

SEXISM FREE NIGHT RESEARCH REPORT

(Sexualised Violence in
European Nightlife Environments)





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Consortium partners:

Faculdade de Educação e Psicologia da Universidade Católica Portuguesa (Portugal)
Fundación Salud y Comunidad (Spain)
ClubCommission Berlin (Germany)
European Nightlife, Empowerment and Well-Being Network (NewNET)
Kanepes Laikmetigas Kulturas Centrs (Letonia)
NGO Re Generation (Serbia)

More information is available on the website <https://sexismfreenight.eu/>. Sexism Free Night ©, 2022.

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1.

INTRODUCTION

The following section presents the context in which the Sexism Free Night survey was developed, the process of design and validation of the survey, its structure and contents, as well as the distribution strategies employed for its launch at European level.

1.1.

Context of the survey

1.2.

Survey design process:

1.2.1.

Starting point: Noctámbul@s Observatory Survey, Spain

1.2.2.

Research methodology

1.2.3.

Literature review – Latest developments: nightlife, drug use and sexual violence

1.2.4.

Validations – profile of validators and main inputs

1.3.

Structure and content of the survey

1.4.

Distribution of the survey

1.1. CONTEXT OF THE SURVEY

This survey is part of the project **Sexism Free Night – Raising awareness and capacity building towards safer and more egalitarian nightlife environments** (Grant Agreement N° 856934). This initiative campaigns for gender awareness and sensibility in nightlife environments, and for safer, more diverse and more egalitarian nightlife spaces. It is a European project funded by the **Rights Equality and Citizenship (REC) Programme** and is driven by a consortium of nightlife promoters, non-governmental organisations and a university working in the field of gender and drug use, with the aim of creating interdisciplinary dialogue. The project consortium is made up of the following organisations:

- Faculdade de Educação e Psicologia Universidade Católica Portuguesa - Porto (Portugal), project leader
- Fundación Salud y Comunidad (Spain)
- ClubCommission Berlin (Germany)
- European Nightlife, Empowerment and Well-Being Network (NewNET)
- Kanepes Laikmetigas Kulturas Centrs (Letonia)
- NGO Re Generation (Serbia)

Sexual violence in nightlife environments is still an under-researched topic. However, some studies (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018; Fileborn, 2016 and 2018), have highlighted the existence of a gender-specific risk of violence disproportionately affecting women as well as people of transgender and non-binary gender identities, and being mostly perpetrated by men. In recent years, a growing number of community and grassroots initiatives have emerged:

- Specific training for nightlife professionals.
- The implementation of a code word for people who feel unsafe or are being harassed when out at night (“ask for Angela”, “Luisa”).
- The creation of awareness-raising groups focused on intervention from ‘passive bystanders’.
- Municipal protocols developed in some countries.

However, there is undoubtedly still a lack of knowledge in understanding the reality of sexual violence and sexism in nightlife environments.

The project, in its initial phase, carried out research focusing on the intersections between sexism and sexual violence, nightlife environments and drug use. An online survey¹ was developed and translated into eight languages: English, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Serbian, German, Latvian and Slovenian. It was launched on 25.11.2020 and remained online until 31.12.2020. The Sexism Free Night survey was designed to collect information on the prevalence of sexism and sexual violence among over-18s in Europe, and to analyse its intersections with specific key factors such as patterns of drug use, participation in nightlife and party environments, nightlife ‘mobility’ (travel to and from nightlife spaces, and their locations), and beliefs about sexual violence.

It is important to note that the scope of the survey was affected by the context of the global pandemic caused by COVID-19. In this sense, it was decided not to limit the temporality of some questions to the last 12 months given that, due to the situation of confinement during the year 2020, normal nightlife activity was very significantly limited.

The results of this survey will be used in the design of training sessions and a European campaign to raise awareness among partygoers, artists, nightlife and festival professionals.

1.2. SURVEY DESIGN PROCESS

The process of designing the survey is detailed below. It includes analysis of a previous survey, a literature review and the validation of the results by different experts.

1.2.1. STARTING POINT: SURVEY OF THE OBSERVATORIO NOCTÁMBUL@S, SPAIN

Following the publication of the annual reports by the Noctámbul@s Observatory of the Health and Community Foundation (FSC), a partner organisation of this project, and the interest raised among the members of the European network NEWNET from 2016 to date, the results of the annual report by the Noctámbul@s Observatory were first presented at the Nights conferences on nightlife issues.

In 2017, the Faculdade de Educação e Psicologia - Universidade Católica Portuguesa - Porto (Portugal) offered the Noctámbul@s Observatory of the Health and Community Foundation (FSC) the opportunity to collaborate on a study. This research replicated

¹ The online survey translated into 8 languages is available here: <https://sexismfreenight.eu/websurvey/>

in Portugal that which was being carried out annually in Spain, for which the questionnaire used in Spain was provided.

From there, an alliance was forged between Kosmicare and the Catholic University of Porto, and the Noctámbul@s Observatory of the Health and Community Foundation (FSC). The idea of a European project began to take shape, using the European network NEWNET as an umbrella, together with other entities in the field of prevention, awareness-raising and intervention in party spaces, resulting in the formation of the European Sexism Free Night project partnership.

Lastly, in 2019, the grant from the European Commission's REC (Rights, Citizenship & Equality) programme was approved, giving rise to the Sexism Free Night project, which began in early 2020 and has been carrying out its action plan during 2 years, including the present research into sexual violence and nightlife environments led by the Fundación Salud y Comunidad (FSC).

1.2.2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

LITERATURE REVIEW

As part of this study, we also performed a literature review in order to assess the contributions and the latest discussions regarding the intersection of sexual violence, drug use and nightlife. In January, a systematic review focusing on "sexual violence and nightlife" was published in the journal *Aggression and Violent Behavior* (Quigg, Bigland, Hughes, Duch & Juan, 2020). The consortium decided to use this paper as a reference point for describing the latest developments in the area, and the gaps in understanding to be addressed. During the project's kick-off meeting, the consortium decided to limit the scope of the review and include only references from 2015-2020. The consortium also highlighted the need to avoid a binary approach merely focused on the experiences of cis men and cis women. In this sense, the literature review was expanded to include the experiences of sexual violence in nightlife environments among diverse gender and sexual groups. Partners from FSC identified 89 papers, prepared a checklist with references and a template to register the main discussions and conclusions of the papers to be analysed. The Faculdade de Educação e Psicologia - Universidade Católica Portuguesa - Porto downloaded the papers, which were divided among a number of partner organisations (UCP, FSC, KKC, Re Generation, and Slovenian Master Student). The literature review that is presented in this report is an analysis of these papers.

WEBSURVEY

The use of web-based questionnaires (websurveys) has generated increasing interest among the scientific community in recent years. Compared with more traditional in-person approaches, these tools have made data collection substantially cheaper and quicker (Faleiros et al., 2016; Matias, Kalamara, Mathis, Skarupova, Noor, Singleton et al., 2019). In addition, they offer advantages in reaching hidden or hard-to-reach populations, and allow data collection on stigmatized behaviours, such as recreational drug use (Barratt, Ferris, Zahnow, Palamar, Maier & Winstock, 2017; Matias et al. 2019), and sensitive issues concerning sexual attitudes (Burkill, Copas, Couper, Clifton, Prah, Datta, Conrad, Wellings, Johnson & Erens, 2016) and orientation (Liu & Wang, 2016). According to Liu (2017), when compared to face-to-face surveys, websurveys return less socially-desired responses, and the non-response rate is smaller.

However, websurveys also have some limitations that should be taken into account. Firstly, it is not possible to extrapolate the data, as it is based on non-probability sampling. The study specifically represents the realities of the respondents that have access to the internet, interacted with the websurvey, and decided individually to participate (Faleiro set al., 2016; Barratt et al., 2017). Despite these limitations, websurveys allow us to analyse relations between variables in order to understand certain behaviours patterns or experiences that would otherwise be hidden. In the case of our study, we decided that this would be the best tool to:

- a. Analyse the intersections between 4 sensitive dimensions: gender identity, sexual violence, drug use and nightlife environments
- b. Reach a significant number of respondents who actively go out at night (it would be hard to carry out this survey in-person in nightlife environments)
- c. Guarantee the distribution of the survey at a European level.

1.2.3. LITERATURE REVIEW - LATEST DEVELOPMENTS: NIGHTLIFE, DRUG USE AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

NIGHTLIFE IS NOT A GENDER-NEUTRAL SPACE-TIME

Recent global movements such as #MeToo have contributed to highlighting and speaking out against the prevalence of sexual harassment and sexual violence affecting women working in the film and media industry. However, such incidents of gender-based violence are not sporadic, nor exceptional or niche (Sundaran & Jackson, 2018). Rather, sexual harassment² and sexual violence³ are systematic and structural, being part of the everyday experiences of women from an early age. Nevertheless, they continue to be rendered invisible, ignored, trivialized and normalized, limiting, controlling and constraining women in their access to and participation in the public sphere (Sundaran & Jackson, 2018, Sottomayor 2015).

Nightlife environments⁴ – bars, clubs, discotheques, and events in private settings – are highly valued for providing a setting for permissive leisure, alternative social performances, transgressive experiences, and celebration. For these reasons, these are privileged spaces for pleasure-seeking, hedonistic socialization and breaking with the formal responsibilities of the work week, particularly among young adults (Hollands, 1995; Valente, Pires & Carvalho, 2018).

For centuries, nocturnal social environments (e.g. taverns) were male-dominated settings, reinforcing male participation in the public sphere, homosociality, leisure and pleasure-seeking dynamics (Almeida, 1995; Thomasset, 2018; Hunt, Antin, Sanders & Sisneros, 2018). The feminization of these environments in the last 3 decades has emerged from neoliberal approaches that established nightlife as another area of leisure and cultural consumption in global cities and as part of postmodern lifestyles (Hollands, 1995; Rodrigues, 2016). However, while the participation of women in nightlife is an important indicator of their emancipation from the private sphere, autonomy and their

growing access to public and social places, it does not mean that nightlife is inclusive. Rather, nightlife environments are non-neutral and reproduce the structural inequalities we find in society as a whole, including gender asymmetries and gender-based violence, sexual harassment and sexual violence (Mellgren, Andersson & Ivert, 2017; Pires, Pereira, Valente & Moura, 2018; Fung, Santos, Sanchez & Surkan, 2018; Vaadal, 2019; Fileborn, 2019). At this juncture, it is important to highlight that nightlife environments are markedly heterogeneous. Among a subcultural array of soundscapes, aesthetics, and attitudes, we can find space-times that adhere to and exacerbate traditional gender norms and others that disrupt and challenge gender oppression, offering a safer space for gender and sexual expression and experimentation. Typically, underground environments tend to offer more inclusive leisure landscapes, where gender expression, bodily performances and gender relationships are more fluid. On the other hand, by using discriminatory and objectifying practices, mainstream environments reinforce sexist imagery which contributes to the crystalization of traditional gender relations, the hypersexualization of female bodies, and the reproduction, exacerbation and legitimization of sexual violence (Bóia, Ferro & Lopes, 2015; Kovac & Trussell, 2015; Graham, Bernards, Abbey, Dumas, & Wells, 2016; Rodrigues, 2016; Pires et al., 2018; Vaadal, 2019; Anitha et al., 2020). Sexist practices and sexual behaviours that would be highly recriminated and unacceptable in other, diurnal environments are normalized at night (Noctambul@s, 2017; Pires et al., 2018; Aimee-Rose et al., 2018). In nightlife, party and festival environments, conformativity to traditional gender norms are in the basis of rape myths adherence; this increases the sexual vulnerabilization of women and victim blaming conformativity to traditional gender norms are in the basis of rape myths adherence that increase the sexual vulnerabilization of women and victim blaming (Romero-Sánchez & Megías, 2015; Wegner et al., 2015; Hayes et al., 2016; Hayley et al., 2017; Iwamoto et al., 2018). In addition, numerous women consider sexual harassment as a normal experience they have to deal with when going out at night (Observatorio Noctambul@s, 2017; Pires et al., 2018). Nevertheless, this doesn't mean they tolerate or accept these sexualized microaggressions, rather, they may feel negative emotions associated with them (Tinkler, Becker & Clayton, 2016; Graham et al., 2016; Mellgren, Andersson & Ivert, 2017; Wrightson-Hester, Alan & Alan, 2018; Gunby, Carline, Taylor & Gosling, 2020), and efforts to deal with sexual harassment can make them feel anxious and constrain their options in nightlife environments (Graham et al., 2016; Hill, Hesmondhalgh & Megson, 2019).

²In this report, we use the definition of sexual harassment proposed by the Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (colloquially referred to as Istanbul Convention) in Article 40: "any form of unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment" (Council of Europe, 2011: 11).

³We use as a reference the definition of "sexual violence, including rape" presented in the Istanbul Convention, Article 36: "a) engaging in non-consensual vaginal, anal or oral penetration of a sexual nature of the body of another person with any bodily part or object; b) engaging in other non-consensual acts of a sexual nature with a person; c) causing another person to engage in non-consensual acts of a sexual nature with a third person" (Council of Europe, 2011:10).

⁴In this report we will use "party spaces" and "going out at night" to refer to these environments, as it was the terminology we used in our websurvey.

INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN THE USE OF ALCOHOL AND OTHER DRUGS AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

In nightlife environments, drug use is more prevalent than among the general population as a whole (Moore & Measham, 2013; European Monitoring Center for Drugs and Drug Addiction [EMCDDA], 2010). In these settings, the gender gap in the use of illicit drugs is narrowing (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018), and the prevalence of drinking and heavy episodic drinking⁵ among women is increasing to a level similar to that of men (Balasch, Faucha, Antelo, Pires & Carvalho, 2018; Carvalho, Pires & Pinto, 2020). At present, drunkenness, drinking culture and losing control are considered normal, standard social experiences in nightlife and festival environments, particularly among young adults (Measham & Brain, 2005; Fry, 2011; Szmigin, Bengry-Howell, Hackley, & Mistral, 2011). As regards heavy episodic drinking, also referred to as binge drinking, there are relevant gender differences in drinking patterns and negative consequences. Men present heavier drinking patterns (drinking more in less time) and, as such, they more frequently report consequences such as acute alcohol intoxication, hospitalization, interpersonal conflicts, and vandalism when compared to women. Women, on the other hand, report more sexual harassment and sexual violence than men (Balasch et al., 2018; Noctambul@s, 2018; Carvalho et al., 2020; Quigg, Bigland, Hughes, Duch & Montse, 2020; Palamar & Griffin, 2020), in addition to feelings of guilt, regret and social humiliation following heavy drinking episodes (Winstock et al., 2021). Furthermore, women employ more protective behaviours to limit their drinking, self-control, protect themselves from sexual violence, and adhere to their gendered social role (Graham et al., 2016; Pires et al., 2018; Balasch et al., 2018; Gunby et al., 2020; Kovac & Trussell, 2015; Sell, Turrisi, Scaglione, Cleveland, & Mallett, 2018). In this sense, gender differences in alcohol and drug use are not related to sex (in the sense of physiological characteristics), but to gendered socialization processes. Drug use is traditionally seen as a masculine behaviour, and men are socialised towards excess, engagement with risk behaviours, and domination and competition, while women are socialised towards self-control, self-protection, passivity and subalternity (Becker & Tinkler, 2015; Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2019; Romo-Avilés, 2018). For this reason, in their participation in nightlife environments, women are obliged to reconcile antithetical dilemmas and tensions: the pressure to engage in drinking culture and hedonism, and the

pressure to maintain self-control and self-surveillance (Kovac & Trussell, 2015; Bailey, Griffin & Shankar, 2015; Likis-Werle & Borders, 2017; Pires et al., 2018; Balasch et al., 2018; Vaal, 2019). In this sense, women face contradictory pressures when going out, in terms of their participation, consumption patterns, body performances, physical appearance, flirting and sexualized interactions with men (Bailey et al., 2015; Kovac & Trussell, 2015; Sell et al., 2018; Balasch et al., 2018). Additionally, men's sexualized aggressiveness tends to be seen socially as normal and as a result of biological attributes that are used to explain males sexual impulsivity and lack of self-control (Romero-Sanchez & Megias, 2015; Noctambul@s, 2017; Pires et al., 2018; Sell et al., 2018).

It is worth adding that research and intervention in the drugs field are androcentric and heteronormative. Biomedical and epidemiological approaches prevail, and tend to understate the central role of gender norms, gender socialization and gender identity in drug use (Fitzgerald, Angus, Emslie, Shipton, & Bauld, 2016; Áviles, 2020). In this sense, it is crucial to embrace a gender perspective capable of analysing drug use in a broader social and cultural context, where these behaviours aggravate prejudices, invisibilization and vulnerabilization processes affecting women and gender and sexual diverse groups (Romo-Avilés, 2018). Large-scale epidemiological studies that have examined differences in drug uses and risk behaviours among transgender and non-binary people are scarce. However, evidence suggests that gender-diverse groups may use drugs at higher rates and tend to develop more problematic drug use patterns than the general population (Valentine & Maund, 2017). Negative emotions, external and internalized gender oppression, and social and relational anxiety tied to gender identity may influence the use of alcohol and other drugs (idem). In this framework, it is also important to consider the role of “intoxication in making gender”, or “the relationship between chemical practices and gender transformations” (Pienaar, Murphy, Race & Lea, 2020, p.154). This intentional and calculated experience of intoxication is present in all-gender nightlife scenes, but plays a strategic role among queer communities in their search for liberation (Pienaar et al., 2020). Additionally, data related to non-heterosexual women or other non-heterosexual groups is very limited (Beddoes, Sheikh, Khanna & Francis 2010, Abdulrahim, Whiteley, Moncrieff & Bowden-Jones, 2016). Studies that analyse drug use prevalence and sexual orientation demonstrated that lesbian and bisexual women are more likely to use drugs than heterosexual women, and the gender gap in drinking and drug use is smaller among heterosexual men and non-heterosexual women (Beddoes et al., 2010). At this level, it is also important to add that non-binary and non-heterosexual groups are more at

⁵ Measure of 5+ standard alcoholic drinks for men and 4+ standard alcoholic drinks for women.

risk of gender-based violence, including sexual violence (Carson, 2017).

Lastly, it is worth adding that rape myths and victim blaming in nightlife contexts exacerbate a “culture of silence” that contributes to the invisibilization and perpetuation of sexual violence in such settings (Sundaram & Jackson, 2018). This may also be related to “sexual violent effervescence” (Tutenges, Sandberg & Pedersen, 2019), defined as the state of confusion and guilt experienced by victims, who may doubt whether they were victims of crime or if they, somehow, provoked the situation. Some victims report that they do not report the situation because of these kinds of doubts, particularly when someone took advantage of them sexually when they were drunk or under the influence of drugs (Winstock et al., 2019).

NIGHTLIFE AS INTERVENTIONAL SETTINGS TO DENORMALIZE SEXISM AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

In the last decade, several interventions were put in place in nightlife environments in order to denormalize rape culture and promote gender equality and safety (Pires et al. 2018; Spora Sinergies, 2019). A range of approaches have been taken in this regard, namely:

- The implementation of campaigns with specific materials in nightlife venues, to raise awareness about sexual violence (Gunby, Carline & Taylor, 2017);
- Training based on bystander methodologies, targeting nightlife professionals (Lippy & DeGue, 2016; Power & Leili, 2018; Quigg, Bellis, Hughes, Kulhanek, Brito, Ross-Houle, Bigland, Calafat, Duch e the STOP-SV Group, 2021; Pires, Carvalho & Carvalho, in press).
- Bystander training to empower participants to become prosocial bystanders who recognize and intervene to prevent problematic behaviours (Fenton & Mott, 2019).
- Outreach responses to raise awareness and increase the safety of large-scale events (e.g. Punts Liles⁶).

⁶ According to the Associació de Drets Sexuals i Reproductius (2019), a “lilac point” is a space that is located in areas where festive events are taking place which provides information on the prevention of acts of sexual violence, and assistance to any victims. Normally it takes the form of a stand with large banners bearing slogans, such as “La Mercè Antimasclista” (Anti-Sexist Mercè Festival) in Barcelona (Spain), and boxes with campaign material, badges and leaflets. For further information: <https://lassociacio.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/EN-Publicaci%C3%B3-RESIGNIFICANT-ELS-PUNTS-LILA.pdf>

⁷ More information available at: <https://www.keychange.eu/>

- Community-based protocols built through participatory methodologies and collaborative networks between local municipalities, nightlife representatives, police and NGOs working in the drugs and gender fields, among others.
- A well-publicized “safer spaces policy”, which clarifies what types of behaviour are acceptable or unacceptable (Hill, Hesmondhalgh & Megson, 2019).
- Marketing which reduces the use of sexist stereotypes in alcohol advertisement (Lippy & DeGue, 2016; Fitzgerald, Angus, Emslie, Shipton & Bauld, 2018; Pires & Carvalho, 2019).
- Additionally, there are other initiatives which aim to promote gender mainstreaming in the music industry through advocating for gender balance in clubs and festivals’ line-ups (e.g. Keychange⁷ and Shesaid.so⁸).
- Lastly, it is important to highlight that perceptions of safety may be valuable criteria for clients of nightlife venues (Jonhson, Voas, Miller, Bourdeau & Byrnes, 2016; Hill et al., 2019). This can be a factor in their competitiveness, and thus a powerful argument for engaging with nightlife owners and entrepreneurs in the implementation of in-house policies that increase safety and prevent sexual harassment.

CONCLUSION

In considering the literature reviewed within the framework of this project, it is possible to draw several conclusions:

- Nightlife environments are not gender-neutral settings. They can offer a stage for gender liberation, but they can also reproduce traditional gender norms that aggravate gender vulnerabilization processes affecting women and gender and sexually diverse people.
- Gendered double-standards and rape myths related with drug use by women and gender and sexually diverse groups exist. Drinking and/or drug use are not the cause of sexism or sexual violence, but they can aggravate the structural sexual vulnerabilization of these groups.
- Research in the drugs field remains androcentric. Studies with a gender perspective are needed to reveal the role of gender norms and gender socialization in drug use patterns, motivations for drug use, gender-specific risks and the aggravation of gender vulnerabilizations, and their negative consequences.

⁸ More information available at: <https://www.shesaid.so/>

- Nightlife can be approached as a strategic interventional setting. By using several strategies, it is possible to deconstruct rape myths, denormalize rape, promote safer and more inclusive environments for leisure and celebration and contribute to gender mainstreaming.

1.2.4. VALIDATION - PROFILE OF VALIDATORS AND MAIN INPUTS

Considering the sensitive and complex nature of the websurvey, we defined a validation process composed of four main phases, specifically:

EXTERNAL VALIDATORS

After defining the main structure and contents of the questionnaire, we invited 4 experts to revise and comment on the websurvey. These experts were selected in light of their specific experiences in the areas of investigation of the project, namely:

João Matias – Epidemiologist and scientific analyst at the European Monitoring Centre for Drug and Drug Addiction. He is involved in the preparation, distribution and data analysis of the European Websurvey on Drugs.

Zara Quigg – Reader in Behavioural Epidemiology at the Public Health Institute (PHI). Zara also conducts original research on violence (youth violence, adverse childhood experiences [ACEs], sexual violence, intimate partner violence, suicide), nightlife health and alcohol across the UK and Europe.

Charlotte Hirz – Clinical psychologist with training and professional experience in trauma, sexualized violence against women and children, gender diversity and sex education. She has also been involved with groups promoting awareness and harm reduction in the field of drugs at festivals.

Sonia Ricondo – Lawyer and consultant in the field of gender-based violence, violence against women, and children's and women's rights.

SUBMISSION TO ETHICAL COMMITTEES

After receiving the feedback of the external validators, we updated the websurvey and sent all documentation to two Ethical Committees, namely: the Ethical Commission on Health of the Portuguese Catholic University (CES-UCP) and the Serbian Ethnological and Anthropological Society. We received feedback and

recommendations for changes, namely the provision of contact details for potential victims in need of help. We added several disclaimers throughout the websurvey and added the contact details of local rape crisis centres (in the countries involved in the consortium) in addition to European ones (the Rape Crisis Centre Network⁹, which supports users in finding local services). The contact details of the project were also made available in order to support potential referrals to other specialized services. The study was approved by both ethical committees (approval nº90 of CES-UCP).

VALIDATION OF THE VARIOUS WEBSURVEY TRANSLATIONS

After receiving feedback from the Ethical Committees, the team finalized the websurvey, and the local partners began translating the English version to their own languages. In order to guarantee that the local translations were accurate, each partner brought on board other professionals for the revision of the local language translation. The validation of the English, French and Slovenian translations were carried out by local partner organisations (specifically, professionals working in Crew200, Plus Belle la Nuit and Drogart).

VALIDATION OF THE WEBSURVEY BY 8 RESPONDENT COHORTS (N=40)

Finally, we tested and validated the last version of the websurvey by asking 5 fluent speakers from each language to respond to the websurvey and provide feedback in three overarching areas: clarity of the language; comprehensibility of the questions; ease-of-use of the platform (on mobile phone, tablet or computer).

After the validation process, the team began preparing the distribution strategy and the launch of the websurvey.

1.3. STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE SURVEY

The survey, as per that which was previously elaborated by the Observatorio Noctámbul@s of the Fundación Salud y Comunidad, Spain, was divided into the following six sections:

1. General information: socio-demographic profile of the persons surveyed.
2. Nightlife environments and drug use: frequency of venues visited and of

⁹ <https://www.rcne.com/>

drug use.

3. Mobility: means of transport to return from or move around in nightlife and festive environments, and perceptions of safety.

4. Perception of sexual violence: identification of different types of sexual violence in party spaces, and ideas and beliefs in relation to them.

5. Experiences related to sexual violence: sexual violence witnessed, experienced and committed in party spaces.

6. Support resources: social agents in nightlife spaces from whom help could be sought, and reasons for not asking for such help.

The structure of this report will reproduce these 6 sections of the survey in sections 4 to 9, following an analysis of the methodologies deployed (section 2 of this report), and a theoretical approach to sexual violence in party spaces (section 3).

In turn, sections 4 to 9 of this report are laid out according to the following structure:

- Analysis of general quantitative data by gender
- Analysis of general qualitative data by gender

1.4. DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURVEY

When drafting the Sexism Free Night project, we set a goal of 5000 responses to the websurvey from European nightlife event and venue attendees. To this end, we established a specific distribution strategy in order to increase the reach of the websurvey, and to support local distribution of it. While the original idea was to distribute the websurvey in English, the project consortium agreed that it would be more convenient to have it translated, at least, to the main languages of the countries involved in the consortium. In addition, we decided to add a translation to French and another to Slovenian, since a Slovenian student was interested in doing her master's dissertation on the local data of the websurvey. As a result, the websurvey was translated into eight languages: English, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Latvian, Serbian, French and Slovenian. Local translation was carried out by the national project partners; the French version was translated by a volunteer and revised by a French distribution partner (Plus Belle la Nuit), and the Slovenian version was translated by the master student in question, and revised by a Slovenian distribution partner (Drogart). In light of this decision, we defined a two-level distribution plan, encompassing European distribution

(English) and local distribution of the translated versions of the websurvey. Newnet was responsible for the European translation, and each of the partners led the local distribution of the websurvey in their respective countries (Germany, Spain, Portugal, Serbia and Latvia). The project consortium set a timeframe of 1 month and 6 days (from 25th November until 31st December 2020) for the distribution of the websurvey. The distribution strategy was defined as per the workpackage 5 (WP5 – Dissemination) by Newnet in close collaboration with UCP, and focused on:

- The distribution of the websurvey via the website. The designers collaborating on the project created a new section within the website, with a brief description of the study and its purpose, and links to all translated versions of the websurvey.
- The distribution of the websurvey via social media (Facebook, Instagram and Twitter). The designers prepared 3 images to support the online distribution of the websurvey. The English version of the websurvey was distributed via the project's social media accounts, and each partner used their own media to distribute the websurvey locally, translated into their language. In order to guarantee an effective and fluid distribution, the professionals involved in the WP5 created new contents and took advantage of specific days (e.g. the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, Christmas).
- The involvement of European and local distribution partners. Each partner identified potential partners in their countries who could increase the reach of the websurvey. In terms of profiles, we established that the distribution partners could work in areas intersecting with the project: gender (feminist and queer collectives, rape crisis centres, organizations providing support to victims of gender-based violence, LGBTQI+ organisations); drugs, nightlife, clubbing, and the music industry.
- Engagement with distribution partners in countries not involved in the project. Through Newnet, a range of partners
- Supported the distribution of the websurvey in their countries, specifically, in the Republic of Ireland (Drugs.ie), the United Kingdom (Good Night Out), France (Consentis and Plus Belle La Nuit), Italy (Neuttravel), and Luxembourg (Pipapo). In addition, other European organisations, such as EMCDDA, Pompidou Group of the Council of Europe, Keychange and Vibe Lab were involved, among others.
- The professionals involved in the WP5, created a distribution kit to support

the European and local distribution of the websurvey. This kit made several tools and resources available to support the effective distribution of the web-survey, namely:

- A document with guidance for the local distribution (objective, timetable, target group, main distribution partners to identify on a local level, distribution channels, contents for distribution).
- A template to identify potential European and local distribution partners (the name of the organization, contact details, country). This document was used to support partners in organizing the European and local mailing lists, and for process evaluation purposes.
- An email text and image to send out via the local and European mailing lists.
- A press release to send to potential media partners.
- Images for use in supporting distribution via social media.
- Tips for the distribution of the web survey via social media (Facebook, Instagram & Twitter). Contents were divided per weeks of distribution, and suggestions for text, hashtags, etc. were included.

Ultimately, we believe our distribution plan was effective, given that we almost doubled the goal for responses set out in the project application. Not surprisingly, most of the responses came from the countries of the partners involved in the consortium, who invested in an continuous and committed distribution.



2.

APPROACHING SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

In order to understand how sexual violence operates and manifests itself in nightlife environments, we must first establish the starting point: the existence of social gender inequalities based on a framework of heteropatriarchal power relations. Inequalities (based on stereotypical beliefs and practices) build heteropatriarchal power relations that are maintained through sexual violence. Drawing on the findings of the Noctámbul@s Observatory (2018) in Spain, which centred on the study of sexual violence in night-life and drug consumption contexts, we posit that there are some particularities when sexual violence occurs in these contexts¹⁰:

¹⁰ Observatorio Noctámbul@s findings highlighted in this section are based on previous research carried out in Spain.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE IS NATURALISED, NORMALISED AND WIDESPREAD

Previous research (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018) shows the extent to which sexual violence is widespread: 57% of the women interviewed have suffered sexual violence on a regular basis, compared to 4% of the men interviewed. We can also observe the naturalisation of sexual violence by men: overall, men observe fewer acts of sexual violence committed by men against women and, when they do observe them, it is in significantly lower frequencies than those reported by the women interviewed. There is therefore a lack of perception of what aggression is, which, in the context of "flirting", is normalised.

HYPERSENSITIVITY TO OR INVISIBILISATION OF VIOLENCE BY MEN

The fourth Observatorio Noctámbul@s report showed that 91% of the women interviewed had been the subject of comments from men which made them uncomfortable, while 37% of the men reported having received the same type of comments from women. It can be deduced that men mostly perpetrate this type of violence against women. However, men often recall and are able to describe the event that occurred.

The effect this has on the discourse against male violence is to equate it with the violence a man can be a victim of, thus contributing to the invisibility of the structural nature of violence against women. Male violence is sexist in motivation and is disproportionately directed towards women. As per the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (UN) in its 19th General Recommendation of 1992, male violence is defined as "directed against women because they are women or which affects women disproportionately".

PHANTOM PERPETRATORS

Male hypersensitivity is related to the concept of 'phantom perpetrators': while 23% of the men interviewed admit to having made unwelcome or upsetting comments to a woman, only 4% state that they have continued to do so after being told not. Contrasting these figures with the 74% of women interviewed who have been on the receiving end of the same type of comments, and the 28% of women who have suffered continued harassment even after expressing their disinterest, the phenomenon of the 'phantom perpetrator' emerges: a high incidence of harassment occurs, but men are not identified or recognised as perpetrators. In this sense, we highlight the need to work with men on denaturalisation and the process of self-recognition as possible perpetrators

by way of preventive strategies.

ILLUSION OF EQUALITY

As a result of the processes described above the notion of an improvement in the safeguarding of women's human rights has emerged in the collective imagination. Apparent equality is understood to have been achieved in all spheres of life, with leisure contexts being no exception. Therefore, there is a tendency in women's discourses towards the perception of their freedom, to have fun and to go out at night as comparable to that of men: free from danger. Nevertheless, this perceived 'pre-existing equality' does not stand up to scrutiny when the data is analysed.

NIGHTLIFE CONTEXTS WHICH EXARCEBATE VIOLENCE

In addition to the aforementioned presupposition, other processes of normalisation in which sexual violence occur in nightlife contexts. The myths that underlie expressions such as "anything goes", "these things happen" or "it's no big deal" make it easier for aggressions to go unpunished. This is compounded by two phenomena: firstly, the model of flirting based on the ideals of romantic love and male domination, which presupposes and justifies nocturnal 'hunting' behaviour, and secondly, the context of group festivities and the effects of the camaraderie of hegemonic masculinity (which some authors refer to as "fratria", the intra-gender pact to safeguard privilege). These two elements merge to create an environment complicit in sexual violence. Finally, there is a third element to consider: those nocturnal spaces in certain environments which further amplify the imagery of 'flirting' and 'hunting' through the sexualisation of women's bodies.

MARKETING THE SEXUALISATION OF WOMEN

The nightlife market has used a sexualised and stereotyped image of women as an advertising strategy. Along with the promotion of alcohol abuse under the premise of increased opportunities to engage in sexual relations, women are objectified and presented as a lure through images on posters or marketing strategies to fill venues (for example, through the technique of free tickets for female entrants), turning women into yet another marketable product. Despite the continuation of this form of discrimination, it is worth noting such practices may constitute a criminal offence. Of course, this form of symbolic violence will not be combated solely through punishment (although it is a resource that should not be ruled out), since in essence it has, up until now, been

normalised through a strongly gender-unequal social construction of sexuality.

SOCIALISATION OF TABOO, HETERONORMATIVE AND MALE CHAUVINIST¹¹ SEXUALITY

The process of socialisation of sexuality takes place in a taboo framework where lack of information and the dissemination of myths that associate femininity with passivity and masculinity with unrestrained sexual activity prevail. This idea is illustrated in the "Survey on the social perception of sexual violence" (Government of Spain): 19.9% of respondents consider that one of the reasons why men sexually assault women is due to the "inability to control sexual impulses" (EPSVS, 2018: 89). Hegemonic pornography disseminates heteronormative, phallogentric and coitocentric sexual practices, promoting the image of women's submission to male desires.

URBAN DESIGN

Referring again to European data, the FRA (European Union Agency For Fundamental Rights) survey found that 50% of the women interviewed "avoid certain situations or places, at least sometimes, for fear of being physically or sexually assaulted" (FRA, 2014:14). The effect of learned fear, in a context of 'rape culture', is to limit women's freedom to move around, so that they develop self-defence strategies that involve changing routes, timetables and means of transport for nocturnal travel. This supposes a limitation of women's sexual freedoms and freedom of movement, and is closely linked to androcentric urban design. The trajectory and qualitative work applied as part of the "exploratory walk" technique allows us to identify five criteria that generate safe nightlife spaces: signage, visibility, vitality, surveillance and equipment.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE IS EXERCISED IN DIFFERENT WAYS DEPENDING ON THE SPACES AND TIMES ASSOCIATED WITH NIGHTLIFE

Spaces must be considered both at the macro level (as discussed above) and at the micro level, since sexual violence occurs in different forms and intensities depending on where it takes place: the degree of visibility will be different depending on whether it occurs in open public spaces, private public spaces (pubs, night clubs), or private spaces (private parties or homes). In the latter, sexual violence will be more unambiguous, while in nightlife venues, anonymity and overcrowding obfuscate it. Even so, the

social perception is that most sexual violence takes place in nightlife venues: in the survey on the perception of sexual violence (Government of Spain), 71.9% of people interviewed place sexual violence in "parties and festivals", while 44.3% consider that it occurs mostly in "public spaces" (DGVG, 2018:85). This dimension occurs in tandem with that of the time of night, in the sense that, at later hours and supposing higher levels of alcohol and/or drug consumption, sexual violence is perceived as increasing in frequency and intensity.

THE MOST COMMON DRUG IN SITUATIONS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IS ALCOHOL

Contrary to the myth that sexual violence occurs in contexts of illegal drug use, the data show that alcohol is the most common substance involved. The fourth report of the Noctámbul@s Observatory recorded that 64% of men and 55% of women consume alcohol whenever they go on a night out. However, successive reports from the Observatory show that alcohol, followed by cocaine, is the most prevalent drug in situations of sexual violence. The physiological effects of the two drugs are different but, in both cases, consumption is conditioned by the gender of the person using them, and behavioural analysis of the effects of drugs use has a patriarchal bias.

CONSUMPTION SEES WOMEN BLAMED, WITH MEN LEGITIMISED AND FREED OF RESPONSIBILITY

The consumption of alcohol and other drugs is stigmatised, but, in terms of gender, such consumption by women and by men is perceived differently. In the case of women, it is socially frowned upon, whereas for men it operates as an element of intra-group status. Drug use is a practice that can be seen as transgressing social norms and, therefore, is acceptable within the model of hegemonic, risk-oriented masculinity. However, in the case of women, it represents a rupture with the expected model of hegemonic femininity. When these social dictats intersect with cases of sexual violence, women are judged and blamed according to patriarchal standards, which exonerate and vindicate men. We can say, then, that drug use functions as a mitigating factor for male perpetrators, but as an aggravating factor for assaulted women. In fact, prevention messages based solely on the idea that drug use makes women 'easy prey' are not far off in placing the responsibility on them and not on the perpetrators, nor on the context of overarching gender inequality.

¹¹ We are referring to any man with a sexist attitude.

WE CANNOT CLAIM THAT THERE IS A SPECIFIC SUBSTANCE TO CARRY OUT CHEMICAL SUBMISSION

We have already discussed the distinction between two typologies of chemical submission: premeditated, or proactive, in which the aggressor intoxicates the victim in a pre-planned way; and opportunistic, in which the aggressor takes advantage of the reduced capacity of the victim to react produced by their voluntary drug or alcohol consumption. Both typologies incorporate the component of absence or reduction of resistance on the part of the victim, while they are distinguished by the existence (or not) of premeditation on the part of the aggressor. However, when applying this categorisation to practical cases, the line between premeditation and opportunism becomes blurred. Likewise, we cannot claim that there is a specific substance to exercise chemical submission.

OVER-EMPHASIS ON INSTANCES OF PREMEDITATED CHEMICAL SUBMISSION

In the media, and in spite of the above considerations, premeditated chemical submission is that which is most widely reported. This is not surprising if we consider that two stereotypes about sexual violence are embedded within it: the first, of an unknown and perverse aggressor, and the second of a defenceless victim. The latter makes a distinction between the 'perfect victim' - the defenceless 'good woman' - sexually assaulted following intoxication against her will, and the less credible victim, the 'bad woman' who, in transgressing female gender roles, is deemed to have 'asked for it' (by having, among other things, consumed drugs and/or alcohol voluntarily).

TENDENCY TO SITUATE THE CAUSE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN THE SUBSTANCE RATHER THAN IN THE SUBJECTIVITY AND SEXIST SOCIAL FRAMEWORK OF THE AGGRESSOR

Sexual violence in nightlife contexts is widely believed to be due to drug use. This idea masks the structural and crosscutting nature of sexual violence. The Observatorio Noctámbul@s was born out of the need to raise awareness about sexual violence in nightlife spaces, but this does not preclude the identification of gender-based violence, in all areas and spaces of social life. This is why Observatorio Noctámbul@s talk about the transversality of sexual violence in women's lives. Focusing on the substances consumed operates as a neo-sexist discourse that offers impunity to perpetrators, and renders the patriarchal framework that protects them invisible. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the role of alcohol and drug consumption in increasing

the vulnerability of the victim, and the consequent increase in the probability of undesirable consequences.

PREVENTION AND ACTION CAMPAIGNS AND PROTOCOLS

In recent years, the patriarchal protection of sexual violence has shown signs of breaking down, as public opinion increasingly rejects all forms of violence against women. This is largely thanks to the work of feminist movements. Campaigns and instruments for action designed by these groups have been a source of inspiration for public bodies and organisations. In terms of protocols for prevention and action in the face of sexual violence in nightlife venues, feminist movements have been at the vanguard of developments in recent years, and a number of large cities have promoted feminist initiatives. We consider that it is essential that all agents involved in the diverse range of nightlife venues (public and private) address prevention and action from a feminist perspective and, at the same time, are aware of the role of substance abuse in these environments, and the need to address it effectively in order to reduce risks and harm.

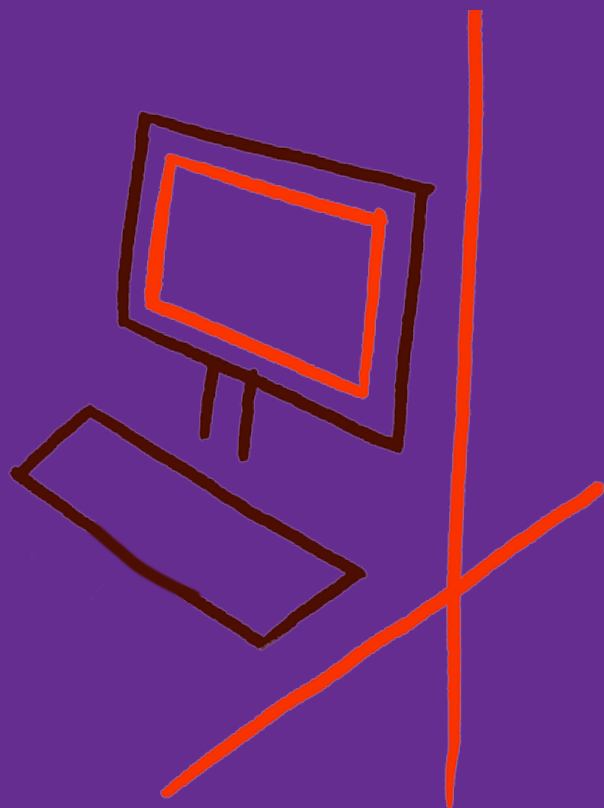
CONSENT IS A PROBLEMATIC CONCEPT THAT NEEDS TO BE EXPLORED FURTHER

Finally, it is important to stress an issue that, for us, is of central importance to debate and reflection, and which is related to the focus of campaigns and preventive actions: consent. Testimonies that relate consensual but unwanted sexual relations have been gathered, thus identifying a relational grey area that can be qualified as 'structurally violent'. Regardless of whether the sexual relation takes place in the context of a stable partnership or a sporadic relationship, women are socially expected to please the male partner, to the detriment of their sexual freedom. This consideration would not extend to cases in which one of the parties may consent to an undesired relationship as a way of pleasing the other party, as long as it takes place within the framework of an egalitarian relationship with a bidirectional character. Even if such a situation does not seem particularly desirable, it is within the margin of personal freedom of choice of each individual. Therefore, beyond the "no is no" and "only yes is yes" campaigns, the best thing to do is to move towards models of affective and sexual relationships based on empathy and active desire in conditions of freedom of choice. An affirmative consent: "Sober, enthusiastic, verbal, non-coerced, continuous, reversible, active, and honest", as the activists of the Dones en Lluita collective in Castellón, Spain put it.

In addition, we would like to add that the idea of consent may be considered problematic for the following reasons:

- According to the dictionary¹², consent is defined as “compliance in or approval of what is done or proposed by another”. The concept ‘consent’ tends to crystalize hegemonic sexual gender roles and sexual power dynamics – men are the ones who are active in searching for sex, and women are the ones who are passive and consent to it.
- It also transmits the erroneous idea that consent is something to ‘fight for’, or ‘reach’ in response to the need of one individual. As such, the idea of ‘conquest’ is also present in consent.
- This is also problematic insofar as discussions around consent hyper-centralize women’s participation/communication/ signals as the principal ‘target’, as well as their previous interactions.
- Furthermore, there are initiatives using the slogan “consent is sexy” in order to promote a consent culture. However, this is disconcerting in that they are, in fact, returning to the old neoliberal idea that something is interesting for men if it is sexualised. Thus, if consent is sexualised, men will adhere to the culture.
- Lastly, consent is sometimes treated as something verbal (as per the “no is no” and “only yes is yes” campaigns), relegating non-verbal communication. As discussed in the literature review, it has been shown that men can perceive rejection/lack of interest from the other person’s verbal or non-verbal behaviour.
- In light of the above, we would suggest ‘mutuality’ as an alternative to the idea of consent in order to define parity in sexual interaction, in that it makes clear that the search for sex and pleasure is based on communication between two (or more) sides, and not exclusively centred on male solicitation and female response.

¹²For example, this one that is credible for English: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/consent>



3.

METHODOLOGY

This research is based on a mixed methodology (quantitative and qualitative) with a gender and feminist approach.

3.1.

Gender analysis

3.2.

Quantitative analysis by gender identity

3.3.

Qualitative analysis by gender identity

3.1. GENDER ANALYSIS

This research follows a gender approach, which constitutes the framework paradigm and perspective from which we choose to understand reality in order to transform it.

Gender analysis is a methodological framework suggested by several international organizations such as the WHO and EIGE based on the following:

- a) Quantitative and qualitative analysis by using gender-disaggregated data
- b) The consideration of gender in the interpretation of the data

To this end, it is pertinent to address what is understood by gender, gender inequality and gender-based violence (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018).

GENDER

The concept of gender, as a category of analysis, explains how society is structurally organised through the categories of gender (woman/man/transgender and non-binary gender identities) and how power relations interact. There are different theoretical positions on this issue.

Hegemonic discourse organises society through biological perspectives, arguing that the cause of differences and subsequent inequalities is to be found in certain genetic differences that determine individual, group and social behaviour. Throughout history, this view has justified patriarchal power relations as inherent to human nature and, therefore, difficult to transform. According to these views, there may be fundamental regulations and legislation, but these views basically focus on explaining that the essence of the differences between women and men is genetic and intrinsic to their gender behaviour.

In contrast to biological determinist positions, an alternate discourse focuses on the notion that society is based on the existence of a sex/gender/desire system within a framework of heteropatriarchal, capitalist and colonial power relations.

This discourse allows us to understand that gender is a type of binary classification, which is socially constructed, and which assigns a series of categories to femininity and masculinity. These are based on gender stereotypes, which are dynamic, and socio-culturally and historically rooted. This reveals how people learn to be girls or boys

from the moment they are born and during their development through forms of social control in their daily lives.

