What is the socio-cultural impact of underground electronic dance music scenes on the inhabitants of big Dutch cities?

An insight into the multifaceted value of the night-time economy

Image 1. Protesters demanding a lively night-time economy in Rotterdam

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Word count:	15950	Date:	10/06/2019

Abstract

In the Netherlands, the debate on nightlife has gained momentum in recent years. As more and more people live in cities, choices must be made about how to use the space in the city. Nightclubs often come under pressure when urban areas are developed while they play a key role as a meeting place for various music scenes. Research into the socio-cultural impact of music scenes is scarce, as is research into the value of the night-time economy. In order to supplement the existing knowledge on the values of music scenes and, in a broader perspective, the night-time economy, the socio-cultural impact of the underground dance scene has been investigated using mixed methods. For this study, 7 semi-structured interviews were conducted with purposefully chosen key players from the dance scenes of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. In order to supplement the qualitative results, a survey was developed that was completed by 381 inhabitants of Rotterdam. Even though especially the analysis of the quantitative data could have been done more extensively in this research, it can be concluded that the socio-cultural impact of the translocal underground dance scenes is multifaceted and mostly lies in its contributions to employment, personal development, social cohesion in - and attractiveness of - the big Dutch cities.

On February the 20th, I organized a demonstration. The name of this demonstration was "Opstaan voor de Nacht", which can be translated as "Rise up for the Night". The Facebook event that called for demonstration was created on the 16th of February, four days before the protest, and eventually more than 5,000 people followed that same event online. On the square itself there were, estimations vary, between 800 and 1,500 people present. The picture on the front of this thesis is taken that day. The aim of the event was to make the local municipality and politicians understand that nightlife deserves more recognition than it currently receives.

Writing this thesis introduced me to the basics and peculiarities of the underground dance scene, as well as nightlife in general. Without the help of some of the most valued people in my immediate vicinity, it would not have been possible to finalize this research. First of all, I would like to express my gratitude towards Dr. Hans Abbing for inspiring me time and again to continue with researching, questioning and writing. I am eternally grateful to him for this. The supporting role of my parents should also be mentioned. I am very grateful to them for their hospitality and helpfulness when I went to live at their home in the last two weeks before the deadline. It must have been a great shock for them to have me around on a daily basis after 6 years of sporadic visits. I am eternally grateful to them for this. Finally, I would like to thank my girlfriend, she was the one who offered the comfort I needed at that moments when I became distraught by the combination of writing, work, sports and a barely existing social life. I am eternally grateful to her for this.

I hope you enjoy reading this research as much as I enjoyed writing it.

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1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the subject of the thesis. To begin with, the motivation and relevance for this research are addressed, followed by a discussion on the relevant literature and existing theoretical gaps regarding the subject. Secondly, the research question and research objectives are introduced. Thirdly, the research method is briefly described. Finally, an overview is given of the structure of this thesis.

1.1. Motivation and relevance

On the 11th of January 2019, the Museum Rotterdam opened a new exhibition called 'Party People'. According to the Museum Rotterdam this exhibition is about "two generations of entertainment culture in which current developments in Rotterdam's nightlife scene are linked to the period in which it all started: the 90s". For me, as a born and raised Rotterdammer, walking around this exhibition was rather disturbing. The exhibition in the Museum Rotterdam is yet another confirmation that the nightlife in Rotterdam used to be more exciting than it is nowadays. Which is hardly a coincidence with the current pursued cultural policies in Rotterdam. The amount of electronic music dance clubs has been decreasing for a while and so is the liveliness of the night. Back in 2008, Rotterdam housed 16 dance clubs, while in 2017 the number of clubs had already decreased to 8 (Van Spronsen, 2017).

In the meanwhile, in Amsterdam, the capital of the Netherlands, the reigning political leaders have developed and implemented a different policy on electronic music. Partly as a result of this cultural policy, the city annually hosts the Amsterdam Dance Event, which attracts approximately 400,000 visitors from all over the world. This event, as well as the presence of clubs such as the School and Shelter, and festivals such as Dekmantel and DGTL, have put Amsterdam on the international map as an important dance music city. This position as an important player in the dance music market was not within reach a decade ago. From the mid 80's till the end of the 90's, it was Rotterdam that was known for its outrageous nightlife and innovative electronic music producers (van de Wijngaart et al, 2015).

That Amsterdam nowadays plays a major role in the dance sector is partly due to the

Netherlands history as a "confederate republic without strong central leadership, which made that the government usually works in decentralized manner" (van Meerwijk & van den Hoogen, 2018, p. 11). This means that both cities pursue their own cultural policies. As a result of this, Amsterdam today has a very lively night, while the inhabitants of Rotterdam are principally dissatisfied with the current state of nightlife in their city. Since the political leaders of Rotterdam are not expected to be unwilling to make the night-time economy of the city attractive, there must be other reasons underlying their actions towards living up, or not living up, the nightlife.

Most likely it is a lack of knowledge about the comprehensive values of the night-time economy that underlies this situation. In order to supplement the existing knowledge on the night-time economy, and to prevent further damage to the dance club circuit of Rotterdam, this research aims to find out what the socio-cultural impact of underground dance music scenes have on the inhabitants of big Dutch cities. By carrying out a thorough study, conclusions are drawn that can be considered by policymakers in their future decisions regarding nightlife. Also, nightlife advocates and night mayors elsewhere in the world can draw upon the results of this study in their work. All in all, this research complements existing knowledge about the value of nightlife and offers a socio-cultural insight into an underground scene that for many is cloaked in mystery.

1.2. Research question and objectives

The research question this thesis aims to answer is as follows:

- What is the socio-cultural impact of the underground dance music scene on the inhabitants of big Dutch cities?

There are also several sub-questions deriving from it:

- What are the characteristics of the underground dance music scenes in big Dutch city?
- What makes the inhabitants of large Dutch cities participate in the underground dance scene?
- What is the value of the overall night-time economy according to the inhabitants of big Dutch cities?

1.3. Research methodology

In order to be able to answer the research question and associated sub-questions satisfactorily, a mixed methods approach has been chosen. Seven semi-structured interviews were conducted with a diverse range of important stakeholders from the underground dance scenes of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Since the expected socio-cultural impact takes place at an individual and city level, it was decided to also carry out a quantitative study in which the opinions of many inhabitants of large Dutch cities are considered. A survey was developed, distributed via social media and e-mail and eventually completed by 381 participants. The primary data, collected via semi-structured interviews and a survey, is used to come to well argued conclusions.

1.4. Structure

The second chapter provides a theoretical framework in which first the notions of scenes, subcultures and genres are adressed. Then, the origins of electronic dance music, commercial – and underground dance music, the characteristics of the dance music scene and the role of nightclubs in the scene are analyzed. Chapter 2 further discusses the specific role of the night-time economy in the development of cities and the concept of socio-cultural impact. In Chapter 3, the research methodology of this study is explained in detail, describing the research design and strategy, the sampling and data collection, as well as the methods of analysis. Subsequently Chapter 4 presents the results of the research. In this section the results are supported by quotes from the respondents and graphs developed using the data of the conducted survey. To conclude, Chapter 5 provides the discussion, a summary of the findings, theoretical and practical implications and recommendations for further research. At the very end of this thesis the references and appendixes with related attachments are enclosed.

2. Theoretical framework

The literature review first addresses the notions of music scenes, subcultures and genres before it explains the origins electronic dance music and the difference between commercial – and underground electronic dance music. Hereafter, we investigate the characteristics of the underground dance scene and the role of nightclubs in the dance scene. Third, the role of the night-time economy in cities is discussed. Fourth, the concept of socio-cultural impact is defined.

2.1. Music scenes, subcultures and genres

In the context of this research the differences and similarities of subcultures and scenes are briefly discussed. In sociology, a variety of definitions of subcultures and scenes are used. The different definitions often show overlap, interaction and interconnectedness with each other. Throughout the research no huge distinction is made between the two. The concept of 'genre' is elaborated upon because of the suspected importance of music genres in youth cultures.

2.1.1. Scenes

Since the 1940s journalists have applied the term 'scene' on almost every imaginable group of people with a shared interest (Peterson & Bennet, 2004). The concept of scene is used today to describe networks of people who identify as part of a group and share certain belief systems or sets of convictions. Scenes, in the customary sense, are centered around a certain location or set of locations that are understood to be where members of the scene hang out and are welcome. Scenes also have a shared culture of one kind or another. Its members share a certain lifestyle, adhering to their own set of social norms, traditions, linguistic patterns and dress codes, and communicating through a distinctive set of signs and symbols (Bennet & Peterson, 2004; Hesmondhalgh, 2005; Leach & Haunss, 2008; McLeod, 2018).

Scenes do not start to exist out of nowhere. Scenes emerge when several aspects that complement each other come together in a certain place and time (Spring, 2004). An internally motivated core of people with the same interests and shared goals is a necessity in this emergence of scenes. This group of people forms the heart of scenes. In this heart we find the 'scene drivers' and organizational elite (Bennet, 2000). The organizational elite of music scenes exists of actors who acquire proficiency and status by setting agendas, organizing events and so forth. The people in the core of music scenes are the intellectual and social scene drivers who initiate discourse, build opinions and reputations (Hitzler & Niederbacher, 2010). Often in this heart of the scenes we find the professionals, whose main source of income is generated via their activities in the scene. Another characteristic of the core members is that these people do not take off their 'scene identity' as regularly as the other actors in the scene (Bennet, 2000).

Scenes can extend beyond their local territory. In this case we speak of translocal or virtual scenes (Bennet & Peterson, 2004). Such translocal scenes take shape through interaction with places elsewhere in the world by means of traveling recordings, artists, fans and fan

magazines. Before the rise of the internet, scenes were either local or trans-local. Bennet noticed already in 2004 that virtual scenes started to emerge in which, as the name suggests, the actors meet online on platforms (Bennet, 2004; Bennet & Peterson, 2004).

2.1.2. Subcultures

The existence of a subculture is not a hard fact, but essentially only a 'descriptive social practice' (Gelder, 2007). This means that a subculture only formally starts to exist from the moment on that the phenomenon is described. Sarah Thornton (2006, p. 180) also says this clearly when she describes the relationship between subculture and media as follows: "the distinctions of youth subcultures are, in many cases, phenomena of the media". She argues here that subcultures often exist merely because they are described by the media.

