nightlife. Last but not least,
localising a national or international story should be frowned upon. The relevance for the local community should be put first and close attention to the facts of the story is essential (IHRA 2009). It dawns that we are more speaking in terms of techniques, methodology and exchange of good practices. The realisation should go further than the mere establishment of guidelines.

For the promotion of public health, the bonds between the public health sectors and media should be tightened. Collaboration should be focused around some central issues. More personal trust could facilitate the information flow to and from the media. Why not even promote investigation journalism in public health issues? Furthermore, partners who are on an equal footing would facilitate an open debate culture, fostering the public space for elucidation and depth. In the realm of good practices, mutual training sessions and workshops should be carried out. Journalists and journalism students would benefit from basic prevention workshops and public health promotion, while public health officers, emergency services and researchers would certainly appreciate media training. This could pave the way for attracting journalists to specialise in the thematic of public health as public health reporters at present could cover sports the previous day and culture the next. In conclusion, it seems that close alliances with media stakeholders should instigate reciprocity of practices for the benefit of general public health promotion.
UNHEALTHY ADVERTISING IN NIGHTLIFE

Dealing with advertising in nightlife, the most aggressive marketing comes from the alcohol industry. As already discussed elsewhere, an in-depth discussion of the implications and restraints of alcohol marketing and advertising would lead too far and is undertaken by others. We suggest van den Broeck and de Bruijn (2010) as a starting point for this issue. The point of societal debate is often centred on the juxtaposition of alcohol advertising merely influencing brand choice (as stated by the industry) against advertising increasing the overall demand for alcohol. Moreover, the industry raises an apparent paradox: If it is legal to sell the products, it should be legal to advertise them as well. This rationale however becomes liable to be pushed aside as we find ourselves dealing with advertising and cunning marketing of different legal (sometimes also in a grey zone or simply illegal) psychoactive substances, moving up on the internet. Entrepreneurs worldwide have correctly assessed the get-at-able character of the internet for the access to online shops, leading up to an interesting market of alternatives for controlled substances which evolved over the past few years.

However, what do we know about the prevalence of the offered substances and how they are related to advertising and selling techniques? Not much, following EMCDDA reports (EMCDDA 2009; Hillebrand, Olszewski et al. 2010). “First, because ‘Spice’ was sold as a commodity only available through the Internet, or in specialised shops, rather than through clandestine production and illegal circulation, this did not generate seizures or indicate criminality that might have prompted the interest and involvement of specialised law enforcement agencies. Second, the limited knowledge about the chemistry and effects of the new compounds contributed to the creation of a ‘grey zone’ where the potentially responsible institutions (public health authorities or the competent authorities for medicinal products) did not assume immediate responsibility. A question for the future is what sort of mechanisms are appropriate to monitoring the appearance of products such as ‘Spice’ and assessing their possible impact? It appears likely that if such developments are to be detected at an early stage, a more proactive strategy may be necessary (EMCDDA 2009: 22).” Because of the lack of decision-making concerning the legal highs phenomenon, a play space for shady enterprises and likewise marketers where they can indulge in dubious selling techniques, emerged.
COMPETING FOR THE SAME MARKET

Do we now have to scream blue murder? When we find a global trend of stagnating party drug use or a levelling out of the growing trend (however incongruent for cocaine across Europe), it might just be that the drug market in the current nightlife is saturated. Are the different types of highs, including alcohol, in this atmosphere merely competing for the same segment in the market instead of increasing general prevalence of substance use? Then legal highs merely fight for a piece of the market that the traditional illicit drugs have come to establish. Going through the products in smart shops in Portugal and The Netherlands or glancing through the spectrum of products online shops have to offer, it dawns that a bunch of the products on the shelves are being advertised as legal substitutes for popular illicit substances. “Online retailers also frequently sold a variety of “smoking blends.” These are mainly advertised as alternatives to cannabis, and contain a mix of herbs and herbal extracts (Hillebrand, Olszewski et al. 2010: 334).” Moreover, marketing and advertising seems to be aggressive. What was known as Spice a few years ago is now in competition as Golden Spice or Diamond Spice, ‘improved’ versions of what it used to be. Mitseez or Groove-E is boldly advertised as legal ecstasy while Road Runner Super is offered as a legal substitute for what is popularly known as speed. Druids Fantasy and High Beams are colourful names to substitute illegal trips. Needless to say, the package is also very colourful and attractively designed, unlike illicit drugs packaging.

Even though prevalence of legal highs is difficult to study, a similar use pattern to illicit substances is expected. Clubbers and young people tend to be the bulk of the users. A polish study among 187 year old students found a prevalence of 3.5% and a German study among 15 – 18 year olds reported 6% for spice. An online British survey (Mixmag), targeting clubbers found a lifetime prevalence of 56.6% and a last month prevalence around 5%.

OPEN HAPPINESS

More than the fear of an immediate prevalence increase in substance use, serious doubts are raised about the atmosphere and social norms similar advertising and marketing helps to establish. Even though editors claim the loss of advertisers is one of the thresholds for speaking out too positively about illicit substances, we do see certain marketeers jumping on the bandwagon as they try to exploit the image a certain substance has come to claim. As an example, a remarkable energy drink has been promoted in Belgian nightlife: Blow. The name leaves not much to the imagination, still the product is a white powder to be poured in a drink and it is accompanied with a mirror and a banking card in the packaging. Marijs Geirnaert, director of VAD, shivers
thinking about a powder to be poured in a drink. “A lot of people who get caught for using psychoactive substances argue that something is been poured in their drink. This kind of powders only creates more confusion. Moreover, it can contribute to a more acceptable climate towards powders in a club (Hendrickx 2008).”

