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Abstract.

Night leisure has been becoming a central economic sector in contemporary cities. It has a social and cultural importance, too. In the following notes, it is introducing a research on night leisure in Salerno, a Southern Italy's medium city. This phenomenon has been naming 'movida' by the local press and it characterises the Salerno's economic and social life. The research has conducted in the field through many interviews and the method of participating observation.

1. Introduction

Salerno is a Southern Italy's town, with a population of about 150,000, situated at 50 km. from Naples.

Salerno had occupied a marginal economic position from the Post-war period to 1980s. During 1990s it has been changed by important social, territorial and economic transformations connected to the processes of globalisation that have made it become a less marginal locality more a city with a regional relevance.

In these processes, the growth of a night leisure sector has been very important and it represents the object of the present research. Night leisure constitutes the fundamental part of the night-time economy:

The festivals, a cultural initiatives aimed at bringing people back into the city, the office and residential developments that either incorporated or pointed to the cultural facilities of the centre, the promotion of the city as a culturally vibrant realm - all these explicitly or unconsciously incorporated the idea of the night-life of the city, a realm of play, of socialisation, of encounter and of evasion associated with the night-time (Lovatt-O'Connor 1995:132).

It represents a typical economic and cultural sector in the contemporary city. In the post-industrial cities, the economic activities based upon symbolic production and cultural circulation have become increasingly important. Cities are reinventing themselves as site of production and consumption of leisure (Zukin 1991; Hanningan 1998). Thus, the night-time economic and leisure activities have become central features in the contemporary cities, above all for cities that try to promote their own image, to improve their competitiveness. Salerno has followed a similar direction, like other urban contexts, where:

Local governments have come to regard cultural products and activities as an important source of post-industrial competitiveness, prosperity and urban regeneration (Hobbs-Lister-Hadfield-Winlow-Hall 2000:703)

2. Methods

The research has been conducted in the field through many interviews to 30 privileged witnesses (managers, organisers, entrepreneurs, journalists, workers, clubbers, dwellings) and the method of participating observation.

Each interview was tape recorded and transcribed. The texts were classified in relation with an array of significant variables and it had represented an array of qualitative data. The participating observation was done in typical places, like night-clubs and discos, and it had permitted to realise a lot of informal conversations and discussions. Nevertheless, it was also useful to understand the structure of attributed social roles and status (Zelditch 1962).

Some secondary statistical data is integrated with the qualitative information. They regard entertainment expenses, economic data and the territorial basin that gravitates toward Salerno's leisure district.

3. Salerno: a city in the change

Salerno has been invested during 1990s from an array of transformations that have interested its urban configuration, economic structure and, in an interconnected way, the cultural web.

We can say that innovative planning instruments used by the local Public Administration have changed the urban form. The planning has favoured a process that has restructured the economic assets. Above all, the rise of entrepreneur activities in some post-industrial sectors has accompanied this change¹. Policies of urban gentrification have integrated this rise. They have involved important parts of the urban territory and, in particular way, the historic city centre.

The processes of gentrification are typical in contemporary cities (Elia 1996; Bridge 1994; Savage-Ward 1993). They transform physical spaces and their social and cultural meanings, acting on their economic values and have an effect on the spatial distribution of dwelling population. Furthermore, from a cultural point of view:

Gentrification has come to be regarded as the foremost expression of both a culture of consumption and a new, postmodern aesthetic lifestyle (Hannigan 1995:173)

In Salerno, the processes of gentrification have interested only a part of the historic city centre and they have particularly changed the composition of economic activities. In a few years, new small enterprises oriented to traditional and new handicraft and to the leisure sector, have displaced activities based on neighbourhood demand. Many shops have set up with the help of an UE program: Urban. The liberalisation of commerce in 1995,

¹ This and successive considerations regarded the economic structure are supported by empirical observations and some conversations with local economic operators, but no useful and up-to-date official economic data are available

realised by the city's government, has made it easy for hundreds of small activities (bars, restaurants, beer-houses, pizza-shops and other night-clubs) to start up. They started to work in the catering industry and in the youthful leisure field. This change has transformed some parts of Salerno in spaces that attract thousands of people every day², above all at the weekends and during summer holidays. They arrive from a vast hinterland, an urban area with more 1 million inhabitants. The local press has named the social phenomenon 'movida' since 1996. It represents the real existence of an array of economic activities and social and cultural practices, which had made Salerno an interesting leisure centre.

Within the local leisure sector, forms of work are heterogeneous and they are irregular or informal, in many cases. This is another typical trait of the new growing economic sectors in contemporary cities. Official data are not available but, during the research, an estimate of employment in the movida has been produced. It is based on total number of leisure economic activities and a hypothesis of employed for each type of activity. So, we can individuate about 113 activities, distinct in bars, discos, restaurants (Table 1).