We thus find a series of social diktats that support a certain social, economic and political model based mainly on the superiority of men over women, and on the hierarchy of values associated with masculinity over those associated with femininity:

- (i) Sex, being the body we are born with, in terms of biological and genetic explanation;
- (ii) Gender, in terms of binary, opposite and complementary social construction;
- (iii) Sexual choice, in terms of people's desire and how they interact sexually.

The current model of society based on heteropatriarchal power relations promotes an essentialist worldview and the adaptation of people to this binary model (woman/man). This refers to the cis-normativity of sex-gender-desire, where individuals and society can only be understood in terms of a natural relationship of female-femininity-heterosexuality and male-masculinity-heterosexuality. Any form of rupture of this normativity will provoke differing forms of violence and legal or social punishments, thus regulating the behaviour of individuals, their interaction with each other, and society in general.

Therefore, this study seeks to address the fact that the axis of structural gender oppression (the unequal male-female relationship) intersects with the axis of sexual discrimination and exclusion (on grounds of gender identity and orientation that generate discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender/transsexual, intersex, queer or non-binary people or others) within the framework of the sex-gender (hetero)-patriarchal power system.

This framework allows us, firstly, to sustain a well-founded proposal for analysis and critical action in response to patriarchal discourse. Secondly, it provides us with a sufficiently broad framework to incorporate the numerous feminist and LGBTQ+ perspectives. Moreover, and finally, it helps us to approach gender inequalities through an intersectional perspective, thus incorporating other axes of oppression that operate in the society in which we live.

GENDER INEQUALITIES

A gender perspective allows us to understand how gender stereotypes are reproduced and operate in the different spheres and strata of our society, generating inequalities in physical, symbolic and resource distribution spaces.

From a feminist perspective, the socio-economic epicentre of society should be based on people's needs, on reproductive work and, ultimately, on the sustainability of life as the epicentre, and not on a market economy of capitalist accumulation.

Gender inequalities are also reproduced in other spheres of life: in education (formal, non-formal and informal), in state structures and legislation, in religions, in the media, and at different levels: among individuals, peer groups, family, community, etc.

In short, a gender perspective helps us to understand that the root of gender-based violence are the inequalities that foster and produce it. It will be difficult to build a fairer and more equitable society free of gender-based violence if these inequalities are not combated.

GENDER-BASED AND GENDER-RELATED VIOLENCE

Gender violence is all the violence that emerges from the heteropatriarchal power system which punishes those behaviours and experiences that question the sex-gender-sexuality model or that directly try to overthrow it.

The principal form of gender-based violence is that which is carried out against women in order to keep them in a subordinate position to men, and by punishing those behaviours which are not which are considered improper or not to correspond to them. Therefore, gender-based violence encompasses all violence experienced by women because they are women. Violence against women is a structural phenomenon that is based on a social, economic and symbolic schema that subjugates women and their experiences and knowledge, presenting men as the true subjects of our patriarchal societies.

Gender-related violence is violence that not only affects women, but also violence that is perpetrated against any person on the basis of stereotypical sex, gender and sexuality roles, and that has a negative impact on their identity and social, physical and/or psychological wellbeing (for example, LGBTQUI+ groups).

In short, gender-based violence encompasses all forms of violence that have their origin in stereotypical views of gender and the power relations that this entails. Therefore,

gender-based violence in our society mainly affects women's bodies and non-heterosexual or non-exclusively heterosexual individuals (lesbians, bisexuals and gay people), or people of transgender and/or non-binary gender identities (trans*, queer, etc.)¹³. In chapter 2: **APPROACHING SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS** of this report we will provide a framework for analysing sexual violence in nightlife environments.

3.2. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS BY GENDER IDENTITY

An analysis of the responses to the survey was carried out according to responses to question 2 "Gender identity". This was done in order to facilitate a gender analysis that would allow us to analyse the differences between the different gender categories. It is pertinent to note that a total of 10,148 responses were collected, of which only 4,534 were analysed after eliminating the following responses:

5,032 uncompleted surveys.

376 responses during the first 2 days of distribution before last minute changes were made to the survey.

172 responses received after the deadline for completing the survey.

34 responses from people who did not meet the age requirements for completing the survey because they were minors.

However, following analysis of the 4,534 responses, it was noted that the sample for the Trans* (Trans* women: N=5 and Trans* men: N=13), Queer (N=119), Other (N=10) and No response (N=13) cohorts was extremely low (N=160/4,534, or 2.6% of the total). As such, it was decided to group gender identities into three categories for analysis: Women (N=3,371), Men (N=1,003) and Transgender and non-binary gender identities (N=160).

Even so, we may venture that the results obtained for the category " Transgender and non-binary gender identities" should be read with caution and cannot, in any case, be considered conclusive, given the persistent small sample size.

As mentioned above, this quantitative analysis is included in sections 4-9 of this report.

¹³ BIGLIA, Barbara y JIMÉNEZ, Edurne (Coord.), Hagamos nuestra la prevención. Guía de apoyo para la prevención de profesorado. URV, Tarragona (2015).

3.3. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS BY GENDER IDENTITY

The qualitative use of the survey included the analysis of the survey's open-ended questions, as well as the "Other" options of the questions, where such an option was provided.

An initial analysis was carried out by the Faculty of Education and Psychology of the Catholic University of Portugal (Porto), the project's main partner, using NVIVO software. A semi-inductive coding strategy was used and categories of signification were drawn from the open-ended questions.

Subsequently, and based on the above, a manual analysis of the most significant results were crosschecked with responses to question 2 "Gender identity". The questions analysed were as follows:

Q4: Self-description of ethnicity.
Q12: Other ideal experiences of partying.
Q13: Other drugs used.
Q14: Other reasons for drug use in party spaces.
Q16: Other means of transport for going out partying.
Q17: Other unsafe situations when going out partying.
Q18: Other reasons for insecurity when going out partying.
Q19: Gender of the person who generated an unsafe situation.
Q20: Other ways of dealing with the risk of being attacked when walking alone at night to a party space.
Q21: Other situations considered sexual violence.
Q23: Other drugs involved in sexual assaults in party spaces.
Q24: Other sexual violence witnessed.
Q25: Main gender of assaulted and aggressor in witnessed sexual violence.
Q26: Other sexual violence experienced.
Q29: Other forms of intervention in a situation of sexual violence by an unknown person, known person, friend, bar staff, health support services, security staff, public transport, private transport and another person.
Q31: Other sexual violence practiced.
Q32: Other persons asked for help in case of having experienced sexual violence in party spaces.
Q33: Other reasons for not seeking help if experienced sexual violence in party spaces.

As noted above, a qualitative gender analysis is included in sections 4-9 of this report. This analysis has contributed significantly to understanding of the quantitative information collected.

4.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC SAMPLE ANALYSIS

This section analyses the socio-demographic data of the sample collected, as well as the limits detected in the sample. It should again be noted that the sample ultimately analysed was composed of 4,534 responses. The sample has been analysed on the basis of the following gender categories: Women (N=3,371), Men (N=1,003) and Transgender and non-binary gender identities (N=160).

- 4.1. Gender identity
- 4.2. Age group
- 4.3. Sexual orientation
- 4.4. Ethnicity
- 4.5. Country of residence
- 4.6. Nationality
- 4.7. Place of residence
- 4.8. Educational attainment
- 4.9. Primary occupation
- 4.10. Sample limitations



4.1. GENDER IDENTITY

In terms of the genders with which the survey participants self-identified, a series of options were offered: woman, man, transwoman, transman, queer, diverse or non-binary gender, an option for those who did not wish to identify their gender, and an additional option for “other”. In practice, the categories “woman” and “man” referred to cis-women and cis-men, although it was decided to name them woman and man to facilitate the survey participants’ responses.

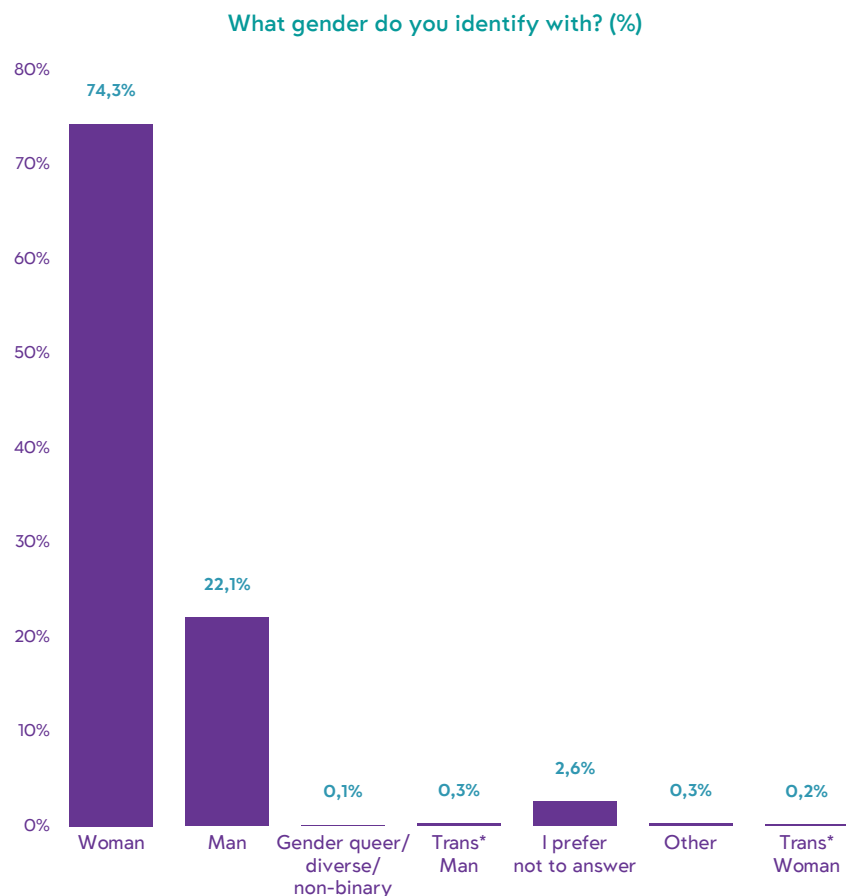


Figure 1 - Gender category by which the sample is identified

Of the 4,534 responses obtained, 74.35% (3,371 responses) correspond to those who self-identify as women. 22.12% respondents (1,003 responses) self-identified as men. 2.62% (119 responses) were from people who identified as gender queer/diverse/ non-binary and, lastly, 0.11% (5 responses) and 0.29% (13 responses) identified as transwomen and transmen, respectively. In 13 cases (0.29%), respondents chose not to answer the question, and in a further 10 cases they indicated the option "other". As indicated above, for the purposes of the following analysis we will make use of three categories: Women (to refer to ciswomen), men (to refer to cismen) and, due to the low number of responses, transgender and non-binary identities (encompassing transwomen, transmen, gender queer/ diverse/ non-binary, and others).

The elevated participation of women in the survey shows that sexual violence and sexism in nightlife environments continue to be of particular concern for women of all ages.

4.2. AGE GROUP

With regard to the age of the participants, participation in the study was limited to those 18 years old or over. As can be seen in the graphs below, the age group with the highest participation is that of 18 to 25 years old (43.93%), followed by 26 to 35 years old (38.42%), 36 to 45 years old (13.34%), 46 to 55 years old (4.46%), and over 55 years old (1.39%).

This distribution can be explained by the nightlife habits of the sample studied, as it is well known that the younger age groups are more present in nightlife environments, with this beginning to decline from the age of 30-35 years upwards. Thus, as this is a study aimed at people who go out at night, the resulting cohort coincides with the pattern described. This does not mean that sexual violence in nightlife environments or the consumption of psychoactive substances is exclusive to young people and, for this reason, as part of our research we gathered the experiences and opinions of people of different ages.

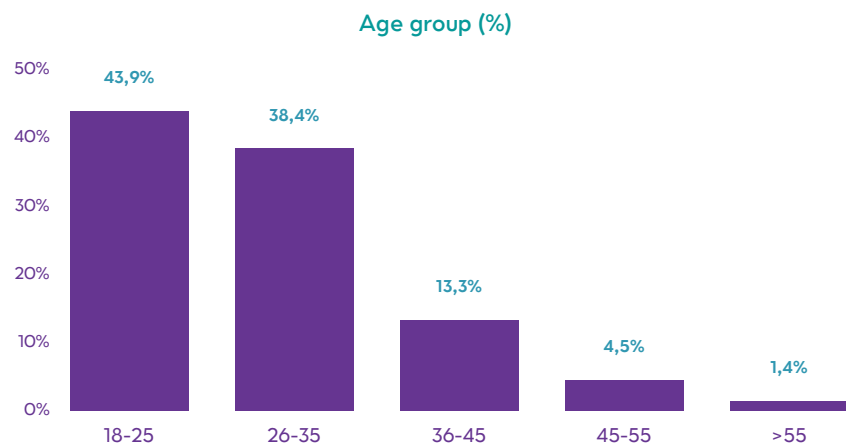


Figure 2 - Distribution of the sample by age groups

In terms of gender differences, the trend is broadly the same, with the exception of a small variation in younger men compared to 26-35 year olds (7.21% and 9.15%, respectively and also in the group of younger transgender and non-binary gender identifying individuals compared to 26-35 year olds (1.30% to 3.5%).

Age group by gender (%)

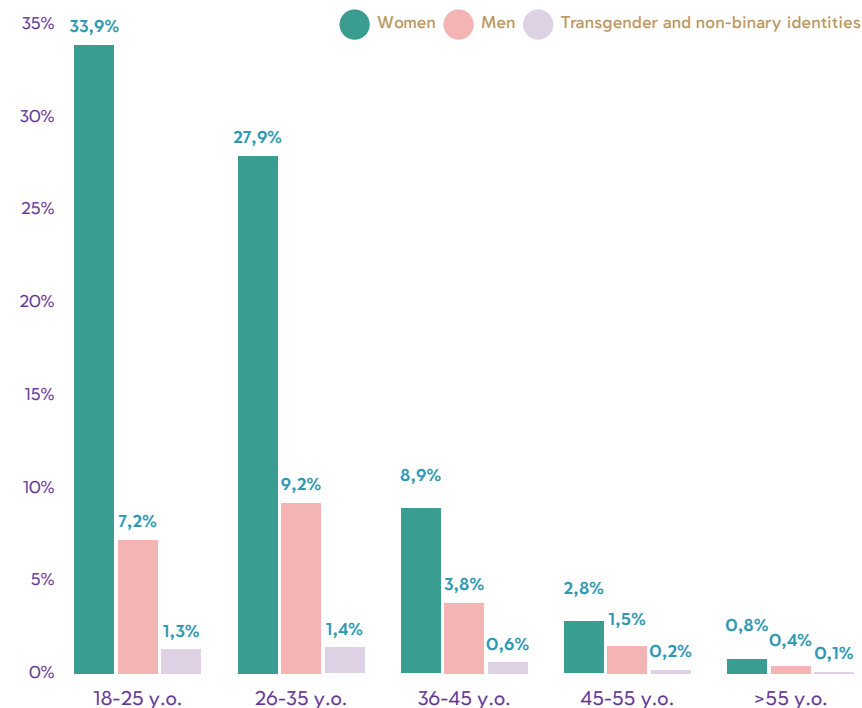


Figure 3 - Distribution of the sample by age groups according to gender

In contrast to the female sample, which declines with age, younger men show less interest in the survey, while the transgender and non-binary gender identities group shows the same interest for younger men and young adults aged 26-35. Since the sample of women (74,4% of total responses) is more than three times that of men (22,1% of the total), and both in turn are greater than that of transgender and non-binary gender identities (3,5% of the total), comparisons between the different groups should be approached with caution. Nevertheless, the data may indicate that younger women, between 18 and 25 years old, show more interest and/or concern in issues related to sexual violence and sexism in nightlife environments than other groups and, consequently, awareness-raising actions for men and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities could be reinforced from an earlier age in order to increase their involvement in the issue.

4.3. SEXUAL ORIENTATION

In terms of sexual orientation, the majority of respondents identified as heterosexual (63.50%), followed by bisexual (22.70%). To a lesser degree, participants identified as pansexual (4.30%), queer (2.60%), gay (2.60%), and lesbian (2.30%).

What sexual orientation do you identify with? (%)

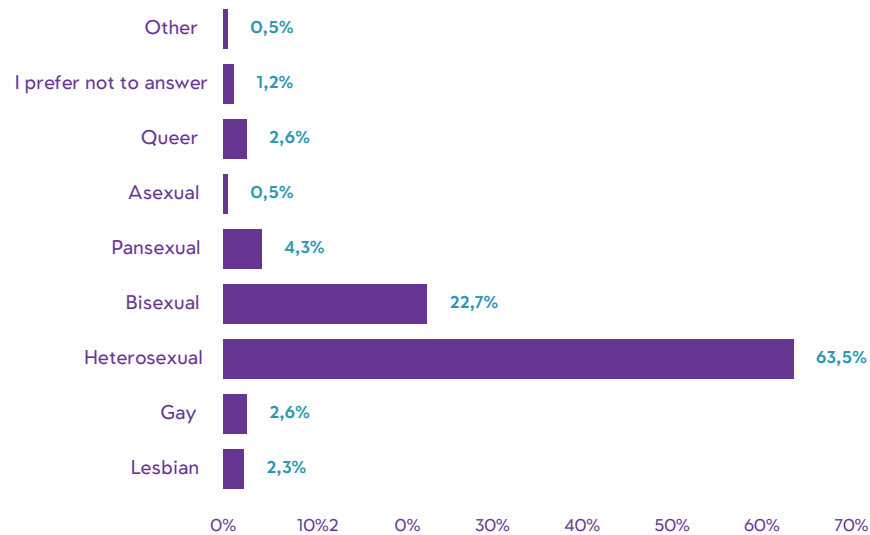


Figure 4 - Distribution of the sample by sexual orientation

Heterosexuality was the main sexual orientation reported by the sample of respondents, ultimately determining the study's approach to sexual violence, which will largely pivot on that which is experienced by women and transgender and non-binary gender identifying individuals within the framework of structural heteropatriarchal oppression.

If we consider the gender differences, it is interesting to note that bisexuality was reported in significant numbers by both women (24.6%) and men (17.3%). Another striking fact is that the percentage difference between lesbian women (2.5%) and gay men (10.5%), of 8 percentage points. Bisexuality was also reported by significant numbers of respondents self-identifying as trans*women (20%), trans*men (38.5%) and gender queer (12.6%), so 15,6% on average. Similarly, pansexual identity was reported by trans*-women (20%) and gender queer individuals (29.4%), so 24,4% on average. Likewise, queer identity was reported by people who define themselves as trans*men (30.8%), as well as gender queer individuals (29.4%).

What sexual orientation do you identify with?
By gender (%)

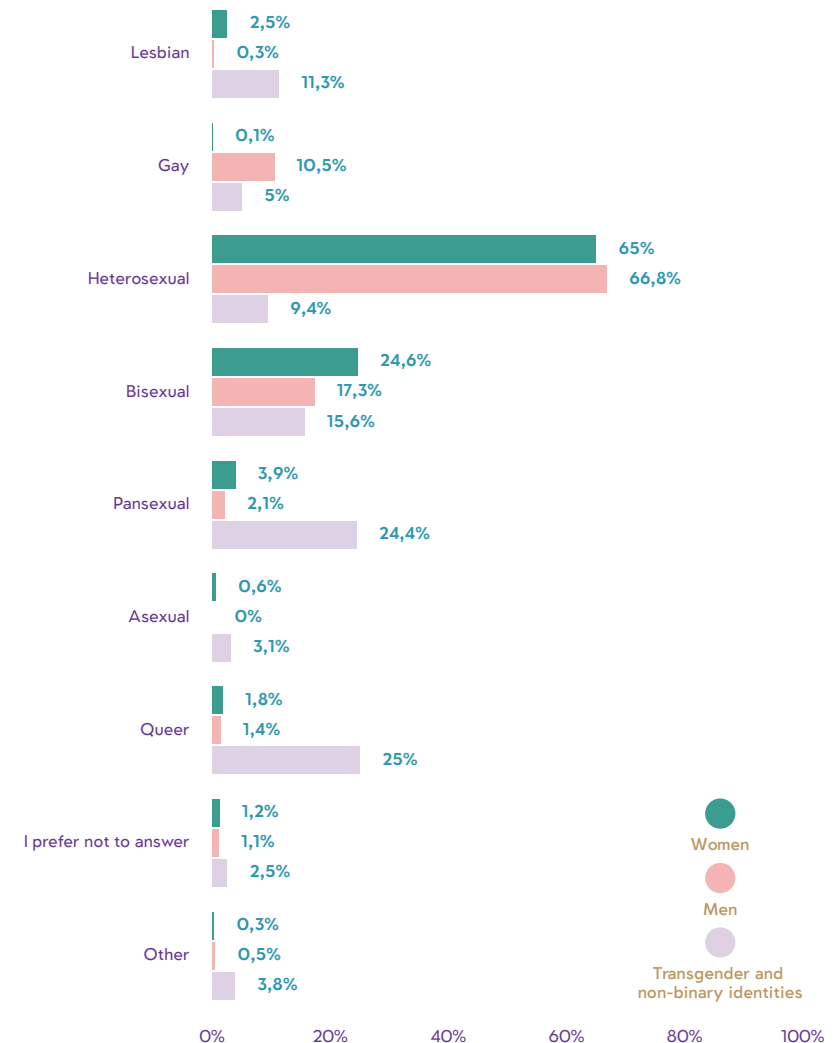


Figure 5 - Distribution of the sample by sexual orientation and gender category.

4.4. ETHNICITY⁴

Next, respondents were asked to describe their ethnic identity. A closed list of answers was ruled out, as this could prove discriminatory.

The overall results show that 48.3% of the sample confused ethnicity with territorial identity (nationality/country/region), or with religion. 45.6% of the sample self-identified as Caucasian and/or white (including in cases of partially racialized identities). Only 2% of the sample defined itself in terms of racialized identities (African, Asian, Latin American, etc.).

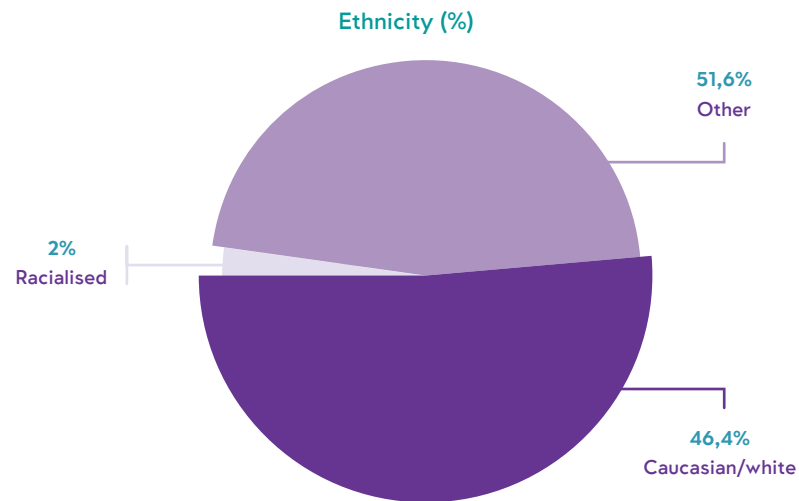


Figure 6 - Distribution of the sample by ethnicity

In accounting for gender, a very similar distribution can be observed:

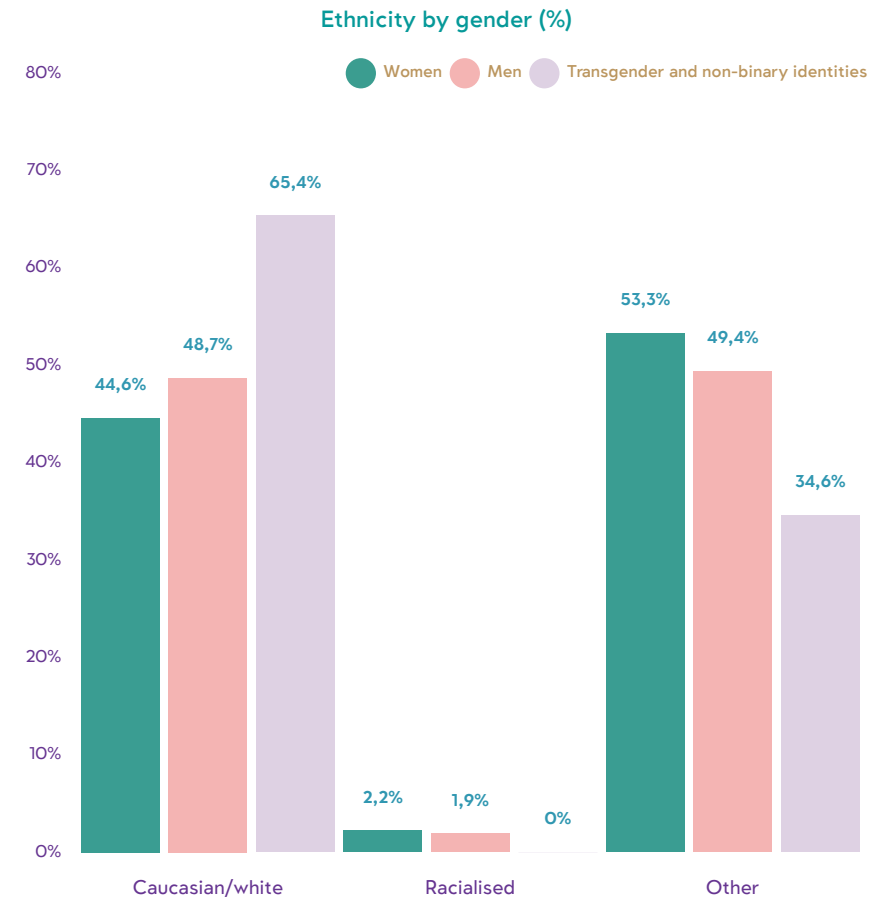


Figure 7- Distribution of the sample by ethnicity and gender

The data from the Caucasian/white (65.36%) and racialized (0%) cohorts in the gender category “transgender and non-binary gender identities”, may be due to the small size of the sample for this category, and we therefore encourage caution when considering this data.

¹⁴This was an open-ended question, thus forming part of the qualitative analysis. For further information, see Annex 3: Tables of qualitative data. Table 2-Ethnicity. Qualitative data. [Page. 211](#).

4.5. COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE

Regarding country of residence, responses to the survey showed a clear relationship with the countries of the consortium partners of the Sexism Free Night project. The country with the highest representation is Latvia (25.40%), followed by Germany (16.90%), Spain (16.50%), Portugal (11.70%) and Serbia (8.10%).

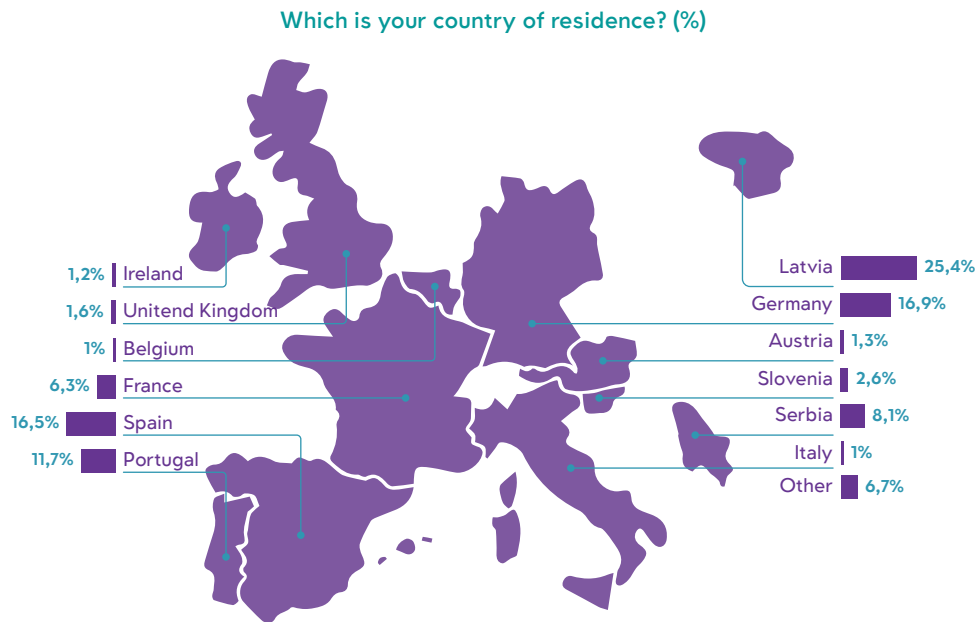


Figure 8 - Distribution of the sample by country of residence

By gender, unequal participation is observed. In all countries, a higher response rate from women compared to men or transgender and non-binary gender identifying individuals can be observed:



Figure 9 - Distribution of the sample by country of residence and gender category

4.6. NATIONALITY

Responses concerning national identity are very similar to those of the country of residence. 25.6% of the sample identified as having Latvian nationality, 15.1% German, 14.8% Spanish (not including regional identities), 11.7% Portuguese, 7.6% Serbian, 5% French, and 2.5% Slovenian. Again, this distribution is in line with the countries of the consortium partners of the Sexism Free Night project. 17.6% identified as other nationalities (United States, Bolivia, Brazil, China, etc.), 1.1% indicated regional identities (Catalan, Basque, Galician), 1.1% declared dual nationality, and 0.2% rejected the concept of nationality.

By gender, no significant differences were observed with respect to what was observed in terms of countries of residence.

4.7. PLACE OF RESIDENCE

A contextual variable among survey respondents worthy of remark is that the majority reported that they live in large cities (68.30%). These are followed by those who reported living in small cities (20.60%), and lastly in towns or villages (11.10%).

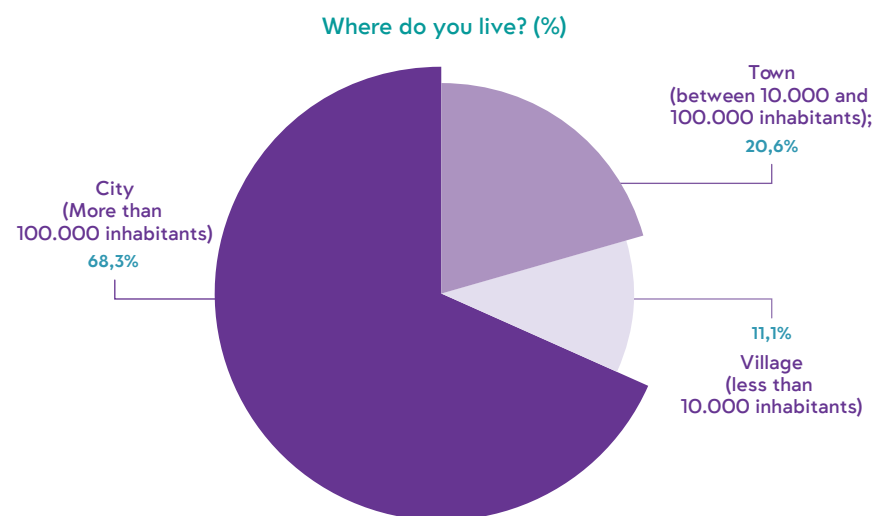


Figure 10 - Distribution of the sample by place of residence

No significant gender differences are observed, although people of transgender and non-binary gender identities tend to reside in smaller localities (city: 71.3%; town: 19.4%; village: 9.4%¹⁵) compared to women (city: 67.8%; town: 21.2%; village: 10.9%) and men (city: 69.4%; town: 18.6%; village: 12%).

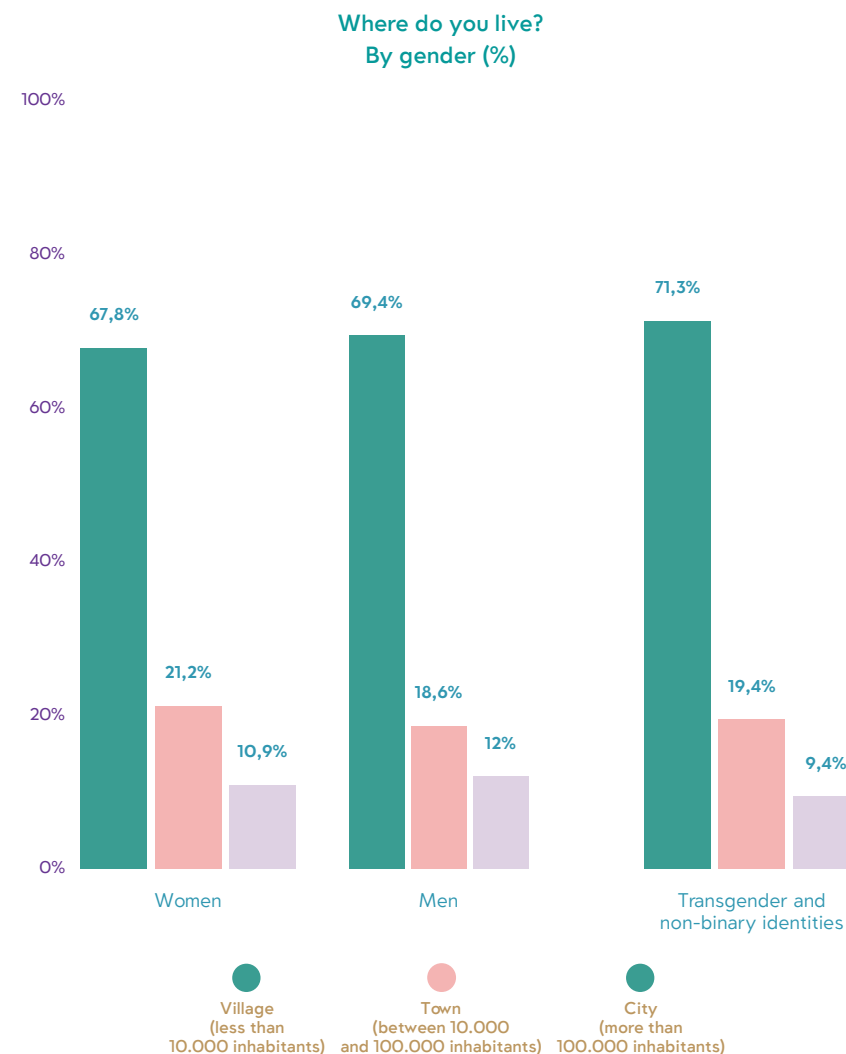


Figure 11 - Distribution of the sample by place of residence by gender

¹⁵ Note that the 9.4% of transgender and non-binary individuals living in villages represents only 15 people.

4.8. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Respondents to the survey were asked to indicate their educational attainment. Both this indicator and the following, concerning their primary occupation, are indicative of the social class profile of the sample.

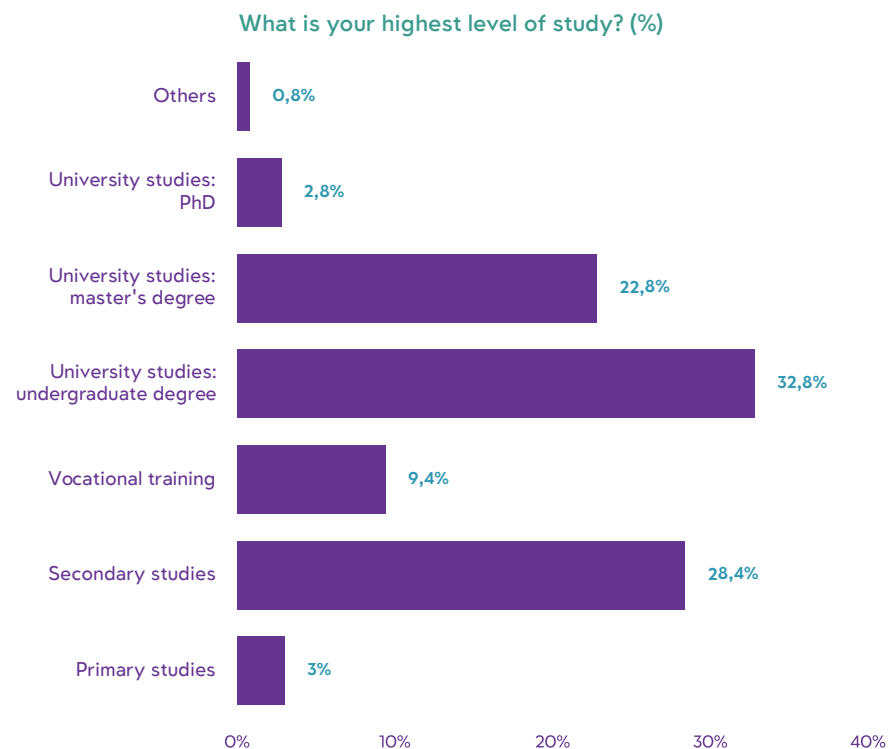


Figure 12 - Distribution of the sample by educational attainment

If we observe the overall results, those with higher education represented the greatest part of the sample, standing at 58.4%, which includes respondents with a university degree (32.8%), a master's degree (22.8%) or a doctorate (2.8%).

Furthermore, a significant group of respondents reported having completed their secondary education (28.4%). Those who reported having completed vocational training studies (9.4%) also represent a statistically significant group among the sample as a whole.

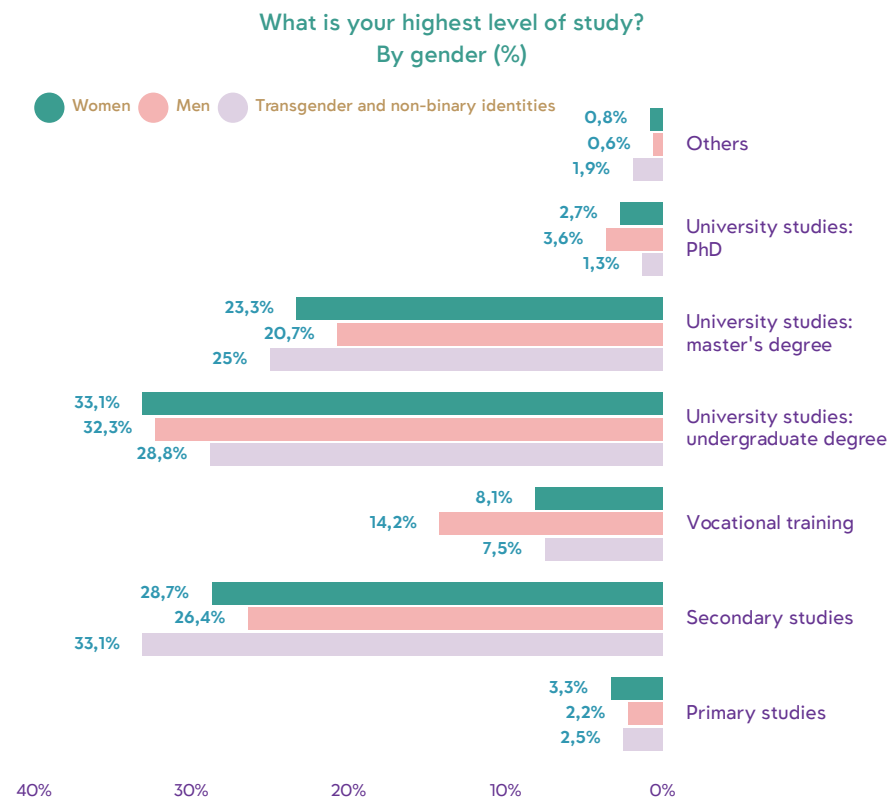


Figure 13 - Distribution of the sample by educational attainment and gender category

In terms of gender, women reported having higher levels of educational attainment (undergraduate degree: 33.1%; master's degree 23.3%) than both men (undergraduate degree: 32.3%; master's degree 20.7%) and people who self-identify as transgender or gender non-binary (undergraduate degree: 28.8%; master's degree 25.0%). However, this trend is reversed in employment PhD programs (women: 2.7%; men: 3.6%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 1.3%). Likewise, more men (14.2%) reported having completed professional training than women (8.1%), with a notable difference of 6.1 percentage points. Respondents who identified as transgender or gender non-binary were the least likely of the three groups to report holding vocational training or undergraduate and master's university studies.

4.9. PRIMARY OCCUPATION

In considering respondents' primary occupations, we can see that the majority either work full-time (37.5%) or are studying (34.5%). The percentage of those who work part-time (9%) rests at a certain distance from the two previous groups, as is also the case with those who are self-employed (8.5%). Those who were unemployed at the time of response make up the last statistically significant group (6%).

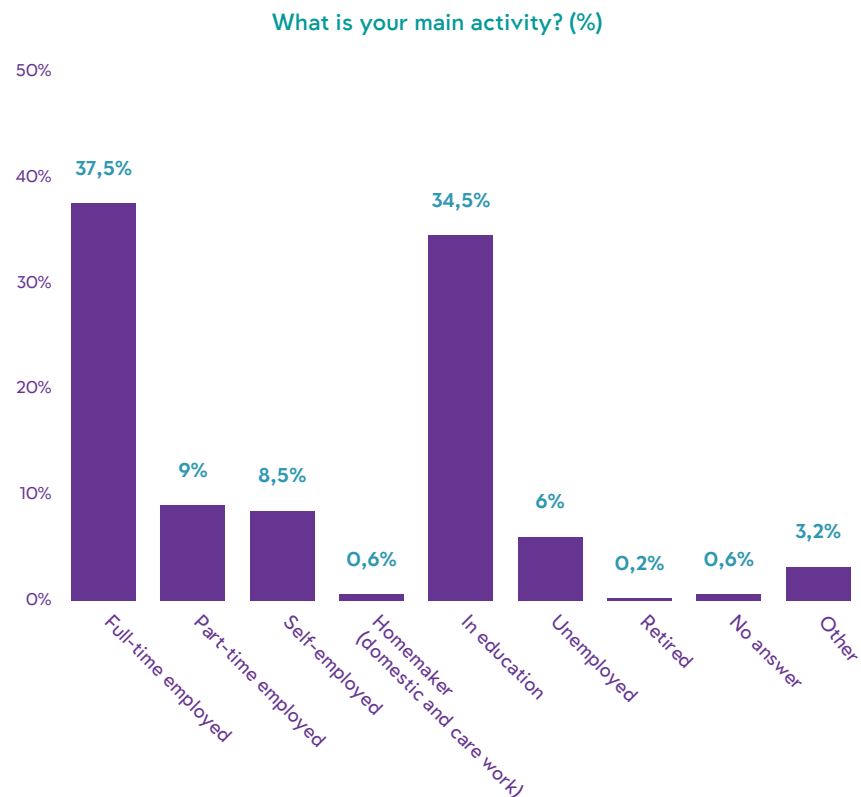


Figure 14 - Distribution of the sample by primary occupation

When the differences by gender are observed, we can see that a higher percentage of men reported being in full-time work (45.6%) than women (35.6%), although more women reported studying (37.4%) than men (26%). Also noteworthy is the reported tendency of women (9.2%) to work part-time to a greater extent than men (7.7%). Likewise, people of transgender and non-binary gender identities reported working full-time (25.0%) to a lesser extent than women and men.

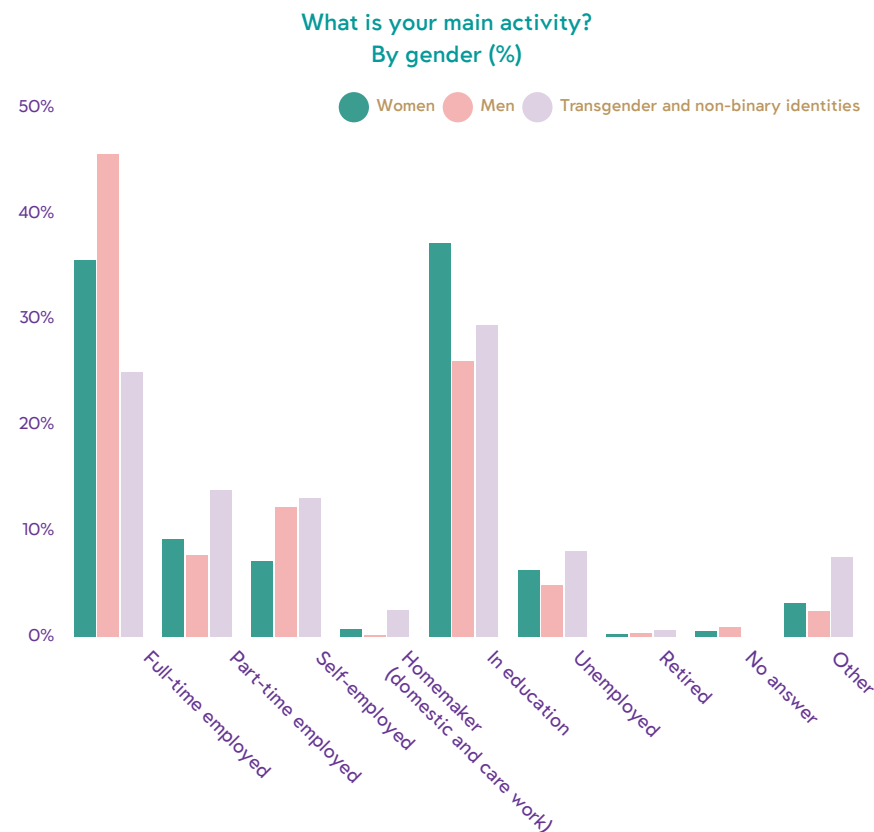


Figure 15 - Distribution of the sample by primary occupation and gender category

The above would seem to reflect the gender gap in employment that discriminates against women and people of diverse gender identity.

4.10. SAMPLE LIMITATIONS

Given the above, it is important to analyse the main limitations detected in the sample, as well as their implications in terms of reading the data:

Gender identity diversity

As we have seen, 75% (3,371) of the sample is made up of respondents who defined themselves as women, 22% (1,003) as men, and only 3% (160) as people who ascribe their identity as transgender or gender non-binary. Specifically, the sample includes only five trans*women, 13 trans*men, 119 people of transgender and non-binary gender identities, and 23 others who did not wish to answer this question or who indicated "other" as their response.

As such, the sample of transgender and non-binary gender identities is clearly very small and, therefore, although some trends can be observed, it is by no means possible to draw overarching conclusions about this population group. Even so, it has been decided to incorporate the information obtained for transgender and non-binary gender identities in tables and graphs, with the aim of contributing to their visibility and/or exploring the need for further research in this respect.

Sexual orientation diversity

As is the case with gender identity, the sample of sexual orientation is also not particularly diverse. 63.5% of the sample identified as heterosexual, 22.7% as bisexual, 4.3% as pansexual, 2.6% as queer, 2.6% as gay, 2.3% as lesbian, 0.5% as asexual, while 1.7% preferred not to answer and/or identified as another sexual orientation.