Peter Decuypere, former manager of Brussels’ club ‘Fuse’, however thinks it won’t come to that (2009). In the heydays of Ecstasy a clever marketeer would come to Fuse, presenting his drink ‘XTC’ with a load of beautiful designed folders, posters and discounts, but he got rid of him, asking himself what kind of party organisation would wallpaper its event with a product named XTC or Blow. Smart club owners try to explicitly dissociate from drugs, he reckons. Moreover, he notes, this marketing strategy is based on provocation. The inherent idea is that the opinion leaders pick up the product, with the pack following their lead. Decuypere argues that if this product is available in the club the opinion leaders would never purchase it because they are often also the recreational drug users and who would draw the attention to himself using such a product while actually having the real stuff in his pocket (Decuypere 2009)?

TRIVIALISING

The real issue relating to this unhealthy style of advertising in nightlife is the influence of it on the prevailing social norms. Basically it is the same question that pops up discussing the reporting of unhealthy behaviour. As we theorized that often broadcasting follows the subjects’ lead of the print media, it is no different for advertising. The danger is marketeers further trivialize and commercialize subjects that ought to be treated with the right amount of respect and circumspection. As psychoactive substances are as liable to craze as any other commodity we certainly do not want the advertising industry to shift youth’s preferences from ‘established’ risky behaviour to nightlife risk behaviour we do not know much about and that are possibly more addictive or dangerous. After all, when a commodity becomes mainstream or is perceived like that, opinion leaders are out to find alternatives. For illustration, Jong-VLD, the young section of the liberal party in Flanders, advertised in the last-but-one elections for a pure and uncut liberalism, with a mirror, a razor blade and a straw on the poster. It is not very likely this advertisement and the produced media circus would significantly cause a short term increase of cocaine prevalence among youth. Rather they create a culture gap by trivializing underground anti-culture, giving it a place in mainstream culture. It is in culture gaps like these that (sub)culture bubbles up in its most unexpected and extravagant forms with no one able to predict the outcomes (Tsing 2004).
CONCLUDING REMARKS

Obviously we need further research on the advertising of substances in nightlife. The legal highs phenomenon receives deservedly gradually more attention in the research arena and even without clear-cut prevalence numbers; lots of information on the general party climate can be derived from the selling techniques. From a legal angle we could move towards a system where drug use is seen in a context of use. As such the objective, style, place, method, circumstances, etc. could be included in a penal code for substances in the 21st century. A system based on chemical components of substances is set to have increasing struggles in the unremitting launching of new adapted substances. As young people in particular rely principally on the internet for information about psychoactive substances, the new substances will always be detected by youth before the legal system or researchers, creating a situation like a dog chasing its tail.

For educators clearly the key to empower youth to make well-informed choices requires extensive media literacy training, one of the subjects of the next chapter when we deal with media and prevention in nightlife. First we will dig in to the reality of the social media and its influence on nightlife behaviour.
In the summer of 2010, some of Spain’s tourism destinations faced the new trend of ‘balconing’. De Morgen (Flemish newspaper) reports: “A live threatening, new trend has become popular super-fast in the Spanish Costa’s: balconing, or jumping directly into the swimming pool from your hotel balcony. The first films of this bizarre amusement emerge (Van Eyken 2010).” The interesting trend for public health professionals in this newspaper article is not so much the ‘sport’ balconing, but the digital spreading of footage showing youngsters executing these daredevil feats.

Deviant, funny and/or sexy behaviour swamps the net. The social character of the current World Wide Web enables youngster to share that content which is most appealing to them. The footage is uploaded on services that are created especially for media sharing purposes like Flickr for pictures or YouTube for your home made videos. Dissemination of the footage usually works following the rules of viral marketing, hopping across social networks. However, the media sharing web tools keep track of the number of times certain content is viewed. When footage on YouTube e.g. gets clicked a lot of times, it gains prominence on the site, e.g. being the first hit after a search. Consequently, it gets clicked even more. In a forum, attached to the footage you can exchange reactions and via Facebook and confederates you can like or dislike the footage, add the link to your profile and post comments. What is more, if logged on, the media sharing tool often keeps track of your media diet, allowing it to recommend similar media content. However, at the same speed, following the same laws, popularity also steadily wanes. As a result one-week self made YouTube stars are born and their capers are broadcasted all over the net. Not only does certain behaviour or ideas spread and disappear at an increasing pace, for the first time in history we have access to the spreading blueprint of behaviour that used to be volatile, disappearing immediately after surfacing. This could prove a tremendous data pool, not only for marketeers, but certainly also for public health researchers studying spreading and impact of hazardous behaviour.

Young people in particular are more immersed in this participatory media environment than any other age-group. They now create and share their own ‘small media’ in their everyday communicative, creative and social activities (Collín, Rahilly et al. 2011: 15).
Last summer, in Belgium the Spanish Botellon or what the French call Apéro Géant made its entry into the extensive gamut of nightlife going out possibilities. Via social networks youth would make arrangements to meet on a town square or in a park to have some drinks. These spontaneous events grew out to become major events in the biggest cities of France, Spain and Belgium gathering thousands of youngsters. Again, following the laws of viral marketing and without a central organization, it is difficult to get a grip on the number of attendees. It goes without saying that problems such as litter, noise, public drunkenness, underage drinking and accidents (with one death in Nantes) pushed authorities for measures against these spontaneous gatherings. Antwerp authorities searched for the origins of the Facebook post that called for “a massive booze fest that only ends until no one stands up straight (Deweer 2010).” They ended up with a youngster admitting he was a bit drunk when he posted the message and he had not expected this torrent of reactions. In Ghent the previous year, the ‘organiser’ (more something of the one who posts the idea on a social network service) was charged 1.250 for cleaning costs afterwards. This illustrates that mainstream social network services are not a play space where anything goes, rather a communication channel where everything is recorded.