Despite this phenomenon, some characteristics in subcultures have been noted by Ken Gelder (2007). In order to gain a better understanding of the concept of subculture, we will discuss these briefly. Gelder's (2007) characteristics of subcultures are as follows:

i. A subculture develops in leisure time: Subcultures develop outside the working environment. As a result, a subculture hardly ever has anything to do with work, but more with leisure time.

ii. The negative (or contradictory) attitude towards class society: subcultures often separate themselves from their class background. Sometimes they see themselves as transcending class, even though Karl Marx calls subcultures the "lumpenproletariat": the people without classes (1850). A contradiction lies in the fact that new classes can emerge within subcultures.

iii. There is more of an association with an area than with property. For example: the street, the club and the festival are more important than the house and the car.

iv. Moving from home to a non-household form of 'feeling at home': This has to do with the third characteristic: subcultures often come together in a non-household atmosphere (streets, clubs and festivals). This often means that people leave the countryside, go to the city and become involved in a subculture.

v. The links with excesses and exaggeration: This contrasts with restraint and moderation and is expressed, for example, in behavior, style, clothing, language and (drug) consumption.

vi.   The aversion to the banality of ordinary life and massification: Subcultures resist the (social) pressure of society and can also be regarded as a structural resistance to alienation.

These characteristics are important for a better understanding of the ideas and underlying motivations behind the underground dance subculture. On the other hand, this source must also be approached critically: in the past twelve years, since Gelder's key characteristics of subcultures have been published, a lot has changed. Nowadays, social media for example has a great impact on youngsters' daily lives. The rise of social media might as well have changed the characteristics of subcultures. Nevertheless, this is a good starting point for gaining an insight into the principles of a subculture.

2.1.3. Genres

The concept of 'genre' is used to categorize cultural productions in the fields of visual art, film, video games, literature and music. By indicating different genres in these fields, categories become visible within which we know which expectations and conventions are met (Becker, 1982; Bourdieu, 1993). Lena and Peterson define music genres more specifically as "systems of orientations, expectations, and conventions that bind together an industry, performers, critics, and fans in making what they identify as a distinctive sort of music" (2008, p. 698). The electronic dance music genre, for example, is an overarching genre that refers to a heterogeneous group of different music genres, all of which are made with the aid of computers and electronic instruments (McRae, 2004). This genre includes dozens of subgenres that all meet different artistic requirements, while at the same time sharing the characteristics of the overarching genre.

Throughout this research, the terms 'electronic dance music', 'dance music' and 'dance' are used interchangeably. Often the purpose of electronic dance music is to get listeners to dance, hence the recurrent use of the word 'dance'. Especially 'electronic dance music' as a name is vague enough to cover a wide variety of musical genres, but still indicates exactly that the genre only includes electronically produced music (McRae, 2004). Preference is therefore given to the use of this name, but in order to increase reading pleasure and ease of reading, the terms 'dance music' and 'dance' are also used from time to time.

2.2. Electronic dance music

This section of the theoretical framework starts with the origins of electronic dance music and then addresses the differences between commercial and underground dance music. Hereafter, the characteristics of the underground dance scene are explained. Finally, the role of nightclubs in the scene is discussed.

2.2.1. Origins of electronic dance music

The electronic dance music that we often hear today in Amsterdam and Rotterdam nightclubs originates from elsewhere. Genres such as funk, disco and punk lie at the basis of dance music as we know it today. Especially in Chicago, New York and Detroit in the 1980s, music scenes could be found that served as inspiration for the pioneers in the Netherlands. At that time, electronic dance music was still a movement that mainly belonged to the minorities in society, such as the blacks, Latino's and gender queer. At dance parties these groups were able to dance and express themselves in a way that was not possible in society. The prevailing values in the dance-scene were, and still are, peace, unity and respect (MacLeod, 2001; Ott & Herman, 2003; Resident Advisor, 2018).

After the electronic dance-scenes emerged in Chicago, New York and Detroit the dance-fever spread to Europe. Especially in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands the music enthusiasts picked up the electronic dance music relatively early. Since the end of the 80's electronic dance music has been popular with a part of the population of the Netherlands. Over time, the group of dance music enthusiasts grew bigger and bigger and eventually dance songs made it into the top charts. Characteristic for this growing popularity was the establishment of specialized electronic music radio stations and the creation of subgenres, think for example of the genre gabber house and the online radio station Intergalactic FM (Meeuwisen, 2007; van Hout, 2018). But the growth of electronic music in the Netherlands can best be illustrated by the popularity of dance events, organized by for example ID&T, superstar DJs and major crowd pullers such as ADE. Over the last three decades electronic dance music has become an export product of the Netherlands, with both organizations and individuals achieving international successes (Joustra & van den Butter, 2014).

2.2.2. Commercial and underground dance music

The quickly growing popularity of electronic dance music ensured that subgenres began to co-exist within and alongside (acid-)house and techno, the two electronic musical styles that first gained a firm foothold in the Netherlands. At one point, an, albeit blurry, distinction became visible between two different types of dance music: commercial and underground dance music (Böse, 2005; MacLeod, 2001; Ott & Herman, 2003). This section addresses the differences between the two.

The most dominant form of the two is the commercial dance music. Commercial dance music is often played on the national radio and in big stadium events. Well-established artists from this genre, such as Martin Garrix and Avicii, are recurrent names in international top charts and this genre might nowadays even be considered as "pop-dance music" because of the immense popularity of this genre. According to Jan-Michael Kühn (2015) this commercial dance music is mass-produced, and the actors in this genre are usually profit driven. The prevailing name for commercial dance music is EDM, short for 'electronic dance music'. Unfortunately, not all electronic dance music is commercial and can be considered EDM. This makes it a confusing and far from perfect name.

The little, lesser known, brother of commercial dance music is underground electronic dance music, or UDM. According to Fikentscher (2007, p. 5), 'underground' points to sociopolitical function of the music, "framing it as one type of music that in order to have meaning and continuity is kept away, to a large degree, from mainstream society, the media, and those empowered to enforce prevalent moral and aesthetic codes and values." Underground dance music is therefore barely ever played on Dutch radio, does not appear in top charts and, although this market is growing, the number of big events is not yet close to the amount of commercial dance music events. In the Netherlands there are specialized nightclubs and festivals that focus on underground electronic music, but the presence of underground electronic music in cities is far less dominant than that of the commercial branch. Usually, genres such as techno, house, electro and other related subgenres are considered underground dance music and these scenes are more positioned within a certain niche (Kühn, 2015).

Although this research does not make a rigid distinction between the two, it is important to understand that within the underground dance scene, unlike the commercial dance scene, the artistic values often prevail over the economic values. In many cases the 'art for art's sake' logic

applies, which renounces the idea that the motivations to produce is merely to sell (Caves, 2000; Bourdieu, 1986).

2.2.3. Characteristics underground dance music scene

As the socio-cultural impact of the underground dance scene on the inhabitants of cities in the Netherlands is the subject of research, the characteristics of this particular scene are laid out. First, we will shine a light on the presence of the Do-It-Yourself culture. Hereafter, the drug use within the scene and the particular story of the rise of the underground dance scene are addressed. As academic sources often paint a one-sided, or for the Netherlands irrelevant, picture, this section is complemented by the interviewer's own experiences and experiences of the interviewees.

2.2.3.1. DIY culture

According to writers such as McKay (1998), Bennet and Peterson (2004) and Scott (2012), there is a high degree of Do-It-Yourself culture present within the dance scene. Peterson & Bennet (2004, p. 5) define scenes with a DIY-esteem by "the presence of fans turned into entrepreneurs, voluntary labor and high levels of intrinsic motivations amongst the participants of the scene". In the case of underground electronic dance music, the scenes heavily rely on informal networks of entrepreneurs who found and organized DJs and secured and transported the necessary sound and lightening equipment (Hemment, 1998). The underground dance events, often referred to as 'raves', used to be suited with an anti-establishment - and anti-elite demeanor, also they were often grassroots-organized, unlicensed and, as mentioned before, were the safe haven for minorities that were not fully accepted by society (Anderson, 2009).

The remnants of these early days of the dance scene make that there still is a great willingness to share social networks, knowledge and locations within the dance scene (McRae, 2004). And, although the population of the underground dance scene does not consist only of minorities anymore these days, the atmosphere still revolves around notions of freedom, self-expression and equality (Finlayson, 2017; McLeod, 2018; Ott & Herman, 2003). Since the early 90's there has been a gradual development in the underground dance scene from an amateurish, self-regulated scene into a more professionalized and commercialized industry (Colin, 2018). Some argue that much of the original spirit has been lost in the last years because of the commercialization of the scene (Colin, 2018, p. 7). Others argue that, although the DIY culture

within the dance scene is increasingly making way for a more professionalized form of dance industry, the DIY culture is still far from being a thing of the past (Stutterheim, 2014; Finalyson, 2017). Anderson (2009) adds to this that even now the majority of the underground dance music gatherings find place in completely legal nightclubs, the illegal gatherings, or raves, are still what make the underground dance music scene something special.

The success of underground dance scene has led to stakeholders in the dance scene who are eager to develop the scene into a more professionalized one, with commercial appeal, but the scene does not yet allow the core values to be diminished. A remarkable proof for this reality is found in Berlin techno scene exploration from Jean-Michael Kühn (2015). He experienced that the gross of the entrepreneurs in the techno scene are not business-oriented nor are they profit seeking. But, when business opportunities arose, seizing these was merely to sustain their passion for techno than to gain monetary profits. Amongst the participants in this research this practice was recognized. In addition, several respondents described a fear for the growing commercialization of their scene. What they are particularly afraid of is that a 'crowding-out effect' might take place, which means that the growing financial rewards crowd out those who are participating because of an intrinsic motivation (Frey & Oberholzer-Gee, 1997; Kühn, 2015; Respondent 1,2,7, 2019).

2.2.3.2. Drugs use

Another characteristic that distinguishes the underground dance scene, formerly often called rave scene, from mainstream youth culture, but also from other youth cultures, is the high level of hard drug use. Many studies emphasize the association between dance and drugs with word combinations such as "dance drugs", "party drugs" and "club drugs" (Bogt, 2002, 2005; Parrot, 2001; Gourley, 2004; Hesmondhalgh, 1998; Measham, 2011; Nabben, 2010, 2012; Winstock, 2001).