Again, the heteronormativity of the sample does not allow for the inference of conclusions about non-heterosexual or non-exclusively heterosexual orientations, given the small sample size for this cohort.

Ethnic diversity

Since the question was posed in an open-ended manner to avoid possible discrimination, 51.56% described their ethnicity from a variety of approaches linked to territory, religion or other. However, 46.42% of the sample described themselves as white/Caucasian while only 2% described themselves as racialized in some way.

Again, it should be emphasised that the sample is not particularly diverse in terms of ethnicity, which thus does not allow any overarching conclusions to be drawn in this respect.

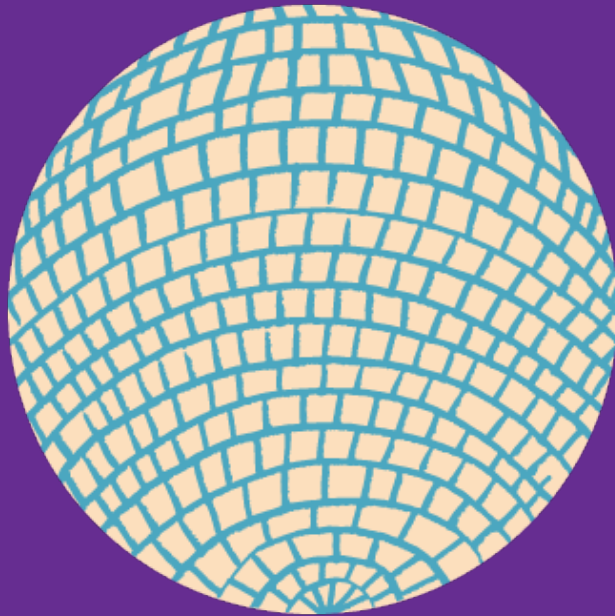
Diversity of countries of residence

Although it would have been optimal to obtain a uniform sample for each country, the majority of the survey responses came from people living in the countries of the organisations that make up the Sexism Free Night project partnership (Latvia: 25.4% of the sample; Germany: 16.9%; Spain: 16.5%; Portugal: 11.7%, and Serbia: 8.1%). Of the other countries, the greatest total of responses came from France (6.3%) and Slovenia (2.6%), as the project has partners who supported the distributions of the survey in these territories.

Be that as it may, it would be of interest to observe the particularities of each country through further studies before reaching any overarching conclusions.

Another issue is that the majority of respondents reported having attained higher education (58.4%) and being employed full-time and/or studying (72%), which may indicate an upper-middle class sample bias in terms of the respondents.

In short, the survey sample is generally not very diverse, thus impeding that definitive conclusions be drawn, especially with regard to non-‘normative’ identities linked to gender or ethnicity, suggesting the need for further research.



5.

NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS AND DRUG USE

In this section, we will analyse the nightlife habits of the survey respondents in relation to what they expect of a night out, and thereafter we will consider the consumption habits reported by the respondents. It should again be noted that the final sample analysed was composed of 4,534 responses. The sample has been analysed on the basis of the following gender categories: Women (N=3,371), Men (N=1,003) and Transgender and non-binary gender identities (N=160).

5.1.

Frequency of visits to nightlife venues

5.2.

Types of venue frequented

5.3.

Ideal nightlife experience

5.4.

Frequency of alcohol and drug use in nightlife environments

5.5.

Reasons for drug use in nightlife environments

5.1. FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO NIGHTLIFE VENUES

The first question in this section of the survey concerned the frequency, historic or present, with which respondents attended nightlife events or venues. The reasoning behind not limiting the timing of the question, and indeed of the entire study, was that the lockdown of 2020 led to a significant reduction in nightlife activity compared to normal circumstances. In summer 2020, some countries were able to return to nightlife activity more or less normally. These cases aside, there was a total lockdown in terms of nightlife in many European countries, and nightlife activities and substance use shifted to private, clandestine spaces or digital means (streaming parties, group video-calls, etc.). For this reason, it was considered reasonable to enquire about preferences and habits in general, i.e. those engaged in once or more in the respondent's adult life.

The results show that the vast majority of respondents reported that they go out frequently, i.e. at least once a month (women: 47%; men: 46.9%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 41.9%), followed by occasionally (between 6 and 12 times a year), usually (more than once a week) and, finally, never.

Men who “usually” partake (more than once a week) in nightlife activities do so in greater proportions (24.70%) than women (19%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (22.5%). Men also go out more often (71.6%) than women (66%) and transgender and non-binary gender identities (64.4%), if we consider ‘often’ to encompass both those who responded “frequently” or “usually”. Transgender and gender non-binary respondents (32,5%) and women (32%) go out more occasionally, between 6 and 12 times a year than men (25.8%).

How often have you visited party spaces?
By gender (%)

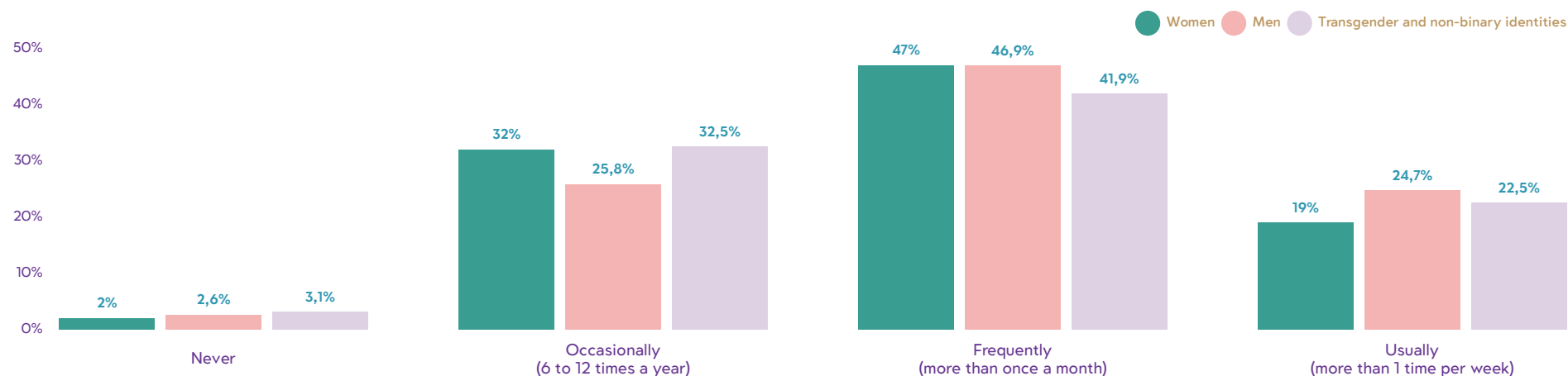


Figure 16 - Distribution of the sample by frequency of nightlife activity and gender category

5.2. TYPES OF VENUE FREQUENTED

Next, we asked respondents about the type of nightlife venues they frequented.

In general, the most frequented spaces were bars and pubs (women: 97,3%, men: 98%, transgender and non-binary gender identities: 94,8%); parties in private residences (women: 96,5%, men: 95,2%, transgender and non-binary gender identities: 95,5%), undoubtedly one of the consequences of confinement; concerts and festivals (women: 95,3%, men: 93,2%, transgender and non-binary gender identities: 92,9%); holiday celebrations (women: 90,1%, men: 84,3%, transgender and non-binary gender identities: 78,7%); and video calls with friends (women: 74,6%, men: 62,6%, transgender and non-binary gender identities: 70,3%).

A divergence in attendance of certain types of venue is observed upon analysing the data by gender.

Women report attending bars and pubs, parties at home, concerts and festivals, public holiday celebrations, squares/park parties and video calls with friends, all of which are nightlife environments also frequented by men.

On the other hand, some spaces could be identified as somewhat more "masculinised" in that they are more frequented by men than by women, even if this is mainly "once a year", these being: after hours (men: 69%, women: 60%), raves/free parties (men: 62%, women: 44%), free urban parties (men: 49%, women: 33%), Queer parties (men: 26%, women: 22%), live online streaming parties (men: 25%, women: 21%), teknivals (men: 27%, women: 14%), sex positive parties (men: 21.20%, women: 13.70%) and illegal raves (men: 27%, women: 14%). These are spaces that could be defined as more "alternative", off the beaten track for the majority, and/or associated with risk, as in the case of illegal raves. People of transgender and non-binary gender identities also show higher percentage results than women in all of these spaces, especially and, as expected, in Queer parties (59%) and sex positive parties (28.68%).

How often have you visited party spaces?
By gender (%)

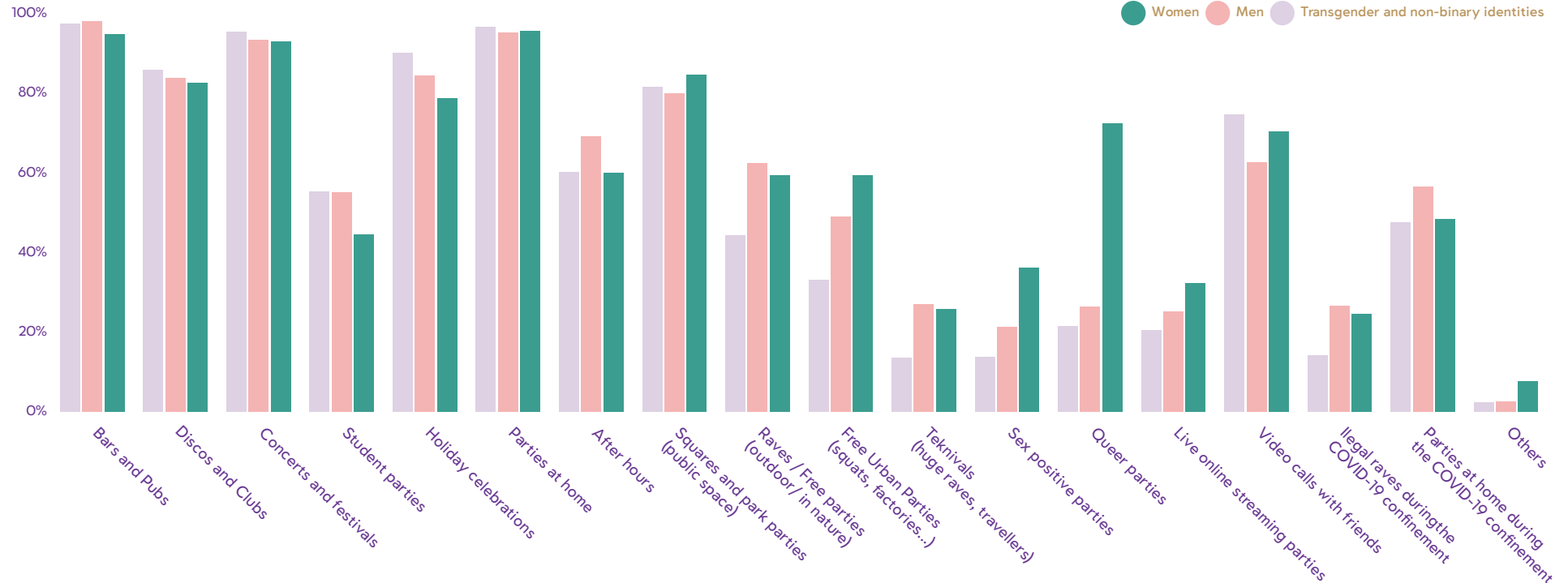


Figure 17 - Distribution of the sample by nightlife venues and gender category



Figure 18 - Distribution of the sample group "women" by type of venue and frequency of attendance



Figure 19 - Distribution of the sample group "men" by type of venue and frequency of attendance

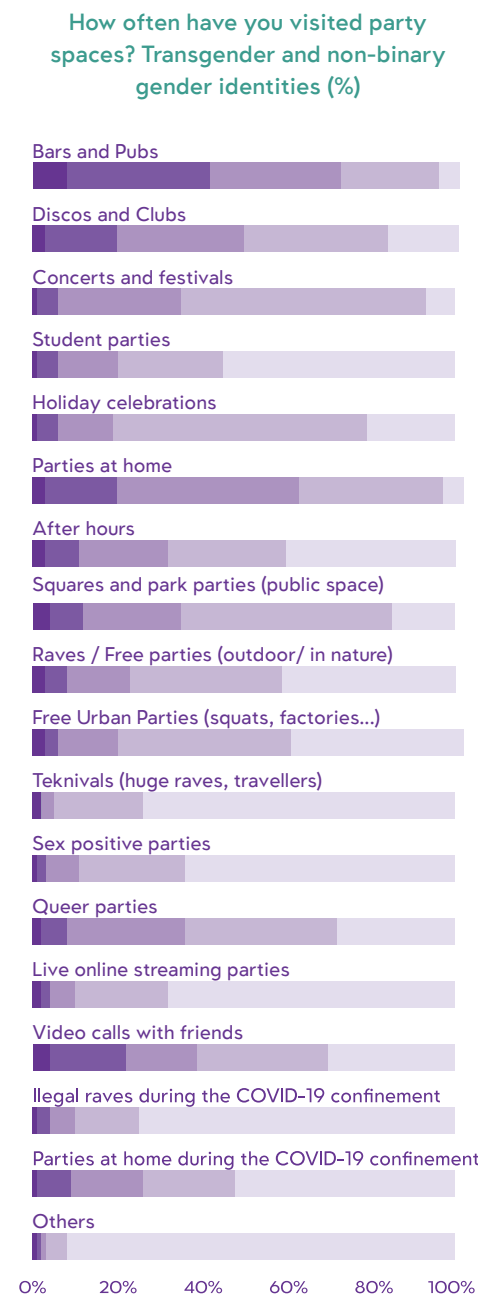


Figure 20 - Distribution of the sample group "transgender and non-binary gender identities" by type of venue and frequency of attendance

In terms of frequency, a very similar pattern is observed between the three gender categories. However, people of transgender and non-binary gender identities report visiting almost all of the party venues mentioned (although daily frequencies are less than 10%). On the other hand, women and men only do so in the case of bars and pubs and video calls with friends (frequencies below 6%).

Participation, or lack thereof, in nightlife environments where alcohol and drugs consumption takes place is closely related to feeling comfortable or not in the venue at hand, and this, from a gender perspective, is determined by the perception of safety (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018), something which will be analysed later on in this report.

5.3. IDEAL NIGHTLIFE EXPERIENCE

One aspect that was of particular concern in our research was respondents' expectations as to what constituted an "ideal" night out, in order to understand more about the needs and desires of the people who participate in nightlife activities.

The most frequent responses were "having fun with friends" (97.8%), followed by "listening to music" (75.8%), "dancing all night" (64.5%), "meeting new people" (58.1%) and "consuming alcohol and other drugs" (48.2%).

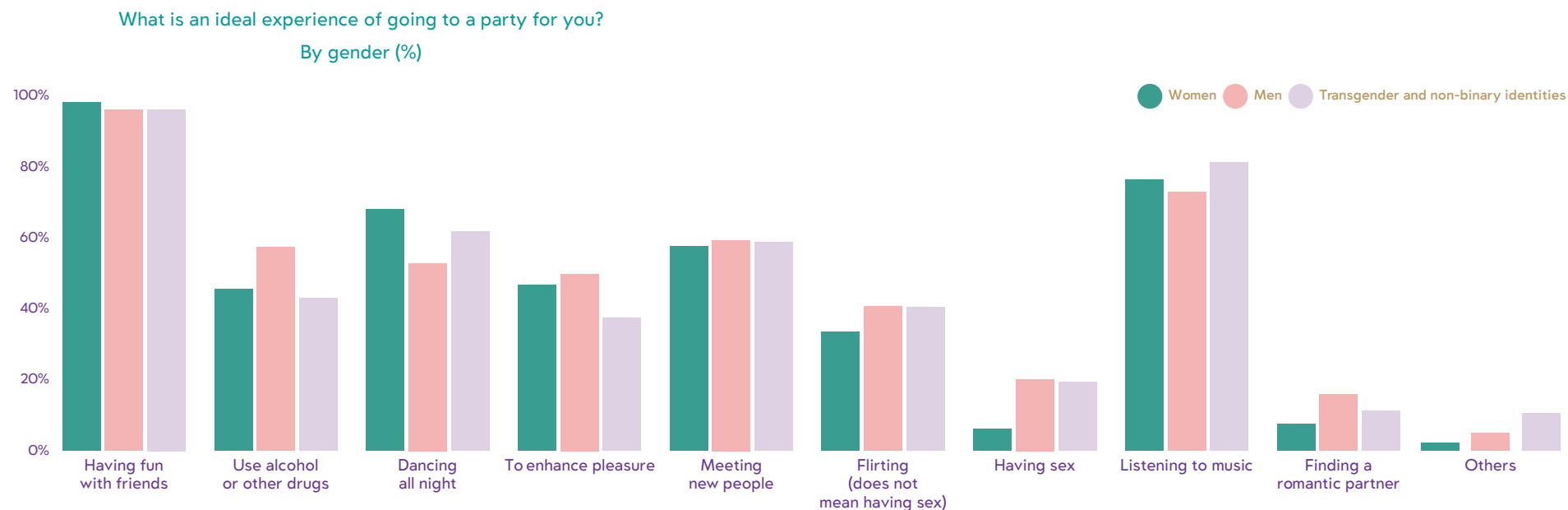


Figure 21 - Distribution of the sample by ideal nightlife experience and gender category

However, "dancing all night" emerged as a highly gendered activity, with women being the most likely to consider it part of an ideal night out (68.1%, compared to 52.9% of men and 61.9% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities).

In contrast, men included "alcohol and other drug use" (57.4%) and "increasing pleasure" (49.9%) as part of their ideal night out to a greater extent than women (45.7% and 46.9%) and transgender and gender non-binary respondents (43.1% and 37.5%).

Although all genders report "flirting" (no sex) as part of an ideal night out, men (40.7%) and people of transgender and non-binary identities (40.6%) returned slightly higher percentages than women (33.6%). Much more significant is the difference in terms of "having sex" on an ideal night out: more men and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities would include having sex in their ideal night out (20.2% and 19.4%, respectively), than women (6.1%). This data demonstrates that nightlife experiences have different meanings according to gender identity. Here it is relevant to note that the search for sexual or sexualized experiences is higher among men and transgender and non-binary people. Women value the opportunity to socialize and engage in non-restrictive body performances such as dance in nightlife environments, while for men these environments are where they can express and reinforce their masculinity by being sexually active. For transgender and non-binary groups, a similar preference may be related to the fact that nightlife environments offer privileged space-times to create a sense of belonging, for hook-ups, and to experiment and express their gender and sexual identity freely (Valentine & Skelton, 2003¹⁶). This tends to reinforce the sexualisation and sexual libertarianism of what may be considered gay-friendly, queer and sex positive environments.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Other ideal experiences reported by respondents included: bonding or spending quality time and deepening relations and communications, and/or establishing a deeper connection, with people close to them (e.g. friends, family, etc.); expression or the opportunity to express oneself through a number of different activities; escapism or involving in any activity that allows it; enjoying new experiences; searching for or

indulging in pleasure-seeking experiences; working; relaxation; self-enhancement; networking; a refusal to go out at night in considering it dispensable, or just simply not a part of one's life, and others. For further information, see Annex 3: Table 3- Ideal party experience of the general sample. Qualitative data. [Page 212](#).

No significant differences were observed by gender for most of these other experiences, except in the case of escapism, an ideal experience mainly for men:

Forgetting daily life; [cis-man]

Leaving my daughter at home; [cis-man]

Freedom; [cis-man]

Escapes from routine; [cis-man]

Losing yourself and finding yourself; etc. [cis-man]

However, a 'refusal' to go out partying was reported only by female respondents to the survey:

In my opinion, partying is a pointless waste of time; [cis-woman]

Nothing, I don't party; [cis-woman]

I don't go looking for parties [cis-woman]

¹⁶Reference: Valentine, G. & Skelton, T. (2003). Finding oneself, losing oneself: the lesbians and gay 'scene' as a paradoxical space. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(4), 849-866.

5.4. FREQUENCY OF ALCOHOL AND DRUG USE¹⁷ IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

In terms of the consumption of substances in nightlife environments, alcohol is by far the substance most consumed in this context by respondents who have consumed alcohol at least once in their lifetime (97.8%), in the last 6 months (87%), in the last year (94.3%), and in the last 30 days (75%). This is followed by tobacco use at least once in a lifetime (83.4%), in the last 12 months (67.9%), and in the last 30 days (50.6%)¹⁸. Cannabis is also widely used in nightlife environments, both by those who have tried it once (79.9%), in the last year (56.2%), or in the last month (29%).

Alcohol, tobacco and cannabis are the three most commonly consumed substances according to the responses to the survey. Although the data on alcohol and tobacco use may be in line with that of the general population, we can observe a trend for cannabis use that is also seen in the use of other illegal substances. This shows a greater use of cannabis by respondents compared to the prevalence of its use among the general population, which stands at 64.5% for the last 12 months according to the Global Drugs Survey (2020). This is likely due to the fact that the sample of this study was reached through of its distribution by entities, networks and individuals involved in the nightlife scene, and, consequently, respondents were mainly active nightlife users. Therefore, in surveying people who we know participate in environments where a large part of the overall consumption occurs, it is to be expected that the results will be higher than if we were to survey the general population. In other words, the sample comes from a population subgroup that is characterised, among other things, by partying and using psychoactive substances.

For example, we can see that more than a third of the sample have tried MDMA at least once in their lifetime (42.1%), and a quarter have used it in the last year (25.7%), although there is a significant drop in use within the more recent time frame of the last 30 days (5%). Another substance of notable prevalence is cocaine, both in terms of its use at least once in a lifetime (35.5%), in the last year (22.1%) and current use (6.8%). From the group of stimulants, amphetamine (speed) use is also prevalent.

DRUG USE (%)	AT LEAST ONCE IN A LIFETIME	IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS	IN THE LAST 6 MONTHS	IN THE LAST 30 DAYS	NEVER	NO ANSWER
ALCOHOL	97,8%	94,3%	87%	75%	1,9%	0,4%
TOBACCO	83,4%	67,9%	60,2%	50,6%	14,2%	2,3%
CANNABIS	79,9%	56,2%	44,1%	29%	16,3%	3,9%
COCAINE	35,5%	22,1%	8,2%	3,8%	72,1%	9,6%
KETAMINE	18,4%	11,2%	8,2%	3,8%	72,1%	9,6%
GHB	6,9%	2,8%	1,81%	1%	81,5%	11,7%
MDMA (ECSTASY, PILLS, CRYSTAL, M, MD)	42,1%	25,7%	16,1%	5%	50,7%	7,2%
AMPHETAMINE	32%	18%	12,1%	5%	59,6%	8,4%
LSD	28,7%	12,4%	7,2%	2,1%	62%	9,4%
PSILOCYBIN MUSHROOMS	14,3%	4,6%	2,3%	0,8%	76%	9,7%
NITROUS OXIDE	14,3%	4,6%	2,3%	0,8%	76%	9,7%
POPPERS	20,7%	7,7%	4,5%	2%	70,3%	9%
2CB	10,2%	4,1%	2,6%	0,8%	76%	9,7%
METHAMPHETAMINE	6,5%	1,6%	0,9%	0,4%	83%	10,5%
HEROIN	3,1%	0,5%	0,4%	0,2%	86%	10,8%
OPIUM	6,5%	1,1%	0,6%	0,3%	82,9%	10,6%
OPIOID DRUGS (WITH OR WITHOUT PRESCRIPTION)	12,4%	4,3%	2,4%	1,3%	77,6%	10%
BENZODIAZEPINES (WITH OR WITHOUT PRESCRIPTION)	15%	7,5%	5%	2,9%	74,9%	10,1%
OTHERS	4,3%	2%	1,5%	1%	74,7%	21%

Table 1- Prevalence of drug use by type and frequency.

¹⁷In this report, the term "drug use" will be used to refer to "alcohol and drug use".

¹⁸Use in the last 30 days is usually interpreted as prevalence of current use for different substances (EMCDDA, 2005).

LSD, psilocybin mushrooms, and ketamine also stand out. It should be noted that these substances are more psychoactive or psychedelic, with the exception of ketamine, which is usually consumed both in recreational contexts and for psychoactive or psychedelic use. For example, the use of LSD (13.3%), psychedelic mushrooms (12.4%) and ketamine (11.2%) in the last year would appear noteworthy.



Figure 22 - Distribution of the sample by frequency of drug use and type of drug

Other substances such as poppers, nitrous oxide, 2CB, opium, methamphetamine and heroin have lower prevalence rates. However, it is worth mentioning the use of opioid drugs (prescription and non-prescription), especially those taken at least once in a lifetime (12.4%) or in the last year (4.3%). Benzodiazepines, another group of sedatives and tranquillisers, also represent a group of drugs to be taken into consideration in terms of respondents' use once in a lifetime (15%) or in the last year (7.5%).

Here we might consider the gender differences observed in the different responses from those surveyed, in terms of drug use. There is little difference between the gender categories in terms of alcohol and tobacco use. However, starting with cannabis and in the case of all other substances, reported use among men who responded to the survey is higher than among women and among transgender and non-binary gender identities.

This phenomenon has been noted in previous research (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018), which have shown that men use substances that are less socially accepted (illegal substances), while women largely consume drugs that are more socially accepted. In general, drug use is more compatible with male gender expectations of risk-taking, experiencing new sensations and transgressing norms, to the extent that women, when they engage in drug use, transgress not only the social norms regarding drug use in and of itself, but also those of gender and femininity, with such use consequently more heavily stigmatized. This would explain why men more frequently use drugs such as cocaine, MDMA, amphetamines or LSD in nightlife environments, as can be seen in the results. Another clue which might help to understand these differences in consumption has to do with the fact that women self-limit their consumption in order to feel safer in nightlife environments, motivated by the perception of insecurity that they detect in them (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018). In chapter 6.3. Perceived lack of safety in nightlife environments, we will look at this aspect in more detail.

In considering responses gathered from people of transgender and non-binary gender identities, some interesting results are observed. On the one hand, substances such as cocaine are reported as being used in almost equal measure by women (30.1%) as by the transgender and non-binary gender identifying respondents (31.16%). However, use of many other substances is higher among transgender and non-binary gender identifying respondents than among women. In the case of MDMA, 50.32% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities reported having tried it at least once, while among women this figure was 36.8%. For Ketamine, 22.12% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities reported having tried it at least once, against 14.2% of women. The same is true for psilocybin mushrooms (34.24% and 23.3%), poppers (28.76% and 15.5%) and benzodiazepines (29.68% and 12.7%).

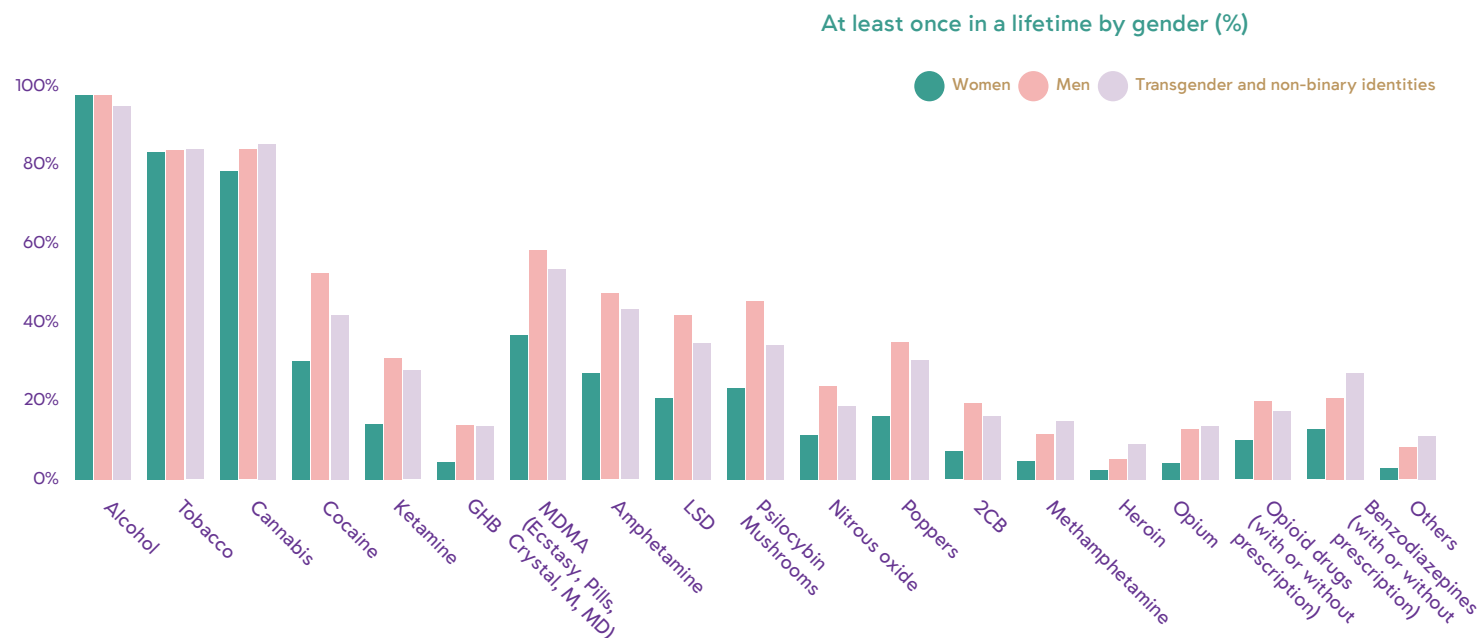


Figure 23- Distribution of the sample by type of drug used at least once and gender category

If we analyse consumption in the last year, we see that the pattern is practically the same. In other words, reported tobacco and alcohol consumption is very similar between men and women, though in this case we begin to see a trend that is maintained in the following frequencies of consumption. In the case of alcohol, prevalence of use

among people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (95%) is slightly lower than among women (97,8%) and men (97.7%). In contrast, people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (85,2%) reported higher cannabis use than women (78,4%), albeit this is slightly lower than men (83,9%). For other substances, the pattern is repeated. For cocaine, higher use is observed among men (52.6%) than among women (30,1%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (41,9%), which are on a par. Nevertheless, the basic pattern is that drug consumption among men reported via the survey is greater than that among people of transgender and non-binary gender identities and, additionally, women, who are also the ones who report having consumed the least in the past year, as the table below shows.

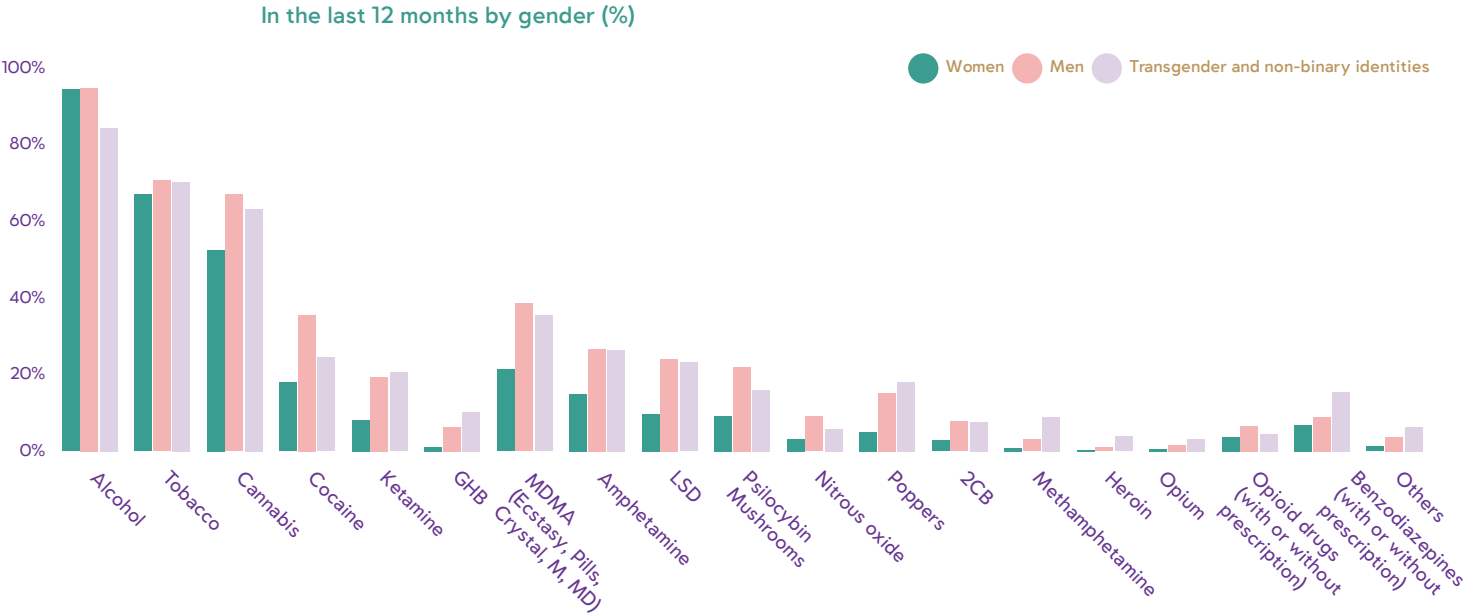


Figure 24- Distribution of the sample by type of drug used in the last 12 months and gender category

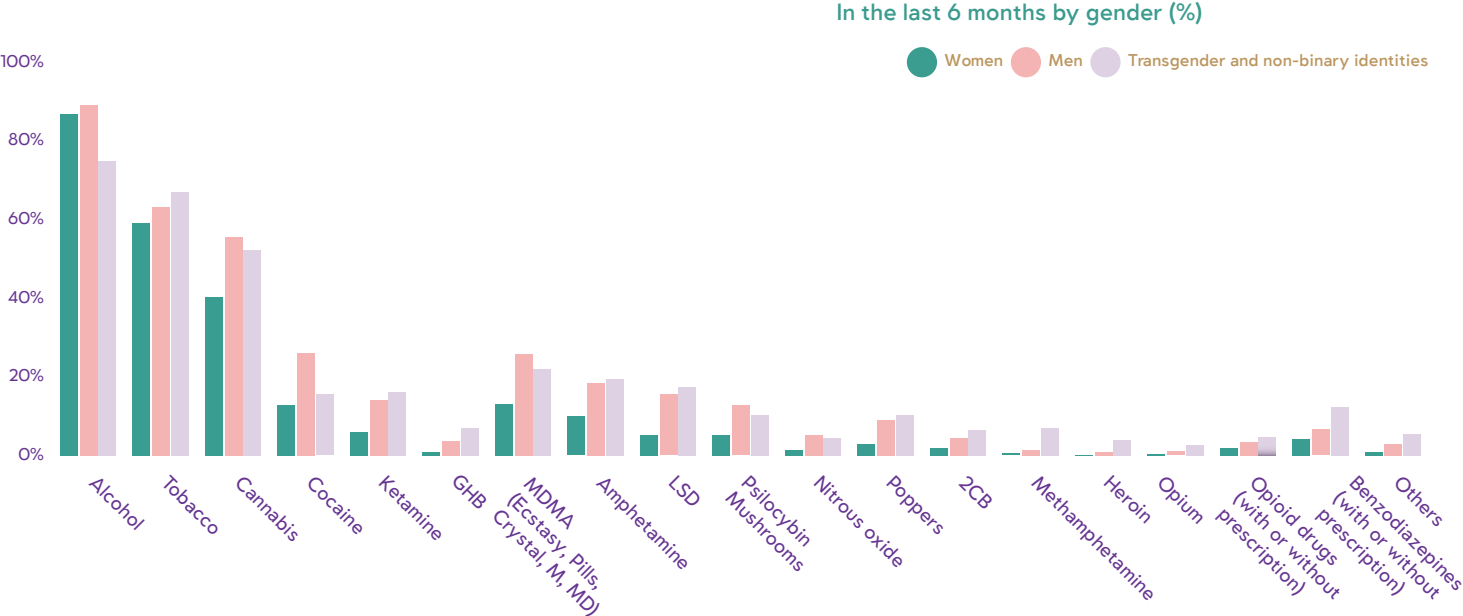
The repetition of this pattern of frequency of use in the last six months leads us to interpret that there is an association in terms of gender in the valuing of certain substances such as alcohol and cocaine by men, in addition to some stimulants and psychedelics. Women tend towards the consumption of legalized substances, and use illegal substances less than men and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities. Furthermore, people of transgender and non-binary gender identities stand out from

women in terms of their use of illegal substances, such as cannabis, or the stimulants MDMA and LSD , and psilocybin mushrooms. In addition, the transgender and non-binary gender identities cohort had consumed more poppers, 2CB, methamphetamine, opioid drugs, benzodiazepines, opium and heroin than both men and women in the last 12 months. According to the existing literature, transgender and non-binary groups may use drugs at higher rates than the general population, and have different drug use motivations (e.g. to cope with negative emotions regarding their gender identity, or with structural and systematic gender oppression) (Valentine & Maund, 2016¹⁹). However, it is also relevant to address agency and reframe an intentional and calculated experimentation of intoxication to facilitate gender liberation. In this sense, it is

also relevant to consider the role of “intoxication in making gender” or “the relationship between chemical practices and gender transformations” (Pienaar, Murphy, Race & Lea, 2020²⁰, p.154). In this sense, these communities develop their own, subculturally specific drug use patterns that must be addressed and analysed through an inter-sectional and culturally sensitive approach.

¹⁹Reference: Valentine, V. & Maund, O. (2016). Transgender Inclusion in Drug and Alcohol Services. Trans Scottish Alliance.
²⁰Reference: Pienaar, K., Murphy, D., Race, K. and Lea, T. (2020). Sexualities and Intoxication: “To Be Intoxicated Is to Still Be Me, Just a Little Blurry” - Drug, Enhancement and Transformation in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Cultures. In: Hutton F. (eds), Cultures of Intoxication: Key Issues and Debates. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan. pp.139-154. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-35284-4_7

As we can see in the following graph, which shows consumption of psychoactive substances in the last 30 days, the pattern observed in consumption of the same substances over the last year is repeated and maintained across the three gender groups analysed. In this case, it can also be observed that consumption of lesser-used substances such as methamphetamine, heroin or opium by men and women practically disappears.



In the last 30 days by gender (%)

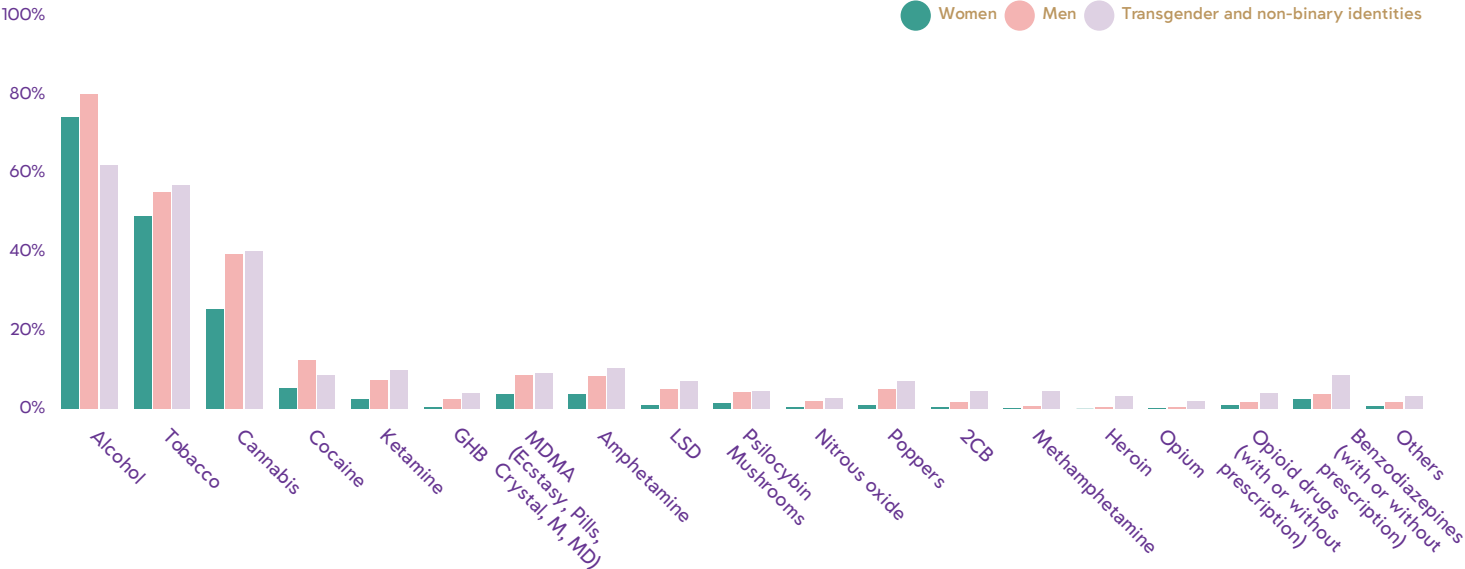


Figure 26 - Distribution of the sample by type of drug used in the last 30 days and gender category

Figure 25 - Distribution of the sample by type of drug used in the last 6 months and gender category

As such, we can state that there are important and clear gender differences. Some of these are already known from previous research (Observatorio Noctambul@s, 2018), while others are less recognised, but do provide information regarding the different gender categories used in the survey, and highlight the need to obtain further data and information, ideally through qualitative techniques, regarding non-normative gender differences in relation to drug use.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Other drug use reported primarily concerned entheogenic or psychedelic substances, followed by New Psychoactive Substances (NPS). DMT appeared the most frequently, with 35 people having used it, while a further 24 people had used different substances such as ayahuasca, belladonna (a plant of the Solanaceae family), mescaline, salvia divinorum, or some kind of plant of the datura genus.

34 respondents confirmed having used NPS. The range of substances is very diverse: 25-NBome; 2CB; DOx (Substituted dimethoxyamphetamines); 1P-LSD (1-Propionyl-d-lysergic acid diethylamide); 2C-T-7 (2,5-Dimethoxy-4-propylthiophenethylamine); 3-MMC (3-Methylmethcathinone); mephedrone (4-MMC), 2-Fluorodeschloroketamine (2-FDCK), 4-Fluoromethamphetamine (4-FMA), 4-HO-MET, 6-APB (Benzofury), ALD-52 (1-Acetyl-N,N-diethyllysergamide), JVH, MDPV (Methylenedioxypyrovalerone), alpha-PVP (Flakka), etc. Mephedrone stands out as the most commonly-used NPS, with 17 respondents reporting use.

Some respondents also referred to substances for medical use in certain psychopathological treatments, such as benzodiazepines, barbiturates, escitalopram, methylphenidate, etc.

By gender, no notable differences are observed, as both men and women reported consuming the substances detailed above in a similar way.

For further information, see Annex 3: Table 4- Distribution of sample by drug use: type of substances. Qualitative data. [Page 214](#).

5.5. REASONS FOR DRUG USE IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

The reasons for using psychoactive substances in nightlife venues can vary greatly. The principal or most reported motive among survey participants was to "relax" (54.8%), followed by the desire to "feel euphoric" (47.8%), to "improve the activity of listening to music or dancing" (45.8%), and to "feel high or intoxicated" (37.5%).

A little further behind, three other motives were chosen by approximately a quarter of respondents: to "feel more confident and talk to people in social situations" (27.3%), to "escape" (26.9%), and to "have more partying hours" (25.2%).

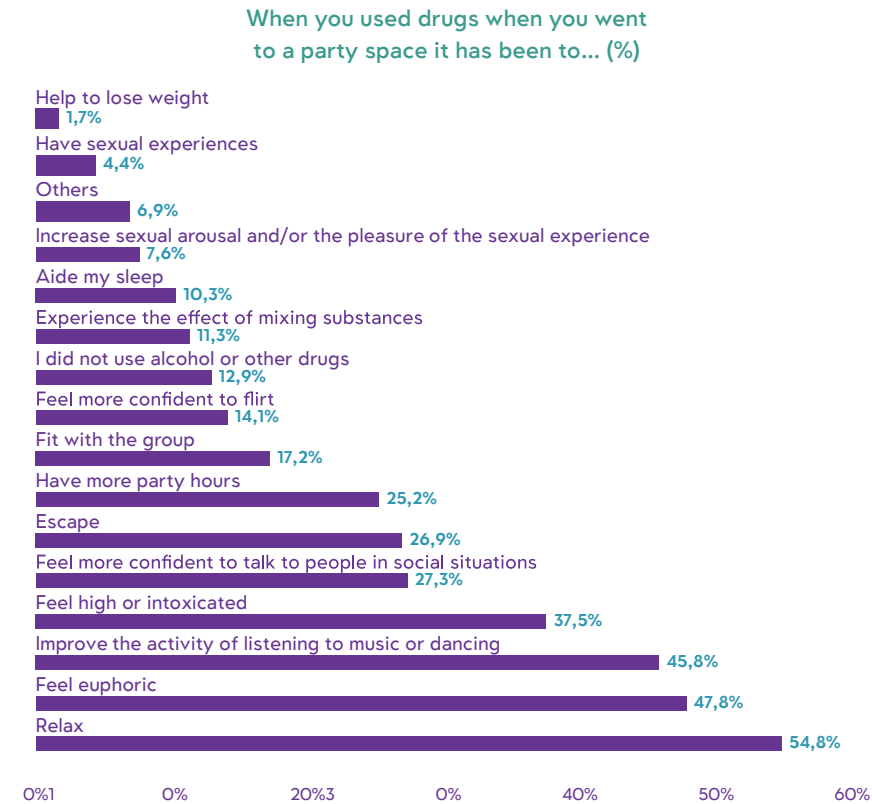


Figure 27- Distribution of the sample by reasons for using psychoactive substances on nights' out

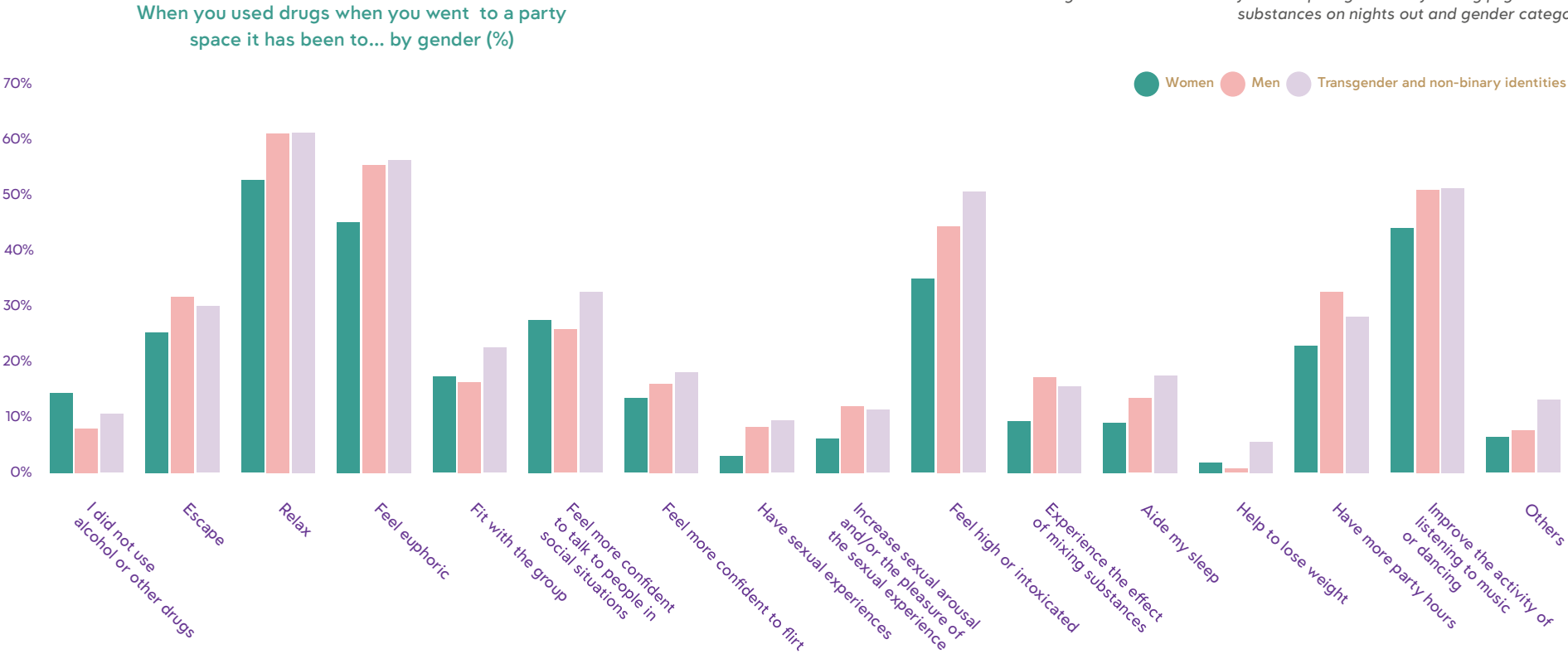
By gender, women (14.4%) only outperform the transgender and non-binary gender identities when they say do not use drugs or alcohol, although these differences are of little relevance.