OUTREACH POSSIBILITIES

Public health officials should now ask themselves what is the best way forward in this media landscape to carry out the task of prevention. These portal sites, media sharing software and social network services can be regarded as a tremendous source of data on human behaviour. As such we should explore the possibilities towards working together with the large software companies for monitoring of internet content from a public health point of view. Likewise monitoring exists already for corporate gain and judicial goals. “[…] Visible Technologies, a software firm specialised in monitoring social media […] searches all social network sites, watches YouTube movies, and furrows Wikipedia items. It screens more than one million messages and conversations on blogs, online forums, Flickr, Twitter and book shop Amazon.com and this information is sold to the clients. They get in real time information on what is happening on these sites (Luyten 2010: 12).” A more profound debate on privacy and monitoring should be (inter)nationally organised to assess the possibilities of corporate responsibility of all industries involved in public health (nightlife) and media to act more proactive on the ever faster digitally spreading of social conduct and the promotion of healthy lifestyles.
MEDIA AND NIGHTLIFE PREVENTION
The question of how emergency service staff, prevention workers, researchers and nightlife industry personnel should communicate with media usually centres around this question: Do we have to take a proactive stance towards the media with the risk of going through the wringer ourselves or should we instead take an anticipating position, risking to be overtaken by the events?

**PREVENT REPORTING?**

Especially related to the misuse of substances, it seems that sensational coverage and inaccurate reporting could seriously hinder prevention efforts and be detrimental for public health (Orcutt and Turner 1993; Forsyth 2001; Dasgupta, Mandl et al. 2009; IHRA 2009). At the same time accurately informed and balanced reporting could offer an important contribution to the prevention of unhealthy behaviour in nightlife (Hughes, Spicer et al. 2010). That is why, besides understanding the selection criteria for news stories, researchers, prevention workers and emergency officials need to understand the quality control mechanisms in reporting when they pass on sensitive information concerning public health. Coomber, Morris and Dunn (2000) sought to understand what quality monitoring is implemented in the UK press to ensure accurate and sensible reporting on issues related to illicit substances and they boldly state that almost no quality control mechanisms related to this topic exist in the UK. The Club Health network in 2010 queried the main partners for the existence of any control mechanisms in their countries and it looks like the situation in other European countries is very similar as described by last mentioned. Although journalists and editors do have a general ethics code not to publish inaccurate, misleading or distorted materials, the problem related to drug issues however, is that this codes’ primary concern is the legality of the story and not the quality control per se. It is assumed that good journalistic practice democratically diffuses the facts in a story, having received them from authorities and experts of the subject. “[…] it is often the problematic and selective use of so-called facts from so-called authoritative sources that is as much at issue as existence or absence of mechanisms of quality control (Coomber, Morris et al. 2000: 220)."
PREVENTION WORK FOR THE PREVENTION WORKER

Expert journalists on drug issues are generally spoken-inexistent among editorial staff and even considered unnecessary as drug-related stories are not assumed particularly complex nor requiring any particular levels of expertise or special consideration (Coomber, Morris et al. 2000). What follows in real terms is that some journalists are well informed while others are less so. While the reporting guidelines could be a tool for reporting not to counteract prevention efforts, the personal contact that the spokesperson has with the concerned journalist could be primordial as Hughes, Spicer et al. (2010) comment that media guidelines are often not well supported nor used by editorial staff, thus often remaining dead letter. “Moreover, as this report has identified newspaper reporting is on the whole avoiding pro-drug messages. The main message that is deleterious concerns elite drug use, but “banning” this portrayal is not a realistic solution given the plethora of other entertainment media. Opportunities for increasing effectiveness rely more on other avenues, specifically by way of targeted dissemination. We know that in an atmosphere of intensified competition, declining editorial resources and organisational constraints, journalists have been forced to increase their output, which has led to a growing dependence on public relations practitioners and press releases (Davis, 2000). Indeed, one in five newspaper articles are derived from public relations material (Lewis, Williams, & Franklin, 2008) (Hughes, Spicer et al. 2010: 6).” As such, increasing effectiveness of prevention through reporting relies more on well-considered press releases and professional contact/ communication with the written press stakeholders.

THE OSCAR FOR PUBLIC HEALTH GOES TO

Another idea that is touched upon strives for the involvement of European media in public health issues. Reward mechanisms exist in the US to support media that are taking a public health stance in their production. For accurately portraying drug issues, US television networks that write scripts with anti-drug messages are rewarded (PRISM award) with government advertising deals and the Entertainment Industries Council offers full service ‘script-to-screen’ guidance (Boyd 2002). However, one could wonder if in a multimillion dollar industry, isn’t it just a drop in the ocean?
Above it is theorized that current substance use in nightlife is product of the hedonistic expectancies of youth in contemporary nightlife, i.e. immediate satisfaction, connection with friends and the event, having a good time. Substance use happens in this promotion focus and prevention messages need to connect with this mental state. They need to be correctly framed.