It is apparent that the use of drugs within the dance scene can, and should, not be ignored. But, when we talk about drugs, the question quickly comes up: who hasn't - sometime - wanted to escape? Escaping the daily routine is an often-heard reason to participate in a nightlife scene. No less than five out of seven interviewees in this research have remarked the importance of this function of the night-time economy. Still, the concept of 'escapism' has a somewhat negative meaning in society today. Escapism, for most of us, suggests an inability to face the hard facts, or the real world. This negative connotation is a remnant from the ancient times in which

humanity could not survive if it did not take the real world into account. Daydreaming or wishful thinking did not in the slightest bit contribute to the pivotal life tasks of survival and reproduction. As far as we know, only humans withdraw from reality every now and then. We take our time to close our eyes, ponder the nature of a threat and reconsider, rather than that we confront the facts directly (Ingold, 2002; Tuan, 2000). And yet, although it did not serve any function for our ancestors, the dance scene, with or without drugs, seems to be a welcome escape for those who participate in it.

Many researchers missed the point when they explored the dance world and dance floor. In many cases, the focus was on the use of drugs in the context of the dance scene. While especially at ceremonial occasions like celebrations, parties and parties, people use a variety of drugs. Even in the popular culture is the use of alcohol and tobacco fully accepted (Manning, 2013). The use of hard drugs was the main feature of - and unique to - the scene according to the media in the 1990s (Graham, 2009). As we look back, it is clear that the extensive coverage in the media focused on this aspect of the dance culture caused disproportionate concern in relation to the situation. According to Melechi (1993, p. 37), "the spaces that the dance subculture seized and transformed were the representations of a fantasy of liberation, an escape from identity: a place where no one is, but everyone hears". In the larger picture, however, as the media have paid less attention to this explicit characteristic of the dance scene, it can be concluded that the origins as a minority scene has ensured that an open attitude is the subcultural standard in the face of a different sexual orientation, but also of deviant behavior (Finlayson, 2017).

2.2.3.3. Development of the genre

The arrival of the dance party events in the Netherlands unleashed, to some extent, the recreational user market for ecstasy. Partly because of this drug use, the dance scene has had a negative image for a long time. Dance music enthusiasts were labeled as "numb, conformist and easy to manipulate", and it took a long time before society took them seriously (Malbon, 1999; Nabben, 2010; Thornton, 1995, p. 1). The excessive use of hard drugs in rave and club culture has led to more public and academic attention over the years. In a sense, the rise of underground dance events, and the associated rise of hard drug use, led to a 'moral panic'. The concept of moral panic was coined by Stanley Cohen in 1972 to describe "a sudden and excessive feeling of alarm or fear, usually affecting a body of persons, and leading to extravagant or injudicious efforts to secure safety". Paradoxically, scholars such as Sanders and Lyon (1995) and Ericson

(1991) described how journalists, with their fascinating and provocative articles on the destructive effects of drugs, encouraged some readers to enter this world of hedonism. The purpose of the call for moral panic about the deviant behavior is thus nullified and the moral panic even to some extent contributed to the growth – and acceptance - of the dance scene.

In *Classification as Culture: Types and Trajectories of Music Genres*, Lena and Peterson (2008) describe the general trajectory of music genres from avant-garde via scene-based and industry-based to traditionalist. Elisa Luengo (2018) remarked that this general trajectory of the electronic music genre as described by Lena and Peterson (2008) does not respect the variety of subgenres that fall under the umbrella of 'electronic dance music'. She, rightfully, argues that it is not favorable to describe a single trajectory of the electronic dance music genre since the one subgenre might still be in the avant-garde form, whereas another has already developed into the traditionalist form. In that sense it is difficult to generalize, even within the underground dance scene (Luengo, 2018; Lena & Peterson, 2008; Goudling, Shanker & Elliot, 2002).

2.2.4. Role nightclubs in underground dance music scene

In the underground dance music scene, the space, the club itself, is very important. According to Gelder (2007), in subcultures there is more of an association with a certain area than with property. The nightclubs function as the meeting place of the members of the subculture. Gatherings in clubs are a global phenomenon, but at the same time very much connected to the local culture (Bennett & Peterson, 2004). The symbolic appropriation of the location by the members of a certain subculture creates a 'sense of belonging'. The people who come together in these clubs are called 'clubbers' or 'ravers'. Within different clubs it is noticeable that people who love the same subgenre of underground dance music come together in the same place.

Although the vast majority of people in a nightclub are there because of leisure purposes, the nightclubs also fulfil a role for some as a workplace. Usually the organization behind these venues work with a division of labor. Specialized departments are in place for tasks such as: programming, marketing and communication, finances and operations. This is in line with Caves' (2000) properties of the creative industries. According to Caves, the production of creative products, such as dance events, requires diversely skilled inputs. Each skilled input must therefore be present and perform at some minimum level to come to a valuable dance event.

Furthermore, there is good reason to assume that the nightclubs are the center of the so-called 'circuit of commerce'. In 2004, Zelizer discovered that there are circuits to be discovered

in cities that contain four elements: boundaries around transactions, ties among participants, a distinctive set of transfers or claims occurring within the ties, and distinctive transfer media. The actors in circuits of commerce share an understanding of value, conventions and logics that are characteristic for the circuit they act in. Exchanges in such circuits do not necessarily happen in formal institutions but may as well appear in bounded networks that construct meaningful interactions for the actors, which are usually not merely focused on profit maximization, but other profits may be obtained in forms as status, love, pride of power (Velthuis, 2008; Zelizer, 2004). Many of these interactions find place in, or are facilitated by, nightclubs. Such as visiting events, working on events or recording media recordings.

2.3. Modern cities

According to Chatterton & Hollands (2001, p. 97), city centers "have been remodeled over the last five decades as places in which to live, work and be entertained". With this remodeling the main function of city centers shifted from centers of production to centers of consumption. This social and economic restructuring has had profound effects on cities. The first effect of the restructuring of the city has been the development of a new urban 'brand', which has reshaped parts of city landscapes, especially during the evening, into entertainment and leisure hubs (Chatterton & Hollands, 2001). According to Hollands, "cities have always been sites of entertainment and pleasure- seeking, a central focus of recent rebranding has been the promotion of the night-time economy, much of which is characterized by the ritual descent of young adults into bars, pubs and clubs especially during the weekend" (1995, p. 95).

But not only the functions of cities have changed: the sizes of cities have changed as well. Modern cities nowadays are bigger than ever before. In 1950, only 30% of the world's population lived in a city. Nowadays, this is more than half of the population and, according to the *Revision of World Urbanization Prospects 2018* published by the United Nations, by 2050 more than two out of three earthlings will be living in a city. In the Netherlands, this urbanization can be explained by the higher presence of amenities in cities. In the cities, where there are more universities, jobs, cinemas, restaurants and nightclubs, there is more to experience and people therefore prefer to settle here rather than in the countryside (Chatterton & Hollands, 2001; Coslor, 2001; Glaeser, Kolko & Saiz, 2001; Rappaport, 2008).

2.3.1. Role of the night-time economy in modern cities

The organization of the night-time economy gained importance in the last years as city-to-city competitiveness is rising at a national and international level. With the rising competition amongst modern cities to attract the higher educated and tourists, the nightlife has become a mature part of the modern urban landscape. In this city-to-city competition, the 'local image' has become crucial. This local image is closely linked to the cultural facilities and vibrancy in a certain city (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003; Lovatt & O'Connor, 1995).

The vibrancy of nightlife is recognized in both sociology literature (Farrer, 2008; Chew, 2009; Grazian, 2009) and urban policy literature (Heath, 1997; Campo & Ryan, 2008; Darchen, 2013) as a particularly important factor in shaping residents' view of cities. In line with this is the argumentation of Coslor (2001), Florida (2005) and Zukin (1998) that the presence of a wide range of cultural activities both during the day and at night has a direct influence on the attractiveness, economic growth and development of the cities because the higher educated demand city-specific goods and services in their city of residence. For the 'creative class', a socio-economic class identified by Richard Florida (2002), the varied range of cultural facilities is decisive in their choice of where to live and work. To attract the creative class is important for the growth of cities, Florida argues, as he regards this class as the key driving force for economic development.

The creative class is a socio-economic class consisting of the super-creative core and the creative professionals. The super-creative core are people working in a wide range of occupations, such as science, education, engineering and computer programming. The characteristic of this core is that their primary job is to be creative and innovative. The creative professionals are people who work in related industries, such as business, finance and the legal sector. This group uses their formal education to solve specific problems. The goal of the entire creative class is to develop meaningful new forms. The creative class is known as a forerunner in rejecting the traditional ways of working. They often determine their own working hours and deal more loosely with work-related dress codes. Independence is therefore a shared virtue among the members of this class (Florida, 2002). Not the only, but an important way to attract this socio-economic class to your city is by facilitating a varied and lively nightlife. In this manner, nightlife has often been at the center of strategic decisions.

Nightlife is not solely used to attract certain socio-economic class to settle in a city.

Expanding nightlife can work as an accelerator for the local economy by increasing turnover in the hospitality sector (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003; Roberts, 2009; Roberts & Eldridge, 2012), and, if done successfully, it can also lead to an increase of tourism (Farrer, 2008). Since the end of the 90s there has even been such a thing as 'dance music tourism' (Sellars, 1998). Dance music tourists are, mainly young, people who plan trips abroad that revolve entirely around dance music. Favorite organizations and DJs are visited at their parties abroad, usually in the well-established nightclubs or festivals. This development has been skillfully anticipated by tour operators who offer full dance music experience packages to those who want to undertake such trips. Participants of these tours not only visit nightclubs and festivals, also other sites, such as record stores and radio stations, that have (had) a major influence on the local dance scene are oftentimes paid a visit (Sellars, 1998).

2.3.1.1. 'Third places' and clusters

Cities benefit from the night-time economy in terms of attractiveness and revenues in the hospitality and tourism industry. But, in addition to this, Angela McRobbie has noted that: "subcultures are often ways of creating job opportunities as more traditional careers disappear… In this undocumented, unrecorded and largely hidden economy sector, subcultures stand at one end of the culture industry spectrum and the glamorous world of the star system and entertainment business at the other. (1994, p. 162)". In the book *Slimme Steden: van Antwerpen tot Zürich* by Edo Dijksterhuis (2008), the presence of subcultures explains the creation of jobs by the so-called 'third places', which are informal meeting places such as cafés, bars and restaurants, and the stimulating role these places play in economic growth of cities.