Men, on the other hand, show a higher predisposition towards certain motivations than respondents of transgender and non-binary gender identities. For example, men more frequently reported the option of "getting away" (31.7%) than both women (25.3%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (30%), something which is consistent with the data obtained for "an ideal night out" (Point 5.3.) Men (61.1%) and people of transgender and non-binary identities (61.3%) also admitted to consuming substances to "relax" more than women (52.7%). This is also the case in terms of use with the aim of "feeling euphoric", with a higher rate of reporting among men (55.4%) and transgender and non-binary gender identities (56.3%), than women (45.1%).

If we consider gender differences in behaviours or activities of a sexual nature, we see that there are indeed differences, with men (12%) opting more for the option of "increasing sexual arousal and/or the pleasure of the sexual experience" than people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (11,3%) and women (6.2%). In the case of "having sex", transgender and gender non-binary respondents (9,4%) led the three gender categories surveyed, followed by men (8.3%) and finally by women (3%). This also coincides with the data obtained for "an ideal night out" (5.3. Ideal nightlife experience).

The differences between the gender categories in terms of the link between drug-taking activity and sexuality are not particularly remarkable, but it does seem that among women this link is weaker than among the other two groups.

Figure 28 - Distribution of the sample by reasons for using psychoactive substances on nights out and gender category



QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Other reasons reported for drug use were: seeking pleasure, seeking new experiences, seeking personal growth and enhancement, sharing and bonding, a refusal to use drugs in nightlife environments, to deal with issues and negative feelings, seeking release, and 'other' (for further information, see Annex 3: Table 5- Motivation(s) for drug use. Qualitative data. [Page 216](#)).

The principal 'other' reason for drug use reported by men who responded to the survey was seeking new experiences by way of experiencing new sensations through drug use:

Try out new things and have new experiences; [cis-man]

To experiment; [cis-man]

To explore new sensations; etc. [cis-man]

In addition, it was mainly men who reported using drugs to seek personal growth and enhancement, with altered states of consciousness being their reason for consumption:

To alter consciousness to see things from a new perspective; [cis-man]

To get to know myself and substances better; [cis-man]

For psychic exploration ; etc. [cis-man]

Finally, men reported using drugs to deal with issues and negative feelings in relation to their own personality traits (shyness, antisocial personality, etc.) more than transgender and gender non-binary respondents:

To detach from my antisocial and introverted side; [cis-man]

Women, on the other hand, mainly pointed to seeking pleasure, especially in relation to alcohol use:

I enjoy drinking along with food; [cis-woman]

To have fun with my friends; [cis-woman]

To enhance the party experience; [cis-woman]

Women also emphasised the idea of dealing with issues and negative feelings, albeit not to disinhibit themselves, but as a strategy to deal with anxiety, stress or day-to-day depression, which is significant from a gender point of view, and coincides with the findings of previous research on gender and drug use (Observatorio Noctámbul@s 2018):

Benzos for anxiety; [cis-woman]

Not to think or feel; [cis-woman]

Depression; [cis-woman]

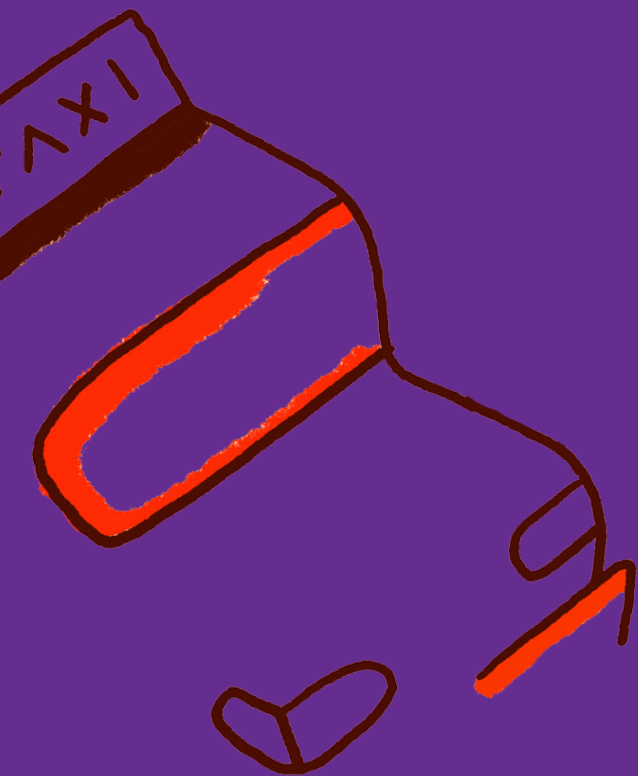
Finally, only women reported a refusal to use drugs in nightlife environments, as was the case when asked about other notions of an ideal night out:

I did it several years ago, now for years it's not part of my lifestyle; [cis-woman]

Have only used alcohol; [cis-woman]

I like alcohol, I don't use drugs; [cis-woman]

In any case, we again see how the main 'secondary' options for men and women do not stray from traditional strictures of gender.



6.

TRAVEL AND NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

In this section, we will look into the means of transport respondents' use to get to nightlife venues and where those venues are located, in addition to respondents' perceptions of insecurity (lack of safety) when moving between spaces, the reasons for these perceptions, and their coping strategies in the face of the risk of being attacked when going to or returning from a venue at night.

- 6.1. Nightlife locations
- 6.2. Means of transport to/from venues
- 6.3. Perceived lack of safety in nightlife environments
- 6.4. Reasons for perceived lack of safety in nightlife environments
- 6.5. Gender of people involved in perceived lack of safety in nightlife environments
- 6.6. Strategies for coping with the risk of being attacked while walking to/from a venue at night

The construction of safe leisure spaces from a feminist perspective is based on a vision of safety and an approach to gender-based violence that focuses on the perception of (in)security experienced by women and people of diverse gender identities in public spaces, taking into account the continuity and connection between the violence experienced in public and private spaces. This approach to safety and violence considers women (as a diverse group) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities as having intimate knowledge of the territories in which they live and move. As such, their participation in the construction of safe spaces is essential. Although the perception of safety depends not only on physical factors, but also on social, political and economic factors, the physical configuration of the environment conditions the perception of safety within it. It is not the same to walk through a dark place as through one which is well-lit, along a street where there are people around as opposed to one where there is no one, and so on. A good perceived degree of safety means that we feel free to walk through any space without fear. We often avoid going to certain places or change our routes home to avoid spaces because they make us feel unsafe. Perception of safety is closely linked to a person's social characteristics, and gender plays a fundamental role in how women, men and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities perceive spaces, and what kinds of things they are afraid of. Therefore, it will be necessary to take action so that all people, regardless of their social characteristics, can use and enjoy public, community and domestic spaces, without restricting their movements or activities out of fear (Col·lectiu Punt 6, 2019).

It should again be noted that the sample finally analysed was 4,534 responses. The sample has been analysed on the basis of the following gender categories: Women (N=3,371), Men (N=1,003) and Transgender and non-binary gender identities (N=160).

6.1. NIGHTLIFE LOCATIONS

The first question in this section of the questionnaire enquired about preferences in terms of locations for nightlife activities. The most frequently reported options, with hardly any gender differences, were to go to venues in one's village, town or city of residence (88.2%), followed by slightly more than half of those surveyed who chose to go to venues close to their area (55.6%).

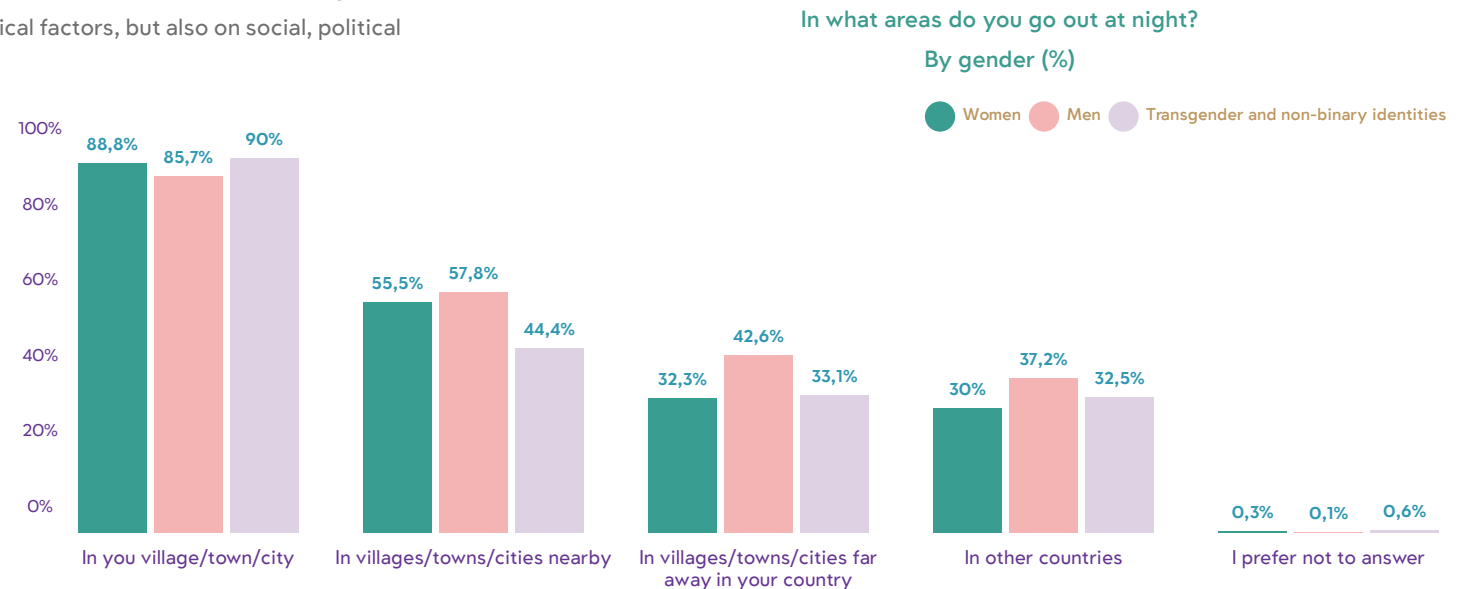


Figure 29 - Distribution of the sample by preferred area to go on nights out and gender category

Hereafter, we can observe some differences between genders. When it comes to travelling to more distant locations, albeit within the same country, men (42.6%) showed a greater preference than women (32.3%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (33.1%). Similarly, men (37.2%) were more likely to travel to other countries to go on a night out than women (30%) and people who identified as transgender and gender non-binary (32.5%). This would appear related to the male/female-public/private space gender binary. In this case, women are expected not to stray too far from the domestic space when they go out, unlike men, whose gender expectation would encourage them to 'go on adventures' and 'discover the world without limits'.

6.2. MEANS OF TRANSPORT TO/FROM VENUES

In terms of means of transport to get to or from a venue, respondents reported walking, followed by public transport (metro, train or tram), and taxis and private vehicles. Further down the list, night or day buses and passenger transport vehicles (PTVs) were also reported. Approximately half of the people surveyed also use bicycles, skateboards or mopeds, and lastly, among a very small minority, motorbikes.

What means of transport do you use when you go out?
By gender(%)

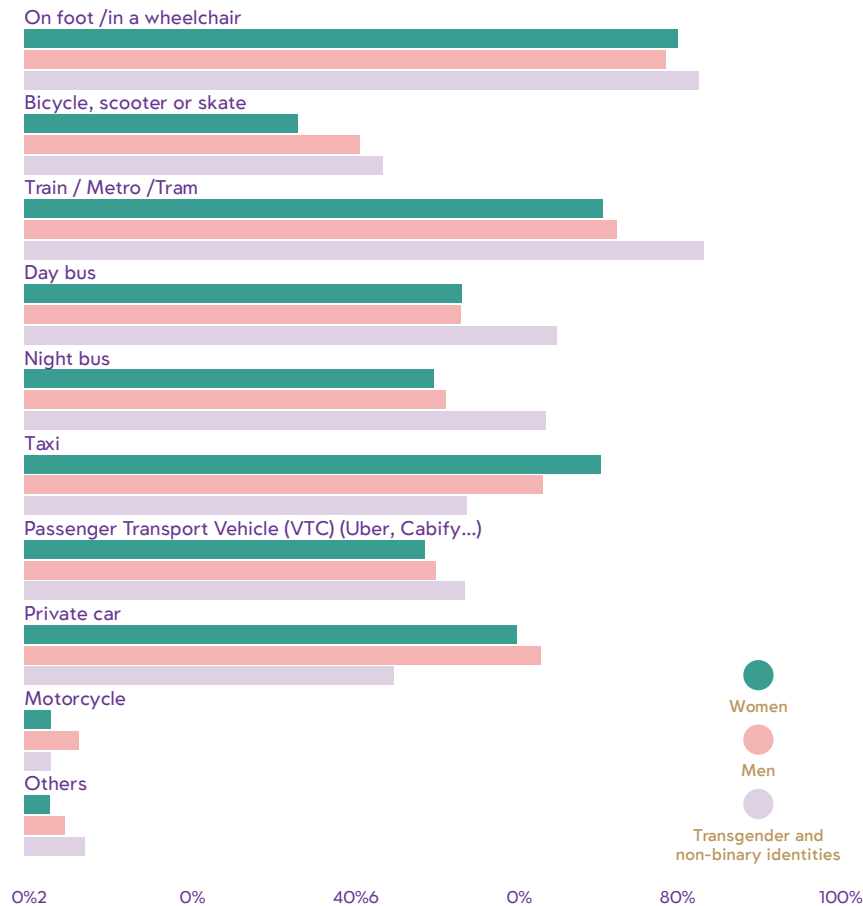


Figure 30 - Distribution of the sample by means of transport used on nights out

Women and transgender and non-binary gender identities reported moving around on foot/in a wheelchair (80% and 82.6) slightly more than men (78.6%). All genders were also likely to go by train/metro/tram (women: 70.8%; men: 72.5% and transgender and non-binary gender identities: 83.2%). Men (63.3%) and women (60.3%) reported greater private car use than transgender and non-binary gender identities (45.2%). Women (70.6%) reported using more taxi than men (63.5%) and transgender and non-binary gender identities (54.2%).

According to the Observatorio Noctámbul@s Report (2018), some women's preference for private transport (taxi, own vehicle) responds to the fact that they continue to feel restricted in their right to walk freely alone at any time of night, or to take public transport if there is an adequate, round-the-clock network.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

In relation to the option of "other" means of transport, selected by 15.32% of those surveyed, it may be pertinent to highlight some additional information. In the cases of "rides from other people" and "rides from close people", corresponding to 55 and 19 responses respectively, this same option was considered to be already included under "private car" in the survey, with the difference that these "rides" refer to journeys by car in which the driver is a third party, and not the survey respondent.

On the other hand, 25 respondents reported having taken a plane to travel for night-life, including to go to renowned locations such as the island of Ibiza, Berlin, or cities or territories with important festivals or prominent clubbing areas.

Finally, a small group (six respondents) reported having used rental cars. In the survey questions, we had included an option of private transport vehicles (PTVs), which are not be exactly the same as vehicles for hire. The statistical difference between people who have used PTVs (1,607 people) and those who have rented vehicles (6 people) is huge, although we may find it useful to include the latter travel option in future surveys.

A significant difference among the gender groups exists in terms of preferences for hitchhiking with friends or acquaintances, and riding in a friend's car.

Hitchhiking with friends or acquaintances [cis-woman]

A car driven by another friend. [cis-woman]

A friend's car. [cis-woman]

By contrast, men more often marked "other means of transport" to denote options such as travel by plane, by boat, or carpooling.

Car sharing. [cis-man]

Plane [cis-man]

Ship [cis-man]

For further information, see Annex 3: Table 6- Means of transportation to/from nightlife venues. Qualitative data. [Page 217](#).

6.3. PERCEIVED LACK OF SAFETY IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

According to the feminist urban planning and architecture cooperative Col·lectiu Punt 6 (2019), there are several characteristics, from a gender perspective, that a safe environment should have: signage, visibility, concurrence of people, formal surveillance and access to help, planning and maintenance, and community participation. Some measures to improve perceptions of safety, as outlined in the Observatorio Noctambul@s Report (2018), are:

Diversify nightlife options to accommodate a more diverse range of people and leisure practices that also break with the dominant heteropatriarchal pattern.

Increase visibility and vitality by rebuilding streets to have a wide field of vision, widening pavements and prioritizing pedestrians, with no corners, walls or fences, with vitality provided by different activities at street level at different times of day. This would also prevent narrower or smaller streets from being used as a place to urinate, for example.

Increase street and public transport signage. Walking on streets where it is difficult to find one's way around worsens the perception of safety. Street names at all intersections and pedestrian maps, as well as identifiable elements of urban art in neighbourhoods, make it easier to find one's way around the city and therefore increase perceptions of safety. The location and design of public transport stops, and the information provided at them, are fundamental aspects that determine the perception of them as safe waiting areas. In certain neighbourhoods where there is less foot traffic at night, on-demand stops are also recommended.

Promote the temporary use of disused sites by providing them to social and cultural organisations who would make these spaces more active, better maintain them, and increase the perception of their safety. The reduction of barriers such as stairs, subways or overpasses also serves to increase the perception of safety and accessibility on foot to a range of leisure areas.

In analysing the question of perceived insecurity of nightlife venues, we found very significant gender differences.

To begin with, both women (77.5%) and people who identify as transgender and gender non-binary (63.1%) reported feeling significantly less safe than men (22.9%) when travelling alone to venues at night. The same is true for both women (75.9%) and people who identify as transgender and gender non-binary (62.5%) when it comes to passing

through a dimly lit street, in comparison to men (26.3%).

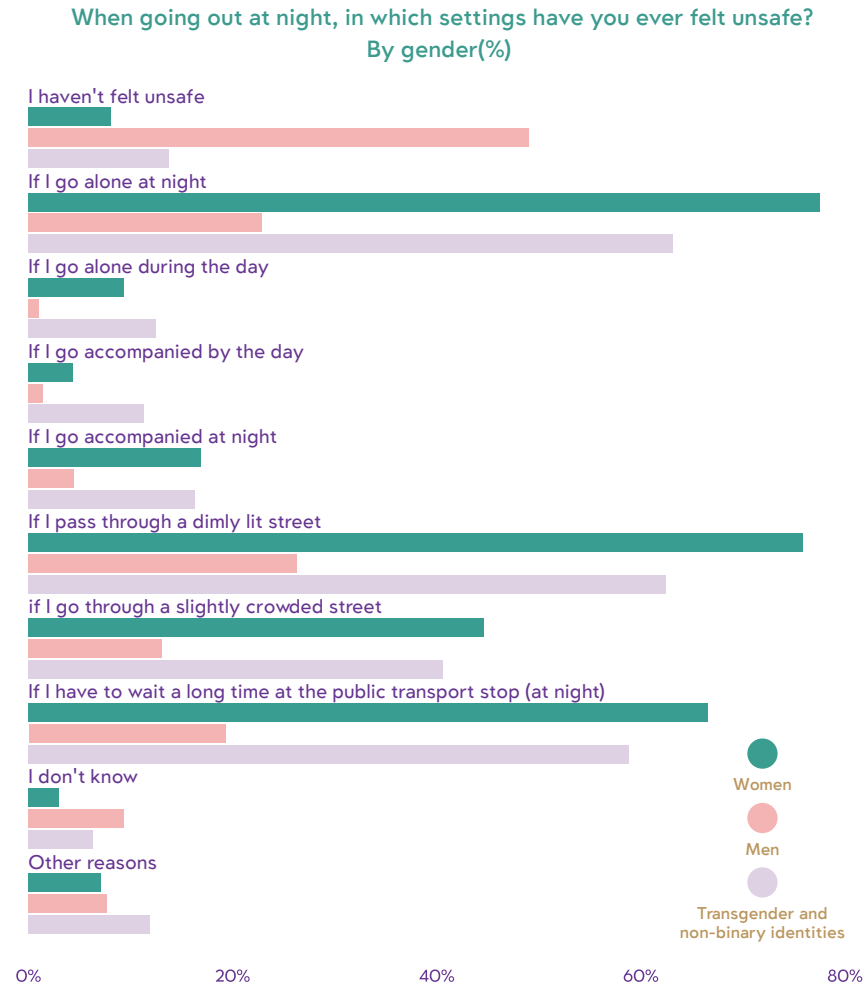


Figure 31 - Distribution of the sample by perception of unsafe situations on nights out and gender category

Similarly, women (66.6%) and people who identify as transgender and gender non-binary (58.8%) reported feeling less safe than men (19.3%) when they have to wait for a long time at a public transport stop at night. No less significantly, women (44.6%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (40.6%) reported feeling less safe than men (13.1%) when walking along crowded streets. If they are already revealing in themselves of the lack of safety in terms of night-time

mobility, the data that gives even more weight to this variable is the response option of feeling safe or secure (so, "I haven't felt unsafe" option). In this case, men (49%) far outnumber women (8.1%), especially, and people identified by transgender and non-binary gender identities (13.8%) in the feeling of safety.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Other circumstances reported are related to the following three dimensions (for more information, see Annex 3: Table 7-Perceptions of lack of safety when out at night. Qualitative data. [Page 218](#)):

Behaviour of others: other people are men; other people present unspecified threatening behaviours; other people are in groups; other people invade personal space; other people are aggressive; other people are under the influence; other people are strangers; other people make inappropriate comments; other people follow the person on the street; other behaviours.

Environment: public transport; night time; unspecific threatening environments; presence of the police; immediate surroundings of the venue; other environmental dimensions.

Personal: being under the influence; what one is wearing/clothes; other personal dimensions.

Men mainly pointed to the behaviour of others, such as "people are aggressive", "people are in groups" or "people are strangers", as causing a sense of lack of safety, in addition to one environmental dimension in particular: the presence of police (also pointed out by some women). In most cases, the fear of physical aggression (being beaten up etc.) can be inferred:

Aggressive or drunk people who are intrusive and unable to respond adequately to being told 'no'; [cis-man]

In situations which are clearly violent and stressful; etc. [cis-man]

Boys who seem violent to me Groups of boys; [cis-man]

Coming across groups of malicious people [cis-man]

Large groups of riffraff [cis-man]

Too big a crowd [cis-man]

Suspicious groups in certain areas [cis-man]

If I don't know the people/venue; [cis-man]

Unknown people at very late hours; etc. [cis-man]

When the police are present; [cis-man]

Violent police; [cis-man]

The presence of the police in any form (undercover or uniform); [cis-man]

When the police intervene; [cis-man]

The presence of the police; [cis-woman]

Nevertheless, women reported feeling insecure in these and many other situations, in terms of the behaviour of others, the environment, and themselves (whether they had consumed drugs or alcohol, how they dressed, etc.).

When someone gets too close to me; [cis-woman]

If someone at a party is very intrusive and won't step back; [cis-woman]

If I travel by public transport in the evening alone; [cis-woman]

Going home in a taxi; [cis-woman]

Alone in uncomfortable outfits; [cis-woman]

If I am drunk and if I wear revealing clothing; etc. [cis-woman]

The idea that 'other people are men', frequently mentioned by women, is notable, and points to the most common direction of violence: from men to women. In most cases, the fear of being sexually assaulted can be inferred:

Around men; [cis-woman]

When I walk in front of a group of men; [cis-woman]

Drunk intrusive men outside of clubs; etc. [cis-woman]

Groups of men nearby; [cis-woman]

Groups of boys; [cis-woman]

Stares and comments from men; [cis-woman]

People of transgender and non-binary gender identities report fear of strangers, the police, or drawing attention to their gender identity because of the way they dress:

If someone unknown approaches [transgender and non-binary gender identity]

The police [transgender and non-binary gender identity]

Wearing a lot of glitter or being dressed for a rave means I get more attention as a visibly Queer person [transgender and non-binary gender identity]

In general, the survey showed that women feel unsafe in a wider range of circumstances associated with nightlife than men, largely in relation to the possibility of being sexually assaulted.

6.4. REASONS FOR THE PERCEIVED LACK OF SAFETY IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

We have already seen that perceptions of lack of safety vary greatly between genders. In this section, we will analyse the reasons why women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities feel unsafe. To this end, we first asked respondents whether their varying perceptions of a lack of safety, or fear of being harassed or assaulted (sexually or otherwise) responded to the presence of people of a particular gender.

Among respondents, women clearly associate situations of sexual assault (74.8%), physical assault (55.2%) and verbal assault (40.5%) with a specific gender. On the other hand, women's fear of robbery is less marked, and less associated with a potential assault of a specific (35.5%) or non-specific gender (39.3%).

Why did you feel unsafe in these situation?
Was this feeling triggered by a certain person?
Women

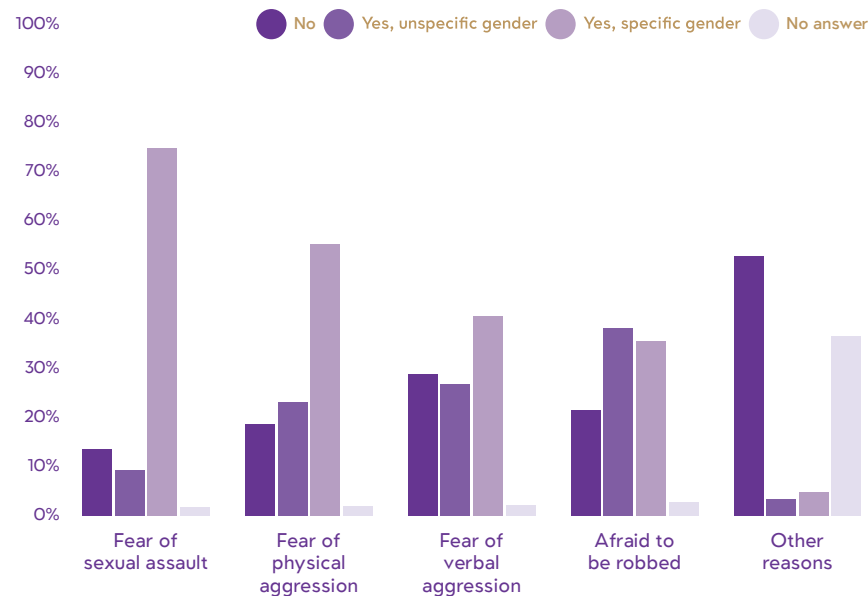


Figure 32 - Distribution of the sample group "women" by unsafe situations and specific gender as a trigger

Among men, 88% reported not fearing sexual assault, nor did they fear verbal assault

(45.8%) to the same extent as women. On the other hand, they did feel more afraid of physical assault and of being robbed, both by a person of unspecified gender (35.7% and 38.3%) and of a specific gender (45% and 31.4%).

Why did you feel unsafe in these situation?
Was this feeling triggered by a certain person?
Men

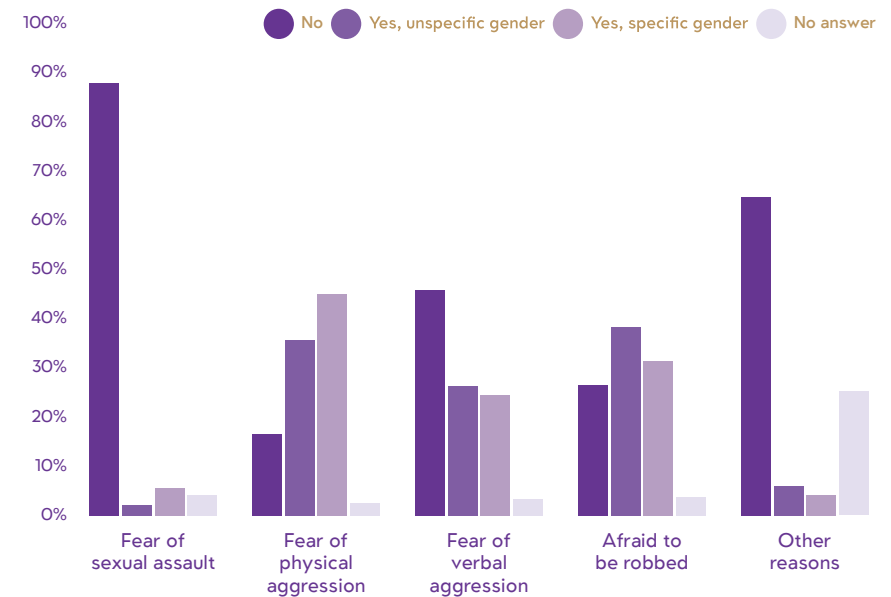


Figure 33 - Distribution of the sample group "men" by unsafe situations and specific gender as a trigger

In the case of people of transgender and gender non-binary identities, we see that they also report being afraid of being sexually assaulted (65.7%), physically assaulted (68.6%) or verbally assaulted (59.1%) by a person of a specific gender. When it comes to fear of robbery, as was the case with women, the gender of the potential assailant is less marked.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting the 69.2 percentage point difference between women's fear of being sexually assaulted and that of men. In other words, women who responded to the survey were much more afraid of this occurring when out at night than men, having been socialised, as some studies point out (Barjola, N., 2016), to accept the idea of "sexual terror" in public spaces.

Why did you feel unsafe in these situation?
Was this feeling triggered by a certain person?
Transgender and non-binary gender identities

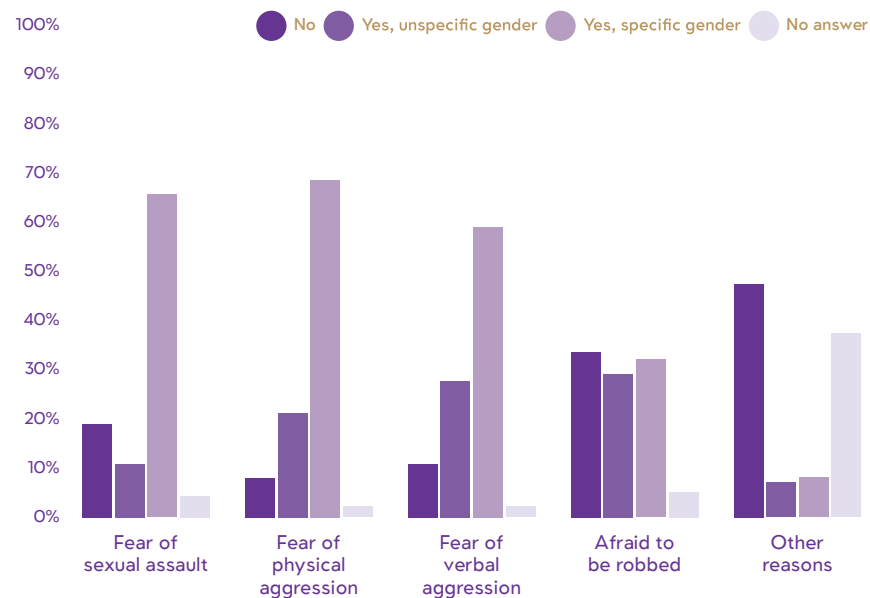


Figure 34 - Distribution of the sample group“transgender and non-binary gender identities” and unsafe situations and specific gender as a trigger

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Other reasons for perceived lack of safety reported by women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities include fear of men; fear caused by previous experiences, and even fear of abduction (for further information, see Annex 3: Table 7-Perceptions of lack of safety in when out at night. Qualitative data. [Page 218](#)).

I have had bad experiences with men in the past, feeling physically inferior; [Cis-woman].

I was once violently attacked by a man at night. He was convicted in court. I am still doing therapy years later. [Cis-woman].

Negative experience [transgender and non-binary gender identity].

That I will be kidnapped [Cis-woman].

On the other hand, men reported having problems with the justice system or the

police, in addition to specific characteristics of the environment (being in an unfamiliar space, being alone, etc.):

Fear of trouble with the police; [Cis-man].

Arrests and long-term consequences; [Cis-man].

Fear of becoming lost with no one to help me [Cis-man].

6.5. GENDER OF PEOPLE INVOLVED IN PERCEIVED LACK OF SAFETY IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS²¹

When asked about the gender of the people involved in the perception of insecurity in the above situations, the majority of respondents pointed to cis-gender men (96% for fear of sexual assault, 93.9% for fear of physical assault, 86.2% for verbal assault, and 87% for fear of being robbed).

Even so, as we have seen, when asked about other reasons for feeling unsafe, most of people (32.6% of the sample, of which 99% were women, and 1% transgender and non-binary gender identities) reported being afraid of men, or of a sexual assault perpetrated by one or more men:

My fears are never about women when I go out, they always come from men [Cisgender woman].

Man's strength [Cisgender woman].

So far, I have never felt intimidated by a woman. [Cisgender woman].

Patriarchy, men taking advantage of women's weakness for thousands of years etc. [Cisgender woman].

To be sexually assaulted by a man who may even kill me. [Cisgender woman].

Men have, on many occasions, danced too close to me and/or tried to touch me OR they have openly proposed something sexual. When I decline I sometimes get verbally attacked etc. [Cisgender woman].

Bad experiences with men [Gender Queer/Diverse/Non binary].

If we analyse by gender, women, men and transgender and non-binary gender individuals consistently pointed to men in their responses regarding perceived lack of safety. Women do so to a greater extent in all situations (fear of physical assault: 95.77%; fear of verbal assault: 88.66% and fear of robbery: 89.04%), especially when it comes to fear of sexual assault (97.27%):

Figure 35 - Sample interview statements reporting perceptions of fear in relation to men

²¹This was an open-ended question, thus part of the qualitative analysis. For further information, see Annex 3: Tables of qualitative data. Tables 8 to 11. Pages. 222-223.

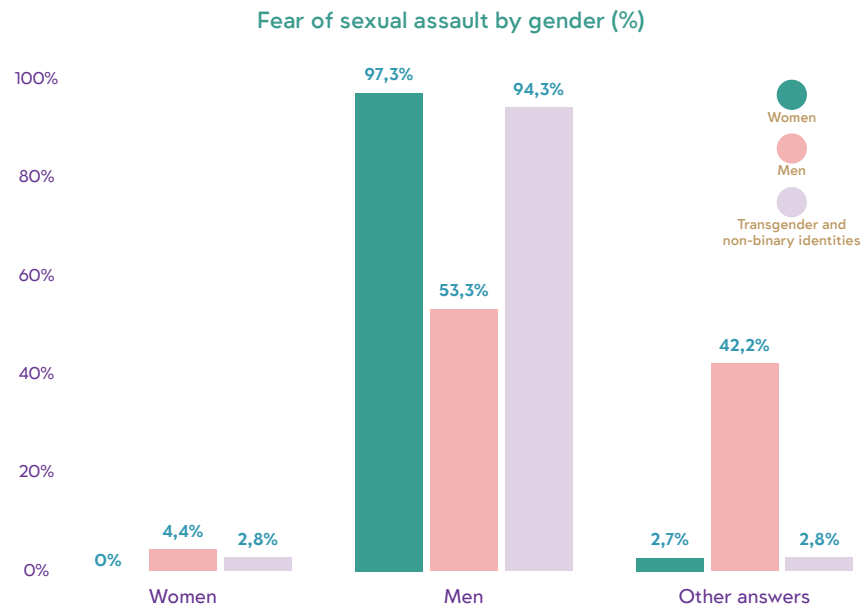


Figure 36 - Distribution of the sample by fear of sexual assault perpetrated by specific gender and gender category

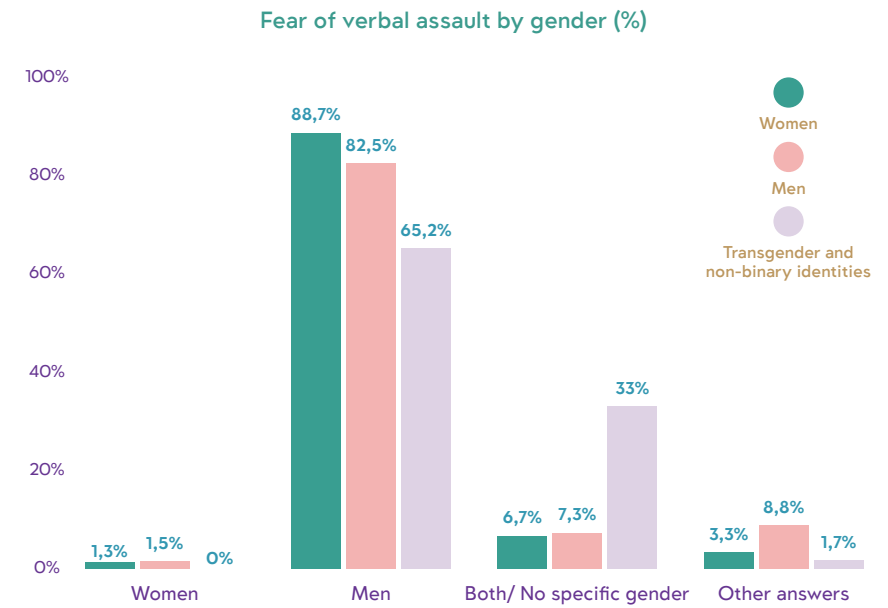


Figure 38 - Distribution of the sample by fear of verbal assault perpetrated by specific gender and gender category

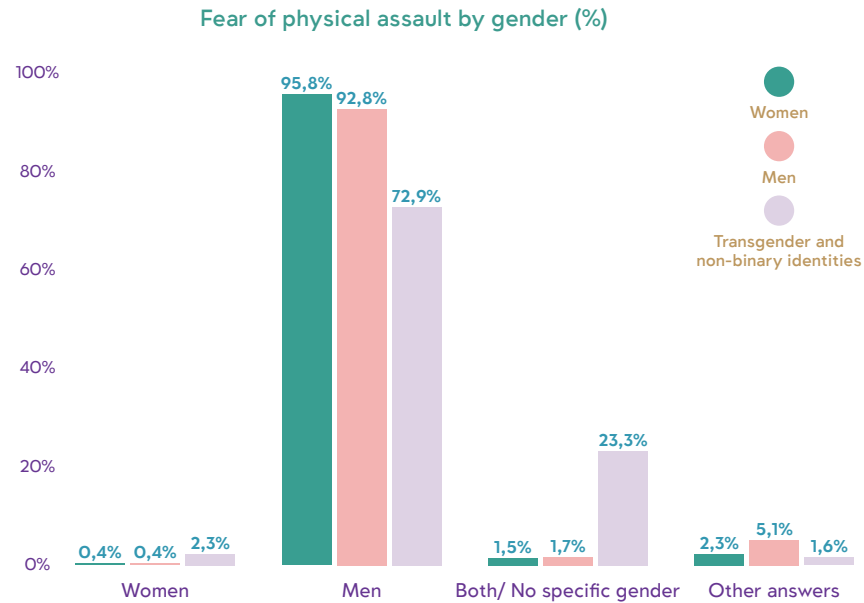


Figure 37 - Distribution of the sample by fear of physical assault perpetrated by specific gender and gender category

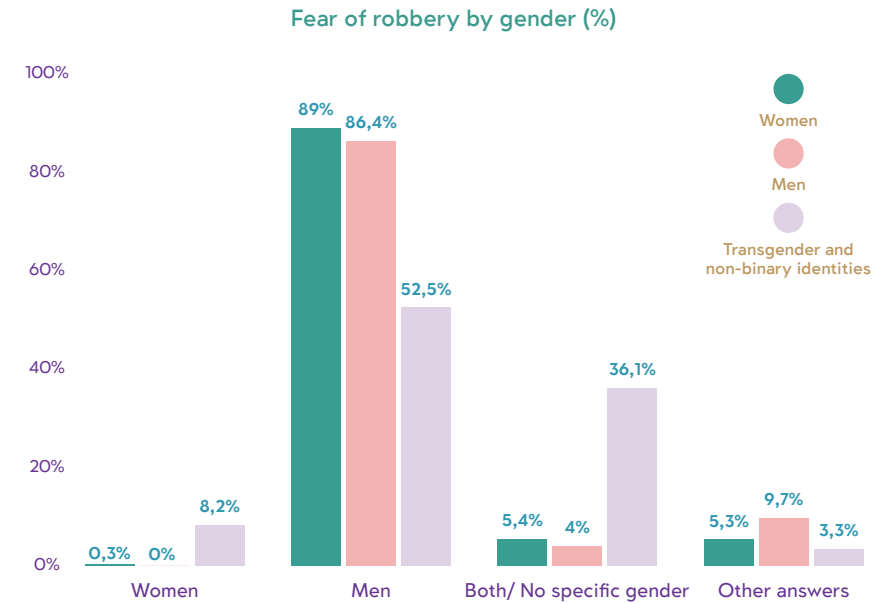


Figure 39 - Distribution of the sample by fear of robbery perpetrated by specific gender and gender category

None of the gender categories pointed to women as being primarily involved in their perception of lack of safety in any of the proposed situations.

A small percentage of respondents held that, in some cases, perceptions of lack of safety are not related to a specific gender, or pointed to both men and women (e.g fear of verbal or physical assault or robbery), as per the myth that "violence has no gender":

- Both men and women; [cis-man]
- Men and women [cis-woman]
- Men and women; [transgender and non-binary gender identities]

However, as detailed separately in this report, data gathered on experiences of violence would indicate the opposite. Additionally, it is worth noting that this perception was not alluded to in the case of sexual assault.

Beyond pointing to a specific/non-specific gender, other questions related to the characteristics of the perpetrators, victims and/or the environment were also reported, particularly by men:

- Being alone; [cis-man]
- Being under the influence [cis-man]
- Assaulter is a troublemaker; [cis-man]
- Assaulter is armed [cis-man]
- Poorly-lit environments [cis-woman]

6.6. STRATEGIES FOR COPING WITH THE RISK OF BEING ATTACKED WHILE WALKING AT NIGHT TO/FROM A VENUE

With respect to the situations in which they reported feeling unsafe, we asked respondents about their strategies to cope with or preclude the risk of being attacked.

Once again, we observed significant gender differences, with women (67%) and people who identify as transgender and gender non-binary (51.3%) reporting using a mobile phone to pretend to talk to someone else while walking down the street, to a much greater extent than men (15.6%). Women (66.6%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (57.5%) also reported using the strategy of having their keys ready to quickly open their front door, compared to men (15.7%).

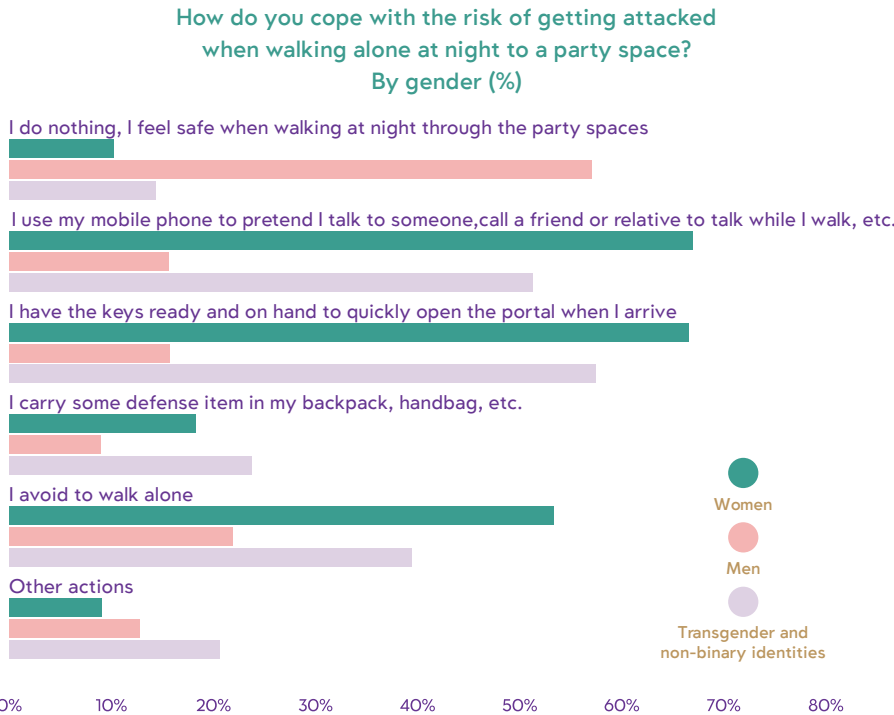


Figure 40 - Distribution of the sample by coping strategies when walking alone on nights out and gender category

In addition, women (53.3%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (39.4%) reported avoiding walking alone at night more than men (21.9%). In the

case of the use of self-defence items, people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (23.8%) use them the most, followed by women (18.3%), with reported use low among men (9%).