FRAMING

The framing of the health messages in public health campaigns is of utmost importance. “Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Hughes, Spicer et al. 2010: 20).” Looking at the history of public health campaigns in Europe, the evolution of framing health messages is striking and almost universal. We saw an evolution from closed moralising messages based on fear towards a more widespread use of open messages, more appealing to the context of nowadays youth. “As such emphasis was placed on fun by our participants, social marketing prevention efforts should focus on gain- (e.g. if you delay drug initiation you are more likely to be healthy in the future), rather than loss or fear framed (e.g. if you use drugs at an early age you are likely to get sick) messages. Targeting hedonistic young people with messages that increasing healthy choices will lead to more years in which to experience happiness and fun may be a successful way of engaging them (Sumnall, Bellis et al. 2010: 102).” As such, we have moved from fear frames towards positive frames. Instead of using ‘No to drugs’ a slogan ‘yes to life’ connects better.

In the recent past we had two poignant examples of how similar mass media campaigns can yield no effect at all in the best case and can even yield iatrogenic effects in the worst case. The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign and the Montana Methamphetamine Project are two cited examples of how we need to rethink mass media campaigns. Disregard the political negotiations, we need to stick with the idea that content and channel are adequately used to reach the ultimate target group. We need to harmonize the source, the content, the channel and the recipients of the message.
CONTENT

Relating to content, “most users will ‘shut off’ when stories involving drugs are dealt with by the media. If the media acknowledges why they use we may just keep their attention long enough to give them quality information about their drug of choice. After we acknowledged their use we were able to give users and potential users of LSD useful harm reduction strategies—particularly relating to mixing drugs (Dillon 1998: 178).” Concerning the source and content it is of utmost importance that the message is evaluated as a possible factual reproduction and the sender as trustworthy, disposing of appropriate expertise. “[…] despite research revealing that many teens believe the advertisements exaggerate the risks of methamphetamine use, and data suggesting that the advertisements may be counterproductive. The MMP [Montana Methamphetamine Project] approach of scaring individuals into not using methamphetamine ignores a sizeable literature demonstrating that scary, graphic public health campaigns are frequently ineffective and sometimes harmful (Ringold 2002; Ruiter et al. 2001; Witte and Allen 2000 in Erceg-Hurn 2008: 261).” Scrutinizing the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, one comes to realize that the chosen content of the campaign was not fit for the whole target group it reached through the means of popular television. “The upshot was that children who had little room to become more anti-cannabis were unaffected, while those with a more pro-cannabis profile ricocheted in the wrong direction (Ashton 2005: 24).” Also Hughes and colleagues come across the same problem when they state: “providing information linking sex and substance use also requires caution. Inappropriately delivered, such information may increase individuals’ expectations of not using condoms under the influence of alcohol or drugs and consequently increase such behaviour. Further, alcohol and drugs such as cocaine already have “sexy” images in certain youth cultures and inappropriately drawing attention to, for instance, users having more sexual partners and enhanced sexual experiences could increase its sex appeal (Bellis, Hughes et al. 2008: 10).”

CHANNEL

When we want to diffuse specialised knowledge on risk behaviour we need to be very cautious in not establishing a social norm that overestimates the prevalence of this behaviour. Ideally we only want to target those with a certain risk profile. The inherent problem with mass media campaigns is the inability to do good prevention on a selective basis.

Only recently, more specifically with the extensive propagation of internet access in the population, we are experimenting with the channels of communication in relation with the target group we want to reach. The patched media landscape makes effective mass communication through only one channel (e.g. TV) and one medium (e.g.
prevention film) ever more difficult. The TV channels in European countries have grown exponentially and new technologies broke down the prime time idea as people are watching programs of their own choice on the moment of choice, fast forwarding commercials and health messages. But, as TV stations are becoming more specialised, searching for possible niche markets and on the internet niche communities are being established overnight, public health campaign developers should jump at the possibilities this offers. Whereas we were held back using media campaigns for selective prevention, the new forming media landscape might offer some paths for effective public health communication.

Marketers are even paving the way when they research group profiles of online communities for the sake of developing a more specialised media offer such as niche youth magazines, television programming or computer games. A practice that already exists for some time is embedding health messages in popular TV programming. “In India, Africa, and Latin America, popular soap operas that include plots about family planning and HIV prevention have had profound effects on cultural norms and health behaviours (Brown and Witherspoon 2002: 164).” And still this is a very broad medium with a very diverse viewer’s public. For the future we would pin much more faith on the internet as a specialised medium for more selective prevention with media campaigns.

ONLINE PREVENTION

Early on, prevention workers have acknowledged the tremendous potential of the internet as a channel for public health messages. One of the main features of the internet is the low threshold to communicate on problems that are often socially tabooed in face to face situations. “Users of cocaine can now reduce or stop using with the assistance of an online self-help program on Hoeveel is te veel. The program takes 4 to 6 weeks and is free and anonymous. It targets adult users. Also the other online tools off course stay available, like the knowledge tests for users, the self-tests to evaluate the risks of his or her substance use and the self-help module on cannabis (VAD 2010).”

E-HEALTH

Concerning internet and e-health, as the example demonstrates, the stress has been largely on early intervention and self-help tools. “They [problem drinkers] often experience high access barriers to health services, attributable partly to fears of stigmatisa-
tion, loss of privacy or problems in work or family, and partly to a lack of motivation to change their behaviour. […] Yet many problem drinkers are not in contact with primary care services, or they are not recognised there as problem drinkers. […] Alternative ways of reaching out to problem drinkers are therefore needed. Digital self-help interventions aimed at the general population are one such alternative (Riper 2008: 190).”