For a city to become smart, Dijksterhuis (2008) claims; it is necessary to have sufficient human interaction within the city. Cleverness exists by the grace of the inhabitants; as it is not the city itself that can be smart, the population can be smart. Frequent encounters and accidental contact between people working in industries that are related make it more likely that new ideas and innovations emerge. In 'clusters', geographical agglomerations of firms that enjoy economic positive externalities of being located in the same place, incremental innovations are typically stimulated by knowledge spillovers (Lorenzen & Frederiksen, 2013; Lorenzen & Maskell, 2004).

2.4. Impact

Only recently, a study was published in which the actual economic impact of Berlin's nightlife was calculated. The "*Club Culture Berlin 2019*" report by the Club Commission (2019) presents that in 2018 three million tourists visited Berlin for its world-renowned nightlife. These visitors stayed on average 2.4 days in the capital of Germany and spend just over €200 per day, both directly in the nightclubs and in hotels, bars and restaurants. This large group of nightlife-enthusiasts that visit Berlin for its nightlife altogether inject a total of just under €1.5 billion in the local economy. Furthermore, the Club Commission estimates that 9.040 people work directly in the club scene, while thousands more are employed on an indirect basis. This clear and thought-provoking, but one-sided, study provided a clear insight into the economic value of the underground dance music club circuit in Berlin. Unfortunately, the report by the Club Commission does not really grasp the total impact that the local nightlife has on the city.

2.4.1. Socio-cultural impact

The impact of the night-time economy is multifaceted and in addition to economic value, it also contains social and cultural value. To measure the total socio-cultural impact of the club circuit the various aspects of socio-cultural impacts must be identified, analyzed and evaluated. According to Duncan and Jones (1976), socio-cultural impacts are "significant improvements or deteriorations in people's well-being or a significant change in an aspect of community concern." In order to identify the various aspects of socio-cultural impact requires imagination, creative thinking and "a deep understanding of the people being impacted and the social systems in which the live and work (Dietz, 1987, p.56)." The analysis of the socio-cultural impact "assigns probabilities to possibilities uncovered in the identification stage and attempts to elaborate sketchy ideas, whilst evaluation integrates the information from the identification and the analysis into an overall image of the impacts resulting from the situation. By doing so, the evaluation does not require the reduction of all impacts of a single dimension but does require a clear, informative display of data."

The term 'culture' is used here in a broad sense. Culture, in this sense, is a way of living, thinking and behaving, including elements such as language, customs, beliefs, values, traditions and ways of communicating. Often, culture is accumulated through one's upbringing and interactions with family and peers. It guides us when we solve problems and live our daily lives.

One can conclude that culture plays a pivotal role in our lives. Socio-cultural changes, or impacts, touch upon different parts of our very existence (Sardar, 2004). Socio-cultural impacts are found among other things, but not exclusively in changes in how people live, work, play and interact with one another on a day-to-day basis, shared beliefs, customs, values and language, taste formation, social cohesion, stability, services and facilities, economic and political systems, environment, health and wellbeing and personal and property rights ("Socio-Economic Impact Assessments", n.d.).

3. Research methodology

In this chapter, the applied research methodology is elaborated upon. Starting with a further explanation of the research design and strategy. Second, the sample and data collection are addressed. Third, the data analysis is laid out. Lastly, the quality of the research is justified in terms of validity and reliability.

3.1. Research design and strategy

The aim is to find in-depth explanations to the following research question:

- What is the socio-cultural impact of the underground dance scenes on the inhabitants of big Dutch cities?

In order to answer this research question, the following subsidiary questions must be answered:

- What are the characteristics of the underground dance music scenes in big Dutch city?
- What makes the inhabitants of large Dutch cities participate in the underground dance scene?
- What is the value of the night-time economy according to inhabitants of big Dutch cities?

In order to obtain answers to the above questions, a mixed methods approach has been chosen. This means that qualitative and quantitative methods are combined to come to conclusions. For the qualitative research primary data is collected through semi-structured interviews. This semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed interviewees to express personal stories and ideas. The development of the interview script in advance ensured that no matters that were essential to the research were left out of the discussion. At the same time, the semi-structured nature of the interviews ensured that there was room to deviate from the pre-designed discussion structure if

the given answers raised questions or touched upon topics that the research did not took into consideration when designing the interview script. Since the underground dance scene presumably has a socio-cultural impact on both the individual and the city level, it was decided to collect primary data via a quantitative research method as well. By means of quantitative research, the opinions of larger groups can be taken into consideration and exactly that was what was required to answer the third sub-question: "*what is the value of the night-time economy according to the inhabitants of large Dutch cities?*".

This research is both exploratory and descriptive. Since the aim is to determine whether there is a socio-cultural impact of the underground dance scene and, if so, what this impact is, a descriptive research design contributes to the construction of a comprehensive report of views of different stakeholders in the dance scenes of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. It is an exploratory research in the sense that the research deals with topics that are little or not at all discussed in the current academic discussion. Moreover, the situation in the big Dutch cities is investigated. The known sources on impacts of dance music scenes oftentimes do not apply in this geographic space. Following Bryman's (2012) logic, the choice for an inductive method is the right one when research is done in a field where theory still needs to be developed.

3.2. Sample and data collection

This section elaborates on the processes of sampling and data collection. Also, the underlying motivations to integrate both a qualitative and a quantitative research are addressed.

3.2.1. Semi-structured interviews

There were seven interviews conducted. On average, these interviews lasted one hour and five minutes. The shortest interview lasted only 25 minutes, while the longest interview lasted 115 minutes. On average, an interview lasted 55 minutes. Altogether, this adds up to 385 minutes of qualitative data, which approximately equals six and a half hours.

The participants in the qualitative study were selected on basis of their knowledge of nightlife and, more specifically, dance music scenes. In order to create a less one-sided picture of the impact of a dance music circuit, it was decided to interview stakeholders from the two largest cities in the Netherlands: Rotterdam and Amsterdam. Promoters from the nightlife sector were interviewed from these two cities, as well as venue owners, (policy) makers and (former) night mayors. According to Bryman (2012), the aim of purposeful sampling is to choose participants

who are relevant to the study's research question, while ensuring that the resulting sample presents, if not a representative population, a varied exemplification of it. A generalization of the results is not possible because of the limited number of stakeholders that are considered in this research. Also, every city has its own history and path-dependency in electronic music. Moreover, in the Netherlands, the cities pursue area specific cultural policies that affect the night-time economy.

Due to my extensive experience in the night-time economy, the stakeholders from the dance music scenes of both Rotterdam and Amsterdam were easily accessible and open for conversation. This assured that the sampling did not relied on any snowball method influences, nor was it affected by convenience matters. Most of the participants I knew before deciding on the subject for this research. Others I cherrypicked because of their specific knowledge of a certain topic, those I contacted via either e-mail or Facebook. In 'Attachment 1: Overview of the interviewees' the characteristics of the participants are clarified. The informal setting in which we discussed the topic allowed for a feeling of trust that created the opportunity to ask freely about personal opinions and ideas. In general, the participants opened up completely and spoke freely about what was on their minds. If a sample was chosen with respondents more far from my personal network, it would have been more difficult to discuss personal subjects. Moreover, my professional experience provided an entrance to the key players in the dance scenes of both Rotterdam and Amsterdam.

3.2.2. Survey

A survey is developed with the aim to answer the research question: *"What is the value of the night-time economy according to inhabitants of big Dutch cities?"*. While listening back to the semi-structured interviews, it became clear that the participants had difficulty distinguishing between the socio-cultural impact of the underground dance scene and the night-time economy as a whole. That is why it was decided mid-May, in a relative late stage, to develop a survey to gain insight into how a larger group of inhabitants experiences the impact of nightlife as a whole.

By means of a survey, the opinions and valuations of a larger group could be considered, which makes generalizations of the results more accurate. Because the answer to this question differs on a personal level it was desired to have a cross-section of Rotterdam and Amsterdam to fill in the survey. Unfortunately, the inhabitants of Amsterdam showed to be less responsive. Therefore, in an early stage, is decided to limit the quantitative research to the inhabitants of

Rotterdam. The survey was developed using the open-source survey creator www.forms.office.com and was distributed amongst inhabitants of Rotterdam via Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp and e-mail. A total of 381 people completed the survey. The participants took an average of 4 minutes and 45 seconds to answer the 14 questions.

The quantitative research is the result of a collaboration with Alain van Duuren, who is a MA student *Cross-over Creativity* at the HKU, and a friend of mine. Given our common practical and theoretical interest in the night-time economy we decided to combine part of our research. We developed a survey that could be used for both our researches. The population of the survey consisted of 381 respondents, most of whom live in Rotterdam, the rest lives in the conurbation of Rotterdam. For Alain the results of this survey form the focus of his research, whereas for this research the results serve as an addition to the qualitative research results.

3.3. Operationalization

In the operationalization, variables are translated into measurable factors. In this way, unclear concepts become measurable and actual conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the research carried out. In this study, there are three main topics of interest. First, the characteristics of the underground dance scene. Here it is key to find out what it is that altogether shapes this music scene. Secondly, the underlying motivations for those who choose to participate in an underground dance scene must be defined. Thirdly, the role of the night-time economy in large Dutch cities. Unveiling themes such as direct and indirect employment, development of creative clusters and attractiveness of the place.

3.4. Data analysis

In order to gain an insight into the socio-cultural impact on an individual and urban level, it was decided to carry out both qualitative and quantitative research. The qualitative part mainly discusses the socio-cultural impact of the dance scene and nightlife on a meta-level, whereas the quantitative part focuses more on the individual experience.

3.4.1. Semi-structured interviews

After the semi-structured interviews were completed, each recording has been listened back and analyzed by means of a thematic analysis. According to Aronson (1994, p. 2), "thematic analysis focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living and/or behavior". Repetitive patterns, metaphors, equations and differences as mentioned by the participants are identified in order to arrive at appropriate themes (Bryman, 2012; Saldana, 2009). Further, thematic analysis was used to recognize the prevailing concepts. These recurrent and remarkable concepts from the data and the extent to which they correspond to the existing literature were the themes around which the results developed.