As we have seen above, and as expected given other data gathered through the survey, the only option in which men (57.1%) far outnumber people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (14.4%) and women (10.2%) is when they say that their strategy is to do nothing, as they feel safe when walking at night to or from venues. It can thus be surmised that perceived safety or lack thereof is closely related to the gender of the individual concerned.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

As for other coping strategies, the following have been identified (for more information, see Annex 3. Tables of qualitative data: Table 12- Coping strategies when walking home alone. Qualitative data. [Page 224](#)):

- *Behavioural strategies: walking faster; using personal defence techniques; hypervigilance; simulating confidence; avoiding interactions; gaining physical distance; running; feeling afraid, but not deploying any strategy; mindfulness/visualizing; informing others about my location; simulating masculine characteristics; asking or screaming for help; avoidance in general; hiding personal traits, and other behavioural strategies.*
- *Environmental strategies: choosing safer alternative walking routes; choosing safer forms of transport; avoidance of poorly-lit areas; choosing streets with higher footfall; feeling unsafe is not a problem, and other environmental strategies.*

By gender, “feeling unsafe is not a problem” or “feeling afraid, but not deploying any strategy” are particularly reported by men. These notions reaffirm the idea that, in general, public space is not as unsafe a space for men as it is for women:

Being large in stature, I don't usually have any fears or problems; [cis-man]

I feel safe but I am aware of the danger; [cis-man]

I know my city; I know where to go [cis-man]

I do nothing - I just try to ignore my fear and hurry on; [cis-man]

I don't do anything but I don't always feel safe either; [cis-man]

I don't always feel safe but I do not take any special action against it; [cis-man]

Behavioural strategies such as “using personal defence techniques” and “simulating confidence” represent strategies related to ‘masculine’ traits of self-defence and confrontation, and also stand out among this cohort.

In contrast, women use both these and the other behavioural and environment-related strategies across the board. Ostensibly surprising strategies such as “simulating masculine characteristics” and “hiding personal traits”, which were reported exclusively by women are exclusive to women, highlight the risk of being read as a woman in public spaces:

I'm just trying to look as furious and strong as possible; [cis-woman]

I pretend to walk like a man; [cis-woman]

I put my hood up and walk like a gangster aka like a man; [cis-woman]

I try to look as male as possible; [cis-woman]

I put my hair into a bun and try to make myself unattractive; [cis-woman]

I masculinise my movements to appear more aggressive and less attractive; [cis-woman]

Dress unattractively and hide my hair so they can't guess my gender from a certain distance; [cis-woman]

Also noteworthy is the fact that, among respondents, no woman expressed the idea that “feeling unsafe is not a problem”.

It can be observed that women deploy more coping strategies when faced with the risk of being attacked when walking alone during or after a night out.

According to the Observatorio Noctámbul@s Report (2018), fear forms part of the experience, both material and perceived, of sexual violence suffered by women. In some

cases, this fear can be paralysing and, as we have seen, women are required to deploy a series of measures to avoid being assaulted without leaving their role of "good girl" according to gender mandates. Although this fear was shared by the vast majority of women who responded to the survey, other women chose to provide mutual support to one another in situations they consider dangerous:

Make sure my friends know about my whereabouts; [cis-woman]

Track taxi ride; [cis-woman]

I promise to text a friend when I arrive home safely; [cis-woman]

I will write to others when I arrive home; [cis-woman]



7.

PERCEPTION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

The next section explores which behaviours are identified as sexual violence and the myths associated with it.

It should be noted again that the sample finally analysed was 4,534 responses. The sample has been analysed on the basis of the following gender categories: Women (N=3,371), Men (N=1,003) and Transgender and non-binary gender identities (N=160).

7.1.

Situations considered to be sexual violence in nightlife environments

7.2.

Myths about sexual violence in nightlife environments

7.3.

Perception of drugs involved in sexual assaults in nightlife environments

7.1. SITUATIONS CONSIDERED AS SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

The responses to the question “Which of these situations are sexual violence?” follow a Likert scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being “it is always sexual violence”. The results of this section of the survey, presented herein, have been broken down by gender:



Figure 41 - Distribution of the sample by perception of certain behaviours as sexual violence and gender category

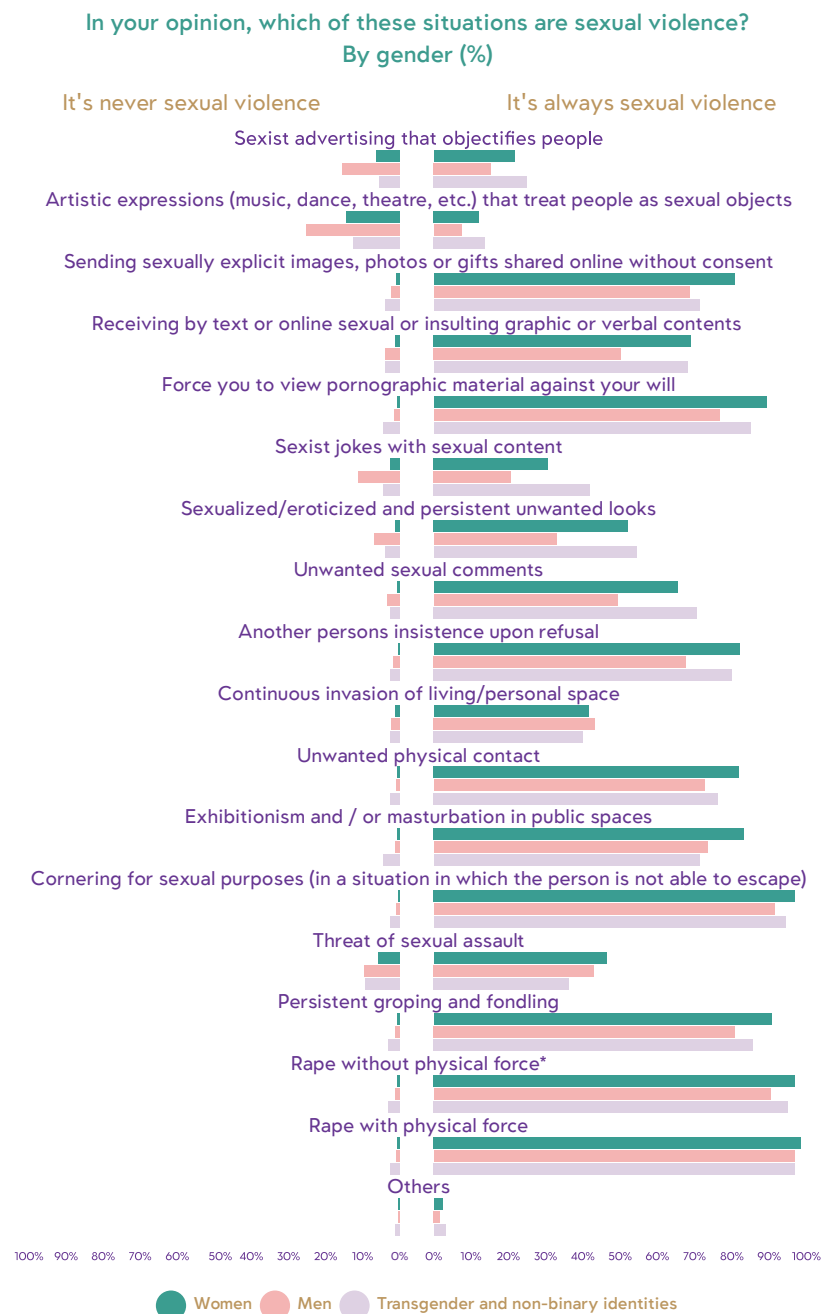


Figure 42 - Distribution of the sample related to considering “always” sexual violence or “never” certain behaviours by gender

In general terms, women (63,41%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (61,59%) who responded to the survey identified a greater number of behaviours as constituting sexual violence, while men (54,57%) did so in lower percentages in the majority of cases. In this sense, it is those more at risk of experiencing sexual violence perpetrated by men who show a greater situational awareness of it, therefore describing it as such in greater numbers.

Symbolic violence such as advertising (women: 21.7%; men: 15.3%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 25%) or sexist artistic expressions (women: 12.2%; men: 7.4%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 13,8%) was not widely perceived as such across any of the three gender categories, but least of all by men. Moreover, 15.6% and 25.1% of men responded that sexist advertising and artistic expressions that treat people as sexual objects are never sexual violence.

This is followed, numerically, by sexist jokes (women: 30.7%; men: 20.8%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 41.9%), sexualized/eroticized and persistent unwanted looks (women: 52.1%; men: 33%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 54.4%), continuous invasion of personal space (women: 41.5%; men: 43.2%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 40%) and feeling fear of sexual assault (women: 46.4% men: 43% transgender and non-binary gender identities: 42%), with the possibility of considering these socially accepted forms of violence.

On the other hand, less socially acceptable or more 'high intensity' forms of violence were more often considered sexual violence across all gender categories, such as persistent cornering for sexual purposes (women: 97%; men: 91.4%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 94.4%), groping and fondling (women: 90.6%; men: 80.8%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 85.6%), rape without physical force (women: 96.9%; men: 90.4%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 88.14%), and rape with physical force (women: 98.5%; men: 96.8%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 95%).

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

As regards the question of which other situations might be considered sexual violence, the following were reported almost exclusively by cis-gender women, and stand out as widespread: persistence despite no consent being expressed; any action that provokes discomfort; offensive language; deliberate actions to which victim is unable to

react; sexual coercion from a position of power, and other situations.

In terms of persistence despite no consent being expressed, mainly reported by women, the following responses were collected:

Any act or attitude that makes me feel uncomfortable and does not stop at the same moment or any act without your consent; [cis-woman]

Any unwanted situation of harassment; [cis-woman]

If the first answer is no, everything that follows is sexual abuse; [cis-woman]

Consent in the context of patriarchal sexual violence is a critical issue, and one that requires an understanding of its inherent complexity, because it can be expressed in many ways. Three problems regarding consent can be identified. The first is that many women go to great lengths to demonstrate their refusal in the face of men's insistence. The second problem is that the concept of consent has become socially pervasive, and this has been a double-edged sword: on the one hand, many interviewees claim that, without consent, there can be no sexual interaction, but on the other hand, consent is interpreted arbitrarily; therefore, the challenge is to generate a consensual, feminist idea of consent that addresses the complexity of this concept. Lastly, consent continues to depend entirely on the degree to which it is clarified primarily by the women involved (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018).

"Any action that provokes discomfort" is another idea expressed by all genders:

Anything that makes another person uncomfortable and sees their boundaries crossed is violence; [cis-woman].

Any situation in which a person is sexually uncomfortable; [cis-man]

Any activity that causes feelings of discomfort; [cis-woman]

Any activity that causes a feeling of discomfort; [transgender and non-binary gender identity]

"Offensive language" is expressed mainly by women:

- Using words; [cis-woman]
- Verbal slurs; insults; [cis-woman].

Also, some women report deliberate actions to which the victim is unable to react:

- Drugging someone to make them feel weaker, less aware, and lose control (at any level); [cis-woman]
- Taking advantage of the state of the other person; [cis-woman].
- Where someone has been spiked or is too drunk; [cis-woman]

Finally, and alarmingly, sexist comments by some cis-gender men seeking to point out what is not considered sexual violence stand out, and reflect a patriarchal worldview:

"Any act (including rape or coercion) performed by parties in the context of consensual role-play is almost never sexual violence." [cis-man]

In general, the responses as a whole point to the need to continue to raise awareness of all forms of sexual violence through preventative campaigns which clearly name and define them as such, and work to counter them.

For further information, see Annex 3. Tables of qualitative data. Table 13- Other forms of sexual violence. Qualitative data. [Page 228](#).

7.2. MYTHS ABOUT SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

Respondents were then asked about a set of myths that justify gender inequality, and reproduce the model of a binary sexual relationship between men and women based on male domination and the naturalisation of heteropatriarchal power structures. The results presented are broken down by gender:

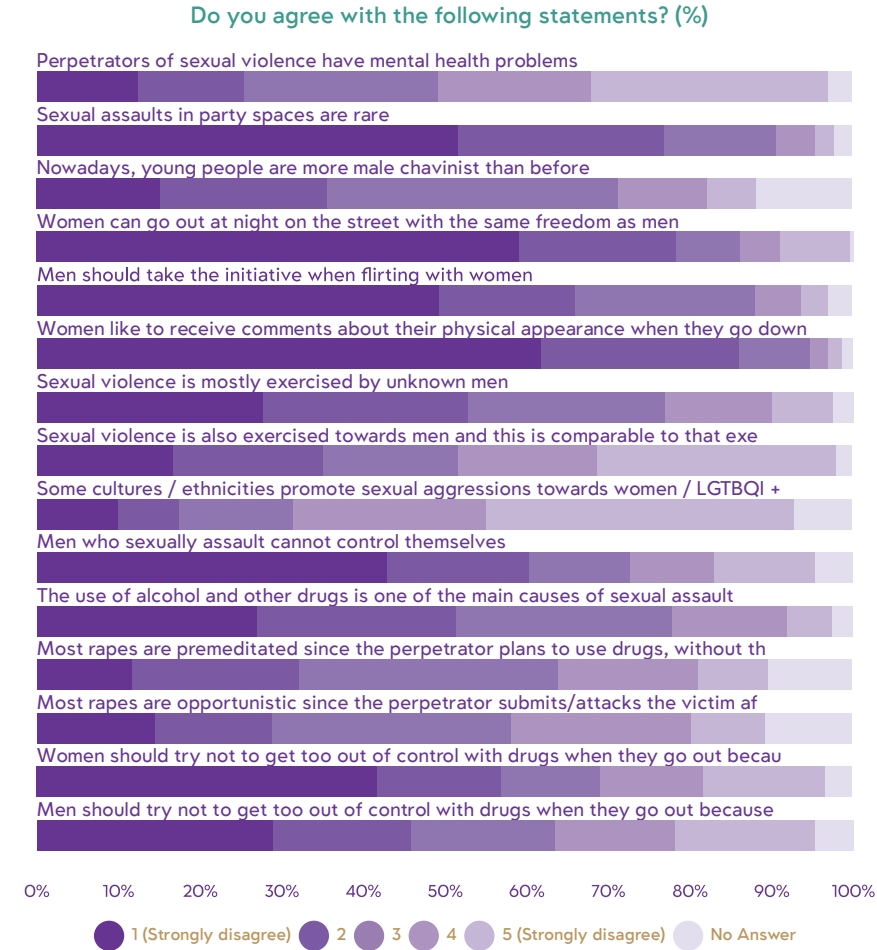


Figure 43 - Extent of agreement of the overall sample with certain statements

In reality, discounting sexist stereotypes, the response to each case – except that of opportunistic rape – would be expected to be 1 (strongly disagree). A more extensive, deeper colour in each bar shows greater agreement with the statement in question. If we add the 2 darker bar fragments- agree (4) and strongly agree (5) - we can observe a prevailing persistence of certain ideas which provide a social justification for sexual violence:

61.4% agreed or strongly agreed that some cultures/ethnicities encourage sexual violence against women and LGBTQUI+ population more than others. This would indicate an urgent need to address sexual violence in nightlife environments from a post-colonial and radical anti-racist perspective. Further along these lines, it may be of interest to undertake research that delves deeper into sexual violence experienced by racialised people in nightlife environments.

47.8% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the perpetrators of sexual violence have mental health problems, which continues to feed into the *deresponsibilization* of those who commit such violence, mainly men in a state of altered consciousness and without self-control, and which justifies or exonerates the aggression committed.

46.3% agreed or strongly agreed that sexual violence is also perpetrated against men and is comparable to that perpetrated against women. There persists the idea that "violence has no gender". According to Observatorio Noctámbul@s (2018), although the vast majority of people who suffer sexual violence are women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities, as a result of the gender and power dynamics at play in nightlife environments, some cis-gender men claim to have suffered sexual violence. This experience is defined as "male hypersensitivity to aggression". In other words, a concrete experience of harassment is universalised and posited as if it were a matter of structural violence, almost comparable to that suffered by women. Without denying that cis-gender men may have suffered some form of harassment, in no case can the dynamics that encourage it be understood as obeying the same gender and power norms as those which drive the sexual violence that women suffer both on a daily basis and in nightlife environments.

Furthermore, 31.9% agreed or strongly agreed that men should not lose control when consuming drugs when they go out, as they may sexually assault someone; 27.6% agreed or strongly agreed that women should not do so out of the risk of being sexually assaulted. This situates drugs as the main cause of sexual violence, rather than attributing it to the patriarchal context in which it occurs. As research from the Observatorio Noctámbul@s (2018) indicates, sexual violence against women in the context of nightlife has always been greatly obscured by certain scientific, medical, political and media discourses that cite drugs as the main cause of violence. An outlook based on drugs as a cause of violence is reproduced and intertwined with the persistence of gender stereotypes of femininity and masculinity in the same context. On this basis, some people describe the behaviours associated with men and women in a stereotypical way, and thus justify the possible consequences, especially those felt by women.

Only 31.1% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that "most rape is opportunistic since the perpetrator incapacitates/attacks the victim after VOLUNTARY drug use" as previous research has shown (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018), which contrasts with the myth, often fed by the media, that most rapes are premeditated since the perpetrator plans to use drugs, without the consent and knowledge of the victim.

The vast majority of the population reject stereotypes that reproduce inequalities and violence. However, the percentages recorded denote the need to further challenge these myths through awareness-raising and training from a gender perspective, with the data showing that certain false notions persist in the collective imagination.

By gender, no significant differences are observed, and the same pattern of response observed in the general population is maintained throughout (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018):

Do you agree with the following statements?

Women (%)

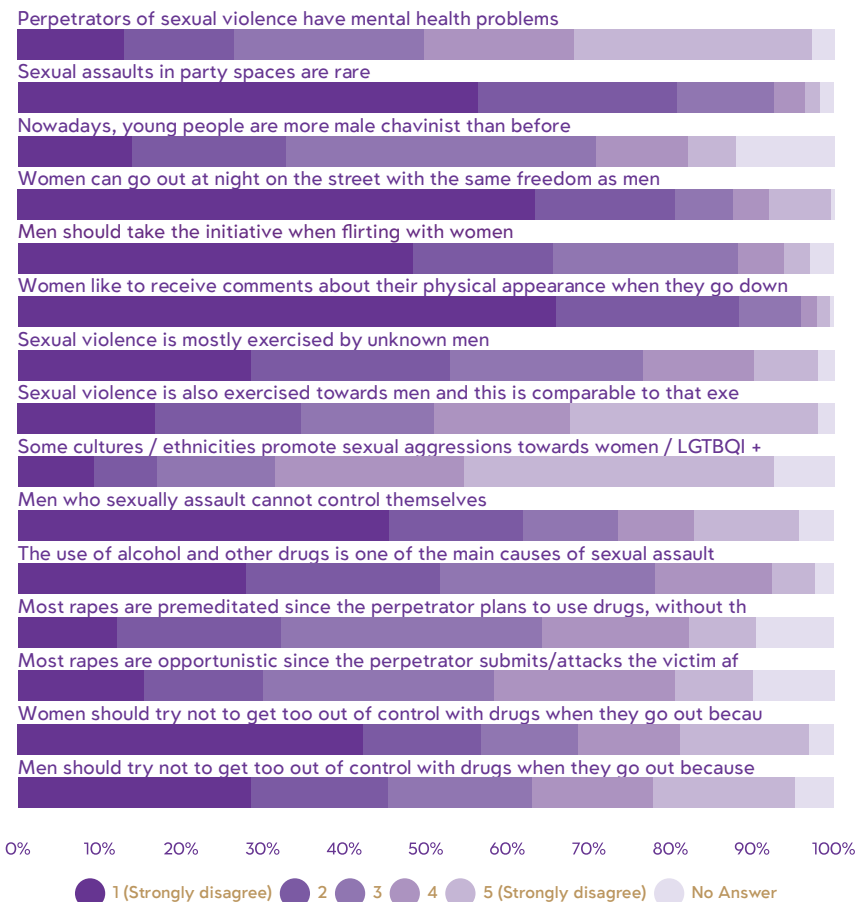


Figure 44 - Extent of agreement of sample group "women" with certain statements

Do you agree with the following statements?

Men (%)

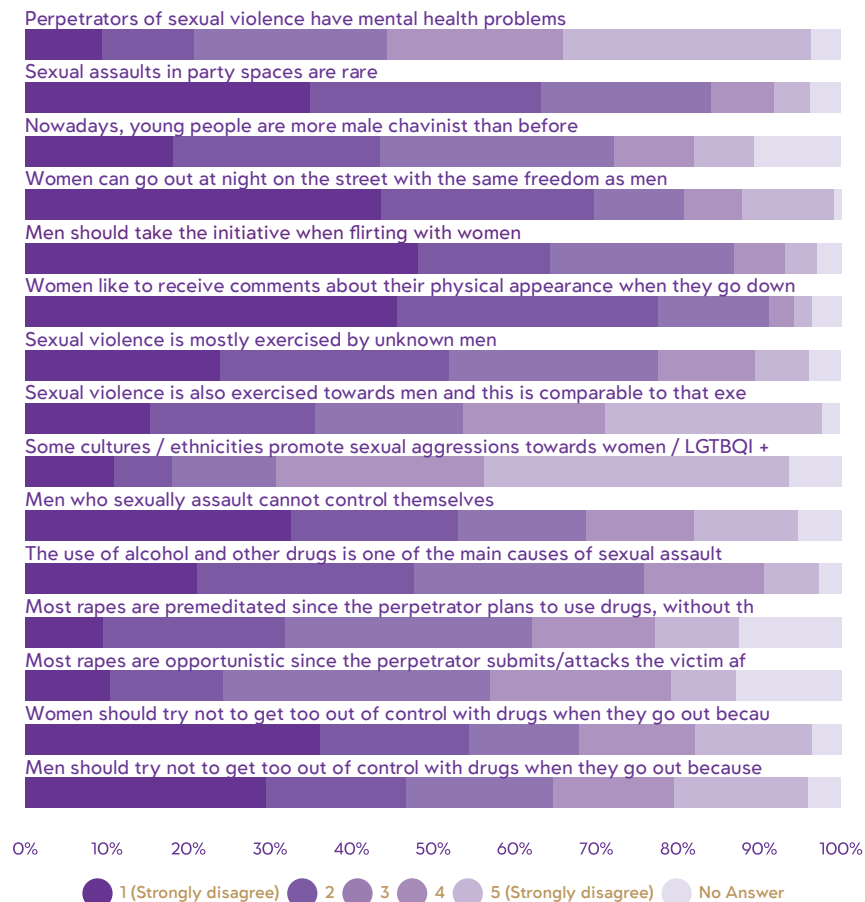


Figure 45 - Extent of agreement of sample group "men" with certain statements

People of transgender and non-binary gender identities appeared to show a greater tendency than both women and men to agree with the majority of the myths, something which would indicate further scope for study in future research focused on this group.

Do you agree with the following statements? Transgender and non-binary gender identities (%)

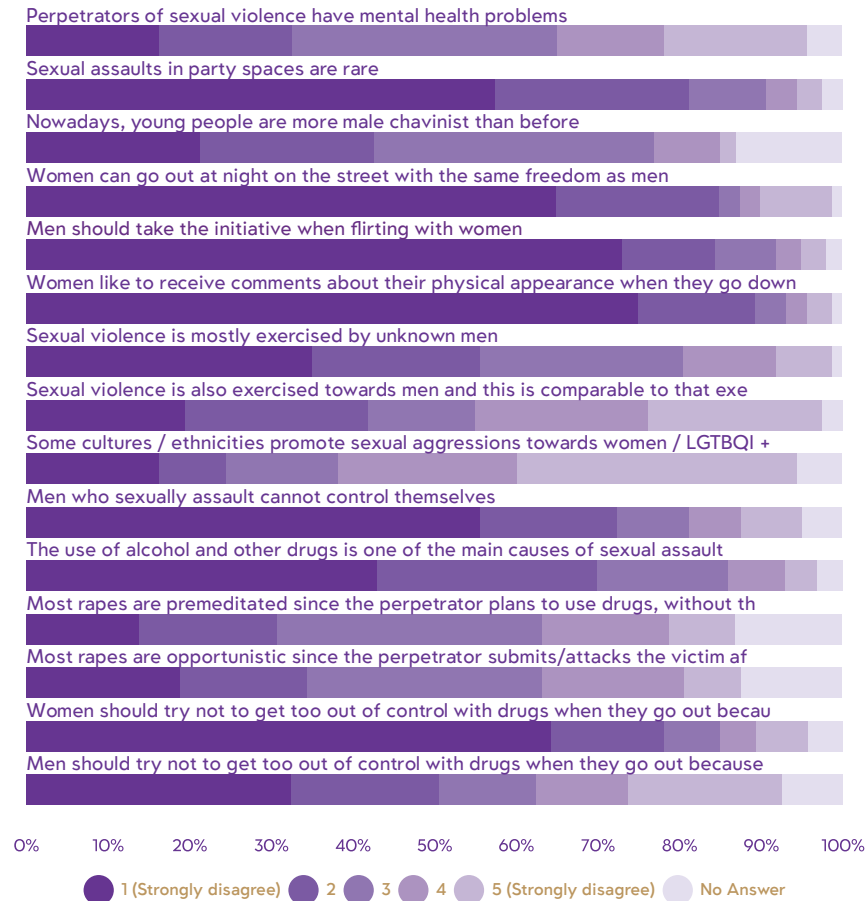


Figure 46 - Extent of agreement of sample group "transgender or non-binary gender identities" with certain statements

7.3. PERCEPTION OF DRUGS INVOLVED IN SEXUAL ASSAULTS IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

In terms of the perception of drug use involved in sexual assaults in nightlife environments, the majority of respondents to the survey indicated a belief that alcohol (92.1%) is the substance most involved in sexual assaults in nightlife environments. This is in line with previously observed data on drug use in such spaces (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018). This was followed by cocaine (62.3%), MDMA (59%), amphetamines (48%), GHB (44.4%) and ketamine (39.8%).

Similar patterns can be observed when dividing the data by gender cohort, albeit with a greater likelihood among men than both women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities to believe that particular substances can be related to sexual assault in nightlife environments.

Which substances do you think are involved in sexual assault or rape situations in party spaces? Women (%)

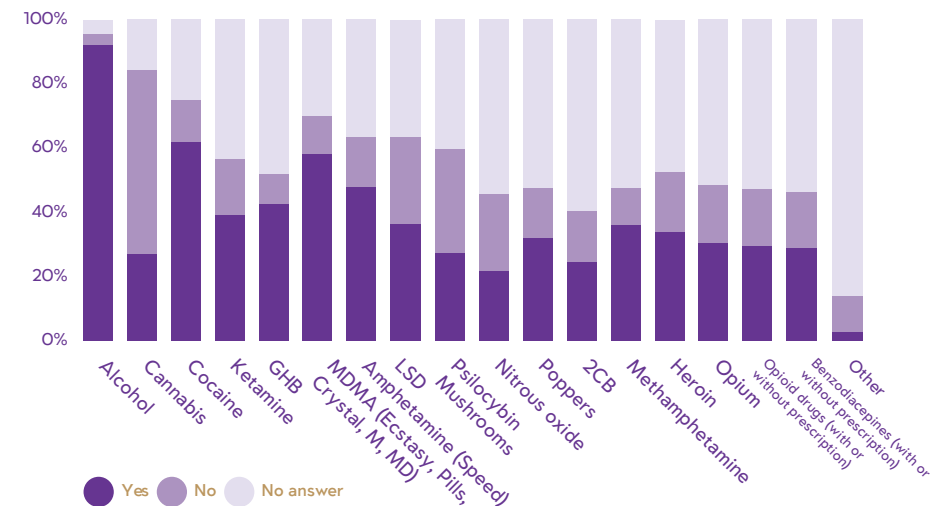


Figure 47 - Distribution of the sample group "women" by perception of substances involved in sexual assault

Which substances do you think are involved in sexual assault or rape situations in party spaces?

Men (%)

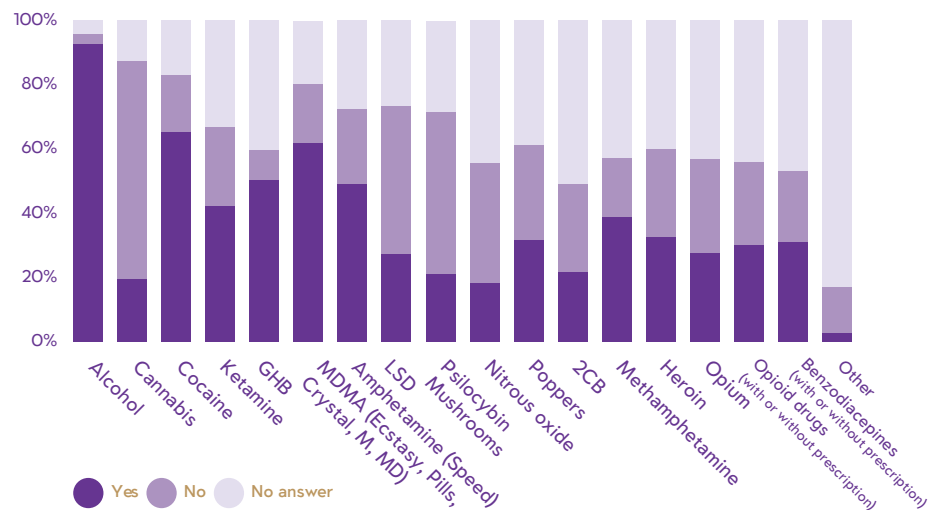


Figure 48 - Distribution of the sample group "men" by perception of substances involved in sexual assault

Which substances do you think are involved in sexual assault or rape situations in party spaces?

Transgender and non-binary gender identities (%)

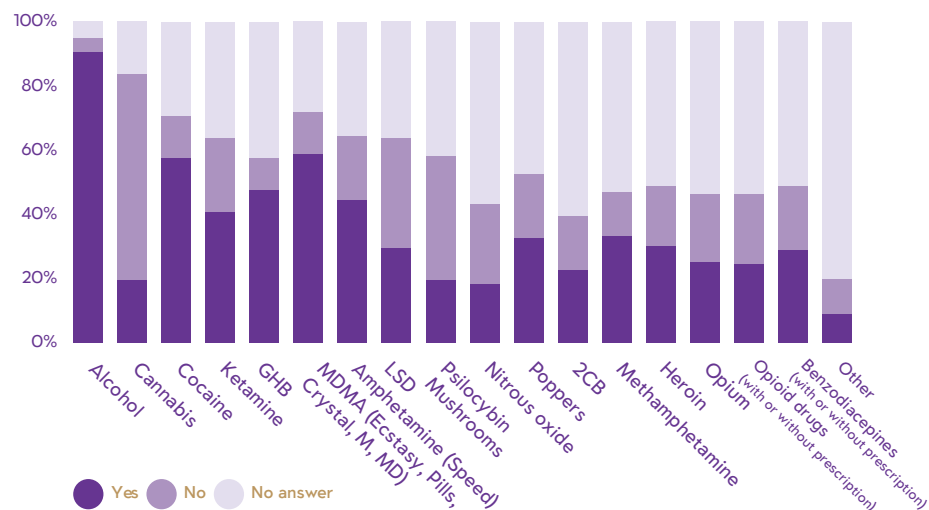


Figure 49 - Distribution of the sample group "transgender or non-binary gender identities" by perception of substances involved in sexual assault

However, as has been commented, and according to previous studies (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018), although drugs and/or alcohol can create conditions in which sexual violence occurs more easily, the causes of such violence are to be found in the context of heteropatriarchal structural oppression in which it occurs, with women and people of transgender and gender non-binary identities particularly affected precisely because of their gender identity.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Other drugs reported, such as scopolamine, hypnotics and sedatives, are suggestive of the persistence of the myth of drugs as the cause of sexual violence and indicative, therefore, of the need to continue developing awareness-raising strategies to break down this myth.

Significant differences between gender categories can be seen in the responses. On the one hand, men focused more on any or all substances, particularly hypnotics such as flunitrazepam (also known as Rohypnol). It is striking that, although some respondents mentioned the issue of personality or exempted drugs from causation, in no case did they attribute the cause of sexual violence to the social factors such as sexism or the patriarchy.

Roofies (rohypnol) [cis-man].

I guess any substance that alters the senses could be used, unfortunately. [cis-man]

I think it's the person and the drug [cis-man].

In contrast, women did address the social issue of gender and the structural causes of sexual violence. They also clearly negated the correlation or causation between drugs use and the consequence of threat or act of sexual assault.

A man does not need drugs to be violent [cis-woman].

Drug use does not imply sexual violence. [cis-woman]

The presence of substances is not always necessary, a man rapes because he wants to. [cis-woman]

I find it difficult to answer this question. On the one hand, I think sexual assault is a product of patriarchy and rape culture, and to say that drugs are somehow involved absolves men and patriarchy. [cis-woman]

I believe that any substance can be found in a scenario of aggression or rape, even if these substances exist, it doesn't follow that aggression occurs. A rapist is a rapist with or without substances. [cis-woman]

All substances can be involved, but the perpetrator is guilty regardless of the substances involved. [cis-woman]

It doesn't take drugs to make a person want to abuse you. They are neither an aggravating factor nor the opposite, whoever wants to rape does so because they WANT to and CAN, not because they have taken anything. [cis-woman]

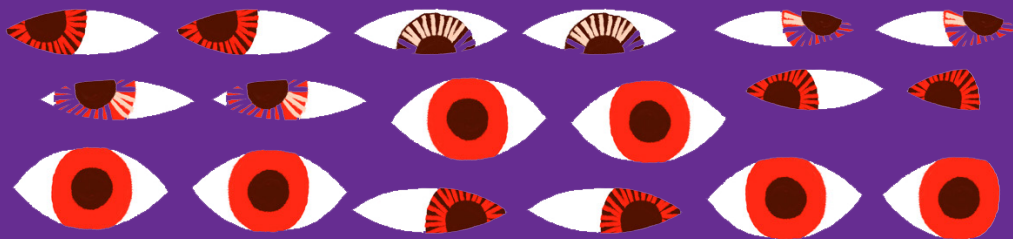
Theoretical approaches aimed at addressing sexual violence in nightlife have clearly established that media, scientific, medical and, in many cases, political discourses situate the consumption of psychoactive substances as the main cause of sexual violence.

However, as the results of our study and the statements from respondents show, sexual violence can be more readily identified as a consequence of gender stereotypes associated with dominant heteropatriarchal masculinity (strength, aggressiveness, promiscuity, dominance, selfishness, triumph, etc.). Both men and women, as well as people who identify as transgender and gender non-binary, believe that substances are in no way the root cause, but a possible mitigating factor or means to an end, in this case, sexually assaulting another person.

Furthermore, women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities are in a disadvantaged position in nightlife environments, except for those spaces that have been created with an appropriate and/or specific gender perspective in mind. In these unequal spaces, men often take prominence and exercise their position of power, so that women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities cannot express themselves freely, without compromising their safety in a way that should not be reasonably expected in a nightlife environment.

Moreover, women who engage in heavy drinking and drunkenness are sexualised, reinforcing the belief that they are more sexually available. Yet this is not just a result of men being attracted to women in a vulnerable state due to the effect of drugs, but rather it is because men, aware of these altered states of consciousness, take advantage of them, and are more likely to escape the consequences. In other words, when undertaking a judgement or moral assessment of an incident of sexual assault committed

against a woman who was on drugs, it is said that, by using drugs, the woman has exposed herself to the risk of being attacked. The opposite, in fact, is true: in attempting to determine the rights and wrongs of a victim's consumption of drugs and alcohol, they are blamed and revictimised for the sexual assault they have suffered. Indeed, it could be argued that the aggressor should be doubly penalised: first, for sexually assaulting another person; secondly, for having done so when the person was not in their full capacity to react, decide, or give consent.



8.

EXPERIENCES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

This section refers to the sexual violence witnessed, experienced and committed by the survey participants in nightlife environments. It should again be noted that the sample finally analysed was 4,534 responses. The sample is analysed on the basis of the following gender categories: Women (N=3,371), Men (N=1,003) and Transgender and non-binary gender identities (N=160).

- 8.1. Frequency of sexual violence witnessed in nightlife environments
- 8.2. Gender of aggressor and victim of sexual violence in nightlife environments
- 8.3. Frequency of sexual violence experienced in nightlife environments
- 8.4. Percentage of male aggressor in nightlife environments
- 8.5. Relationship with male aggressor by type of sexual violence
- 8.6. Percentage of sexual violence experienced and witnessed by/known to others in nightlife environments
- 8.7. Type of 'passive observers' and most frequent reactions to sexual violence experienced in nightlife environments
- 8.8. Type of sexual violence by chemical submission in nightlife environments
- 8.9. Frequency of sexual violence committed in nightlife environments

8.1. FREQUENCY OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE WITNESSED IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

Respondents were asked about the sexual violence they have witnessed in nightlife environments.

In general, the most frequently witnessed type of sexual violence were sexist jokes of a sexual nature (72%), sexualized/erotized and unwanted staring (70%), unwanted sexual comments (60%), another person's insistence upon refusal (54%), continuous invasion of personal space (53%) and unwanted touching (51%), i.e. highly naturalised violence.

By gender, women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities reported having witnessed the varying forms of sexual violence when out at night to a greater extent than men:

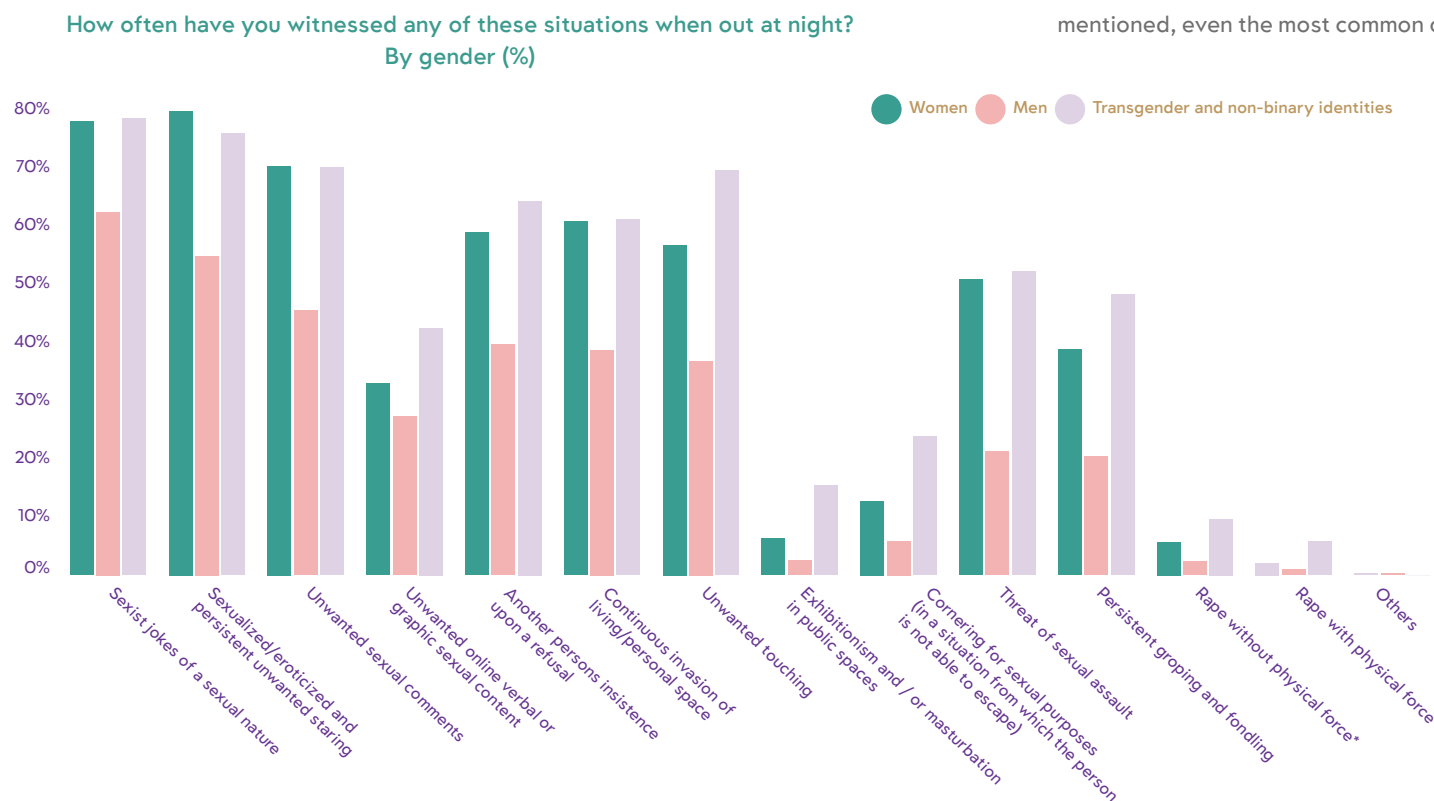


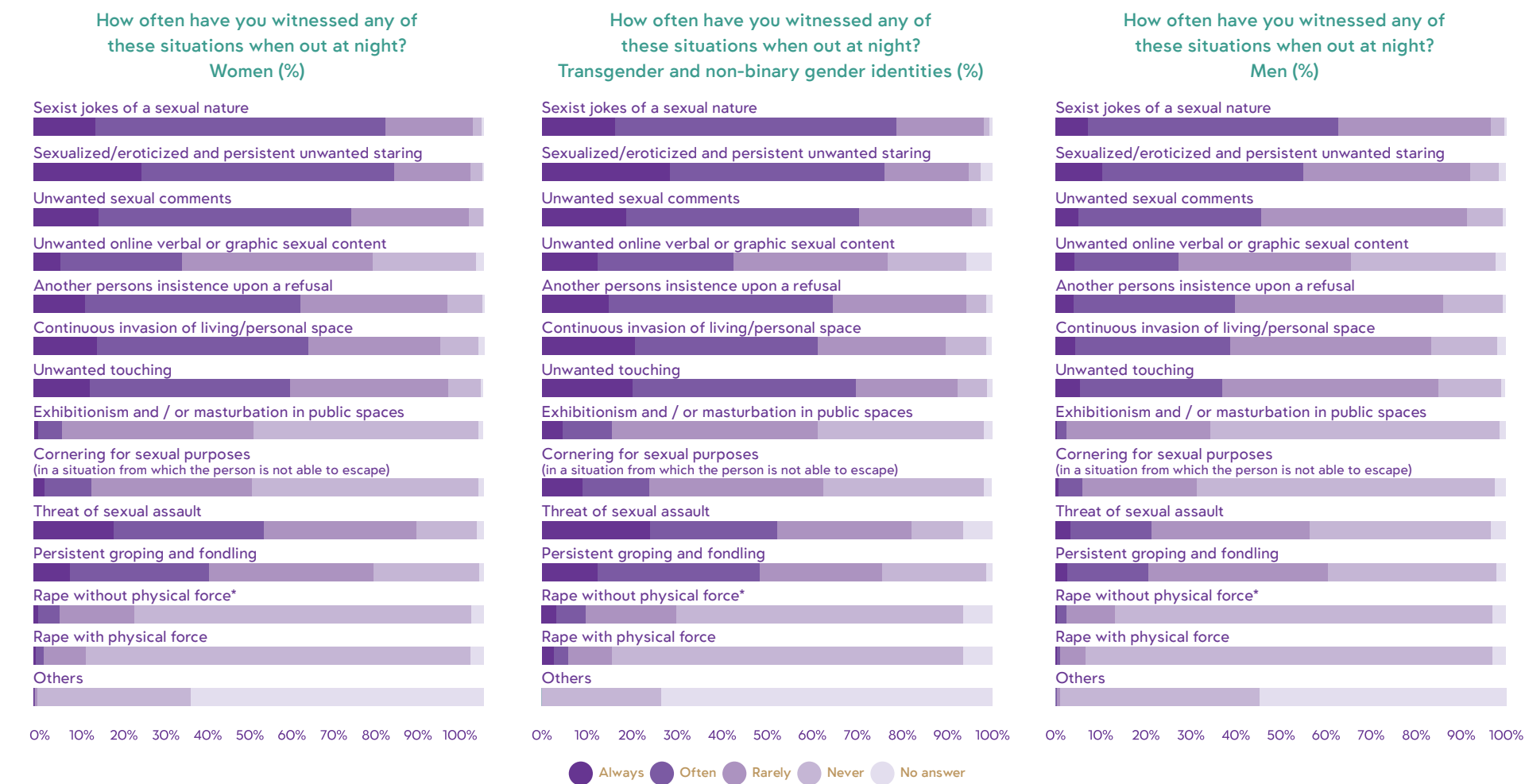
Figure 50 - Distribution of the sample by perceptions of sexual violence and gender category

The most commonly-reported forms of violence were sexist jokes of sexual nature (women: 78.2%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 78.7%), sexualised/erotized and unwanted staring (women: 80%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 76.1%), unwanted sexual comments (women: 70.5%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 70.3%), another person's insistence upon refusal (women: 59.1%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 64.5%), continuous invasion of personal space (women: 61%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 61.3%), unwanted touching (women: 56.9%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 69.7%), threat of sexual assault (women: 51.0%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 52.3%), and persistent groping and fondling (women: 38.9%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 48.4%).

In contrast, men reported less frequent observation of all the types of sexual violence mentioned, even the most common ones: sexist jokes of a sexual nature (62.6%), sexualised/erotized and unwanted staring (55%), unwanted sexual comments (45.6%), another person's insistence upon refusal (39.8%), continuous invasion of personal space (38.8%), unwanted touching (36.9%), threat of sexual assault (21.3%) and persistent groping and fondling (20.5%).

According to other research (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018), the male population has difficulty in identifying these types of sexual violence as such when out at night. The results analysed thus far lead to the conclusion that more action and resources should be allocated to raising awareness and educating this segment of the population, in order to promote co-responsibility in the outright rejection of any form of sexual violence in nightlife environments.

The following graphs present the results in terms of the frequency ("always", "frequently", "rarely", "never" and "no response") of sexual violence witnessed in nightlife environments according to gender. The brightly coloured fragments denote a higher frequency. In considering the responses "always" and "often" for the 3 gender categories, it can be seen that women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities witness sexual violence more frequently than men:



QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

When asked about other types of sexual violence witnessed, attempted rape, manipulation, non-consensual kissing and abuse of power relations for sexual favours were the most frequently reported. For further information, see annex 2. Tables of qualitative data: Table 14- Other forms of sexual violence witnessed. Qualitative data. [Page 229](#).