Several advantages lay before us concerning e-mental health: aid-seekers manage their own health, offering extra assistance options to choose from with the promise of long term cost savings by expanding the scope for using stepped care interventions. Most of all, on a large scale we can now target groups that are not yet being adequately reached (Riper, Smit et al. 2007). “At the moment, clients can participate free of charge and anonymously in roughly two-thirds of the (online) facilities. These mainly consist of the selective and indicated preventive care options,” Riper et al. (2007: 12) conclude in their review.

Selective and indicated prevention means respectively targeting those groups who have a heightened risk profile or those individuals who show the first signs that things might take a downward spiral. Those youngsters are in need of different preventive information and skills building than their counterparts. However, this same information could be cause of iatrogenic effects in the wider population. That is why it is of the utmost importance we are able to well-delineate our selective or indicated target groups.

**PROFILING**

Mass media campaigns have as a rule always targeted wide populations but the patched media landscape is now offering ways of reaching out to well defined groups with similar risk profiles. Instead of national campaigns, the internet would enable us to focus for example on online communities, constituted by youngsters who bear the same risk profile (even internationally). As an example, consider sensation seekers. Sensation seeking has been demonstrated as a powerful risk factor for drug (ab)use. However, next to drug use, there is some evidence that sensation seekers also have a higher participation in leisure activities that are especially action-adventure and conflict-combat centred, consider rock climbing, sky diving, hang gliding, but also enjoyment of relatively complex art and music (D'Silva, Harrington et al. 2001). “White male adolescents who reported engaging in five or more risky behaviours were most likely to name a heavy metal music group as their favourite. […] Sports and music magazines were most likely to be read by adolescents who had engaged in many risky behaviours (Klein, Brown et al. 1993: 24).“
MASS MEDIA FOR SELECTIVE PREVENTION: A PARADOX?

Because of the interactive nature of the internet, youngsters sharing the same interests can digitally consult with each other about their mutual topic of interest. For example, certain music styles are often connected to a certain youth lifestyle, including preferred type of substance and method of use. These music fans meet on the internet through p2p download software, digital network groups, discussion forums, and so forth, often establishing very loose fleeting communities but sometimes forming strict normative groups. These forums are now offering the channels of prevention, appropriately adapted to a very precise risk profile with a reduced chance of ‘collateral damage’. However, Riper (2008) states that “very limited research has been carried out into the effectiveness of the facilities for young people.”

For the first time in history, social scientists are facing the biggest qualitative data base, waiting for analysis: the internet. Commercial marketing and market research are paving the way for effectiveness studies and risk profile assessment, which could also be used in the social sector. Social network services, currently comprising a substantial part of the active www environment bear the possibilities to attend to quality criteria for prevention in recreational settings … online! In health communication, credibility, personalised talks and peer to peer counselling are thought to be factors for success (Burkhart 2003). Thus, developing tailored interventions implies not stopping at the profiling, but actively ‘culturally’ involving the target group to increase credibility and the peer to peer component in the preventive effort.

REACHING OUT

An often lamented faux pas is when we try to attract a youth community to a tailor made web spot. Stefan Kolgen (2011) explains from experience that we ought to find the target groups where they are at the time. A tremendous amount of social network services and media sharing tools already swamp the net, enabling to target groups in their own digital playground. Inventive profiling helps finding them, thus requiring no effort from them to come and visit our informative website, services and tools.
MEDIA AND NIGHTLIFE PREVENTION
Rigorous studies and top end research is mainly funded by authorities through academic institutions and private research companies. The underlying principle is that more and more public health policy should be evidence based. Yet, Jablonski has another viewpoint on the 2009 EMCDDA congress where he stated: “There is nothing a government dislikes more than to be well informed, because this makes policy making more complex and compromising (Jablonski 2009),” pointing to the obvious that more is needed to influence policy then a persuasive study report. Whereas above we were concerned with how messages should, can and will be polished through different dynamics in the public health-media connection, here we want to scrutinize how media contribute to bringing certain topics under the attention of the public and politics while others seem to wane without any fuss.

**DISTORTION**

Most notable in the era of mass communication is the media’s potential to draw policy and public attention to a certain subject. “According to some authors, using the mass media to influence social policies offers much larger potential benefits than attempting to change individual behaviour. Thus, they suggest that future mass media campaigns should explicitly focus on these broader goals. (Elder, Shults et al. 2004: 64).” The American movie Wag the Dog is a distressing satirical portrait on the media’s role in a presidential election campaign in the United States, where anything goes to divert attention from the blunders of the presidential candidate. The viewer gets caught by a worrying feeling about the media’s potential for agenda setting and distortion of subjects and imposing priorities upon the general public.

This distorted shift of public attention can have serious implications on policy and policy making. “If the media portrayal of drugs influences public opinion, then this in turn must have an effect on policy makers, ranging from national politicians to research funding bodies. The consequences may include agency funds being reallocated, the focus of drug education being redirected and the wrong drugs being targeted by law enforcement (Forsyth 2001: 449).” As an example, some scholars contend that the ecstasy related reporting of the early nineties in the UK disproportionally focused on the dangers of ecstasy use at the expense of more perilous drug use behaviour at the time, resulting in an inordinate attention focus and the incommensurate reallocation of resources in favour of ecstasy use prevention, harm reduction and repression inter-
AGENDA SETTING

It becomes clear that for professionals who want to attract attention to a certain health problem, it is essential to have a clear understanding of the process of media and agenda setting. However, this is not the end of the story. We also need to scrutinize the policy result of the media attention. Does policy respond the way that was hoped for?