3.4.2. Survey

By using www.forms.office.com, it was relatively easy to put together a clear survey. The answers that came back from the participants are shown in graphs, where the researcher can choose whether percentages or absolute numbers are indicated. Because a relatively large sample group of 381 participants completed the survey, it can be argued with caution that generalizable conclusions can be drawn from the results.

3.5. Quality and limitations of the research

The replicability of the qualitative part of the research is difficult to assess. Because only a small number of stakeholders from the dance scene were heard, it is possible that a different sample will yield different results. Even if the same stakeholders were to be interviewed, different results may be obtained because the setting conditions and circumstances will not be exactly the same. In order to make sure that the picture is sketched as complete as possible, it was deliberately decided to speak to players with different experiences and a different role in the dance scenes. However, the size of the sample ensures that significant improvements can be made to the research if more people can be interviewed. Unfortunately, time-constraints made this unfeasible. Another common problem in qualitative social research is that the results are not generalizable. This is also the case in this study. The interview script was designed in such a way that the situations in Amsterdam and Rotterdam were discussed. In other cities, other urgent matters might play a role.

As mentioned before was the initial plan to conduct the survey in both Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The lack of befriended peers in Amsterdam made that the amount of reactions on the survey was rather disappointing. If there were less time-constraints, the number of respondents from Amsterdam could have been increased with the help of institutes such as the University of Amsterdam, VU Amsterdam or even the municipality. To obtain quantitative data from the inhabitants of Amsterdam would have been valuable in a sense that it could have served as comparison material. The fact that many people responded to the survey that was distributed to Rotterdammers is a good sign but entails a risk as well; the peer group in which the survey is dispersed contains a relatively large group of people working in the creative industry. Perhaps the valuation of the night-time economy by those working in related industries might turn out more positive than that of those working in, for example, financing or healthcare.

Another missed chance is the lack of input by the official night mayor of Rotterdam: Jules Deelder. Attempts have been made to make an appointment for an interview, but unfortunately, we did not manage to find a suitable moment. The fact that the night mayor from Rotterdam is not heard throughout this study creates a somewhat distorted balance in the sample for the qualitative study. It is also regrettable to notice that the diversity in the sample group was not optimal. For example, 5 out of 7 participants are male and 5 out of 7 are of Western origin. Although the interviewees fulfil significantly different roles in the dance scenes, it would be stronger if a more mixed group were interviewed in terms of gender and ethnicity. This sample group suggests that the underground dance scene is a scene in which white men are the largest group. Which in fact might be the case, but that's another interesting research topic.

Another aspect of the thesis that is a bit unbalanced is the first chapter of the theoretical framework, on scenes, subcultures and genres. In future researches more efforts should be made to create a clear insight in the role of scene -, subcultural - and genre-characteristics in the context of this research. Unfortunately, this was not possible for this research due to time constraints. The quantitative results could also have been analyzed and interpreted in more detail if time constraints had not been so severe.

4. Results

In this chapter, the empirical results from the collected data are presented, analyzed and discussed. First, we dive into the strong social character of the underground dance scene and the other reasons why the interviewees indicate that the scene participation creates a sense of belonging. Then, we relate the presence of a lively and diverse night-time economy to the social cohesion, employment, personal development in - and attractiveness of big Dutch cities. Finally, we present the quantitative data that will show the value of nightlife according to the inhabitants of Rotterdam.

4.1. A sense of belonging

When asked what it is that the underground dance scene members value about their scene, each participant eventually concluded the same: the social character of [those who participate in] the scene. The superlatives to describe the social atmosphere in this scene were overwhelming. Respondent 2 mentioned that he meets his "willingly chosen family" at scene gatherings, while respondent 3 even stated that the underground dance scene is where "the norms and values apply that I'd like to see in the rest of society." The interviews revealed that especially tolerance, the love for the music and lifestyle with adhering social norms and values ensured an open and social atmosphere within the underground dance scenes of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. These aspects are interlinked and cannot be seen in isolation.

4.1.1. Tolerance

Despite the fact that dance music landed in the Netherlands more than thirty years ago and that major social changes have taken place in the meantime, there is still a tolerant attitude within the underground dance scene according to the respondents. The most logical explanation for this is that in the early days the dance scene was mainly supported by minorities from society (MacLeod, 2001). Apparently, the mentality in which the morals revolve around notions of peace, unity and respect have survived the ravages of time, or as respondent 1 puts it:

"[Nowadays, in the city] we all live on top of each other while we're all different. During the day this causes frustrations every now and then. Not at night. In the dance scene everyone is welcome, there is room for everyone."

The fact that this ethos has been preserved is, amongst the participants of this research considered as, a remarkable and valuable characteristic feature of the underground dance scene. In the meantime, much has changed in society: the world's population is growing at an ever-increasing rate, causing cities to become increasingly busy and more than half of the world's population already has access to the Internet (UN, 2018). The underground dance scene is also no longer the same as it was thirty years ago. Nowadays there are superstar DJ's who travel the world for their work within the dance scene and paid events have never been so massively visited (Finlayson, 2017). Despite the growing attention for – and professionalization of the dance scene, it appears that the participants in this research do not yet notice a shift in moral fundamentals.

4.1.2. Love for the music

Music scenes are mainly developed by people in their leisure time. Most of the contributors participate in the scene voluntarily since there is often no substantial extrinsic motivation to participate (Gelder, 2007). In Rotterdam and Amsterdam, there are plenty of other music scenes in which inhabitants can participate. This ensures that those who consciously choose to spend time visiting, or even developing, the dance scene meet a group of people with whom they have at least one thing in common: their love for the music. Respondent 5 remarked about the role of the love for music under scene visitors:

"It may sound crazy, but I sometimes say: love doesn't go through the stomach, but through your ears. Somehow I always get along with people with a taste for music that resembles mine"

Although the commercial interests in the dance scene are growing and, in a sense, there is already an industry in which there are some profitable business models to be discovered, for most interviewees it feels as if the intrinsic motivation still prevails as the main motivation. Three respondents indicated that it is desirable for this situation to remain the same. Respondent 3 says about this:

"I think that.. most people who spend a lot of time in the music scene also have regular job alongside it. Only a few can.. and want to make a living in electronic music. Of course, it is possible to make money in the hospitality industry, but that's with the sales of beverages... most people just don't see their scene activity as work, you see?"

This perfectly aligns with the discoveries of Kühn (2015) in Berlin's techno scene, where he noticed that under participants in the scene "money mainly exists to make their lives possible…through this [earnings] they will be able to ideally pursue their personal goals in artistic freedom (p. 283)". However, it should also be noted that among the interviewees there has been relatively frequent remarks about the changing work ethic in the Dutch dance scenes. Three out of seven interviewees specifically expressed their concerns about the consequences of commercializing of the local dance scenes, even though this was not part of the initial interview script. The fear that lives amongst the interviewees is that the informal and voluntary character of the scene might make way for a more business and efficiency-oriented organization of the scene. According to respondent 4:

"Sure, that's just a sign that the financial interests are growing. And yes, that is healthy, that the industry is growing, but am I happy with it? …. I don't feel like taking an even more businesslike approach to it all."

Although this entrepreneur earns his living in the nightlife, he still has reservations about further professionalizing the industry in which he works. Although this could bring him more money, it is apparently not (yet) worth it to him. He's not the only one implicitly expressing this concern. Two of his colleagues in this study also make similar statements. Apparently, the usual informality and the limited degree of professionalism work well for them as it does now.

4.1.3. Lifestyle

The quote above indicates already that for some lack of pure business-orientation in the scene is a virtue. It is a recurring pattern in the data that escaping the daily routine of working, eating and sleeping has an, as respondent 1 one puts it; "refreshing and inspiring effect". Except for respondent 4, the people interviewed in this research are all full-time professionally active in (the facilitation of) the night-time economy, yet they still recognize the undeniable value of escaping in a leisurely night out on the town. All respondents, implicitly or explicitly, indicate that in the underground dance scene enables them to show a "side of themselves that is less appreciated during the week" (respondent 7) or that they appreciate the fact that "during the weekend everyone treats each other as equals" (respondent 2). With these statements they hinted at the advantages of taking on their scene identity. Although Bennet (2000) claimed that those who are at the core of a music scene never take off their scene identity, these citations do show that the

interviewees experience something like a weekday- and a weekend identity, or in Bennet's words a scene- and non-scene identity. The explanation for this practice is that during the week the respondents are mainly busy with the preparations for (the facilitations of) the dance events. These preparations include activities that are not specifically related to the dance scene, such as planning and finance.

Respondent 3 therefore felt as if she "comes home after a long week of work", when the weekend starts, and she could mingle again with peers. With these peers she shares a certain lifestyle, that adheres to their own set of social norms, traditions and linguistic patterns (Bennet & Peterson 2004; Hesmondhalgh, 2005; Leach & Haunss, 2008; McLeod, 2018). It is apparent that, for respondents in this research, the contact with people from within the scene seem to cost less effort than the contact with people outside the scene because of this lifestyle with its distinct social norms, traditions and linguistic patterns. Respondent 3 translated this reuniting with people with a shared lifestyle as a home-coming feeling.

Part of this lifestyle is an open-minded approach to the use of alcohol and drugs. The relative acceptance of psychotropic substances relates directly to the early days in which minorities could freely express themselves on the dance floor. The moral panic that broke out in the Dutch media in the 1990s has not made alcohol and drug use a taboo in the underground dance scene. But when asked, all respondents stated that the underground dance scene still has a somewhat negative image because of the negative media attention back in the day. When asked about their experiences with the use of alcohol and drugs in the underground dance scene, six out of the seven respondents indicated that in their experience the core scene members do not excessively consume alcohol nor drugs:

"Heavy drinking, drugs, violence, you name it. Mainly people who never visit [electronic music] parties still associate this with our scene." (respondent 7)

Whether the participants observations about the use of mind-altering substances in the underground dance scene are reliable is up to debate. Gelder (2007) described how subcultures tend to have links with excesses and exaggeration as well as an aversion to the banality of ordinary life. What is considered normal behavior within this subculture may therefore differ from the societal standards for normal behavior. Nevertheless, amongst participants in this research the open-mindedness, towards topics such as, but not exclusively, sexuality and drug

use, is regarded as something to cherish.