In terms of gender, the majority of responses come from cis-gender women. From the first-person accounts of some responses, it can be inferred that, in certain cases, rather than being violence witnessed, it may be violence experienced by women.

Attempted rape stands out for its seriousness:

Two situations in which I avoided being raped [cis-woman].
[Being] chased by a group of men who expressed intent to sexually assault me [cis-woman].
Attempted rape [cis-woman].

Manipulation is understood as psychological violence:

Mind games; [cis-woman]

Finally, the idea of abuse of power relations for sexual favours emerges as a form of psychological and economic violence:

Exploiting positions to get sexual favours; [cis-woman].
Sexual proposition in exchange for drugs [cis-woman].

As a general rule of thumb, it would appear that women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities witness sexual violence in nightlife environments to a greater extent than men.

8.2. GENDER OF PERPETRATOR AND VICTIM OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE WITNESSED IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS²²

We also asked about the gender of the perpetrator and victim of sexual violence witnessed when out at night. The results are abundantly clear:

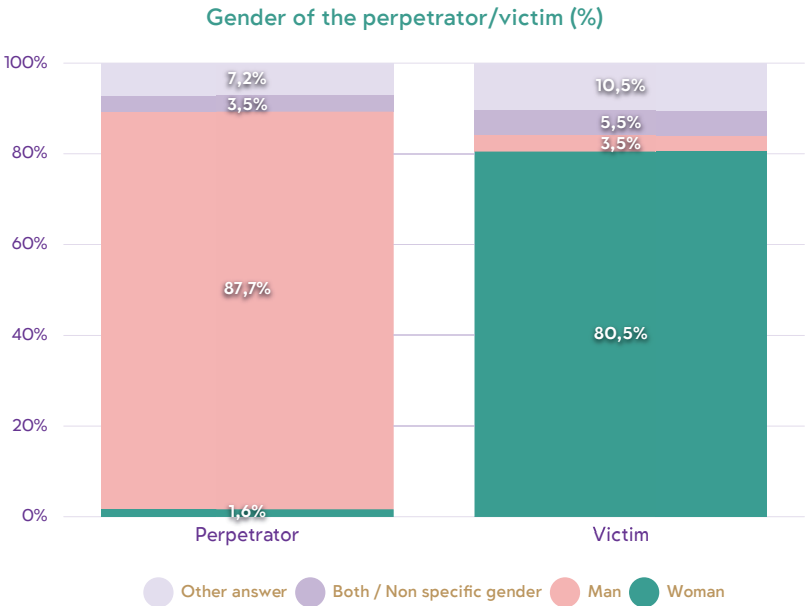


Figure 54 - Distribution of the sample by main gender of the person who committed and the person who suffered an incident of sexual violence witnessed in a nightlife environment

87.7% of respondents stated that the perpetrator(s) were men (Man; male; cis masculine; probably cis man; 6 very young men; Apparently masculine; etc.), and 80.5% that the victim(s) were women (A woman; 98% women; Apparently feminine; Cis-Woman; Woman; Female; etc.).

3.5% and 5.5% did not specifically report the gender of the perpetrator or victim, respectively, or noted that both genders were involved.

²²This was an open-ended question, thus part of the qualitative analysis. For further information, see Annex 3: Tables of qualitative data. Tables 15. Gender of the aggressor and 16. Gender of the victim. [Page 229](#).

Only 1.6% reported women as the aggressor(s) (Female; Women; Many women; Women; Woman; Cis-Woman etc.).

In breaking down the data by gender, women, men and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities all largely point to men as the perpetrator(s). Women (93.2%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (82.8%) do so to a greater extent than men (70.4%):

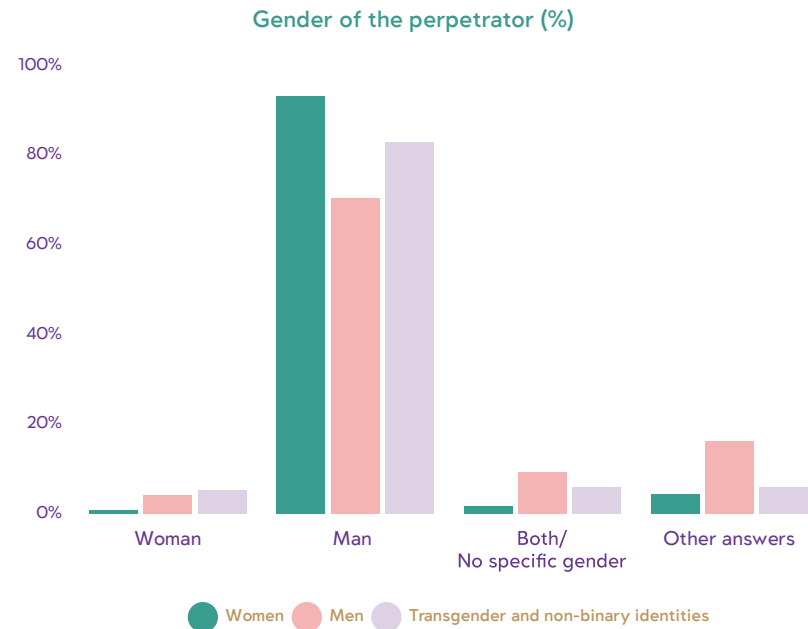


Figure 55 - Distribution of the sample by principal gender of perpetrator(s) and gender category

Likewise, women, men and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities mainly point to women as the victim(s). Again, women (88.2%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (83.8%) do so to a greater extent than men (71%):

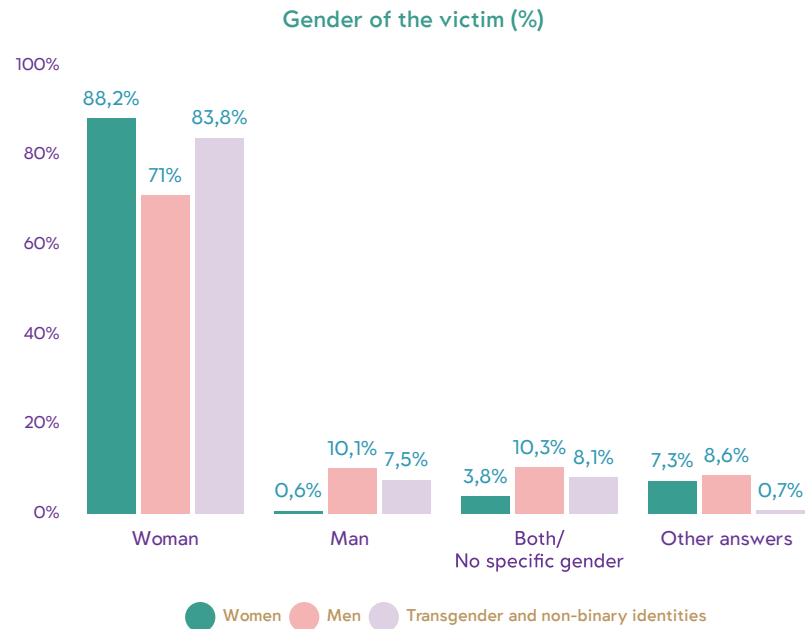


Figure 56 - Distribution of the sample by principal gender of victim and gender category

Of the small group who report having witnessed both male and female perpetrator(s), or victim(s) of unknown gender, men did so (perpetrator: 9.3% and victim: 10.3%) to a greater extent than women (perpetrator: 1.7% and victim: 3.8%) and transgender and non-binary gender identities (perpetrator: 6% and victim: 8.1%). This would appear to indicate a need to address the myth that "violence has no gender", especially among men.

8.3. FREQUENCY OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE EXPERIENCED IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

The following section presents the results concerning the fact of having experienced first-hand the different forms of sexual violence posited.

The forms of sexual violence most frequently reported as having been experienced in nightlife environments were sexist jokes of a sexual nature (46%), sexualised/erotized and unwanted staring (46%), unwanted sexual comments (39%), continuous invasion of personal space (31%), unwanted touching (30%) and another person's insistence upon refusal (28%).

By gender, it can be seen that, once again, women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities reported experiencing sexual violence to a greater extent than men in nightlife environments:

These groups notably report violence such as sexist jokes of a sexual nature (women: 62.2%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 60.6%), sexualized/erotized and unwanted staring (women: 67%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 59.4%), unwanted sexual comments (women: 56.7%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 51.6%), another person's insistence upon refusal (women: 42.2%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 36.1%), continuous invasion of personal space (women: 42.7%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 41.9%), unwanted touching (women: 39.7%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 41.9%) and perceived threat of sexual assault (women: 43.3%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 38.7%).

In contrast, men less frequently report having experienced sexual violence of any sort, even the most common forms: sexist jokes of a sexual nature (22.5%), sexualised/erotized and unwanted staring (16.7%), unwanted sexual comments (12.7%), another person's insistence upon refusal (11%), continuous invasion of personal space (12.5%), unwanted touching (10.7%) or perceived threat of sexual assault (4.9%). This broadly coincides with the pattern of sexual violence this same group reported having witnessed.

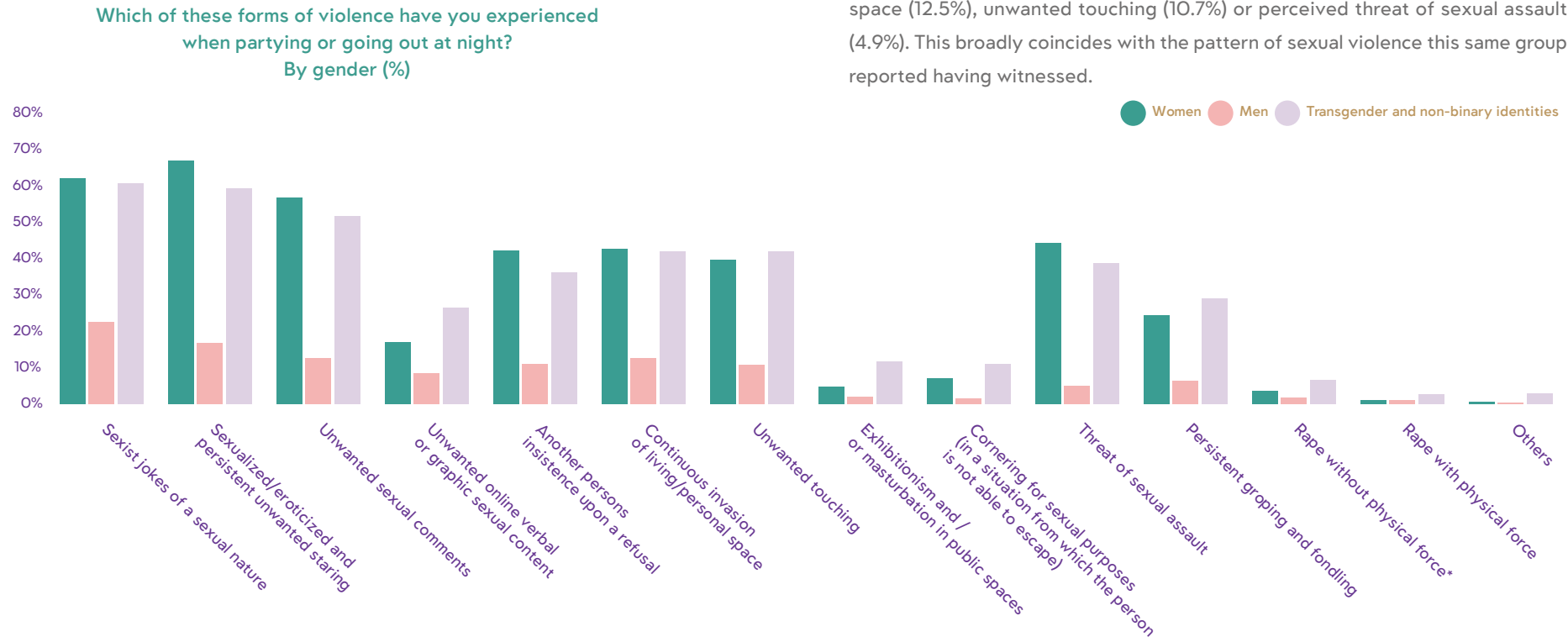


Figure 57- Distribution of the sample by violence experienced in nightlife environments and gender category

The following graphs show the results of the frequency ("always", "frequently", "rarely", "never" and "no response") of sexual violence experienced in nightlife environments according to gender. The brightly coloured fragments denote a higher frequency. If we analyse the responses "always" and "often" for the 3 gender categories, we see that women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities report experiencing sexual violence more frequently than men:

Which of these forms of violence have you experienced when partying or going out at night?
Women (%)



Figure 58 - Distribution of the sample group "women" by violence experienced in nightlife environments

Which of these forms of violence have you experienced when partying or going out at night?
Transgender and non-binary gender identities (%)

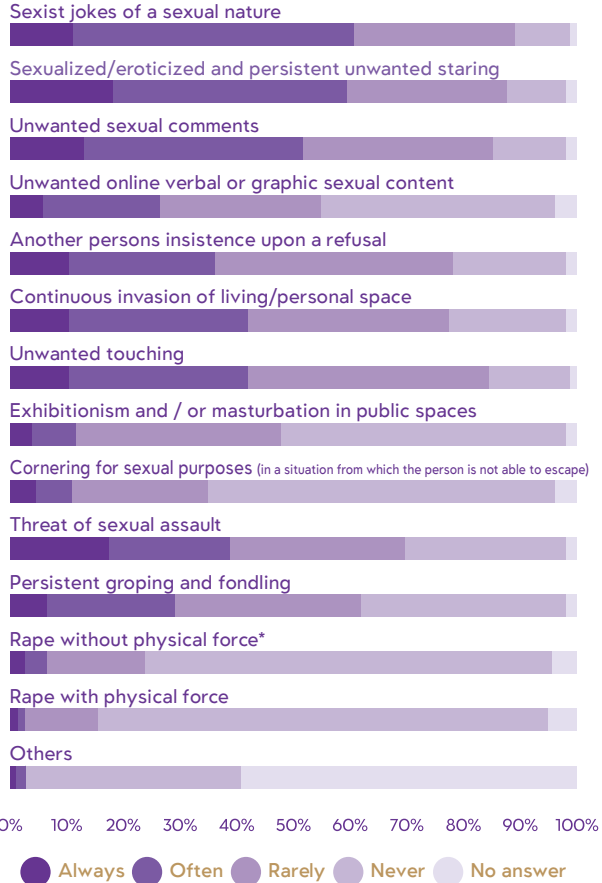


Figure 59 - Distribution of the sample group "transgender or non-binary gender identities" by violence experienced in nightlife environments

Which of these forms of violence have you experienced when partying or going out at night?
Men (%)



Figure 60 - Distribution of the sample group "men" by violence experienced in nightlife environments

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

In response to the option of other sexual violence experienced, the experience of attempted rape was most frequently reported by cis-gender women, and was expressed in the following terms:

Sexual abuse and force without physical penetration [Cis-woman].
Attempted rape with physical force [Cis-woman].
After a party I went to sleep with a colleague and the guy, drunk and stoned, tried several times to put his hand in my underwear, when I refused. It wasn't the first time we slept together as lifelong friends, but it was the last. [Cis-woman].
Sexual assault in a doorway without rape [Cis-woman].

Experiences of child abuse (beyond nightlife environments), abuse of power, assault by a partner or acquaintance, and assault in the context of dancing, all reported by cis-gender women, were also notably reported.

Also of note is police sexual violence reported by both a cis-gender woman and a cis-gender man:

Assaulter was a policeman; [Cis-woman].
Police abuse; [Cis-man].

For further information, you can see the Annex 3. Tables of qualitative analysis. Table 17- Other sexual violence experienced. Qualitative data. [Page. 231](#).

Thus, in general, women (as well as people of transgender and non-binary gender identities) not only experience sexual violence more frequently than men when out at night, but also experience more types of sexual violence, and in a wider range of contexts.

8.4. PERCENTAGE OF MALE AGGRESSOR IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

Next, we asked whether, in the case of having experienced any form of sexual violence, the perpetrator was a man. Again, a high percentage of women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities answered affirmatively (90.9% and 86.5%, respectively):

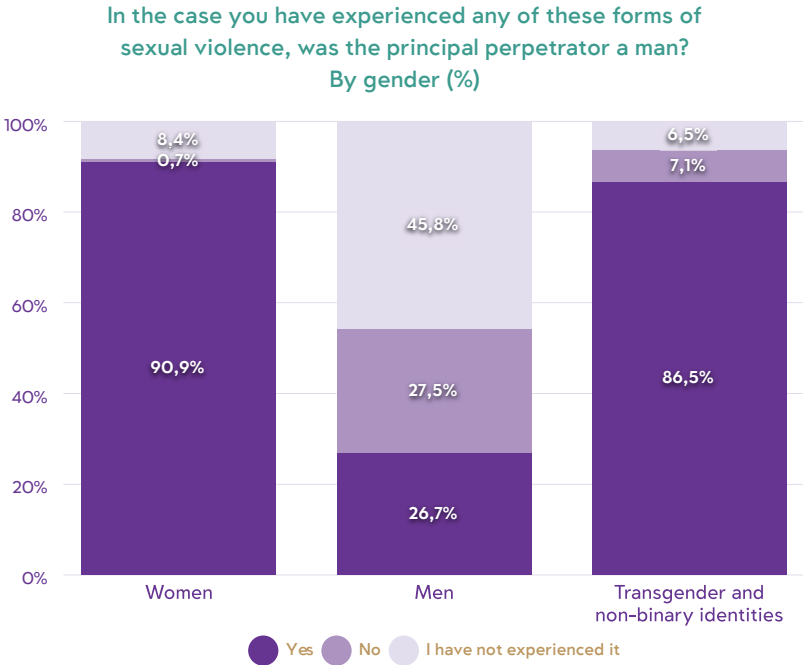


Figure 61 - Distribution of sample group which had experienced sexual violence by gender of perpetrator(s) and gender category

Likewise, the fact that 45.8% of men reported not having experienced any form of violence compared to 6.5% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities and 8.4% of women is also noteworthy.

This would appear to show that, contrary to certain perceptions, sexual violence does have a gender dimension.

8.5. RELATIONSHIP WITH MALE AGGRESSOR BY TYPE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Lastly, we asked respondents about the nature of their relationship with the aggressor, in the case of having experienced some form of sexual violence. The data is once again disaggregated down by gender:

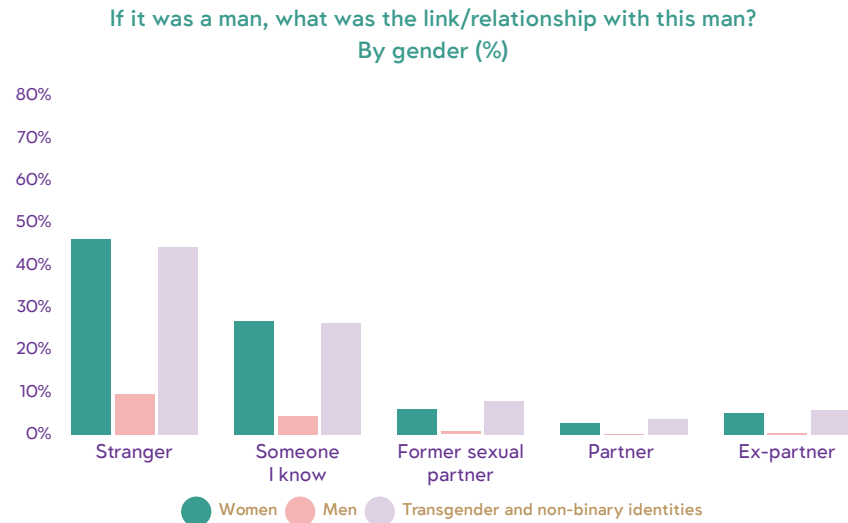


Figure 62 - Distribution of sample group which had experienced sexual violence committed by a man, by principal relationship with the perpetrator and gender category

Across the three gender categories, the most commonly-reported type of relationship with the perpetrator is a "stranger" (women: 46.5%; men: 9.6%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 44.4%), followed by "someone I know" (women: 26.9%; men: 4.4%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 26.5%), although the percentages are consistently higher for women and transgender and non-binary gender identities. The prevalence of the "stranger" figure does not correspond with the literature on sexual violence, which tells us that it would most likely be perpetrated by a known person or someone close to them. Other types of relationships such as a former sexual partner, partner or ex-partner obtain significantly lower percentages.

Nevertheless, as the following graphs show, sexual harassment and more subtle forms of sexual violence appear more likely to be perpetrated by strangers, however, the same pattern does not apply to rape (with or without physical force):

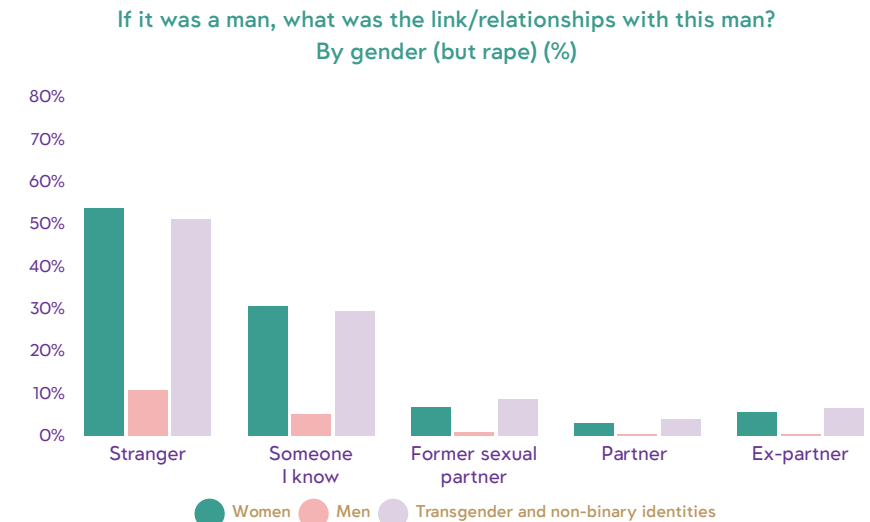


Figure 63 - Distribution of sample group which had experienced sexual violence (excluding rape) committed by a man, by principal relationship with the perpetrator and gender category

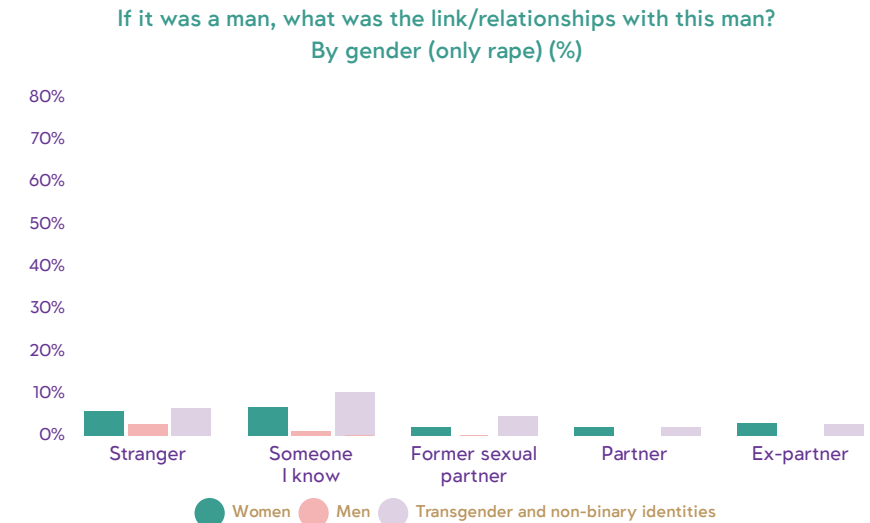


Figure 64 - Distribution of sample group, which had experienced sexual violence (only rape), committed by a man, by principal relationship with the perpetrator and gender category

Among women's responses regarding sexual violence perpetrated by strangers or someone they knew, respectively, in nightlife environments, the following stand out: sexist jokes of a sexual nature (61.68%; 62.8%), sexualized/eroticized and unwanted staring (80.5%; 36.3%), unwanted sexual comments (74.1%; 43.2%), another person's insistence upon refusal (56.9%; 38.9%), continuous invasion of personal space (56%; 35%), unwanted touching (64.6%; 39.3%), perceived threat of sexual assault (64.4%; 21.4%):

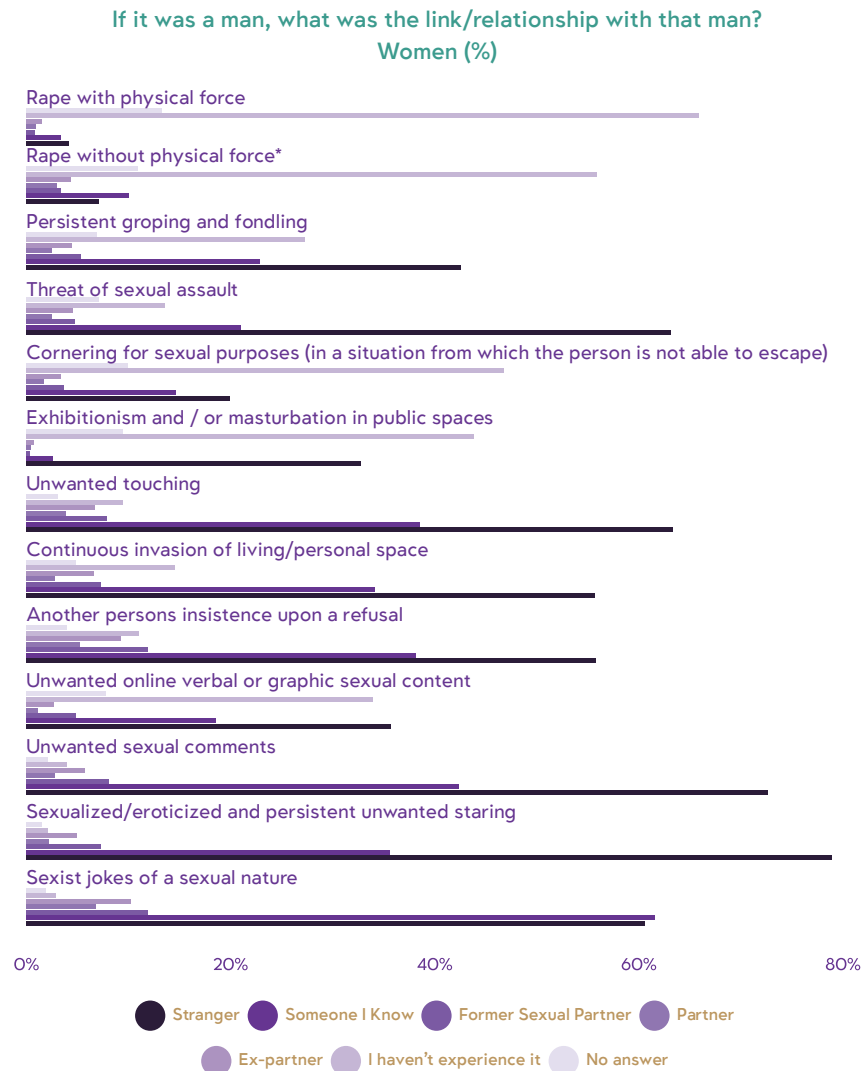


Figure 65 - Women who had experienced sexual violence committed by a man, by principal relationship with the perpetrator

For transgender and non-binary gender identities, sexist jokes of a sexual nature (63,8%; 55%), sexualized/eroticized and unwanted staring (70,6%; 30%), unwanted sexual comments (68.8%; 38.1%) and unwanted touching (60.6%; 37.5%) perpetrated by strangers and acquaintances, respectively, stand out:

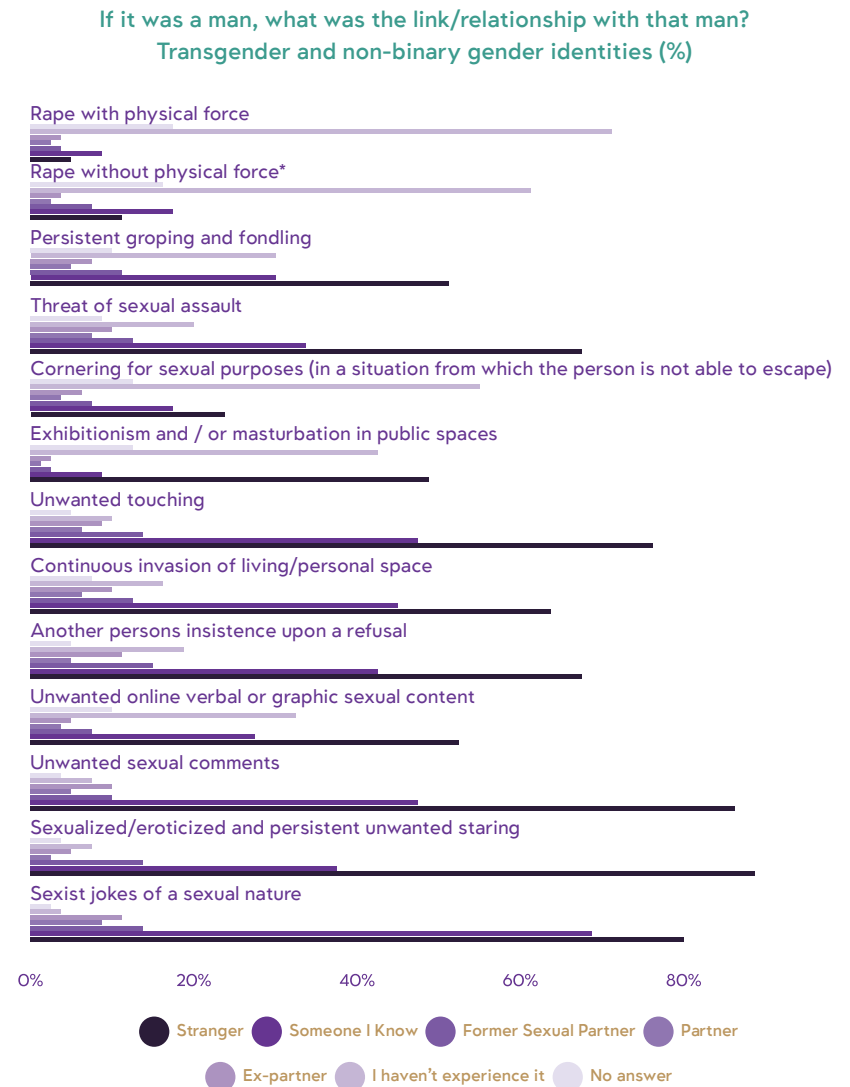


Figure 66 - People of transgender or non-binary gender identities who had experienced sexual violence committed by a man, by principal relationship with the perpetrator.

For men, no reported form violence perpetrated by strangers or someone they know in nightlife environments exceeds 16%:



Figure 67 - Men who had experienced sexual violence committed by a man, by principal relationship with the perpetrator

8.6. PERCENTAGE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE EXPERIENCED AND WITNESSED BY/KNOWN TO OTHERS IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

In the following question, we asked whether, in the case of having experienced any form of sexual violence when out at night, another person witnessed or was aware of the situation. Again, the results shown are divided by gender:

In the case of having experienced any of the previous forms of sexual violence, did any one witness or know about the situation?

By gender (%)

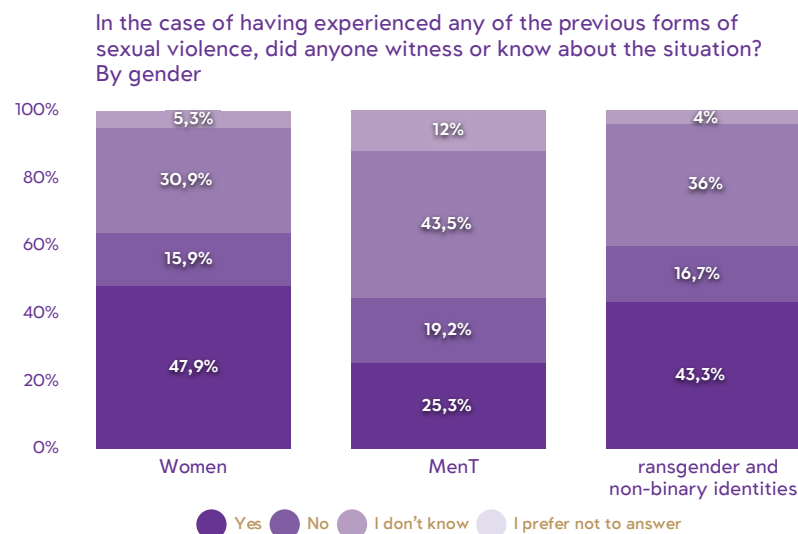


Figure 68 - Distribution of sample group who had experienced sexual violence distribution by witness presence

Women (47.9%), followed by people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (43.3%), reported more frequently than men (25.30%) the existence of a witness and/or people who knew about the sexual assault experienced. This is consistent with the figures for sexual violence experienced by each gender category according to the structural oppression exercised by men upon women, and also upon transgender and non-binary gender identities. As such, those who have experienced sexual violence to a greater degree have also been 'seen to' experience it more.

8.7. TYPE OF 'PASSIVE OBSERVERS' AND MOST FREQUENT REACTIONS TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE EXPERIENCED IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

We also asked about the reactions of different types of passive observers to violence experienced in nightlife environments. The response options were as follows: "Yes, the person asked if I needed help", "Yes, the person distracted the perpetrator and I left", "Yes, the person called the police/bouncers", "No, the person only observed without doing anything else", "No, the person just looked and left", "This person was not present", "Other" and "I don't know/I don't answer".

By gender, the results show that, for all 3 gender categories, those who did intervene in any of the 3 affirmative options are were most likely to be "A friend in the venue", "An unknown person in the venue", or "A known person in the venue":

In the case of having experienced any of the previous forms of sexual violence, did the people witnessing the situation intervene?

"Yes, ...".

By gender (%)

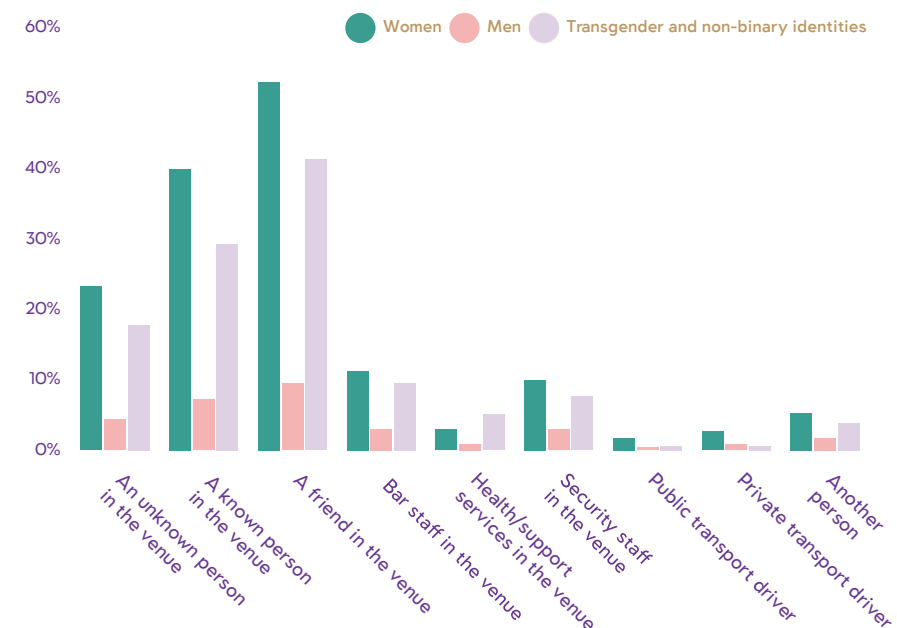


Figure 69 - Distribution of sample group who had experienced sexual violence by witness reaction

The percentages reported regarding intervention by these three types of person are consistently higher for women (friend: 51.4%; unknown person: 22.9%; known person: 39.3%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (friend: 40.6%; unknown person: 17.5%; known person: 28.8%) than for men (friend: 9.3%; unknown person: 7.1%; known person: 4.3%). "Bar staff in the venue", "Security staff in the venue", "Health/support services in the venue", "Public transport driver" and "Private transport driver" were significantly less likely to have intervened, according to responses

across all three gender categories.

The following graphs detail the differences in responses according to gender. The fragments marked in light blue correspond to the 3 affirmative response options:

In case you experienced any of the the previous forms of sexual violence, did the people witnessing the situation intervene)

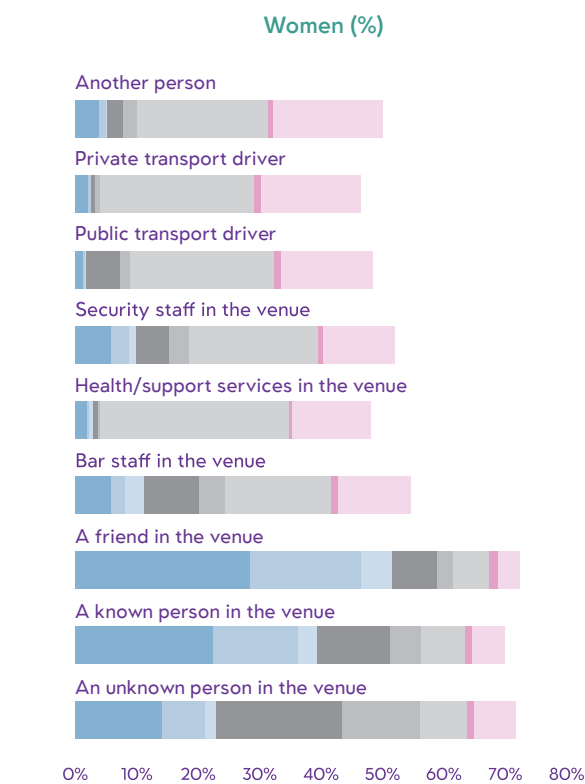


Figure 70 - Women who had experienced sexual violence, distributed by witness reaction

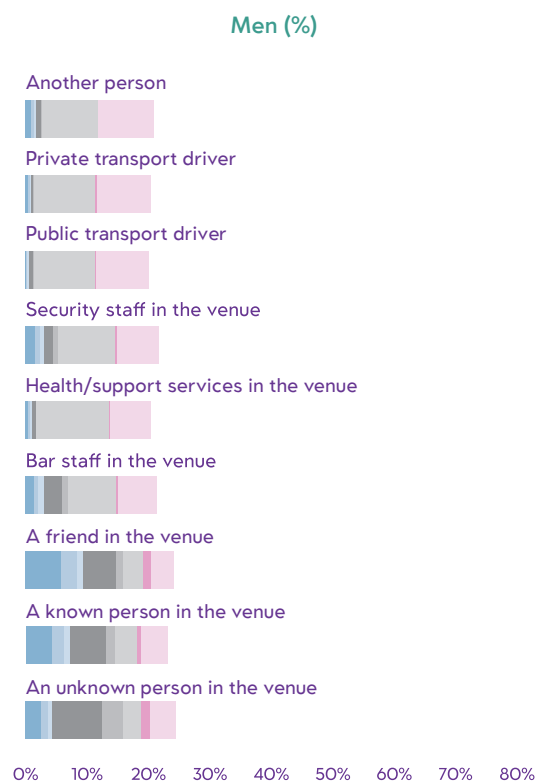


Figure 71 - Men who had experienced sexual violence, distributed by witness reaction

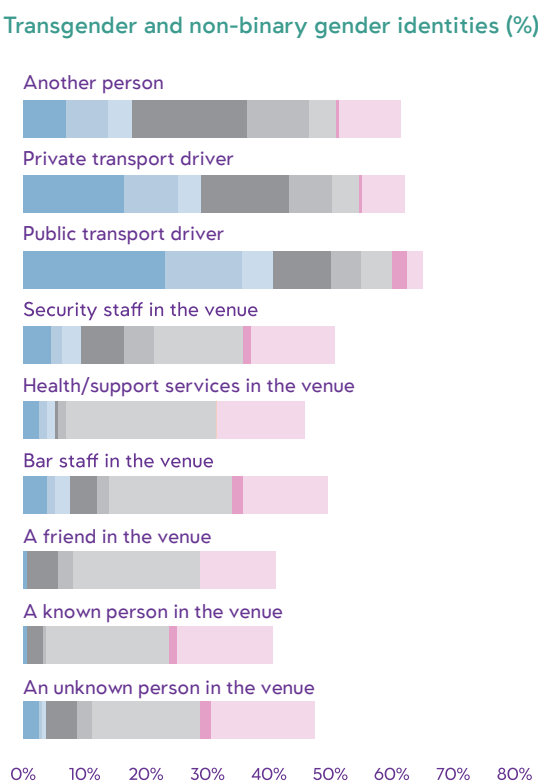


Figure 72 - People of transgender or non-binary gender identities who had experienced sexual violence, distributed by witness reaction

- Yes, the person asked what was going on
- Yes, the person distracted the perpetrator and I left
- Yes, the person called the police/bouncers
- No, the person only observed without doing anything else
- No, the person just looked and left
- This person was not present
- Other
- Prefer not to answer

In general, a higher percentage of negative (grey) than affirmative responses (pink) were observed across all 3 gender categories. This suggests a need to develop preventive campaigns aimed at all 'bystanders' so that they take co-responsibility for intervening in situations of sexual violence in nightlife environments.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The above having been considered, additional information collected regarding other types of intervention by bystanders is very interesting (for more information, see Annex 3. Tables of qualitative analysis: Table 18- Other forms of witness behaviour. Qualitative data. [Page.232](#)). Three types of bystanders' reactions were reported:

Proactive behaviours: confronted the aggressor; offered support after the event; offered help; removed the aggressor, or offered to do so; created a physical barrier to protect the victim; simulated proximity to or otherwise approached the victim; helped victim remove themselves from the situation; accompanied the victim home; encouraged the victim to confront the aggressor; responded to the victim's request; other proactive behaviours.

Indifferent or negligent behaviours: witness was aware but ignored the situation; witness was not aware of the situation; witness responded inconsistently; witness was under the influence and/or unable to intervene; witness feared consequences of intervening.

Actively harmful behaviours: witness participated in the assault; witness engaged in victim-blaming; witness encouraged the aggressor; witness/aggressor downplayed or qualified their behaviour.

By gender, women reported having encountered "proactive behaviours" to a greater extent than men or people of transgender and non-gender-binary identities. For example, many women reported that different actors, often a friend or acquaintance, confronted the aggressor directly:

Defended me [cis-woman/ Friend]

Confronted the aggressor [cis-woman/ Friend]

A friend fought with the attacker [cis-woman/ Friend]

Fought with the aggressor [cis-woman/ Friend].

To confront the aggressor; [cis-woman/ Unknown person]

Confront; [cis-woman/ Known person]

Confront; [cis-woman/ Unknown person]

Along the same lines, other women reported that security staff chased the aggressor away, or offered to do so:

The harasser was ejected from the premises [cis-woman/Security]

Made the aggressor get off the bus [cis-woman/Public transport]

Kicked the aggressor out of the bar and confronted him; [cis-woman/ Security]

Similarly, other women reported that the witness created a physical barrier to protect her, simulated proximity, approached her, or directly escorted her home:

While asking if I was being bothered, they pushed away the person who was invading my space; [cis-woman/ Friend]

Switched sides with me to create a barrier with the guy; etc. [cis-woman/ Known person]

They screamed at the person that I was straight and started kissing my cheek til the person left [cis-woman/Friend]

They acted as if they were my partner so that the abuser would leave; [cis-woman/ Known person]

They came to talk with me and waited for the aggressor to leave; [cis-woman/Friend]

My partner approached me; etc. [cis-woman/Known person]

Stayed nearby; [cis-woman/Known person]

Walked with me to the house; [cis-woman/Friend]

Called a taxi for me; [cis-woman/Known person]

Drove me home; [cis-woman/Friend]

However, some men report that friends and acquaintances preferred to encourage

them to confront the aggressor:

*Telling me to go after them, getting in the aggressor's face; [cis-man/
Friend]*

*Helping me to confront him, the person stood next to me; [cis-man/
Friend]*

Nevertheless, they stated that other actors such as bar staff, health professionals, security, and public and private transport workers ignored the situation in which they were being assaulted:

Nothing [cis-man/ Bar staff]

Nothing [cis-man/ Health services]

Nothing [cis-man/ Security]

Nothing [cis-man/ Public transport]

Nothing [cis-man/ Private transport]

All of this may respond to the accepted gender roles of men and women in relation to who should protect and who should be protected, respectively, although, as seen above, the data points to men (87.7%) as perpetrators and women (80.5%) as victims of witnessed sexual violence. Indeed, 90.9% of women and 86.5% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities point to men as perpetrators of experienced sexual violence. This may explain why some bystanders give less credence to violence experienced by men and therefore pay less attention to it.

However, this negligent attitude shown by certain actors also seems to affect women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities:

Nothing [cis-woman/ Bar staff].

Nothing [cis-woman/ Health services]

Nothing [cis-woman/ Security]

Nothing [transgender and non-binary gender identity/ Bar staff]

Nothing [transgender and non-binary gender identity/ Private transport]

Much more serious is when the witness engages in victim-blaming or even participates in the assault, an experience reported by several women and some people of diverse gender identity:

Laughed at the jokes; [cis-woman/ Known person]

Blamed me; [cis-woman/ Friend]

He told me that I should have made it clearer that I didn't want anything; [cis-woman/ Friend].

Blamed me for drinking [cis-woman/ Security].

He was the aggressor [transgender and non-binary gender identity/ Private transport]

One time I was cornered by a bouncer [transgender and non-binary gender identity/ Security]

The other person watched and joined the attacker; [cis-woman/ Unknown person]

Helped the attacker to hold my feet; etc. [cis-woman/ Unknown person]

This undoubtedly entails a double aggression and victimisation of women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities that significantly conditions their subsequent journey to recovery. Moreover, it is especially shocking when it is reported that these additional perpetrators are friends or acquaintances of the victim and/or security personnel or private transport drivers.

In fact, as seen in other research (Observatorio Noctámbul@s Report, 2018) this complicity in and invisibilisation of the aggressor's behaviour is reinforced if the person who perpetrates aggression is known and close to the victim. In these cases, the friend group is unable to detect patterns of male sexist behaviour affecting women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities, and all the less so if we take into account the enduring image in society of the sexual aggressor which fails to contemplate the sexist bases of gender socialisation. Moreover, if such aggression

occurs in a nightlife context where alcohol and/or drugs consumption also takes place, the aggression becomes secondary and is reduced to the status of a consequence of said consumption, and even to a common behaviour in nightlife environments. This creates a context in which aggressions are constantly repeated, which will continue insofar as we fail to explore and problematise the patterns of male sexist behaviours of those – especially men- with whom we share spaces when out at night.