Yanovitzky (2002) investigated the policy-media connection in the light of drunk driving in the eighties and nineties. He agrees that intensive periods of media attention are instrumental in attracting policy attention. At the same time however, policy makers get a sense of urgency and are consequently inclined to short-term solutions to suchlike heavily mediatised public problems. Only when media attention is waning do we see that policy gradually shifts from short-term ad hoc patching up to long term solutions.

Yanovitzky (2002) comments on two important ideas to reflect on before putting a public problem in the spotlights. First we should consider the public debate around the issue. It is expected that: “issues surrounded by social debate and criticism will be presented as such in the media and would be predictive of slower and gradual change (if any) in policy actions over time (Yanovitzky 2002: 445).” No one in society is in favour of drunk driving, as such making policy uncompromising, but when we talk about pill testing or alcohol serving practices, vigorous policy is difficult because opinions are divergent.

Yanovitzky (2002) also draws attention to the policy breeding ground. There is need for political and social support. Before attracting media to a public problem we need to think about policy options and policy makers’ interests. “If media frames of problems put policy makers in an uncomfortable position, they are likely to respond more slowly to the problem by sticking to organizational and institutional routines (e.g., convening a panel or a committee to study the issue) (Yanovitzky 2002: 445).”

Even though there is an increasing trend to have policy based on evidence, researchers ought to realise that the scientific frame is not the only frame put forward in the media debate on policy measures for public health issues. Even though the scientific evidence often suggests that to implement certain policy measures, policy alternatives are likewise promoted from frames which include the intuitive/ experiential (common-sense) and the practical and democratic (community support) perspective (Hinchcliff, Chapman et al. 2006). To illustrate, we return to the issue of casualties related to im-
paired driving. International research indicates that restrictions for young drivers such as a driving at night ban and limiting the number of passengers is effective for road injury prevention. Counter arguments are framed as: “these onerous restrictions prevent young people from engaging in important social and occupational activities. [...] Furthermore, the restrictions are opposed by the community because they discriminate against young drivers living in rural areas and those working at night. They also unfairly punish all young drivers for the behaviours of a small unsafe minority (Hinchcliff, Chapman et al. 2006: 1286).”

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Before a public health official tries to attract media attention, some pro’s and con’s need to be weighed. Firstly, is there a risk of disseminating risky behaviour among the larger population? Secondly, one needs to assess if the issue is a pressing issue. If so, we can try to attract a lot of media attention for ad hoc measures to be taken. However if an issue requires more structural solutions, searching mass media attention is not the only way to go. Researchers and public health officials should then act proactively in thinking about the options a decision maker has at choice to remedy. Boldly, one needs to think how popular the policy maker will be when undertaking the suggested policy pathway. One needs to scrutinize if there is a critical mass supporting the policy and if not, the policy together with the policy maker are doomed to fail. Finally before giving publicity to the public health issue and the suggested policy, one needs to anticipate different framing of the issue than the scientific one. Often cultural values are an important factor for the establishment or rejection of a policy measure.

MEDIA REGULATION POLICY

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948) states: “Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.” All people have the basic right to express themselves and yet it is raised from several angles that freedom of speech should be limited. The protection of public order and the security of the state should prevail. Also in the public sphere one needs to maintain respect for public mores in matters of taste and decency. Next, the protection from insult and prejudice is often put
forward in favour of regulation. Finally and especially relevant in this report is the conditionality for freedom of speech only if harm to society is prevented, especially by way of harm to children and young people from undesirable content. In the codex these remarks are taken up “The law effectively inhibits speech in the interests of preserving reputations, official secrets, confidences and safeguarding intellectual property. It penalises obscenity and the giving of religious and moral offence (Gibbons 1991: 18).” Thus general law (in western society) is regulating media when it comes to defamation, obscenity, contempt of court, confidentiality or official secrecy. The law seems not satisfactory however when it comes to insidious public health hazards.

**SELF-REGULATING MARKET**

Next to what is (could/should be) adopted by law however, other dynamics are in place that restrict the freedom of the media. From a liberal stance, the dynamics between audience, advertisers and media providers regulate media content. We discussed that for editors, the possible loss of advertisers is one of the main driving forces not to cross the line. As such the media are rewarded for good conduct, but commercially punished for their slips. Yet Gibbons comments: “the market only facilitates specific transactions, between individuals and groups in order to satisfy their more immediate mutual wants. It fails to enable broader issues of principle or policy to be addressed, issues concerned with the relationship between media and the cultural moral or political practices of society as a whole (1991: 41).” Advertising e.g. is always at daggers dawn of market competition and cannot be left to regulation through market forces. “We have borne in mind one of the key principles of better regulation, namely that Government should intervene only where market forces either fail to deliver solutions or cause significant damage. Given the potential impact of the alcoholic drinks industry on economic, social and environmental well-being it is clearly appropriate for Government to review the extent to which it needs to intervene (KPMG-LLP 2008: 59).”

**PUBLIC OPINION AS REGULATOR**

Next to market regulation, public opinion proves a strong informal regulator. There is a constant friction in society between pressure groups with different ideals. The international commotion regarding the classic pornographic movie ‘Deep Throat’ was lightly repeated in the Netherlands when a national youth channel BNN was determined to air the movie on a state channel on Sunday night. The pro-airing side pointed to the educational framing of the message they were providing: with a proper framing, youth should be able to form their own opinion about sensitive social issues (BNN 2008). After all, the film would follow a documentary about the movie and its fuss in the US and even a special episode of Spuiten en Slikken (informative show for youth on drugs.
and sex) was devoted to the same subject. Also, the ubiquity of the internet gives youth full access to all types of sexual content and it seems broadcasting, well aware of this, pushes the edge to follow the lead, but as the example before demonstrates, they seem to be struggling with regulations that do not apply for the internet.