In order to find out the socio-cultural impact of the underground dance scene, the participants were asked what they would miss in the city if this scene did not exist. Also, cross-reference questions were asked. It turned out that there was no unanimous answer. Seven interviewees gave seven different answers, ranging from creativity to tolerance and from employment opportunities to city attractiveness. Prior to this research it was assumed that the value of the underground dance scene was multi-faceted. However, it could not be predicted that there would be such a variety of responses. Perhaps, because the development from a minority scene into an accepted scene could take place without concessions to the moral standards, the socio-cultural impact of this particular music scene lies precisely in the variety of values it represents. Sporadic visitors and tourists in the scene don not have to feel the pressure to dress or act in a certain way, there is room for everyone, and if, despite the bad image, one decides to take the step to participate in this scene, then it turns out the people don't exhibit such deviant behavior at all, if you keep the subcultural set of norms and values in mind.

4.2. Role of the night-time economy in big Dutch cities

During conversations with stakeholders in the underground dance scene, it was often pointed out that it is not only their scene that lacks recognition. A recurrent remark was that there seems to be too little existing knowledge about the value(s) of the night-time economy as a whole. According to the respondents, the most important socio-cultural impact of the night-time economy lies in its contribution to social cohesion, employment and development in - and attractiveness of the city.

4.2.1. Social cohesion

The interviewees from the underground dance scene indicated in the previous chapter that tolerance, love for the music and lifestyle were the main reasons to appreciate their scene. In a larger picture, however, the participants also sketched an image that described the value of their dance scene for the city; namely, that the coexistence of different scenes creates the necessary coherence in societies. How a diverse and lively night-time economy contributes to social cohesion was expressed by respondent 3 in the following quote:

"I come from a religious family. My parents are Muslims. They raised me, I think, fairly strict. For me, my first steps in the nightlife mainly meant that I suddenly met people from completely different backgrounds than mine. I have learned so much about people, but also about myself, because of this"

Apparently, for respondent 3, nightlife was pre-eminently the place where she encountered people from a background other than her own. That she indicated that this contact provided her with new insights about others, but also about herself, can be translated as that she accumulated social capital through her participation in the nightlife (Bourdieu, 1986). A more philosophical reading is that the participation in the nightlife scenes contributed to her ability to be part of society, in the sense that she learned about the different people in society, but by doing so she simultaneously learned about herself and her role in society.

The nightclubs play an important role in the city, and in the dance scene, because they are the meeting places for like-minded people. The prevailing subculture, in which different norms apply than in the rest of society, ensures that the nightclubs can serve as a refuge for those who feel marginalized or excluded. Although the respondents indicated that they consider the underground dance scene to be very tolerant, they noted that in general there seems to be less of a hierarchical society at night. The following quote from respondent 1 endorses this:

"In general, I notice that in the night it matters less where you come from or what you do. Everyone lives more in the moment [at night], and thus forgets the nagging of the day".

Apparently, it's not an underground dance scene's unique characteristic to be open - and to have respect for others. One of the centuries-old connotations of the night is that it is deemed mysterious. According to the interviewees in this research, the mysterious night, more than the day, brings and keeps people together. The night is, in the words of Melechi (1993), a place where nobody is, but everybody belongs.

4.2.2. Employment

"[You ask me] What the main impact of nightlife is? That it generates work!"

This clear reaction was from respondent 7. He is the founding father and owner of BAR, one of the most important nightclubs of Rotterdam in recent years. With this background information, his reaction is easier to understand: he has work, and can employ a team of 25 people, because

there is a night-time economy in Rotterdam. However, Respondent 7 is far from being the only one who believes that a lively night-time economy contributes to employment in the city; respondents 1, 2, 3 and 5 also mention employment as a key impact of the night-time economy.

The way in which the various respondents feel that the night-time economy contributes to employment does differ. There are two respondents who mainly focus on the people who earn their income directly in the venues that are open at night, such as DJs, programmers of nightclubs and barkeepers who work at night. Respondents 1, 2 and 7, however, see the employment which is (partly) created by the night-time economy as broader range of occupations. These interviewees indicate that related industries experience monetary benefits from the liveliness of the night as well. Examples of occupations that they mention include, but are not limited to; graphic designers, photographers, website developers, dancers and taxi drivers.

A small experimental element was present in the interview design: respondents were asked to list as many jobs as possible that are (partly) dependent on nightlife. The seven respondents came up with the following list: bar keepers, dancers, artists, booking agents, DJs, VJs, photographers, videographers, stage managers, music producers, distributors, cleaners, security, programmer, communications, marketing, architecture, fashion designers, production staff, financial controllers, light and sound designers, technicians, cocktail shakers, creative directors, general directors, graphic design, cab driver, journalists, record store owners, make-up artists, radio show hosts, wardrobe staff, toilet ladies and men, policy makers, night mayors, promoters, decoration team, website developers and even police.

4.2.3. Personal development

Besides the fact that a lot of data points to the direct and indirect employment that the night-time economy creates in Dutch cities, there are also indications that hint towards the multifaceted talent development that is facilitated by the presence of a lively night-time economy. Respondent 1 notes that:

"The period in my life that I learned the most was when I ran Kondo [former nightclub in Amsterdam]. Man… at that time I developed in the areas of management, accounting, socially, creatively and also…. I really got to know myself."

The development of respondent 1 in several areas is strongly related to the DIY culture that prevails in the underground dance scene and the characteristics of working in the creative industry. The intrinsic motivation of the participants makes them feel responsible for the final product (Caves, 2000; Hemment, 1998). The bureaucratic hurdles, or 'red taping', in which each person only feels responsible for his or her own task, is rather small, as is illustrated in the following quote of respondent 4:

"We're not going home until everything's clean. We make a mess [of the club] together, we clean it up together. That's how you develop friendships for life, boy."

This statement indicates that the development that takes place during the night is not necessarily of a professional nature. Social development also takes place during the night. If it weren't for getting to know people from a different background, or for interfering in a subculture in which different norms and values apply, social development finds place because from time to time working in nightlife is hard work. And, according to respondent 4, this leads to friendships that last for life.

Next to the accelerator of non-professional personal development, nightclubs serve as stages for many beginning artists as well. Certain artists develop their professional skills in nightclubs because exhibit, practice or perform for an audience here. In the last years a trend occurred in which the traditional discotheque, in which there was at a stage for a DJ, VJ, performance artists and dancers, is being replaced by multi-functional venues that do not only organize nightclub evenings during the weekends, but where there are other artistic exhibitions during the week. The multifunctionality of nowadays venues assures that painters, photographers and other visual artists can also exhibit and develop here.

Although these artists cannot (yet) fully live off their art, in many cases this is what they strive for. Since nightclubs use a diverse range of specialized work forces to create an event, many beginning artists use the nightclubs' events as an opportunity to show themselves to the public and develop their professional skills.

4.2.4. Attracting the creative class

Large Dutch cities are engaged in a competition to attract the members of the higher socio-economic classes. The amenities in the cities are therefore organized in such a way that the creative class feels attracted to settle in a certain place. According to the respondents in this study, the vibrancy and diversity of the local nightlife is not only essential to attract creative and ambitious people, but also keep these creatives from moving to other cities. In the opinion of respondent 7, Amsterdam is, at the moment, doing a better job when it comes to facilitating the creatives:

"The top [key players] of the creative industry, well they like to be together, because then they can work together and learn from each other. And yes, that's why the most ambitious Rotterdammers in our field of work are still moving to Amsterdam."

This quote shows that even in the Netherlands, where the distances are not very big, the proximity of peers can still be a legit reason to move to another city. The above quote already lists three reasons why professionals like to live and work near their peers: being together with like-minded people, proximity of work and the opportunity to learn from peers. This finding correlate directly with the theory of Lorenzen and Frederiksen (2013) on clustering. In addition to this, respondent 3 pointed out that:

"Both friendship and ideas are often born in nightclubs, or at afterparties"

This indicates that the knowledge spillovers that cause positive externalities for entrepreneurs in a certain area do not just occur during daytime. Which aligns perfectly with Florida's (2002) description of the preference of the creative class not to work the regular 9-5 and Dijksterhuis' (2008) theory about the 'third place' as the birthplace for innovations. Most of the interviewees, if not all, in this study are part of the by Florida described creative class, which primary goal is to create and implement creative ideas, when asked what the night-time economy has given them respondent 7 answered the following:

"Everything man, my work, my wife, I met her at a night out, a bit over ten years ago. Now… we have a son, who is turning 3 in a couple of weeks"

And, another striking quote that underlines the importance of the night-time economy in these creatives' lives, this time by respondent 6:

"At night, I get inspired. This [inspiration from a night out on the town] makes that I can do the work that I do. Also, sometimes, I look forward to the weekend during my work, that keeps me going [laughs]."

From these statements we can be deduct that nightlife has made, and still makes, an essential contribution to the lives of these two respondents. All the other respondents indicated, albeit in a less impressive way, that nightlife had a major, and only positive, impact on their lives. It can therefore be concluded that the variety and liveliness of nightlife in a particular city is indeed a factor in determining where to live for the creative class.

4.2.5. Attracting tourists

Throughout this research another audience was identified that is particularly drawn to big Dutch cities because of the local nightlife: tourists. Respondents agreed that a lively city at night can result in tourists, especially younger ones, visiting a city. Whether this is what the respondents want to see in their cities, however, is another matter.

Especially Amsterdam has a good name when it comes to nightlife. Internationally, the capital of the Netherlands is considered to be one of the electronic music capitals of the world and is mentioned in the same breath as Berlin, London and Ibiza. The Amsterdam Dance Event (ADE), which is the largest dance conference in the world, hosts more than 2,500 artists a year, spread over approximately 1,000 events. This five-day spectacle attracts more than 400,000 paying visitors from all over the world. This does not go unnoticed:

"Imagine the economic shock impact of a week of ADE, the whole city's making money out of that."   - respondent 1

The research carried out by the Club Commission (2019) in Berlin conducted indeed showed that the money spent by this type of 'dance tourists' goes to a variety of related industries, such as hostels, restaurants and tour operators. Although 5 out of 7 respondents indicate that a lively night-time economy can cause tourists to pay a visit to a certain city, opinions on the desirability of this are divided. All five respondents recognize that attracting tourists brings in money, but there are also critical comments, for example from respondent 4:

"Every weekend there are party tourists coming to our city. Look, as a businessman, I'm fine with it, of course, but we shouldn't let things go out of hand."