All of the above points to the need to carry out awareness-raising and training work with a range of ‘bystanders’, with the aim of promoting co-responsibility in challenging sexual violence in nightlife environments.

8.8. TYPE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE BY CHEMICAL SUBMISSION IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

We also asked respondents about the nature of the sexual violence by chemical submission they had suffered – had they experienced such violence – be it premeditated (induced to consume a substance without awareness of it) or opportunistic (someone took advantage of their vulnerable state following their having used a particular substance). the results are presented by gender below:

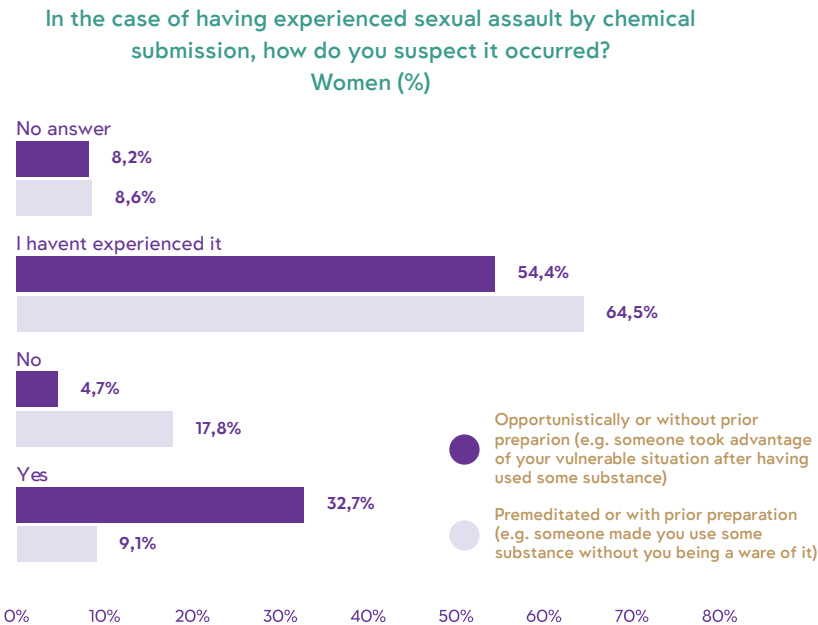


Figure 73 - Women who had experienced sexual violence by chemical submission, by extent to which attack was premeditated

In the case of having experienced sexual assault by chemical submission, how do you suspect it occurred?
Men (%)

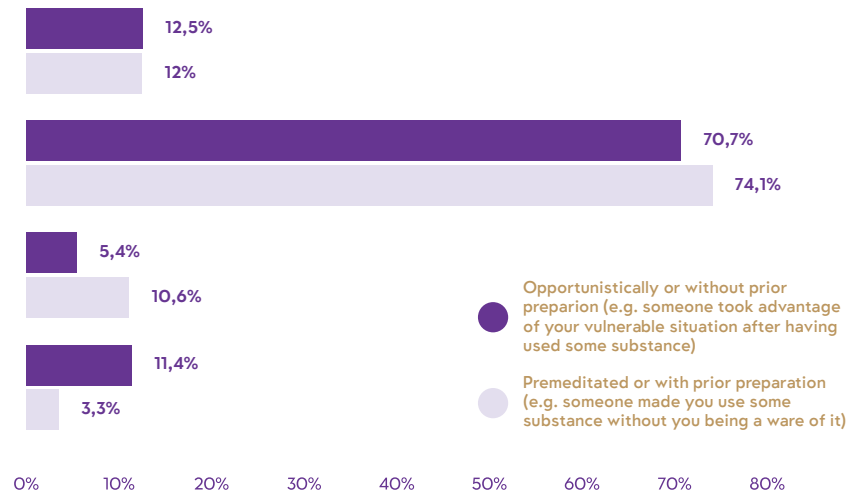


Figure 74 - Men who had experienced sexual violence by chemical submission, by extent to which attack was premeditated

In the case of having experienced sexual assault by chemical submission, how do you suspect it occurred?
Transgender and non-binary gender identities (%)

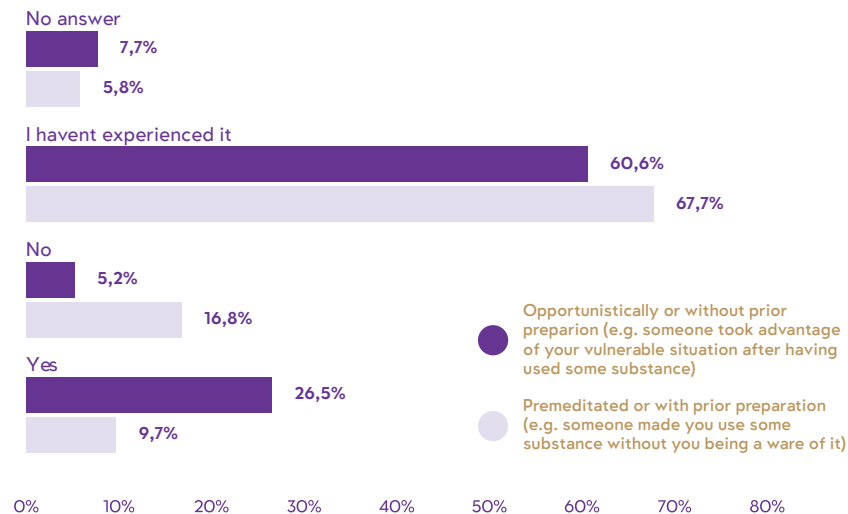


Figure 75 - Transgender and non-binary gender identities who had experienced sexual violence by chemical submission, by extent to which attack was premeditated

The results for the 3 gender categories (women: 32.7%; men: 11.4%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 26.5%) demonstrate a greater frequency of opportunistic chemical submission. These values are higher for women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities. The reported prevalence of opportunistic chemical submission is consistent with previous research (Observatorio Noctámbulas, 2018), although, as seen in point 7.2. Myths about sexual violence in party spaces, only 31.1% of respondents indicated agreement with the idea that "most rapes are opportunistic". This suggests a need to continue raising awareness regarding this type of sexual violence which, being opportunistic (and not premeditated), would appear to be much more widespread than previously thought.

8.9. FREQUENCY OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE COMMITTED IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS

Lastly, respondents were asked the sexual violence they had committed in nightlife environments. In this case, we would reasonably expect underreporting to a certain degree in comparison to the 'real' total of cases, given that this would entail socially undesirable behaviours which are further becoming rejected.

The majority of respondents stated that they had not committed any type of sexual violence. However, there is a small group who say that they have committed one or more of the stated forms of sexual violence.

By gender, incidence is higher men, as shown in the following graph comparing women, men and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities:

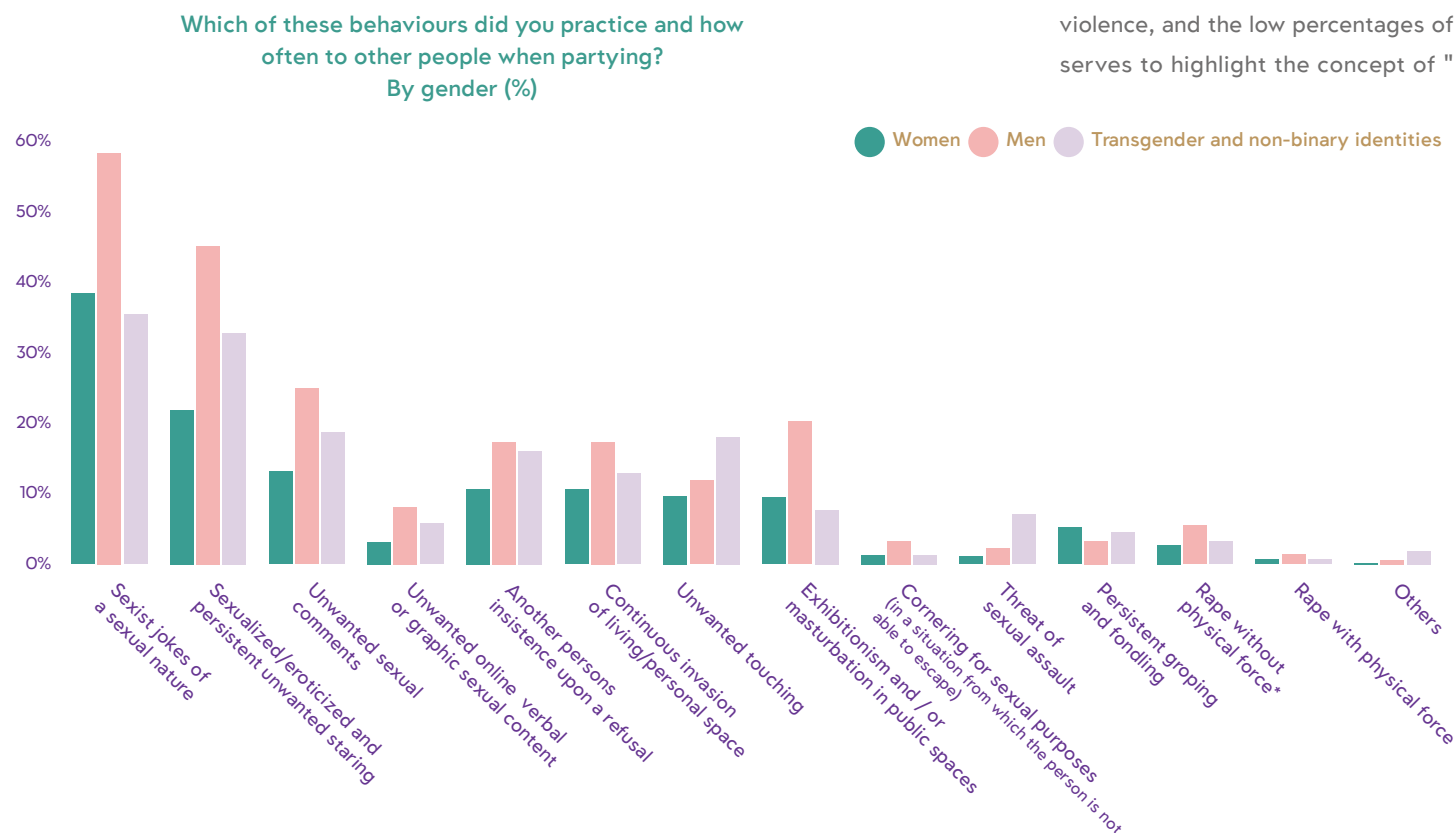


Figure 76 - Distribution of the sample by type(s) of sexual violence committed and gender category

The most commonly-reported forms of violence by men were sexist jokes of a sexual nature (58.40%), sexualised/eroticized and persistent unwanted staring (45.2%), unwanted sexual comments (25%), insistence upon refusal (17.40%), persistent invasion of personal space (11.9%) and unwanted touching (20.3%). Men report committing sexual violence at low frequencies. This could indicate that men are not conscious of their actions. However, as the Observatorio Noctámbul@s indicates (2018) it is always difficult to recognise oneself as a possible aggressor, or as having a sexist and sexually violent attitude towards women. Recognition of this violence, on the part of both the perpetrator and the victim, is always a complex issue in that it requires knowing/wanting to understand the mechanisms of gender and power dynamics in oneself, particularly on the part of men.

The gap between the high percentages of women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities who report having experienced various forms of sexual violence, and the low percentages of sexual violence men report having committed, serves to highlight the concept of "phantom perpetrators" previously discussed.

Although sexual and male sexist violence are transversal and occur regularly, most men do not feel personally involved when this issue is addressed. Thus, it could be interpreted that men show difficulty in identifying very frequent and quotidian forms of violence that they may at some point have committed.

Women, despite more often being the victims of violence, also recognise themselves as perpetrators in situations such as having made sexist jokes (38.5%). However, as Observatorio Noctámbul@s indicates (2018), this type of violence has to be read differently when it is committed by a man than when it is committed by a woman, since the positions of power are different, and in one instance the violence

is structural and patriarchal where in the other it is not; furthermore, this may also be an example of, in line with gender roles, women being more critical of themselves than men of further relevance is the fact that nightlife environments are traditionally, and since, at least, ancient Greece, male-dominated and male-oriented hedonistic settings. The feminization of these environments is relatively recent in our history and, in these settings, women may adopt dominant behaviours (masculine), e.g. heavy drinking and drug use, in addition to sexist practices and sexual harassment (our study demonstrates that several men report having experienced sexual harassment committed by women).

Thus, similarly to what happens in other contexts (for example, leadership positions in the workplace, politics, etc.), in a male-dominated setting, women may adhere to the indicated behaviours/social roles, and may be building and experimenting new femininities that adhere to certain masculine behaviours, in order to obtain control or to fit in.

The following graphs show the results of the frequency ("always", "frequently", "rarely", "never" and "no response") of sexual violence committed, according to gender. The brightly-coloured fragments denote a higher frequency:

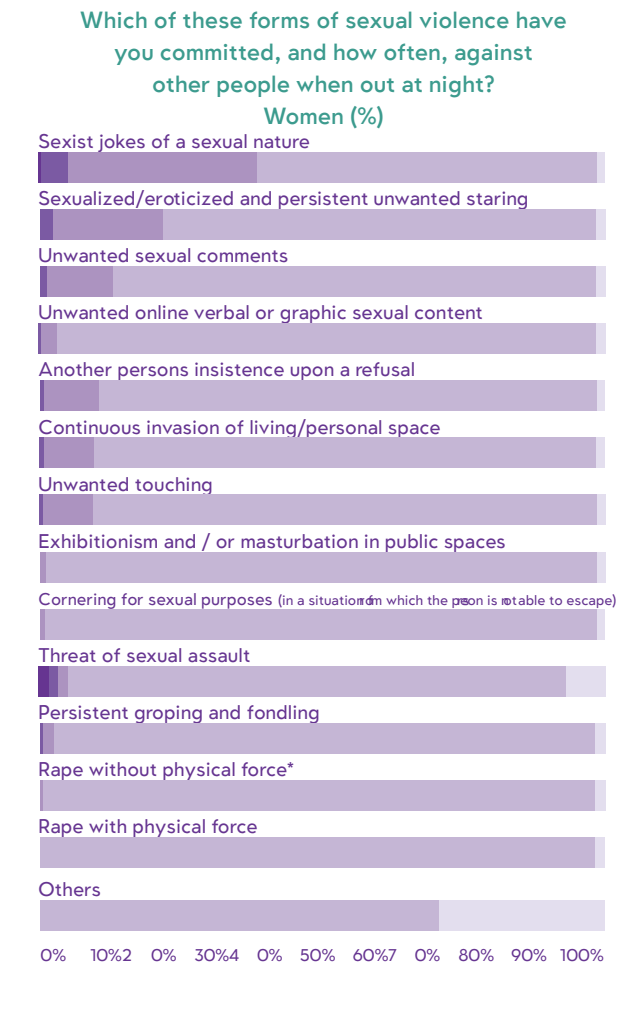


Figure 77 - Distribution of sample group "women" by type(s) of sexual violence committed and frequency

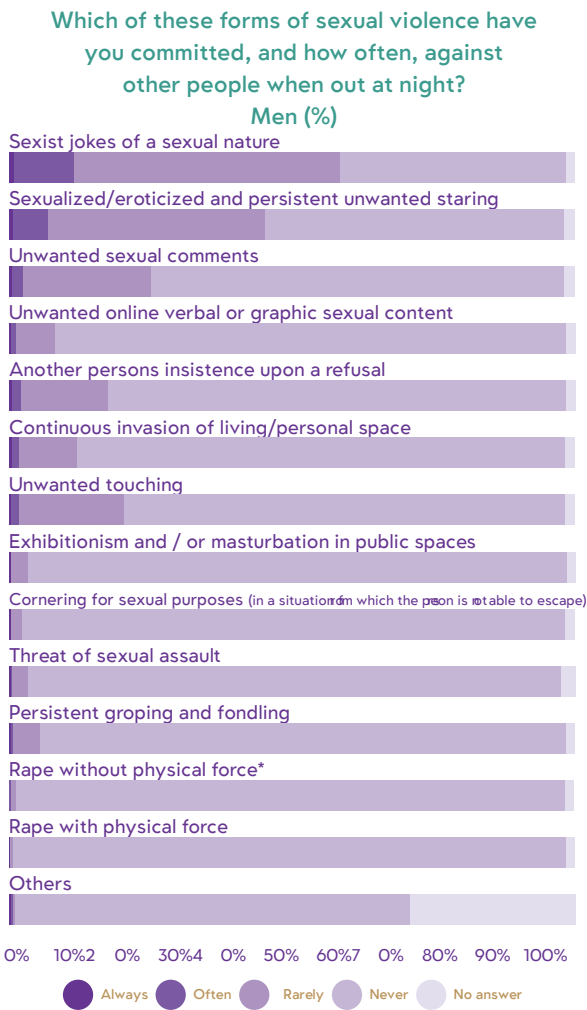


Figure 78 - Distribution of sample group "men" by type(s) of sexual violence committed and frequency

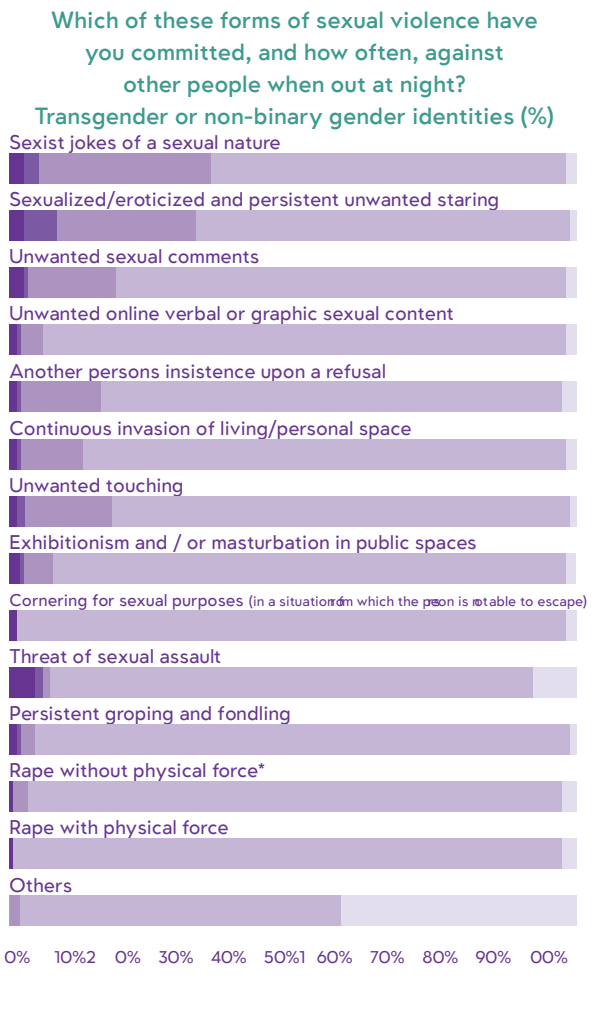


Figure 79 - Distribution of sample group "transgender or non-binary gender identities" by type(s) of sexual violence committed and frequency

Men reported having committed sexual violence more frequently ("always" and "often") than women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities. However, among people of transgender and non-binary gender identities, responses for the category "always" were somewhat higher than among men and among women, something which would be interesting to explore in more detail through research focused on this population group.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

One form of sexual violence committed by some cis-men was "possible rape without physical force":

Consensual sex with a cohabiting partner who at some point lost consciousness [cis-man].

Likewise, two respondents - a cisgender woman and a person of transgender and non-binary gender identity - indicated two situations which, while not constituting sexual violence, indicate how to avoid committing it (taking into account the other person's wishes, being aware of the fear that we may be causing when being read as men, etc.):

When/if I notice that the "challahs" are unwanted, I stop immediately [cis-woman].

I happened to be walking behind a woman in the dark, drunk, thinking something funny and laughing. I guess the woman thought I was a man. She looked scared. I slowed down, came off the road and walked away [transgender and non-binary gender identity].

This is particularly interesting in terms of developing training actions in relation to sexual violence.

Although people of all genders can commit sexual violence, the results show that women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities experience the most sexual violence. In general, it is clear that more efforts are still needed to make cis-gender men aware of sexual violence, especially against women (but also against transgender and non-binary gender identities), as they find it difficult to see themselves as active agents in such situations.

For further information, see Annex 3. Tables of qualitative data: Table 19- Other forms of sexual violence committed. Qualitative data. [Page 236](#).

9.

SUPPORT RESOURCES IN NIGHTLIFE SPACES

This section focuses on the type of resources that respondents were able to call on in the case of experiencing sexual violence, as well as the reasons for not doing so. It should again be noted that the sample finally analysed was 4,534 responses. The sample is analysed on the basis of the following gender categories: Women (N=3,371), Men (N=1,003) and Transgender and non-binary gender identities (N=160).

9.1.

Type of people and frequency of seeking their help in the event of experiencing sexual violence in nightlife spaces

9.2.

Reasons for not seeking help to deal with sexual violence in nightlife spaces

9.1. TYPE OF PEOPLE AND FREQUENCY OF SEEKING THEIR HELP IN THE EVENT OF EXPERIENCING SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN NIGHTLIFE SPACES

We asked about the people from whom respondents asked for help in the case of having experienced some form of sexual violence.

The immediate environment, such as friends (55%) and family (22%), constituted the most highly-reported recourse for respondents, followed by venue staff (20%):

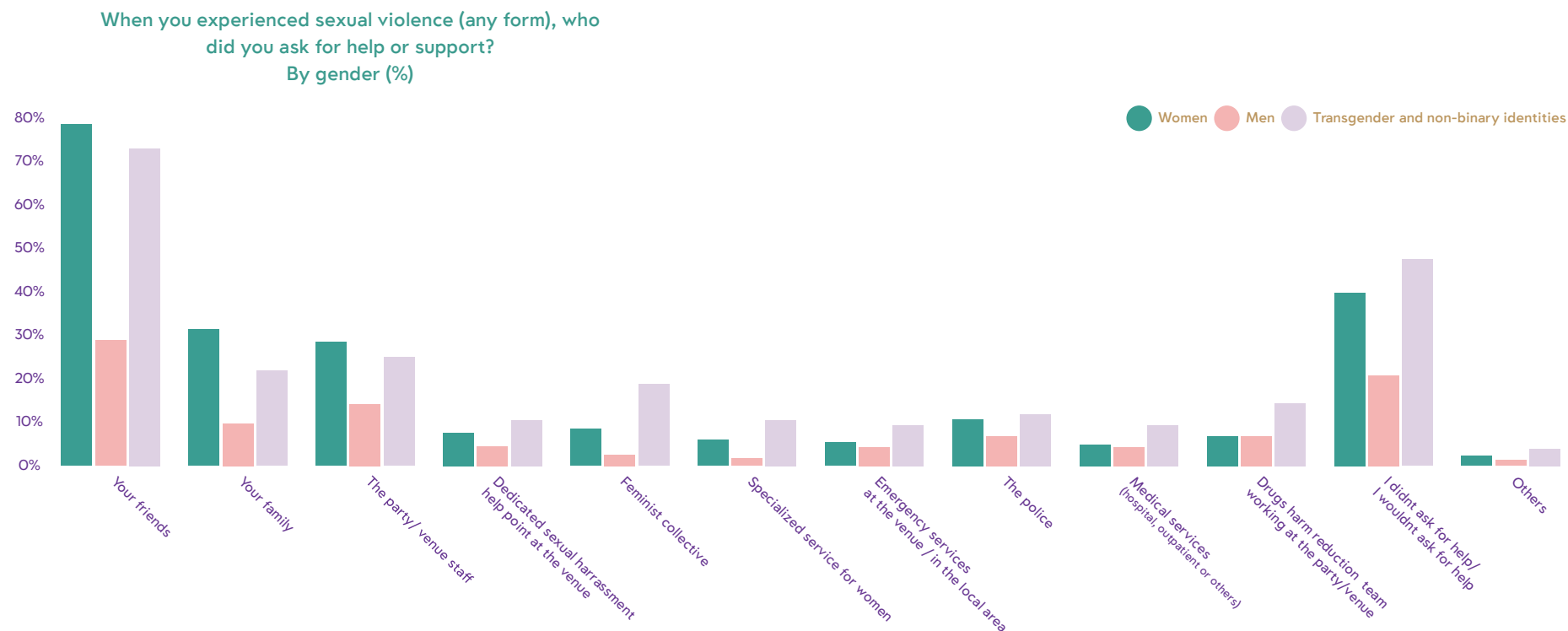
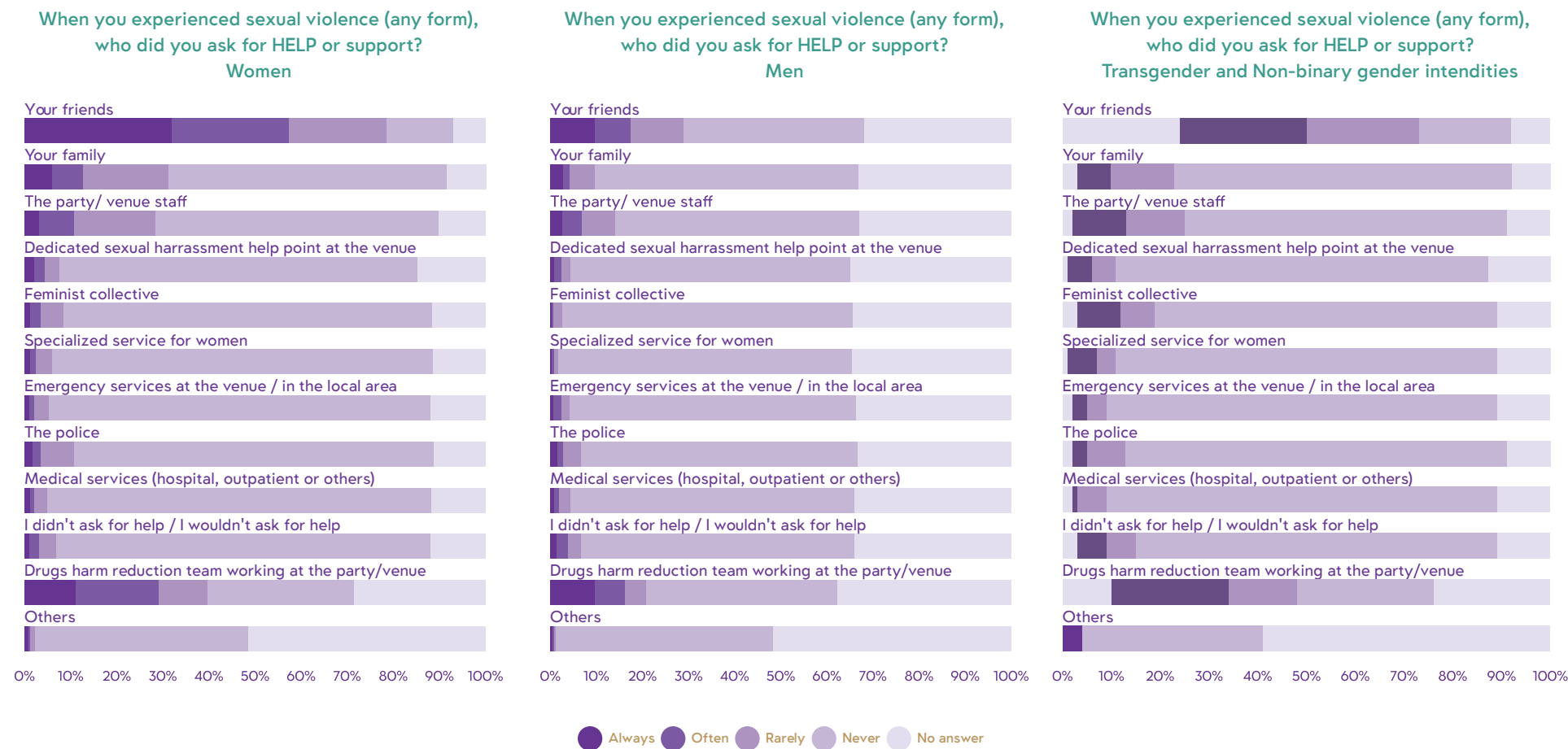


Figure 80 - Distribution of the sample group which had experienced sexual violence by person whose help they requested and respondents' gender category

By gender, women consistently reported the highest frequencies of requesting help (friends: 78.6%; family: 31.4%; venue staff: 28.5%), followed by people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (friends: 73.1%; family: 21.9%; venue staff: 25%). Men reported asking for help to a lesser extent (friends: 28.9%; family: 9.8%; venue staff: 16.96%). This is consistent with the fact that, as we have discussed, these first two population groups are the most likely to experience sexual violence when out at night.

Also noteworthy is the reported frequency of "I didn't ask for help/I wouldn't ask for help" (women: 39.8%; men: 20.8%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 47.5%), again higher in the case of women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities.

By frequency and gender, women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities seem to ask for help more often ("always") than men, especially from friends and family:



By contrast, specialised, emergency, police, medical or harm reduction services were least frequently reported as having been asked across all gender identities. As the Observatorio Noctámbulas indicates (2018), there are many professionals who intervene in cases of sexual violence that take place in contexts of nightlife and drug use, and they do not always have the necessary knowledge to provide appropriate information/care to sexual violence victims. Even if there are harm reduction services for the use of psychoactive substances, their staff is often not trained to react in such situations and provide adequate information or referral to specialised services. Also, in many bars and festivals, there are no police, nor enough medical staff to contact. This is to say, not all of these professionals have received training from a feminist paradigm to deal with sexual violence victims in an understanding and respectful way, as feminist women and professionals who have already gone through this experience demand. Indeed, one of the main fears regarding medical, psychological and finally judicial assistance is that the victims of sexual violence will be questioned during the process.

Likewise, the Lilac Points (Punts Liles) and the feminist movement, while having developed self-managed care mechanisms as a result of non-legislative political work to guarantee women's rights in some European countries, do not seem widespread across Europe as a whole. In this sense, it is worth noting the need of these political resources.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Respondents also sought the help of their own partners, as some of the women surveyed pointed out:

My partner [Cis-woman]

Partner [Cis-woman]

In addition, some women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities also reported seeking help from a psychotherapist, which reflects the lasting consequences of being sexually assaulted when out at night:

Psychologist [Cis-woman]

Psychotherapist [transgender and non-binary gender identity]

In any case, all of the above indicates a need to develop actions to facilitate seeking and providing help in dealing with sexual violence in nightlife environments.

9.2. REASONS FOR NOT SEEKING HELP TO DEAL WITH SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN NIGHTLIFE SPACES

Finally, and where appropriate, respondents were asked about their reasons for not seeking help. Data disaggregated by gender is presented below:

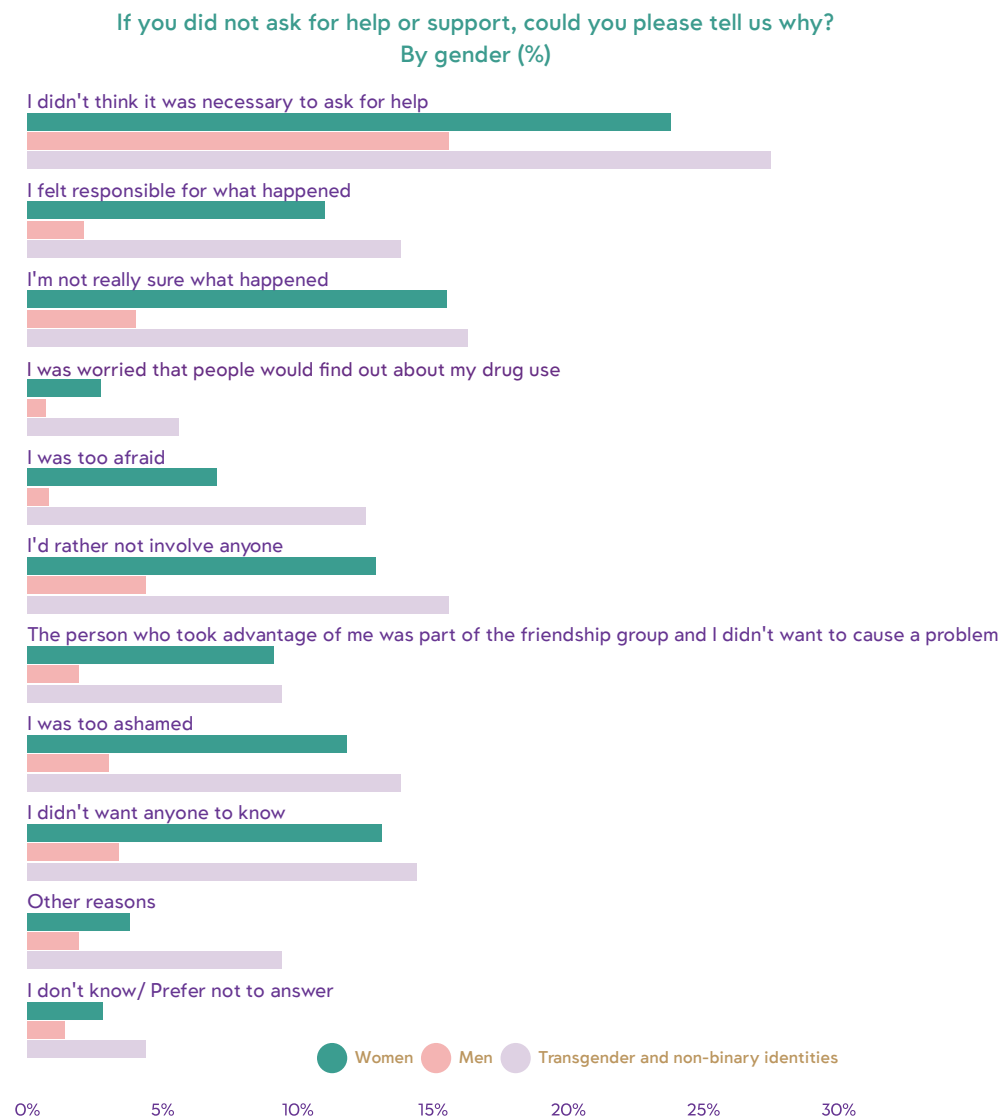


Figure 84 - Reasons for not seeking help upon experiencing sexual violence, by respondents' gender category

The most common responses for not asking for help were, from most to least frequent: "I didn't think it was necessary to ask for help" (women: 23.8%; men: 15.6%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 27.5%); "I'm not really sure what happened" (women: 15.5%; men: 4%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 16.3%); "I felt responsible for what happened" (women: 11%; men: 2.1%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 13.8%); and "I'd rather not involve anyone" (women: 12.9%; men: 4.4%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 15.6%). As can be seen, women are represented to a greater extent across most categories, followed by people of transgender and non-binary gender identities.

Some reasons seem to be influenced by gender roles, such as hyper-responsibility, guilt and self-blame among women ("I felt responsible for what happened", "I was too ashamed", "I'm not really sure what happened" "I was worried that people would find out about my drug use..."), who show significantly higher rates than men in all of these response categories. In addition, the female gender role according to which women should be 'discreet' or not to cause trouble and, therefore not stand up for their rights ("I'd rather not involve anyone", "The person who took advantage of me was part of the friendship group and I didn't want to cause problem"...) may be a determining factor. In turn, this may provide indications as to how to approach preventative messaging and in designing protocols to encourage people to seek help.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Other reasons for not seeking help are reported differently across the gender groups. Men more frequently report physical superiority over the perpetrator, in that they either did not feel physically threatened, or believed they were capable of handling things on their own. There are also some notes referring to sexual abuse of the low-intensity sexual assaults:

My physical safety was not in danger. [cis-man]

I was not physically inferior and therefore I could defend myself. [cis-man]

I was sure I could handle it myself. [cis-man]

They were the kind of compliments that, while uncomfortable, were not so serious as to call for help. [cis-man]

Nevertheless, it also appears common for women to take care of the situation themselves

without asking for help:

I have used physical (pushing) or verbal force. [cis-woman]

I tend to react quite strongly to unwanted sexual signals or contact and rely on my physical strength. [cis-woman]

Many respondents reported not knowing that what occurred was a sexual assault until much later:

I wasn't sure that what happened was sexual violence. [cis-woman]

There are certain behaviours that I didn't consider sexual violence. [cis-woman]

So I didn't understand that I was being sexually abused. I realised for the first time many years later. [cis-woman]

It took me more than 20 years to realise that what happened was rape. [cis-woman]

Women also referred to helplessness, or a lack of belief in the possibility of receiving help from friends, either because they would blame them for what happened, or because they would not believe them:

Friends have blamed me before when I have confided in them, so I haven't told them afterwards. [cis-woman]

I've told friends before and they didn't believe me or blamed me for what happened and my feelings (not being able to get over it, making jokes about not using condoms after being raped) so I prefer to keep it to myself. [cis-woman]

I didn't want to make a "drama", for fear that people wouldn't support me like happened before. [cis-woman]

Respondents also reported not seeking help from or reporting violence to friends, where the perpetrator was an acquaintance or friend:

The person who took advantage was not part of my friendship group, but was part of another group to which my friends belong. [cis-woman]

The person who took advantage of me was my partner at the time [cis-woman]

There is a certain mistrust among women towards services such as the police or venue security staff, related to the fact that these are very masculinised professions, and that women are less likely to approach a male professional. Specialised services staffed by women, such as Lilac Points in Catalonia, are preferred where available:

*Security support staff saw what happened and did nothing.
[cis-woman]*

*Because the security guards wouldn't do anything about it and it
wouldn't have helped the situation for me. [cis-woman]*

*The police never responded, so the next time I didn't even try to
call them. [cis-woman]*

Finally, there are many responses from women who normalise and naturalise the situations they have experienced, as if there is no choice but to accept the situation:

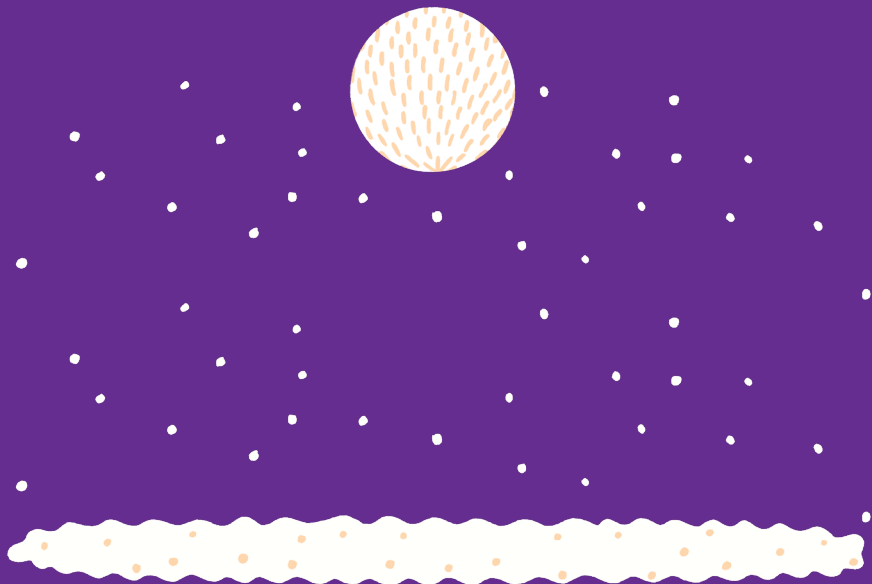
*The grabbing and so on was normal, so I tried to deal with it on my
own. [cis-woman]*

*I didn't want to create any obstacles for myself to enter the club
while underage. I thought I was part of it and it was great because
I got a lot of attention, for example, I didn't have to pay for my
drugs (although there were hardly ever any sexual expectations
behind it). [cis-woman]*

*It was a crowded club, where guys were manhandling girls all the
time, even if they weren't visibly interested. It happens a lot, a lot of
people do it and it's like the norm, so it's not a problem. [cis-woman]*

10.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY



The limits detected in the sample for analysis have been discussed in section 4.10. Sample limitations, in addition to their implications, especially in terms of the impossibility of reaching definitive conclusions regarding non-‘normative’ gender identities and orientations.

As previously indicated, after the analysis of 4.534 responses, it was noted that the samples for the Trans* population (Trans* women: N=5 and Trans* men: N=13), Queer (N=119), Other (N=10) and No response (N=13), represented a remarkably low percentage of the overall sample (N=160/4.534, or 2.6% of the total). This is why it was decided to group gender identities into three categories for the purposes of analysis: Women (N=3,371), Men (N=1,003) and Transgender and non-binary gender identities (N=160). In this sense, it would appear pertinent to highlight the need to develop future research that specifically explores sexual violence in nightlife environments among the LGBTQUI+ population. Likewise, it would also appear necessary to delve deeper into how sexual violence in nightlife environments affects what may be termed the ‘racialised’ population. In short, it would be interesting to develop a study that could enable a more intersectional view of sexual violence in nightlife environments, and environments in which drugs are consumed. In any case, qualitative studies would be of use in deepening certain aspects of the present study, taking as a reference the contributions of other authors cited in the literature review (section 1.2.2. of this report) that elucidate upon the particularities of sexual violence in nightlife environments in relation to certain intersectional axes of discrimination.

Further to the above, additional limitations of the present study should be taken into consideration:

One particular factor which limited the study has undoubtedly been the global pandemic caused by the COVID-19 virus. The almost total closure of nightlife venues in most European countries due to the pandemic may have created a bias in the responses, in terms of having forced respondents to answer on the basis of less recent experiences and/or the shift from public nightlife and consumption spaces to private, clandestine or digital contexts (streaming parties, group video calls, etc.).

In terms of the quantitative analysis, questions regarding the frequency of use of drugs may have proved confusing for some respondents who reported having used drugs more than once in their lifetime, but not in the last 12 months.

In terms of the qualitative analysis, although the NVIVO programme made it possible to extract categories of analysis from the qualitative content, cross-referencing with gender identity variables (quantitative) was carried out entirely manually, which may

have limited the precision of the analysis. Likewise, it was not possible to carry out further cross-referencing with quantitative variables.

Lastly, little time was available for data collection (1 month and 1 week), which undoubtedly limited the sample size.

11.

CONCLUSIONS

As has been discussed, sexual violence in nightlife environments is closely related to gender inequalities, specifically those affecting women but also people of transgender and non-binary gender identities, and is mainly perpetrated by men.

This report has delved into different issues related to sexual violence in nightlife environments, using a combined quantitative and qualitative approach from a gender perspective. Among these issues are: nightlife environments and drug use; mobility and nightlife; perceptions and experiences of sexual violence in nightlife environments, and support resources.

The following is a summary of the main conclusions obtained in this respect. It is important to stress that, after the analysis of the 4,534 responses received, it was decided to group gender identities into three categories: Women (N=3,371), Men (N=1,003) and Transgender and non-binary gender identities (N=160), since it was noted that the sample for the Trans population (Trans women: N=5 and Trans men: N=13), Queer (N=119), Other (N=10) and No response (N=13), represented an extremely low percentage of the overall sample (N=160/4.534, or 2.6% of the total):

Annexes

[Annex 1:](#)
Literature review

[Annex 2:](#)
List of figures and tables

[Annex 3:](#)
Tables of qualitative data

SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN EUROPEAN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS IS HIGHLY NORMALISED, 'NATURALISED', AND WIDESPREAD.

In general terms, symbolic or less evident forms of violence such as advertising, sexist artistic expressions, sexist jokes, continuous sexualised staring or unwanted sexualised comments appear to be highly normalised, naturalised and widespread in nightlife environments. 46.46% of women and 30.01% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities surveyed reported having always or very often experienced some form of normalised sexual violence when out at night, compared to 12.4% of men. Men also reported very low rates of sexual violence (an average of 16%) when compared with women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities. This is consistent with the fact that men report identifying and witnessing less sexual violence in nightlife environments compared to women and people of different gender identities. There is therefore a lack of perception of sexual violence which, in a heteropatriarchal context, is deeply normalised.

IT IS NECESSARY TO ADDRESS NEW MYTHS REGARDING SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS, AND TO KEEP WORKING TO DISPEL EXISTING MYTHS THROUGH NEW AWARENESS-RAISING CAMPAIGNS THAT PROMOTE DIVERSITY AND EQUALITY IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS.

On the one hand, the emergence of new myths rooted in markedly racist and anti-feminist positions is a cause for concern:

61.4% of people surveyed agree or strongly agree that some cultures/ethnicities encourage sexual violence towards women and LGBTQUI+ people more than others, which points to the urgent need to address sexual violence in party spaces from post-colonial and radical anti-racist perspectives.

46.3% of respondents agree or strongly agree that sexual violence is also perpetrated against men and is comparable to that perpetrated against women, which could be interpreted as support for the dangerous idea that "violence has no gender" and the denial of structural oppression by men of women, something which, as discussed, also negatively affects people of transgender and non-binary gender identities. Of course, upon analysing the figures regarding the most commonly experienced types of sexual violence by gender, this notion proves to be a myth: Women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities reported experiencing all of the types of sexual violence discussed to a significantly greater extent than men.

As stated by the Observatorio Noctámbul@s (2018), while it cannot be denied that cis-gender men can experience sexual violence, in no case can the dynamics that encourage it be read from the same structural gender power relationships as in the case of the sexual violence experienced daily by women, as well as people of transgender and non-binary gender identities, in nightlife environments.

On the other hand, the following myths detected in previous research (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018) persist:

47.8% of respondents agree or strongly agree that perpetrators of sexual violence have mental health problems, a notion which continues to fuel the dere-sponsibilisation of perpetrators, mainly men, in the scope of an altered state of consciousness and no self-control, which justifies or exonerates them of the aggression committed.

31.9% of respondents agree or strongly agree that men should moderate their drug consumption when out at night in order to avoid committing sexual assault, while 27.6% strongly or strongly agree that women should moderate their drug consumption in the same context in order to avoid being sexually assaulted. In both cases, drugs are indicated as the cause of sexual violence, invisibilising the context of heteropatriarchal domination in which consumption occurs.

Only one third of the respondents (31.3%) indicated that they agreed with the idea that "most rapes are opportunistic since the perpetrator submits/attacks the victim after VOLUNTARY drug use", which suggests the need to continue raising awareness on this issue, in order to dispel the myth that "most rapes are premeditated since the perpetrator plans to use drugs, without the consent and knowledge of the victim". In fact, sexual assaults by chemical submission experienced by respondents were reported as being mainly opportunistic across all 3 gender categories, especially in the case of women (32.70%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (26.5%), compared to 10.6% among men, in line with previous research (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018).

DRUG USE IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS IS GENDERED, AS WELL AS STIGMATISED AND PENALISED.