DOUBLE STANDARDS

As the last is evolving and expanding, we will need to reconsider the rationale behind these double standards of regulation. We black out Lilly Allen’s ‘fuck you’ in her clips and an occasional breast during the MTV awards is blurred, but artists may depict women as sex slaves in their video clips (Maris 2010) at the same time that the internet has grown almost overnight to an unprecedented free-access pornographic databank with an overrepresentation of sexual habits and traits that deviate from the norm.

“[for broadcasting] this will require giving up the limited focus on genitals and genital penetration in the definition of erotica and pornography. Sexuality will have to be conceptualized in a meaningful behavioural context that includes both motivational and experiential conditions, as well as emotional and behavioural consequences (Zillmann 2000: 43).”

I’M A SLAVE 4 U

When we find in Flanders is that 1 out of 5 girls between 15 and 24 years have had sex without feeling like having sex (Voet 2010), could it be related to the image of the girl that is continuously seductive, willing and able and the fear of being portrayed as a frigid freak? The sole focus for regulation on genitals is no longer of this time. The underlying motivation related to sexual behaviour deserves much more of our attention. Instead of solely focusing on erotic content, we should take into account the context in which the sexual behaviour occurs. For its part, mainstream media should perform the task of a responsible instigator of debate with a proper framing and objective side information, as was the case with the airing of Deep Throat on the Dutch state television. Focusing on framing of media content is inextricably bound up with adequate media education for youth. Media’s potential for hyping up of deviancy is here to stay and regulation seems to take a move “towards deregulated, free market principles and the primacy of economic concerns over public interest (O’Neill 2008: 11).”

PRAGMATISM VS. REGULATION

The internet has blindsided society in hauling the means of private communication, transferring documents, banking and shopping, information consultation, news distribution, advertising, entertainment, etc. We could say the medium takes on the same functions as press, broadcasting, library systems and telephone together and yet no extra regulations apply (McQuail 2005). Several explanations for this situation are
brought up. First, there is a lack of central organization as it is not owned by anyone, but is the product of many sharing the same basic technology and infrastructure. How could this fragmented entity be accountable or encouraged for self-regulation? Secondly, as an international medium, its operation does not fall under any single jurisdiction or sovereignty (except in respect of its users and the various service providers). Thirdly, the very novelty of the internet accounts for some part of the lack of regulation. Last but not least, the enormous bulk of information going around and the inexhaustible activity make it almost intangible for regulation. E.g. Every minute 35 hours of content is uploaded on YouTube [YouTube 2011]. This means one would need more than five years to review the content that is uploaded on YouTube in one day. This crushes the fundamental juxtaposition of the open flow idea against regulation, to almost something that goes without saying. Pandora’s Box is open?

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

All too often the dangers on the internet and its services have been the scope of research and scrutiny, with a much smaller proportion of writings devoted to the contribution of the internet as a medium. This could be due to a lack of understanding between young people’s use of technology and the knowledge and concerns that parents, professionals and community members share about this use (Collin, Rahilly et al. 2011: 3). Still the internet, particularly the social network services, can vouch for significant benefits in education, self-esteem, identity formation, positive relationship building, etc. found to be protecting factors for adolescent risk behaviour. At least, that is if youth are capable of making positive use of these services.

IN CONCLUSION

Thus, besides focusing on the educational role of broadcast and print media, media literacy is an indispensible life skill youth need to master during the socialization process. “The American Academy of Pediatrics recognizes that exposure to mass media (i.e. television, movies, video an computer games, the Internet, music lyrics and videos, newspapers, magazines, books, advertising, etc) presents both health risks and benefits for children and adolescents (Hogan, Bar-on et al. 1999: 341).” Media education can diminish the negative effects media can have and works twofold. First, one is able to decipher a media message rather than accept it at face value and secondly media literacy enables the media user to make profound choices about their own media usage. This will be subject of the next section before we go into a short discussion.

“Media policy decisions may be increasingly driven by economics because the new, multiple stakeholders of converged regulatory regimes –policy makers, civil society interest groups, and industry representative, who may already be ideologically opposed to each other, – will find it very difficult to agree on values which are nebulous and open to endless interpretation (Freedman 2006 in O’Neill, 2008: 11).”
When consumers subscribe to digital television or an internet connection they are not merely consuming a pre-ordained media diet. The on-demand services essentially make it a service contract for products and services. As such "responsibility and the ethical dimensions of choice are shifted to the individual citizen and consumer, supported through media literacy [O’Neill 2008: 13]." "Media literacy education has emerged in the last 20 years as a promising alternative to the censorship of regulating ‘unhealthy’ programming or limiting media use [Bergsma and Carney 2008: 523]." Dealing with media influence almost all sources seem to agree on the need of media literacy or media education. The only differences of opinion are to be found on form and content of media education.

**FORM**

"Media Literacy has been defined as the ability to access, analyse, evaluate, and create media in a variety of forms (Bergsma and Carney 2008: 523)." The National Association for Media Literacy Education (NAMLE) provides some core principles of media literacy education we can relate to:

- Media Literacy Education requires active inquiry and critical thinking about the messages we receive and create.
- Media Literacy Education expands the concept of literacy (i.e., reading and writing) to include all forms of media.
- Media Literacy Education builds and reinforces skills for learners of all ages. Like print literacy, those skills necessitate integrated, interactive, and repeated practice.
- Media Literacy Education develops informed, reflective and engaged participants essential for a democratic society.
- Media Literacy Education recognizes that media are a part of culture and function as agents of socialization.
- Media Literacy Education affirms that people use their individual skills, beliefs and experiences to construct their own meanings from media messages.