Now is it the case that Amsterdam, with its outdated infrastructure, attracts huge numbers of tourists even without the party tourists. The discussion about tourism is much more present in the capital of the Netherlands than it is in Rotterdam. Two participants from Rotterdam described the existence of dance tourism, but remarkable enough, these participants (5 and 7) did not relate this to Rotterdam at all. Both touched upon the notions of dance tourism when describing their experiences as tourists in Berlin, which is still, and might always be, the poor but sexy dance capital of the world.

Nightlife seems to fulfil a major social function in the city because participating in the underground dance scene, or another music scene, creates a sense of belonging among residents. At the same time, there the participants notice that the night-time economy offers opportunities to develop, both professionally and personally. Besides this, it is noted that a lively night-time economy contributes to attracting and keeping the creative class in the city, as well as attracting tourists to a certain city. According to the participants in this study, the socio-cultural impact of nightlife therefore lies in its contribution to social cohesion, employment, personal development and attractiveness to both the creative class and tourists.

4.3. Appreciation night-time economy by inhabitants

By means of a quantitative study, an attempt was made to find out what the socio-cultural impact of the night-time economy is on the individual. A total of 381 people responded to the survey. The ages of the respondents are divided as follows:

Age	Respondents	Percentage
18-20	39	10.2
21-25	125	32.8
26-30	84	22
31-35	57	15
36-40	37	9.7
41-45	21	5.5
45+	14	3.7
Other	1	0.3

Image 2. Age groups respondents

Image 2 shows that the sample population of the survey is fairly mixed in terms of ages. Since the survey was distributed via the social media channels of the researcher, who is himself 25 years old at the time of writing, it is no surprise that the largest representation in terms of ages are in groups of 21-25 and 26-30 years old. Of the respondents, 35.4% identifies as male and 58.5% as female. The remaining number of participants identifies themselves as "different" than male or female.

The largest group of respondents indicates that they go out once or twice a month; this group represents 29.3% of the participants in the survey. The second largest group, 27.2%, indicates to go out 3 or 4 times a month. The respondents indicated that they went to bars and cafés most often, followed by dance clubs and discotheques:

How often do you participate in the night-time economy on a monthly basis?

- Between 0 and 1 time
- Between 1 and 2 times
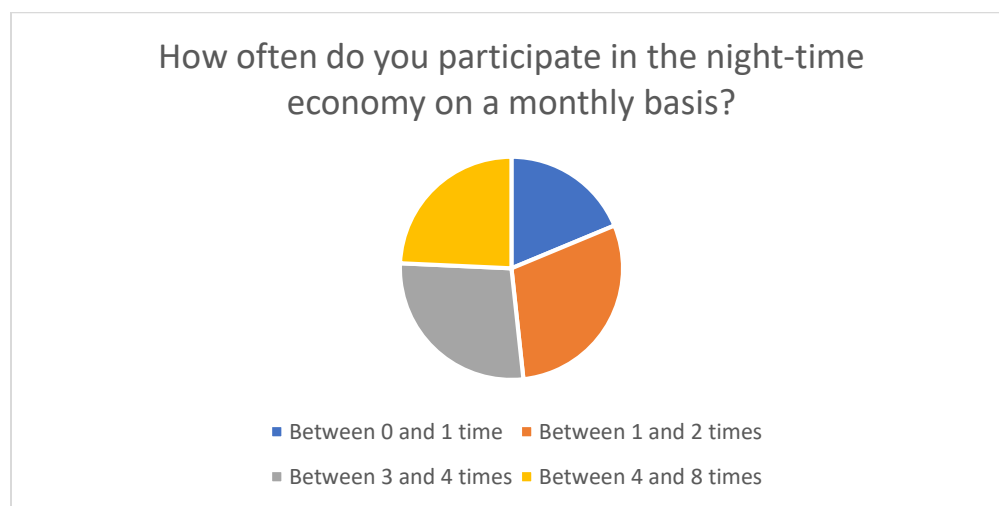- Between 3 and 4 times
- Between 4 and 8 times

Image 3. Frequency of participating in the night-time economy

The most common reasons to participate in the night life are to be with friends (85%), to dance (63.7%), to listen to music (61.7%) and to relax (60.9%). Participants could pick more than one answer to this question. By using the option to add answers, a total of 26 different answers were voted. In the original survey, 20 possibilities were presented. These results show that the social aspect is an important reason for a large proportion of people who are going out at night. Also, as we have seen in the valuation of the underground dance scene, is dancing to the music, or the love for the music, an important reason to participate in nightlife.

Furthermore, the survey results show that no less than 42.2% of the respondents think that going out has (had) a 'big' influence on their development as a person. In addition, 24.4% of the respondents indicated that going out even has (had) a 'very large' influence on their

development. Together this is 66.6%, so two-third of the respondents think that nightlife has a 'big' or even 'very big' influence on their own development. See the graph below:
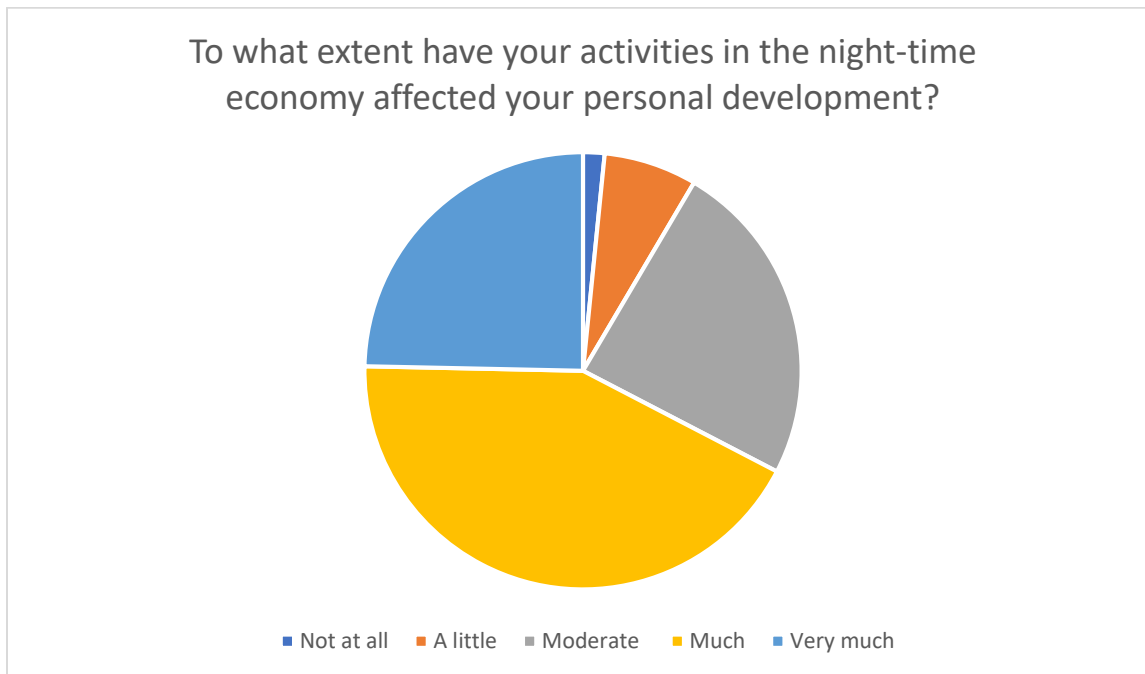

Image 4. Influence nightlife op personal development

These results are in line with the results as presented in section 4.2.3 'Development'. It appears that nightlife has a significant impact on personal development, both for those who are professionally active in nightlife and for those who come to nightlife in their leisure time. It is therefore not a huge surprise that the participants of this quantitative study value the importance of a vibrant and diverse positively. On a Likert scale, in which 10 stood for 'indispensable' and 0 for 'irrelevant', the participants in this study rate nightlife with an average of 7.93.

The data from the results largely corresponded to the data collected through interviews. Both showed that the impact of nightlife is very varied and not easy to assess. It also turned out that the impact, whatever form it takes, is described as influential on both an individual as a meta-level. There seems to be sufficient reason to keep spaces for nightlife in our cities of tomorrow, although the opportunity costs of these spaces are not taken into account in this research. Perhaps future research will be able to better specify the exact socio-cultural impact of the night-time economy. In any case, this research has made it clear that it is necessary to look in the direction of social cohesion, employment and development in - and the attractiveness of the city.

5. Conclusions

This section provides a final answer to the research question and sub question. The summary and discussion of the findings is followed by a brief note on the research implications and limitations. Lastly, recommendations are suggested for further research into this topic.

5.1. Summary and discussion of findings

This research has not shown that the underground dance scene causes one unambiguous socio-cultural impact in large Dutch cities. During the research it became clear that the participants in this research effortless and unconsciously switched between the socio-cultural impact of the underground dance scene and the impact of nightlife as a whole. According to the participants, there is a lot of overlap between the impacts of the two. For the participants of the underground dance scene, the main reasons to participate in this scene are that the members are tolerant, have a love for music and share a lifestyle in which subcultural norms and values apply that they relate to.

This research observes that the own subculture with its associated means of communication and norms and values is noticed and appreciated by the participants of the underground dance scene. The existence of these subcultural standards in the underground dance scene is in line with theories of Bennet and Peterson (2004) and Hesmondhalgh (2005), among others. The tolerance that is considered normal in the underground dance scene feels like a warm bath for the interviewees. This tolerance originates from the early years of the underground dance scene as a minority scene. An important reason why the ethos of that far-gone time, that revolved around notions of peace, love, unity and respect, has not yet changed rigorously is because most participants in the scene are still more intrinsically than extrinsically motivated. Although good money can be made with dance nowadays, it can be concluded that monetary rewards are not yet the main reason for participating in the scene and, more importantly, that this should not become the main reason according to the interviewees.