Alcohol (97.8%) was by far the most widely consumed substance in nightlife environments by our respondents, followed by tobacco (83.4%) and cannabis (79.9%). Generally, men consume at higher rates more illegal substances, while women who

responded to the survey showed a greater tendency to consume drugs that are more socially acceptable. In general, drug use is more compatible with the male gender expectations of risk-taking, experiencing new sensations and transgressing the norm, to the extent that women, when they consume substances, transgress not only social norms regarding drug use, but also of gender and femininity, which may explain why they are more penalised and socially stigmatised when they engage in such use. This would also explain why drugs such as cocaine, MDMA, amphetamines or LSD are consumed at higher rates by men in such spaces, as has been observed in the results of the survey. Responses show that, while men's drug and alcohol consumption in nightlife contexts is directed more towards relaxation (61.1%), feeling euphoric (55.4%), escape (31.7%) or even increasing sexual arousal and/or the pleasure of the sexual experience (12%), they also report doing so to deal with perceived negative aspects of their personality such as introversion/antisocial traits. In contrast, women engage in consumption in order to feel more confident and to talk to people in social situations (27.5%), as well as, according to the responses, to deal with negative feelings such as stress, anxiety or depression. People of transgender and non-binary gender identities seem to use at lower rates than men, but more than women in the case of most of the substances mentioned in the survey, although higher use than by men and women was also observed in the case of some less common substances. In this case, use was reported as being most often motivated by the desire to feel high or intoxicated.

Women who consume and experience sexual violence are blamed for doing so, while men who use and experience sexual violence after having consumed are not held accountable. In both cases, as has been seen, it is necessary to continue to disassociate the consumption of alcohol and other drugs from the causes of sexual violence in nightlife environments, and to highlight the (hetero)patriarchal contexts from which such violence emerges. It is important to adopt a gender analysis when researching drugs use: the study of drugs use is not neutral, and use is subject to readings which relate to the gender of the user (producing gendered double standards). In addition, drug use can be considered a gender performance in that it is influenced by structural gender asymmetries and systems of oppression, gendered relations and (internal) gender identity. For this reason, it is possible to find gender-related differences in drug use motivations, patterns, risks and harm.

THERE IS A NEED TO PROMOTE FEMINIST URBAN DESIGN POLICIES THAT ENSURE WOMEN AND PEOPLE OF TRANSGENDER AND NON-BINARY GENDER IDENTITIES' PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY IN EUROPEAN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS.

Women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities feel less safe than men when travelling to and from venues at night. Almost 50% of men reported not feeling unsafe, compared to 8.1% of women and 13.8% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities:

Both women (77.5%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (63.1%) feel more unsafe than men (22.9%) when they go out at night alone. Women (75.9%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (62.5%) feel more unsafe than men (26.3%) when walking along dark streets, and women (66.6%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (58.8%) feel more unsafe than men (19.3%) when they have to wait for a long time at a public transport stop at night.

It is very revealing that some women reported the mere fact that other people they encountered on their way to/from venues were men was cause for them to feel unsafe, showing the extent to which the directionality of sexual violence has been internalised.

The majority of women (74.8%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (65.7%) reported being afraid of sexual assault in nightlife environments by a person of a specific gender. 88% of men reported no such fear. When asked about the specific gender, women (97.27%), men (53.33%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (94.34%) pointed to cis-gender men.

Women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities deploy many more strategies than men to deal with the risk of sexual assault when walking alone on a night out. In addition to carrying keys by hand (women: 66.6%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 57.5%; men: 15.7%), pretending to talk on a mobile phone (women: 67%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 51.3%; men: 15.6%) or carrying a self-defence object (women: 18.3%; transgender and non-binary gender identities: 23.8%; men: 9%), other strategies such as simulating a manly attitude or hiding personal traits were expressed by cis-gender women who responded to the survey. This is indicative of what it means to be read as a woman, woman-like, or even non-masculine in nightlife environments. Indeed, 57.1% of men reported doing nothing and feeling safe, compared to 10.2%

and 14.4% of women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities, respectively.

To address this, feminist urban design (Col·lectiu Punt 6, 2019) encourages an outlook on safety and an approach to male violence that focus on the perception of (un)safety experienced by women and people of different gender identities in public spaces. Having a strong perception of safety means feeling free to walk in any space without fear. As such, it is urgent to intervene in nightlife environments to ensure that all people, regardless of their gender identity, can use and enjoy them without restricting their movements or activities for fear of sexual aggression.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS IS GENDERED.

On average, women reported identifying (70.43%), witnessing (74%) and experiencing (32%) sexual violence in nightlife environments to a greater extent than men (identify: 69%; witness: 62%; experience: 9%). People of transgender and non-binary gender identities also reported identifying (61.59%), witnessing (69.12%) and experiencing (30.01%) sexual violence to a greater extent than men, but less than women overall. Several women have pointed to "attempted rape" in their comments as another type of sexual violence to be taken into account, in addition to manipulation and the use of power relations to obtain sexual favours.

87% of the respondents (93.2% of women, 70.4% of men and 82.8% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities surveyed) stated that, when they had witnessed sexual violence, the person or people committing it were men, while 80.5% (88.2% of women, 71% of men, and 83.8% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities surveyed) stated that a woman or women were those who suffered it.

In contrast these figures, a small group reported having witnessed both men and women committing and suffering sexual violence. Men reported this (committed: 9.3% and suffered: 10.3%) to a greater extent than women (committed: 1.7% and suffered: 3.8%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (committed: 6% and suffered: 0.7%). This again indicates a need, previously alluded to, to further investigate the systemic and structural nature of sexual violence in nightlife environments as it pertains to patriarchal oppression largely directed by men towards women (although also affecting transgender and non-binary gender identities).

90.9% of women, 86.5% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities and 26.7% of men reported that the perpetrator(s) of sexual violence they had experienced were men, either known or unknown.

The majority of respondents stated that they had not committed any type of sexual violence. Nevertheless, a small group, mainly men (15.59%), reported having committed sexual violence, although it could be speculated that the real incidence rate could be slightly higher, given that such violence is representative of socially undesirable behaviours. Be that as it may, it is striking that such a low percentage of men report having perpetrated violence, when 70.37% of the men who responded pointed to 'men', as a category, as being the perpetrators of the sexual violence they have witnessed, and is just as remarkable given the number of women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities who reported having been assaulted by men (90.9% and 86.5%, respectively).

Furthermore, as the results show, sexual orientation, age, country of residence or the size of the municipality in which one lives are not relatable to the sexual violence suffered in nightlife environments. Beyond these variables, sexual violence in nightlife environments is mainly attributable to structural oppression between men and women, which, again, also affects people of transgender and non-binary gender identities.

IT IS NECESSARY TO PROMOTE AWARENESS-RAISING AND TRAINING ACTIVITIES FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE AIMED AT THE FULL RANGE OF BYSTANDERS FOUND IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS, IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO TAKE CO-RESPONSIBILITY IN DEALING WITH SEXUAL VIOLENCE.

When faced with a situation of sexual violence, the bystanders who intervened most effectively were the friends of the person immediately affected, followed by an acquaintance or an unknown person who happened to be there. This was especially true for the women (friends: 51%; acquaintance: 39%; unknown: 23%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities surveyed (friends: 40.6%; acquaintance: 28.8%; unknown: 17.5%) when compared to the men who responded to the survey (friends: 9.3%; acquaintance: 7.1%; unknown: 4.3%).

Bar staff, health service professionals, security staff, public and private transport workers or another person at the venue were reported as having intervened to a much lesser extent.

Actively harmful behaviours were reported as having affected some women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities, who reported that witness(es) engaged in forms of victim-blaming or were or became involved in the assault, something which is extremely serious. This is clearly representative of a double aggression towards and victimisation of women and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities that is likely to significantly condition their subsequent recovery process. Moreover, it is especially shocking to note reporting that additional perpetrators were friends or acquaintances of the victim, and/or security personnel or private transport drivers.

All of the above indicates an urgent need to raise awareness and train all bystanders in order to guarantee their co-responsibility in dealing with sexual violence in nightlife environments.

THE MAJORITY OF VENUES NEED TO IMPROVE THEIR SUPPORT PROVISION.

Friends (55%), family (22%) and venue staff (20%) are the main support options that respondents reported having turned to, especially so in the case of women (friends: 79%; family: 31%, and staff: 29%) and people of transgender and non-binary gender identities (friends: 73.1%; family: 21.9%, and staff: 25%).

To a much lesser extent, outlets such as lilac points, feminist collectives, specialised services, emergency, police and medical services, and harm reduction services were also reported as having been approached. It is important to emphasise that several victims pointed out that they did not receive adequate attention from the police when they reported a sexual assault.

The reasons for not asking for help showed a clear bias in terms of impact according to gender:

36.9% of women and 41.9% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities indicated not having considered it necessary and/or having chosen not to make the sexual assault public.

31.9% of women and 37% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities expressed reasons relating to hyper-responsibilisation and feelings of guilt about the sexual violence they had experienced.

7% of women and 12.5% of people of transgender and non-binary gender identities directly expressed being too afraid to ask for help.

All of the above suggests a need to develop actions to encourage asking for and providing help in dealing with sexual violence in nightlife environments, through a range of different mechanisms. This in turn points to a need to establish coordinated intervention protocols, such as those currently being developed in some European cities, such as is the case in Barcelona (Observatorio Noctámbul@s, 2018).

IT IS NECESSARY TO UNDERTAKE FURTHER RESEARCH ON SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN NIGHTLIFE ENVIRONMENTS FROM AN INTERSECTIONAL FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE THAT DELVES INTO DIFFERENT AXES OF DISCRIMINATION, SUCH AS THOSE PERTAINING TO TRANSGENDER AND NON-BINARY GENDER IDENTITIES AND ETHNICITY.

As has been stated, the sample of this survey as a whole is not especially diverse, something which has not allowed for definitive conclusions to be drawn, especially with regard to non- 'normative' gender and ethnic identities. In this sense, it would appear pertinent to point to a need to develop further research that specifically explores sexual violence in nightlife environments focused on the LGBTQI+ population group. Likewise, it would also appear necessary to further investigate how sexual violence in nightlife environments affects racialised groups. In short, it would be of interest to undertake research that enables a more intersectional view of sexual violence in nightlife contexts, and those in which drug consumption takes place. To this end, we would recommend further qualitative research to deepen certain aspects of that which we have undertaken, taking as a reference the contributions of other authors who explore the particularities of sexual violence in nightlife environments in relation to certain axes of discrimination.

ANNEX 1:

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ANNEX: 3

TABLES OF QUALITATIVE DATA

TABLE 2- ETHNICITY. QUALITATIVE DATA.

Ethnicity (N=3429)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=3429)
Caucasian/White	White Caucasian [Cis-woman]. White German [Cis-man]. Caucasian [Cis-transgender and non-binary gender identities].	1592	46,42%
Racialised	Armenian [Cis-man]. Latin-American [Cis-woman]. Asian; [Cis-man]. African; [Cis-woman]. Arab; [Cis-man].	69	2,01%
Other	I don't have one, I am an atheist; [Cis-woman]. Part of the social majority [Cis-man].	1768	51,56%
TOTAL			100%

TABLE 3- IDEAL NIGHTLIFE EXPERIENCE OF THE SAMPLE.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

Ideal nightlife experience (N=185)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=185)
Bonding An ideal experience of going out at night is mostly valued for the opportunity to spend quality time and deepen relations, communicate and/or establish a deeper connection with e.g. friends, partners, etc.	Bonding with friends; [cis-woman] Sharing, making good and new memories, laughing, singing....;[cis-woman] In-depth conversations; [cis-man] Sharing with friends [transgender and non-binary gender identity]	45	24.3%
Expression An ideal experience of going out at night means the opportunity to express oneself through a number of different activities - dressing up and putting on makeup, performing, singing, dancing, cross-dressing, etc.	Art; [cis-woman] Making music [cis-man] Dancing, not all night; [cis-woman] Make-up and dress-up; [cis-woman].	30	16.2%
New Experiences An ideal experience of going out at night is mostly valued for the opportunity to have new experiences that bring novelty to life, either by exploring new relations or relations with people we don't see/spend time often; having conversations that bring different perspectives, going to places and doing things one doesn't do often	Different perspectives; [cis-man] Have original discussions; [cis-man] Horizon-broadening experiences; [cis-woman]	26	8.6%
Indulging An ideal experience of going out at night actively includes the search for indulgent and pleasure-seeking experiences involving food, drinks/alcohol or illegal substances. Actively searching for mind-altering experiences is included here, but indulgence happens in many other ways that do not necessarily entail altered states of consciousness	Drinking alcohol in moderation; [cis-woman] Eat something tasty; [cis-woman]. Having sex and finding a romantic partner; [cis-woman] Consuming alcohol and drugs;[cis-man]	16	8.6%
Escape An ideal experience of going out at night means taking part in any activity that allows an escape from life's restraints - problems, routines, encouraging freedom, getting away from life's conventional roles, etc.	Forgetting daily life; [cis-man] Leaving my daughter at home; [cis-man]. Freedom; [cis-man] Escapes from routine; [cis-man] Losing yourself and finding yourself;[cis-man]	18	9.7%

TABLE 3- IDEAL NIGHTLIFE EXPERIENCE OF THE SAMPLE.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=185)
Working An ideal experience of going out at night includes the opportunity to work in a nightlife-related activity e.g. making music, DJing, etc.	Achieving job goals; [cis-man] Opportunity to show yourself, advertise and assert yourself; [cis-woman] DJing at parties;[cis-man]	9	4.8%
Relaxation An ideal experience of going out at night is valued for the chance to relax	Relax; [cis-woman] Release energy; etc. [cis-woman]	8	4.3%
Self-enhancement An ideal experience of going out at night includes the opportunity to develop oneself, to add value to oneself	Learning, developing myself; [cis-woman]. Spontaneous intellectual inspiration [cis-man].	8	4.3%
Networking An ideal experience of going out at night includes the opportunity to work in a nightlife related activity - for e.g. making music, DJing, etc	Creating collective satisfaction and making lasting contacts; [cis-man] Creating and enjoying safer community spaces [cis-woman]	5	2.7%
Refusal Going out at night is an activity that is not undertaken, and is seen as unvaluable or just not happening in one's life.	In my opinion, partying is a pointless waste of time; [cis-woman] Nothing, I don't go out; [cis-woman]. I don't go looking for parties [cis-woman]	4	2.1%
Other			14.40%
TOTAL			100%

TABLE 4 - DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY DRUG USE: TYPE OF SUBSTANCES.
 QUALITATIVE DATA.
 Drug Use (N=183)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=183)
DMT Includes 5meo-dmt and changa	DMT/Changa; [cis-woman] DMT; [transgender and non-binary gender identity] 5meo-dmt; [cis-woman] DMT; [cis-man]	35	19.1%
Other psychedelics Includes other natural or chemical psychedelics such as Ayahuasca; Belladonna; Mescalina; Muscat; Datura; Salvia Divinorum	Ayahuasca; [cis-woman] Belladonna; [cis-woman] Mescalina; [cis-man] Datura; [cis-woman]	24	13.1%
Less common NPS 2ct7, 3mmc, 4mmc, 2-FDCK,4-FMA, 4-ho-met, 6apb, 1p-lsd; ald52, JVH, mdvp, apvp, etc.	2ct7; [cis-woman] 3MMC; [transgender and non-binary gender identity] 2-FDCK; [cis-woman] 6apb; [cis-man] JVH; [cis-man] MDVP; [cis-man]	22	12%
Prescription Drugs Includes a number of depressant, stimulant or antidepressant drugs such as benzodiazepines, barbiturates, escitalopram, methylphenidate	Ritalin; [cis-woman] Antidepressants; [cis-woman] Escitalopram; [transgender and non-binary gender identity] Methylphenidat; [cis-man]	22	12%
Not recognizable Alarms; Lava red; des RC; FOFS; Fenibuts; Hawaii Rose; Hexen	Alarms; [cis-woman] Hawaii Rose; [cis-man] FOFS; [cis-man] Fenibut; [cis-man]	19	10.3%
Mephedrone	Mephedrone / Mkat; [cis-woman] Mephedrone; [transgender and non-binary gender identity] Mephedrone; [cis-man]	17	9.2%
Other Includes psychedelics, depressants or stimulants such as caffeine; ecstasy and mdma; ephedrine; khat; pcg; non-alcoholic beverages; diethyl ether; Mkat	Caffeine tablets; [cis-woman] Efedrina, Muskat; [cis-man] Khat; [cis-man] PCP; [cis-woman]	14	7.6%

TABLE 4 - DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY DRUG USE: TYPE OF SUBSTANCES.
 QUALITATIVE DATA.

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=183)
More common NPS 25-NBome; 1p-LSD; 2CB; DoX	25-NBome; [cis-man] 1p-lsd; [transgender and non-binary gender identity] DOC; [cis-woman]	12	6.5%
Kratom	Hashish; [cis-woman] CBD 15%; [cis-woman]	5	2.7%
Cannabis and Extracts Includes Hashish, CBD oil and pot	Hashish; [cis-woman] CBD 15%; [cis-woman]	5	2.7%
Ethyl chloride	Ethyl chloride; [cis-man] Chloroethyl; [cis-woman]	4	2.1%
Crack Cocaine	Crack; [cis-man] Crack; [cis-woman]	3	1.6%
Other			0.60%
TOTAL		100%	

TABLE 5 - MOTIVATION(S) FOR DRUG USE.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

Motivation(s) for drug use (N=371)

DEFINITION (INCLUDES MOTIVATION FOR ALCOHOL USE)	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=371)
Seeking pleasure	I enjoy drinking along with food; [cis-woman] To have fun with my friends; [cis-woman] To enhance the party experience;etc [cis-woman]	102	27.4%
Seeking new experiences	Try out new things and have new experiences; [cis-man] To experiment; [cis-man] To explore new sensations; etc. [cis-man]	80	21.5%
Seeking personal growth and enhancement (includes use for increasing artistic expression)	To alter consciousness to see things from a new perspective; [cis-man] To get to know myself and substances better; [cis-man] For psychic exploration; etc. [cis-man]	60	16.1%
Sharing and bonding (includes using alcohol or other drugs motivated by the company of others/ peer pressure, and using as a way to stimulate connection to others/ environment)	To connect with people; [cis-man] To have fun with friends; etc. [cis-woman]	26	7%
Refusal to use drugs in nightlife environments Includes alcohol use.	I did it several years ago, now for years it's not been a part of my life-style; [cis-woman] Have only used alcohol; [cis-woman] I like alcohol, I don't use drugs; etc. [cis-woman]	21	5.6%
To deal with issues and negative feelings	To detach from my antisocial and introverted side; [cis-man] Benzos for anxiety; [cis-woman] Not to think or feel; [cis-woman] Depression; etc. [cis-woman]	20	5.3%
Seeking release	Feel free; [cis-man] Dance more carefree; etc. [cis-woman]	11	2.9%
Other			14.2%
TOTAL			100%

TABLE 6 - MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION TO/FROM NIGHTLIFE VENUES.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

Means of transportation (N=145)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=145)
Rides from people close to you	A car driven by a friend; [cis-woman] driven by a friend or dad; [cis-woman] carsharing with a friend; [cis-woman] passenger in a friend's car; [cis-woman] etc.	55	37.9%
Airplane	Airplane; [cis-man] airplane to Ibiza; [cis-woman] etc.	25	17.2%
Rides from other people Strangers, hitchhiking, etc.	Hitchhiking; [cis-woman] ride in someone else's car; [transgender and non-binary gender identity] Hitchhiking; [cis-woman] etc.	19	13.1%
Day bus, Night bus, Train, Metro, Tram	Metro; [cis-woman] Regional Train; [cis-woman] etc	21	14.4%
Rental vehicles	Rental bus; [cis-man] Rented car; [cis-woman] we got together to rent a minibus; [cis-woman]etc.	6	4.1%
Other (Includes on foot; scooter; etc.)	Bolt electric scooter; [cis-man] on foot; [transgender and non-binary gender identity] most often I'm looking for events nearby so I can get there on foot; [cis-woman] personal vehicle; [cis-woman] camper; [cis-man] scooter; [cis-woman] skateboard; [cis-man]etc	19	13.1%
Other			0.2%
TOTAL			100%

TABLE 7-PERCEPTIONS OF LACK OF SAFETY WHEN OUT AT NIGHT.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

Situations in which respondents feel unsafe (N=560)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=560)
Factors related to the behaviour of others		332	59.2%
Other people are men	Around men; [cis-woman] When I pass in front of a group of men; [cis-woman] Drunk intrusive men outside of clubs; etc. [cis-woman] Groups of men nearby; [cis-woman] Groups of boys; [cis-woman] Boys who seem violent to me Groups of boys; [cis-man] I have had bad experiences with men in the past, feeling physically inferior; [Cis-woman]. I was once violently attacked by a man at night. He was convicted in court. I am still doing therapy years later. [Cis-woman].	63	11.5%
Other people show unspecified threatening behaviours Includes unspecified behaviours that constitute harassment.	If I am surrounded by people who act as though they could harm me (for various reasons); [cis-man] To encounter people... many times, many reasons; [cis-woman] Depends of course on the area, time and familiarity of the environment. [cis-man]	46	8.2%
Other people are in groups (Includes reference to groups of men, groups of people in general, and police groups)	Coming across groups of malicious people [cis-man]. Large groups of riff-raff [cis-man]. Too big a crowd [cis-man]. Suspicious groups in certain areas [cis-man] In streets where only groups of men are visible; [cis-woman] Groups of men nearby; [cis-woman] Large groups of drunk men; etc. [cis-woman]	37	6.6%
Other people invade personal space (Includes touching and groping)	When someone got too close to me; [cis-woman] If someone at a party is very intrusive and can't step back; [cis-woman] Group of men very close; etc. [cis-woman]	37	6.6%

TABLE 7 -PERCEPTIONS OF LACK OF SAFETY WHEN OUT AT NIGHT.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=560)
Other people are aggressive (Includes sexual aggression)	When I have been shouted at and followed; [cis-woman] Aggressive or drunk people who are intrusive and unable to respond adequately to being told 'no'; [cis-man] In situations which are clearly violent and stressful; [cis-man] Boys who seem violent to me Groups of boys; [cis-man].	37	6,6%
Other people are under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol	Drunk intrusive men outside of clubs; [cis-woman] If a drunk or scary looking man approaches me; [cis-woman] If the people around me are too drunk; etc. [cis-man]	33	5.8%
Other people are strangers	If I don't know the people/venue; [cis-man] Unknown people at very late hours; etc. [cis-man] Alone with strangers at a bus stop; [cis-woman] If someone unknown approaches [transgender and non-binary gender identity]	20	3.5%
Other people make inappropriate comments (Includes comments of a sexual nature/sexual harassment)	If the driver makes inappropriate comments [cis-woman] If I am surrounded by people who act as though they could harm me (for various reasons); [cis-man] Stares and comments, etc. from men; [cis-woman] If drunk men approach me. Some tend to either call on me or comment on me; etc. [cis-woman]	20	3.5%

TABLE 7-PERCEPTIONS OF LACK OF SAFETY WHEN OUT AT NIGHT.
QUALITATIVE DATA.

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=560)
Other people follow the person along the street	When I am followed; [cis-man] When I am followed in the street when going back home; [cis-woman] When I am followed and groups of men harass you in the street; etc. [cis-woman]	13	2.3%
Other behaviour Includes organized gangs; people who spike drinks; staring inappropriately; reckless drivers; friends that don't take care of each other; etc.)	When someone put something in my drink and I could barely walk; [cis-woman] Areas with a lot of Nazis; [cis-man] I have been drugged and didn't feel safe the next day; [cis-woman] In any situation that involves heterosexual people; [transgender and non-binary gender identity] If during the event I feel nobody is 'aware' and checking on others; etc. [cis-man]	26	4.6%
Factors related to the environment		125	22,3%
Public transport	Alone with strangers at a bus stop; [cis-woman] Alone on public transport; [cis-man] If I travel by public transport in the evening alone; [cis-woman] Going home by taxi; [cis-woman] If I take a taxi alone at night; etc. [cis-woman]	26	4.6%
During the night (Refers to night time being a reason for fear on its own, regardless of being alone or not. Includes reference to poorly-lit urban areas.)	If I take a taxi alone at night; [cis-woman] On relatively empty streets alone at night; [cis-woman] If I travel by public transport in the evening alone; etc. [cis-woman]	16	2.8%
Unspecified threatening environments	If I don't like the mood (vibes); [cis-man] Depends of course on the area, time and familiarity of the environment; at the party; [cis-man]	15	2.6%
Presence of the police (Includes reference to the mere presence or also intervention and aggressive behaviour of the police. This means that the presence of the police is always perceived as a factor of insecurity)	When the police are present; [cis-man] The police; [transgender and non-binary gender identity] Violent police; [cis-man] The presence of the police in any form (undercover or uniform); [cis-man] When the police intervenes; [cis-man]	11	1.9%

TABLE 7 - PERCEPTIONS OF LACK OF SAFETY WHEN OUT AT NIGHT.
QUALITATIVE DATA.

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=560)
Outside the venue Includes the venue car park	Similar situations but outside the venue; [cis-woman] Drunk, intrusive men outside of clubs; [cis-woman] In the clubs' parking lots; [cis-woman]	8	1.4%
Other environmental dimensions Venue toilets (given that we did not ask about the venue alone, but the setting/environment) ; venue close to the person's home; at the entrance to the person's home	In toilets, especially when there are no unisex toilets; [transgender and non-binary gender identity] If the entertainment place is located near my home. [cis-woman] If self-defence equipment is not allowed in the entertainment venue; [cis-woman]	47	8.3%
Dimensions related to the respondent		77	13.7%
Being under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol	If I am drunk; [cis-woman] If I am heavily intoxicated and I walk alone [cis-woman]	18	3.2%
What one is wearing/clothes	Alone in uncomfortable outfits; [cis-woman] If I am drunk and if I wear revealing clothing; [cis-woman] Wearing a lot of glitter or being dressed for a rave means I get more attention as a visibly Queer person [transgender and non-binary gender identity]	7	1.2%
Other personal factors Includes not speaking the local language; having intrusive thoughts; being with a partner; being at an unfamiliar venue)	When I go with my partner; [cis-man] If I don't speak the language of the country; [cis-man] When I am out with a group of girls, no boys; [cis-woman] Consequences of having experienced a traumatic situation; [cis-woman] Somebody wanted to hit me because I was talking to a girl; [cis-man] Negative experience [transgender and non-binary gender identity]. That I will be kidnapped [Cis-woman].	18	3.2%
Other (Includes unrecognizable or irrelevant references, and expressions that feeling unsafe is rare)	Transgression of boundaries; [cis-man] Not very frequent, since Budapest is very safe; [cis-man]	26	4.6%
Other			4.8%
TOTAL		100%	

TABLE 8 - FEAR OF SEXUAL ASSAULT.

QUALITATIVE DATA

Fear of sexual assault (N=2458)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=2458)
Woman	Woman; [Cis-woman]. Female; [Cis-man].	6	0.24%
Man	Probably a cis-man; [Cis-man]. man; [Cis-woman]. male; [Transgender and non-binary gender identities].	2368	96.34%
Other answer.	Assaulter is under the influence; [Cis-woman]. Assaulter invades personal space; [Cis-woman].	84	3.42%
TOTAL		100%	

TABLE 9 - FEAR OF PHYSICAL ASSAULT.

QUALITATIVE DATA

Fear of physical assault (N=2044)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=2044)
Woman	Feminine; [Cis-woman].	10	0.49%
Man	Apparently masculine; [Cis-man]. cis-man [Cis-woman]. Man [Cis-woman].	1921	93.98%
Both/ No specific gender	Both sexes, more men; [Cis-man]. Both; [Cis-woman]. Gender doesn't matter [Transgender and non-binary gender identities].	60	2.94%
Other answers	Night time; [Cis-man]. Public space; [Cis-woman]. Public transport; [Cis-man]. Work [Transgender and non-binary gender identities].	53	2,59%
TOTAL		100%	

TABLE 10 - FEAR OF VERBAL ASSAULT.

QUALITATIVE DATA

Fear of verbal assault (N=1479)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=1479)
Woman	Feminine; [Cis-woman]. Female; [Cis-man].	18	1,22%
Man	Cis-masculine; [Cis-woman]. Man; [Cis-man]. Male; [Transgender and non-binary gender identities].	1275	86,21%
Both/ No specific gender	Both; [Cis-man]. Both but predominantly male; [Cis-woman]. Both but mainly masculine; [Cis-woman]. Cis-men and women; [Transgender and non-binary gender identities].	130	8,79%
Other answers	Assaulter is Arabic; [Cis-man]. Assaulter is intoxicated; [Cis-woman].	56	3,79%
TOTAL		100%	

TABLE 11- FEAR OF BEING ROBBED.

QUALITATIVE DATA

Fear of being robbed (N=1332)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=1332)
Woman	Woman; [Cis-woman].	8	0,6%
Man	Armed men; [Cis-man]. Cis-men; [Cis-woman]. Cis hetero men; [Cis-woman]. Cis straight men; [Cis-woman]. Man; [Transgender and non-binary gender identities].	1159	87,01%
Both/ No specific gender	Both; [Cis-woman]. Feminine and masculine [Cis-man].	88	6,61%
Other answers	Victim is alone; [Cis-woman]. Victim is returning home [Cis-man].	77	5,78%
TOTAL		100%	

TABLE 12 - COPING STRATEGIES WHEN WALKING HOME ALONE.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

Coping with the risk of walking home alone (N=741)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=741)
Behavioural strategies		565	76,2%
Avoidance - walking faster	Pick up the pace; [cis-woman]. To rush; to hurry [cis-man]. Walking fast; I will try to reach the destination or a safe place faster; [cis-man]	100	13,4%
Action - using personal defence techniques	I defend myself [cis-man] I corner them [cis-man] I take the keys in defence mode and run away if I am in danger; [cis-man] Self-defence course [cis-woman] I'm ready to defend myself physically; [cis-man] I've come up with self-defence techniques for myself; [cis-woman] Attend self-defence classes; [cis-woman] I use my fists; [cis-man] I remember my boxing lessons; [cis-man] Keys between the fingers; [cis-woman] Pepper spray or deodorant; [cis-woman]	83	11,2%
Action - hypervigilance	I walk with a thousand eyes and ears; [cis-woman]. Attentively observe other people and possibly avoid them; [cis-woman] Observe the surroundings attentively; [cis-man]	79	10,6%
Action - simulating confidence	Adopting a more masculine and secure posture; [cis-woman] Walking around looking determined and self-confident; [cis-man] I assume an aggressive posture; [cis-man] Walk upright and fast; [cis-man]	51	6,8%
Avoidance - experiential avoidance (avoiding interactions)	I don't talk to anyone who asks me questions; [cis-man] I walk pretending I can't see or hear; [cis-woman] I don't look anyone in the eye; [cis-woman] I move away from people; [cis-woman] I avoid eye contact with others; etc. [cis-man] I try to avoid eye contact [cis-man].	38	5,1%

TABLE 12 - COPING STRATEGIES WHEN WALKING HOME ALONE.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=741)
Avoidance - gaining physical distance	See if someone is walking behind and change street sides; [cis-woman] Cross the street or walk in the middle of the road to keep distance; [cis-woman] Crossing the road when I encounter someone; etc. [cis-woman]	30	4%
Avoidance - running	I run around corners if I want to get away; [cis-man]. Run; [cis-man] Running; [cis-man] Escape from a coercive situation; [cis-woman] Walk with confidence or run; [cis-man] Sometimes, instead of walking, I have even run; [cis-man]	21	2,8%
Inaction - feeling afraid but not deploying any strategy	I do nothing - I just try to ignore my fear and hurry on; [cis-man] I don't do anything but I don't always feel safe either; [cis-man] I don't always feel safe but I do not take any special action against it; etc. [cis-man]	21	2,8%
Action - mindfulness, visualizing	I calm myself down in my head, sometimes applying mindfulness techniques; [cis-woman] If fear is rising inside me I try to calm myself down with the thought that everything will be fine with me, that I have never been endangered before, a small chance I will be attacked; etc. [cis-woman]	18	2,4%
Action - pretending to use the phone	I use my headphones with no music; etc. [cis-woman]	14	1,8%
Action - informing others about my location	Make sure my friends know about my whereabouts; [cis-woman] Track taxi ride; [cis-woman] I promise to text a friend when I arrive home safely; [cis-woman] I will write to others when I arrive home; etc. [cis-woman]	13	1,7%
Action - simulating masculine characteristics	I'm just trying to look as furious and strong as possible; [cis-woman] I pretend to walk like a man; [cis-woman] I put my hood up and walk like a gangster aka like a man; [cis-woman] I try to look as male as possible, etc. [cis-woman]	12	1,6%

TABLE 12 - COPING STRATEGIES WHEN WALKING HOME ALONE.
QUALITATIVE DATA.

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=741)
Action - asking or screaming for help	I'm ready to run or call for help if needed; [cis-woman] If I am insulted, I scream, call for help or call 112 directly; etc. [cis-woman]	9	1,2%
Avoidance – general	I avoid places where I feel uncomfortable; [cis-man] Avoid situations; [cis-woman] I'm always on guard, I avoid confrontations, [cis-woman] I avoid squats; etc. [cis-man]	9	1,2%
Avoidance - hiding personal traits	I make my hair into a bun and try to make myself unattractive; [cis-woman] I masculinise my movements to appear more aggressive and less attractive; [cis-woman]. Dress unattractively and hide my hair so they can't guess my gender from a certain distance; etc. [cis-woman]	9	1,2%
Other behavioural strategies avoiding revealing clothes; denial of fear; hiding until it feels safer; listen to music to distract from fear; avoid walking intoxicated; securing personal objects; wearing comfortable clothes and shoes; pretending not to be alone.	I make sure my belongings are secure; [cis-man] I hide my valuables; [cis-man]. I try and put it to the back of my mind; [cis-man] Wait until I am sober and then go on my way; etc. [cis-man]	43	5,8%
Environmental strategies		132	17,8%
Action - choosing safer alternative walking routes	Right and safe choice of route; [cis-man] Avoiding certain areas; [cis-man] Searching for the safest way for me; [cis-woman]. I take the long road; [cis-woman]	46	6,2%
Action - choosing safer forms of transport	Bicycle ride; [cis-man] I take a taxi/ride a bicycle; [cis-woman] I ride a bike most of the time; [cis-man] I use taxis; [cis-woman]	33	4,4%

TABLE 12 - COPING STRATEGIES WHEN WALKING HOME ALONE.
QUALITATIVE DATA.

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=741)
Avoidance - of poorly-lit areas	I avoid walking on empty streets with poor lighting; [cis-woman] I avoid corners and alleys; [cis-woman] Avoiding dark empty streets; [cis-woman] I take the long road avoiding poorly lit streets; [cis-woman]	28	3,7%
Action - choosing streets with higher footfall	I'm trying to get to a place where there are more people faster (shop, gas station); [cis-woman] I enter a shop if I feel someone may be following me; [cis-woman] I try to move in perceived safe areas; [cis-man]	25	3,3%
Feeling unsafe is not a problem	Being large in stature, I don't usually have any fears or problems; [cis-man]. I feel safe but I am aware of the danger; [cis-man] I know my city, I know where to go; [cis-man]	10	1,3%
Other			10,5%
TOTAL		100%	

TABLE 13 - OTHER FORMS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

Other forms of sexual violence (N=84)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=84)
Persisting despite no consent being expressed	Any act or attitude that makes me feel uncomfortable and does not stop at the same time or any act without your consent; [cis-woman]. Any unwanted situation of harassment; [cis-woman] If the first answer is no everything that follows is sexual abuse; [cis-woman] No means no at all times;[cis-man]	10	11,9%
Any action that provokes discomfort	Anything that makes another person uncomfortable and sees their boundaries crossed is violence; [cis-woman] Any situation in which a person is sexually uncomfortable; [cis-man]; [cis-man]; [cis-man]; [cis-man]; [cis-man]. Any activity that causes a feeling of discomfort; etc. [transgender and non-binary gender identity]	9	10,7%
Offensive language	Using words; [cis-woman] Verbal abuse; insults; [cis-woman]	8	9,5%
Deliberate actions to which victim is unable to react	Drugging someone to make them feel weaker, less conscious and lose control (at any level); [cis-woman] Taking advantage of the state of the other person; [cis-woman] Where someone has been spiked or is too drunk; [cis-woman]	7	8,3%
Sexual coercion from a position of power	Blackmail for promotions in exchange for favours; etc. [cis-woman]	3	3,5%
Other situations	Refusal to use a condom; [cis-woman] Denial of victimization; [cis-woman] Denial of the fact or discrediting the victim [transgender and non-binary gender identity]	23	27,3%
Other			28,8%
TOTAL			100%

TABLE 14 - OTHER FORMS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE WITNESSED.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

Other forms of sexual violence witnessed (N=24)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=24)
Attempted rape	Two situations in which I avoided being raped; etc. [cis-woman] Chased by a group of men with who expressed intent to sexually assault me [cis-woman] Attempted rape [cis-woman]	3	12,5%
Manipulation	Mind games ; [cis-woman] Symbolic violence [cis-woman]	2	8,3%
Non-consensual kissing	Kissing without consent; etc. [cis-woman]	2	8,3%
Using power relations for sexual favours	Exploiting positions to get sexual favours; [cis-woman] Sexual proposition in exchange for drugs [cis-woman]	2	8,3%
Other			62,6%
TOTAL			100%

TABLE 15 - GENDER OF THE ATTACKER (SEXUAL VIOLENCE WITNESSED).

QUALITATIVE DATA.

Gender of the attacker (N=4310)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=4310)
Woman	Female; [Cis-woman]. Woman; [Cis-man]	70	1,62%
Man	Man; [Cis-woman]. Male; [Cis-woman]. Probably cis man; [Cis-man]. Apparently masculine; [Transgender and non-binary gender identities].	3781	87,73%
Both/no specific gender	Both; Cis-woman]. Both; [Cis-man]. Both man and woman; [Transgender and non-binary gender identities].	152	3,53%
Other answer	Haven't; [Cis-man].	307	7,2%
TOTAL			100%

TABLE 16 - GENDER OF THE VICTIM (SEXUAL VIOLENCE WITNESSED).

QUALITATIVE DATA.

Gender of the victim (N=4238)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=4238)
Woman	98% women; [Cis-woman]. Women; [Cis-woman]. Apparently feminine; [Cis-man]. Women; [Transgender and non-binary gender identities]. Female but sometimes male; [Cis-man].	3582	80,51%
Man	20% men, 80% women; [Cis-woman]. Female but sometimes male; [Cis-man]. Male gender; ; [Transgender and non-binary gender identities].	160	3,5%
Both/no specific gender	Both; [Cis-woman]. Both genders; [Cis-man]. Various; [Transgender and non-binary gender identities].	248	5,52%
Other answer	Haven't; [Cis-woman]. I have never seen it; [Cis-man].	248	10,5%
TOTAL		100%	

TABLE 17 - GENDER OF THE VICTIM (SEXUAL VIOLENCE WITNESSED).

QUALITATIVE DATA.

Other forms of sexual violence experienced (N=24)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=24)
Attempted rape	Sexual abuse and force without penetration; etc. physical [Cis-woman]. Attempted rape with physical force [Cis-woman]. After a party I went to sleep with a colleague and the guy, drunk and stoned, tried several times to put his hand in my underwear, when I refused. It wasn't the first time we slept together as lifelong friends, but it was the last. Cis-woman Sexual assault in a doorway without rape [Cis-woman].	2	8,3%
Other types of violence experienced	Attempted choking; [Cis-woman] Child abuse; [Cis-woman] Forced entry into victim's house; [Cis-woman] Persecution; [Cis-woman] Police abuse; [Cis-man] Rejection provokes physical aggression; [Cis-woman] Taking advantage of position of power to obtain sexual favours; [Cis-woman] Unconsented gay kissing in public; [Cis-man]	10	41,6%
Nature of other types of violence experienced	Assaulter was a policeman; [Cis-woman] Assaulter was under the influence; [Cis-woman] Assaulter was known to the victim; [Cis-woman] Victim was dancing [Cis-woman] Partner rape [Cis-woman].	5	20,8%
Other			29,3%
TOTAL		100%	

TABLE 18 - OTHER FORMS OF WITNESS BEHAVIOUR.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

Other forms of witness behaviour (N=692)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=692)
Protective behaviours		115	16,6%
Confronted the assaulter	Defended me [cis-woman/ Friend] Confronted the aggressor [cis-woman/ Friend] A friend fought with the attacker [cis-woman/ Friend] Fought with the aggressor [cis-woman/ Friend] To confront the aggressor; [cis-woman/ Unknown person] Confront; [cis-woman/ Known person]	27	3,8%
Offered support after the event	Laughed with me afterwards; [cis-man/ Friend] They didn't see it happening. They only understood what happened afterwards; [cis-man/Friend]	16	2,3%
Offered help	I asked them for help and they helped [cis-woman/Security] Asked if everything is fine [cis-man/ Friend]	13	1,8%
Removed the aggressor or offered to do so	The harasser was ejected from the premises [cis-woman/Security] Made the aggressor get off the bus [cis-woman/Public transport] Kicked the aggressor out of the bar and confronted him; [cis-woman/ Security]	12	1,7%
Created a physical barrier to protect the victim	While asking if I was being bothered, they pushed away the person who was invading my space; [cis-woman/ Friend] Switched sides with me to create a barrier with the guy; [cis-woman/ Known person]	7	1%
Simulated proximity to or otherwise approached the victim	They screamed at the person that I was straight and started kissing my cheek till the person left [cis-woman/ Friend] They acted as if they were my partner so that the abuser would leave; [cis-woman/ Known person] They came to talk with me and waited for the aggressor to leave; [cis-woman/Friend] My partner approaches me; [cis-woman/Known person]. Stayed nearby; [cis-woman/Known person]	7	1%

TABLE 18 - OTHER FORMS OF WITNESS BEHAVIOUR.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=692)
Helped victim remove themselves from the situation	Told me to leave/get away; [cis-woman/Unknown person]; [cis-woman/Unknown person]; [cis-woman/Unknown person]. Friends who change places with you in the disco or we move somewhere else; etc. [cis-woman/ Known person]	7	1%
Accompanied the victim home	Walked with me to the house; [cis-woman/Friend] Called a taxi for me; [cis-woman/ Known person] Drove me home; etc. [cis-woman/ Friend]	6	0,8%
Encouraged the victim to confront the aggressor	Telling me to go after them, getting in the aggressor's face; [cis-man/ Friend]. Helping me to confront him, the person stood next to me; etc. [cis-man/Friend]	5	0,7%
Responded to the victim's request	Bouncers have kicked out the guys who were harassing me upon request; etc. [cis-woman/Security]	2	0,2%
Other protective behaviours	Explain what was wrong; [cis-woman/ Security].	13	1,8%
Indifferent or negligent behaviours		85	12,2%
Witness was aware but ignored the situation	Do not see it as a type of aggression; [cis-woman/ Unknown person]. Indifference; [cis-woman/ Unknown person] Nothing [cis-man/ Bar staff] Nothing [cis-man/ Health services] Nothing [cis-man/ Security] Nothing [cis-man/ Public transport] Nothing [cis-man/ Private transport] Nothing [cis-woman/ Bar staff] Nothing [cis-woman/ Health services] Nothing [cis-woman/ Security] Nothing [transgender and non-binary gender identity/ Bar staff] Nothing [transgender and non-binary gender identity/ Private transport]	42	6%

TABLE 18 - OTHER FORMS OF WITNESS BEHAVIOUR.
QUALITATIVE DATA.

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=692)
Witness was not aware of the situation	Nobody noticed; [cis-woman/ Unknown person] Mostly no one ever notices; etc. [cis-woman/Unknown person] They didn't see anything [cis-man/ Bar staff] My friend was with me and didn't think it was a big deal [cis-woman/ Unknown person]	34	4,9%
Witness responded inconsistently	In some cases, he intervened and others he did not; [cis-woman/ Unknown person]. Depending on the time; etc. [cis-woman/Known person]	4	0,5%
Witness was under the influence and/or unable to intervene	Was too intoxicated to help; [cis-man/ Friend] Nothing, she was drunk; etc. [cis-man/ Known person]	3	0,4%
Witness feared consequences of intervening	She couldn't do anything without risking further deterioration of the situation for both sides; etc. [cis-woman/ Friend]	2	0,2%
Actively harmful behaviours		43	6%
Witness participated in the assault	Was the aggressor [transgender and non-binary gender identity/Private transport]. One time I was cornered by the bouncer [transgender and non-binary gender identity/Security] The other person watched and joined the attacker; [cis-woman/Unknown person] Helped the attacker to hold my feet; etc. [cis-woman/Unknown person]	24	3,4%
Witness engaged in victim-blaming	Laughed at the jokes; [cis-woman/ Known person] Blamed me; [cis-woman/Friend] He told me that I should have made it clearer that I didn't want anything; etc. [cis-woman/Friend] Blaming me for drinking [cis-woman/ Security]. They kicked the victim out of the premises and let the perpetrators leave [cis-man/Security].	10	1,4%

TABLE 18 - OTHER FORMS OF WITNESS BEHAVIOUR.
QUALITATIVE DATA.

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=692)
Witness encouraged the aggressor	People laughed because the assailant was a woman and I was a man; [cis-man/ Unknown person] There were several unfamiliar men who made sexual jokes; [cis-woman/ Unknown person] Took the side of the perpetrator; etc. [cis-woman/Unknown person]	7	1%
Witness/aggressor downplayed or qualified their behaviour	The people making the joke themselves rectify it; etc. [cis-woman/ Friend] The person told me afterwards that he/she had noticed [cis-woman/ Known person].	2	0,2%
Other			65,2%
TOTAL		100%	

TABLE 19 - OTHER FORMS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE COMMITTED.

QUALITATIVE DATA.

Other forms of sexual violence committed (N=7)

DEFINITION	EXAMPLES	FREQ. (REFS)	% (N=7)
Possible rape without physical force	Consensual sex with a cohabiting partner who at some point lost consciousness [cis-man]	1	14,2%
Other	Sexist jokes [cis-man] Exhibitionism at parties [cis-man]. Sometimes it's not easy to know if our stares and touches are wanted or not. I try to be within the threshold of what the other person wants (even as a matter of self-esteem) but there were times when I didn't, because I wanted the other person so much [cis-woman]. I happened to be walking behind a woman in the dark, drunk, thinking something funny and laughing. I guess the woman thought I was a man. She looked scared. I slowed down, pulled off the road and walked away [transgender and non-binary gender identity].	6	85,7%
TOTAL		100%	