(NAMLE 2010)

And yet, research on the practical application of these core principles is still in its infancy and there is little evidence media literacy education is a widespread practice (Dennis 2004; Bergsma and Carney 2008). Last mentioned conducted the only
systematic review on the effectiveness of health-promoting media literacy education and come forward with inconsistent results. Even though the majority of the interventions under scrutiny occurred in the classroom, this was no condition for effectiveness due to insufficient numbers of interventions that met the inclusion quality criteria. Even though longer interventions were more likely to be rated effective, also some short interventions were found possibly effective. Also on who should facilitate the intervention, results were inconclusive.

CONTENT

However, there are best practices formulated concerning content, concepts and skills taught. NAMLE also provides the most widely used concepts and skills, also the basis of Bergsma and Carney’s (2008) research:

• All media messages are ‘constructed’. Intervention taught about how the media differs from reality, evaluating what is shown compared with real life experiences, or the producer/production of media messages.
• Media messages are created using a creative language with its own rules. Intervention taught about recognizing advertising/production techniques or creating/producing media messages.
• Different people experience the same message differently. Intervention explored how media affect people, what people can do to avoid negative effects of media or that people can take action to change the media.
• Media have embedded values and points of view. Intervention taught how to identify stereotypes, myths, biases, values, lifestyles and/or points of view represented in or omitted from media messages.
• Most media messages are constructed to gain profit and/or power. Intervention taught about the purpose of advertising or marketing strategies, scepticism toward advertising or creating counter-advertising.

(Bergsma and Carney 2008)

They do find that “effective interventions seemed somewhat more likely than ineffective interventions to have taught all the core concepts (Bergsma and Carney 2008: 537).”

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Following NAMLE, it seems that media literacy is one way traffic with the educator dispensing knowledge and skills into the pupil. Even more it is assumed to take place in a school setting, as such the teacher being an adult and the pupils being children and
young people. Without denigrating the need for interdisciplinary media literacy training in the school curricula, it is surely not necessary only for young people. We find that they often know more applications and tools on the internet than the older generation. This creates a digital interconnectedness that could grow to become a divider in society between generations. Surely with the absence of cross generational involvement in online communities and social network services, an essential part of social control is missing, allowing excrescences, usually commented upon by society to thrive online.
DISCUSSION
Discussing the matter of media influencing nightlife and the options we offer to alter it for the benefit of safety and public health, an incessant voice in the back of our minds was continuously asking if we weren’t too patronizing towards the partygoers’ lifestyles and life choices. After all, the media practice model assumes youth choose media and interact with it, based on who they are and who they want to be. Growing up into adulthood, youth are consuming media like tapeworms. Even though we are inclined to underestimate youths’ ability for critical assessment, it would be just wrong to assume youth are merely consuming rubbish media. Incredibly good music, critical documentaries and reports, cartoons without scruples, compelling books, up front radio shows and thrilling TV entertainment is being made and is diffused more democratically than ever before through the internet. Indulging the socialization process of youth would thus mean leaving them in peace, having faith they will figure it out and find their own solutions relying on their resilience and life skills. This discussion point closely connects to the opposed viewpoints of media regulation against the open flow idea, where everything is in the open and society dialectically converges on its stance. Should health care professionals engage in radical lobbying for more regulation to be rather safe than sorry, with the inherent danger of overregulation? With the communication possibilities there are today, rigid regulation would certainly lead to strong underground, and thus hard to monitor, mutations of that what we are trying to regulate. Moreover, an advancing society is in need of a certain degree of deviancy as it often is the motor of progress. The display of deviant behaviour and the unpredictable societal reaction is what makes a society move, taking it forward in development. However, indulging a certain degree of deviant behaviour, in this case media that moves on the fringes of decency and responsibility does imply two things: in the first place we should be dedicated to arming our youngest in a highly mediatised society and secondly, we should fight of the excrescences of media pollution on a case to case basis. Especially those entrepreneurs that deploy the media possibilities for corporate gain against public health should experience the most legal impediments. We had the example of police spotter, providing info on police controls; based on different sources and we need to ask ourselves as a society if we want to tolerate corporations that devalue the general public interest in favour of corporate profit generation. If politicians all over Europe claim much effort driving back traffic accidents, then why do we tolerate interventions that are at odds with it?

In the literature we find a lot of attention to alcohol and drug issues, and only lately there is a growing interest in related social evils as exuberant gambling, continual gaming, compulsive shopping and e-addiction. We need to ask if it wouldn’t be better to aim at tackling the roots of similar risk behaviour. This would imply arming our youngest against all sorts of perilous enticements with skills training that positively influences their decision making ability. Life skills training have proven to be effective
in tackling smoking and substance use (Faggiano, Galanti et al. 2008). Life skills are social, emotional or personal skills, connected to social relations and behaviour. This includes critical thinking, decision-making, creative thinking, effective communication, relationship skills, self-awareness, empathy, coping with emotions and normative belief. With skyrocketing adolescent media use, media literacy becomes an indispensable part of the life skills concept. However, a public that is significantly growing more media literate also implies our prevention campaigns increasingly come under more scrutiny. Argumentation, expertise, involvement and credibility become important properties of the mass media campaign, exclaiming the absolute end of the “reefer madness” era and its excessive use of scaring tactics and patronizing starting point.
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