The presence of different music scenes provides the opportunity to residents of large cities to experience a sense of belonging within a particular scene where they encounter the music, people and values of their preference. The nightclubs play an important role in the underground dance scene, but probably in other nocturnal music scenes as well, as a workplace, a breeding ground for talent and as a 'third place'. The data shows patterns that hint at the

function of nightclubs as 'third places', in which people, friendships and ideas develop. Which is exactly as Dijksterhuis (2008) describes in his theory on 'third places' as accelerators of innovation. This observation is also confirmed by the 381 participants in the survey. They value the role of nightlife in their personal development with a 7.93 on a Likert scale of 1 to 10.

Furthermore, a varied and lively cultural offer in the nightlife sector ensures that the creative class settles more quickly in a certain city, but also that tourism increases in some cases. The latter aspect is not yet recognized in Rotterdam and, on the other hand, is not applauded in Amsterdam. The participants from both Rotterdam and Amsterdam stated that a lively nightlife contributes to the attractiveness of the city for the socio-economic classes that are desirable to have in your city. The given reasons why the proximity of people working in related industries contributes to your professional opportunities are that collaboration and learning from colleagues is facilitated by the presence in the same area. This clustering of knowledge and skills ensures that professionals sporadically interact both during the day and at night in bars, cafes, restaurants and nightclubs. The participants in this study confirmed that knowledge spillovers take place in these kind of places during both the daytime and night-time, as was suggested in the theories of Lorenzen & Frederiksen (2013) and Dijksterhuis (2008), among others.

From the data arising from this research can be concluded that the multifaceted socio-cultural impacts of nightlife on the inhabitants of large Dutch cities lies in its contribution to social cohesion, development and employment in - and attractiveness of - cities. The data, collected through both qualitative and quantitative research, has shown distinctive patterns that point to a varied socio-cultural impact of the underground dance scene and nightlife on the inhabitants of big Dutch cities. Unfortunately, this research does not yet provide an exact answer to the research question: "*what is the socio-cultural impact of the underground dance scenes on the inhabitants of Dutch cities*". However, this research offers a good starting point for further research. The insight that is gained throughout this research about the difficulty of treating the underground dance scene and the nightlife separately, is already sufficient reason to delve deeper into the socio-cultural impacts of music scenes and/or the night-time economy.

5.2. Research implications and limitations

Several implications occurred during the mixed methods research that underlies the conclusions of this research. First, the fact that the participants in the semi-structured interviews switched

effortlessly and carelessly between the socio-cultural impact of the underground dance scene and nightlife as a whole. This was not expected, nor anticipated in time, and meant that the research was less focused than previously been hoped, and aimed, for. Secondly, the sample group of the qualitative research is somewhat unbalanced because it became apparent that the night mayor of Rotterdam was unable to do an interview. Looking back, it can also be concluded that more time could, and should, have been invested in the gathering and analyzation of the quantitative data. Due to time constraints, not all quantitative data have been developed and analyzed in the same extensive detail.

5.3. Recommendations for further research

Since the research has shown that the social-cultural impact of the underground dance scene lies in the social cohesion, employment, development in - and attractiveness of - the city, the main suggestion for further is to delve more deeply on one of these four core impacts. In order to succeed in finding out what these impacts consist of exactly, a narrower research focus will have to be applied. Improvements in the research can be made if a single subgenre, such as 'industrial techno', is taken within the underground dance genre and actors who are active in this niche are spoken with. Although, even if these actors in a niche industry are found, it still must be clearly communicated, and probably repeated, that such as research is on the impact of this specific subgenre of underground electronic music and not about dance music as an overarching genre, or even the nightlife as a whole.

On a completely different note: economic impact studies of nightlife can provide insight into the economic value of nightlife. Very little is known about this value of nightlife and music scenes. If it were possible to express the contribution of nightlife, or a specific nightlife music scene, in social cohesion, development, employment and attractiveness in economic terms, this would be an enormous contribution to the existing knowledge about the night-time economy and music scenes.

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Appendix 1: Overview of the interviewees

Respondent	Gender	Role	City	Characteristics
1	M	Night mayor's project manager	Amsterdam	27 y/o, journalist, BA Media & Entertainment
2	M	Former night mayor	Amsterdam	38 y/o, creative director, BA Communication
3	F	Policy maker	Amsterdam	25-35 y/o, civil servant, MSc Sociology,
4	M	Venue Owner	Amsterdam	35 y/o, entrepreneur, BA Leisure Management
5	M	Event organizer	Rotterdam	30 y/o, programmer, creative director
6	F	Policy maker	Rotterdam	35 y/o, civil servant, MA Cultural Management
7	M	Venue owner	Rotterdam	36 y/o, entrepreneur, father of a son

Appendix 2: Semi-structured interview script

1. Wat heeft het nachtleven jou gebracht/gegeven?
   a. Hoe?
2. Wat heeft het nachtleven Amsterdam/ Rotterdam gebracht/gegeven?
   a. Hoezo?
3. Kun je een korte samenvatting geven over de geschiedenis van het lokale underground dance scene?
   a. Waaruit bestaat de underground dance scene volgens jou?
   b. En waaruit bestaat het nachtleven volgens jou?
4. Kun je jou perfecte nacht uit beschrijven?
   a. Wat voor mensen kom je tegen in het nachtleven?
   b. Hoe verschilt dit met de mensen die je overdag tegenkomt?
5. Voor welke (groepen) mensen die in Amsterdam/Rotterdam komen of wonen is het nachtleven het belangrijkst?
   a. Is het lokale nachtleven belangrijker voor mensen die wekelijks uitgaan of voor mensen die 12 of minder keer per jaar uitgaan?
   b. Welke andere groepen voelen zich aangetrokken tot het nachtleven?
6. Kun je in een minuut de banen opnoemen die een bruisend nachtleven creëert? [experiment]
7. Welke stereotypen rusten er op het nachtleven volgens jou?
   a. En, welke stereotypen rusten er specifiek op de underground dance scene?
8. Wat maakt de underground dance scene speciaal?
   a. Waarom?
   b. Vind je dit terug in andere muziek scenes?
9. In welke steden vind jij dat het nachtleven goed georganiseerd is en dus echt leeft?
   a. Hoezo?
10. Is de diversiteit in het nachtleven toegenomen?
    a. Wat kan de rol van nachtleven zijn in stedelijke ontwikkeling?

i. Kun je aspecten van de stad opnoemen die beïnvloed worden door nachtleven?

ii. Welke aspecten van stad worden negatief beïnvloed?

11. Kun jij aangeven wat belangrijkste verschillen zijn tussen Rotterdam en Amsterdam op het gebied van nachtleven?

    a. Wat kan Rotterdam van Amsterdam leren?

    b. En andersom?

12. Verklaring voor mogelijke verschillen en overeenkomsten?

13. Speelt het nachtleven een rol in de city-marketing van jou stad?

    a. Welke?

    b. Hoe manifesteert zich dit?

14. Wat is de belangrijkste toegevoegde waarde van een bruisend nachtleven voor een moderne westerse stad?

    a. En welke andere impact heeft het nachtleven op inwoners?

15. Welke andere impact heeft het nachtleven nog meer op de stad?

Appendix 3: Survey

1. Hoe vaak ga je per maand uit?
   a. 0-1 keer
   b. 1-2 keer
   c. 3-4 keer
   d. 4-8 keer

2. Wat voor uitgaansgelegenheden bezoek je het meest?
   a. Danceclubs en discotheken
   b. Live muzieklocaties
   c. Bars en cafes

3. Als je naar een dance of discotheek gaat, welke muziek heeft jouw voorkeur? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)
   a. Electronische muziek
   b. Urban
   c. Soul of Funk
   d. Pop
   e. Eclectisch
   f. Nederlandstalig
   g. 80's, 90's en 00's
   h. Rock
   i. Hardcore
   j. Techno
   k. Disco
   l. EDM
   m. Anders

4. Waarom ga/ging je uit? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)
   a. Om met vrienden te zijn
   b. Ontspanning
   c. Om nieuwe mensen te leren kennen
   d. Nieuwe ervaringen/indrukken opdoen
   e. Ontsnappen uit de dagelijkse sleur

  f. Omdat ik dan mezelf kan zijn

  g. Voor de muziek

  h. Om te dansen

  i. Om vrij te zijn

  j. Om grenzen op te zoeken

  k. Om emoties kwijt te kunnen

  l. Om geïnspireerd te raken

  m. Voor one-night stands

  n. Om met gelijkgestemden te zijn

5. Ga je liever uit of blijf je liever thuis?

  a. Thuis

  b. Uit

5.1 Waarom?

6. Kun je aangeven in hoeverre jij vindt dat uitgaan en wat je daar ervaart invloed heeft (gehad) op jouw ontwikkeling als persoon

  a. Zeer weinig

  b. Weinig

  c. Gemiddeld

  d. Veel

  e. Zeer veel

7. Kan je aangeven in hoeverre jij vindt dat de letterlijke omgeving van de nacht (dus het donker, na 00.00) invloed heeft op jouw beleving van uitgaan?

  a. Zeer weinig

  b. Weinig

  c. Gemiddeld

  d. Veel

  e. Zeer veel

8. Wat komt dichter bij jouw ideale zelfbeeld, hoe je bent in de nacht, of hoe je bent overdag?

  a. Nacht

  b. Dag

  c. Geen verschil

  8.1 Waarom?

9. Hoe belangrijk is een divers en bruisend nachtleven voor jou als individu op een schaal van 1 tot 10?

10. Hoe vaak ga je per maand naar culturele instellingen overdag? Denk aan musea, exposities, theater, concerten enzovoorts

  a. 0-1 keer

  b. 1-2 keer

  c. 3-4 keer

  d. 4-8 keer

  e. 8+

11. In hoeverre heeft het uitgaansleven invloed op jou keuze om ergens te wonen op een schaal van 1 tot 10?

12. Wat is belangrijker voor jou: een goed leef en woonklimaat in de stad, of een bruisend nachtleven?

  a. Leef en woonklimaat

  b. Bruisend nachtleven

  c. Beide even belangrijk

  d. Anders

13. Wat is je geslacht?

  a. Man

  b. Vrouw

  c. Anders

14. Wat is je leeftijd?

  a. 18-20

  b. 21-25

  c. 26-30

  d. 31-35

  e. 36-40

  f. 41-45

  g. Anders