Table 1. Leisure economic activities in the Movida and in Salerno

Type of activity	Movida areas (historic centre and disco's zone)	% on Salerno	Salerno (total)
Restaurants	25	27.7	90
Pizza-shops	14	27.4	51
Beer-houses and pubs	8	60.0	10
discobar and discopub	6	85.7	7
Bar	51	22.0	232
Small discos	5	100.0	5
Medium discos	4	100.0	4
pianobar	0	0	1
Total activities	113	28.25	400

source: elaboration on data of Pagine Gialle and Provincial Administration of Salerno

² We can label this population using a Martinotti's concept: they are city users (Martinotti 1993)

Table 2. Estimate of employed in the movida economic activities shared for type of activity

Type of activity	Total employed of the movida*	
	ipotesi bassa	ipotesi intermedia
Restaurants	50	100
Pizza-shops	21	49
bar	51	102
Small discos	40	90
Medium discos	96	180
Beer-houses and pubs, discobar and discopub	28	52
Other linked activities	200	300
total employed	486	873

source: our elaboration

With a prudent attitude, considering collateral economic activities but ignoring relations employed, we can see about one thousands of employed in the movida, sharing in some type of activities (Table 2 and Figures 1 and 2). They represent about 2% on total working population and 5.8% on unemployed population and have an heterogeneous status: for many interviews, a lot of workers are characterised by an informal or irregular status.

Figure 1. Estimate of employed in the Movida (low hypothesis)

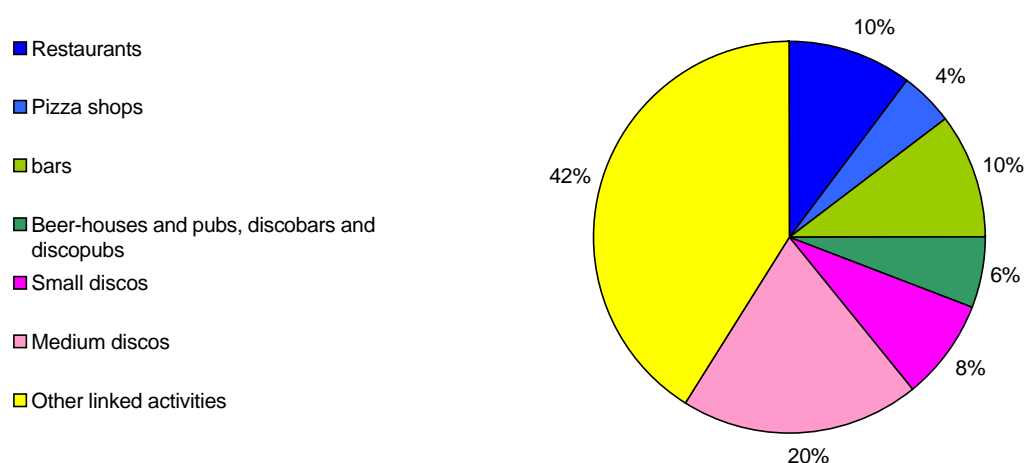
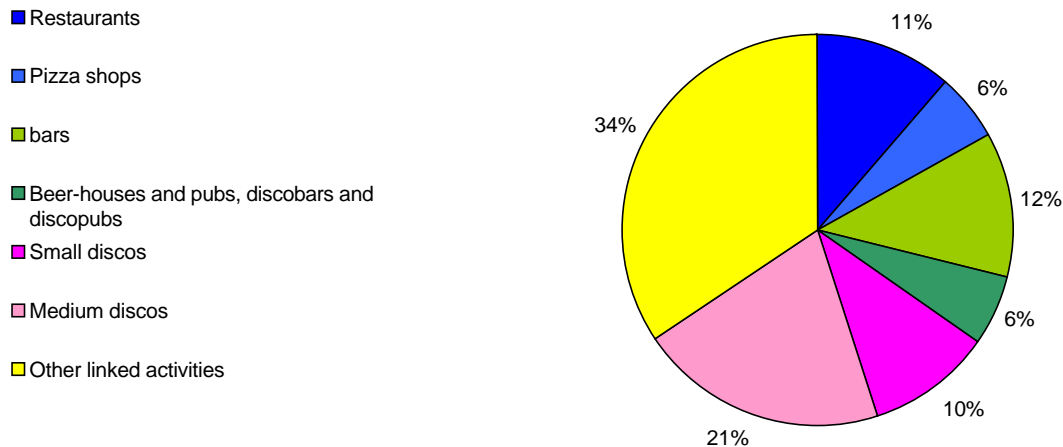


Figure 2. Estimate of employed in the Movida (medium hypothesis)



There is no regulation of contracts, nobody is regular, and there are no contracts.
(Giovanna, waitress)

The local rise of leisure activities follows a national trend but we have to read it remembering some Salerno's characters during 1990s. In brief, it is necessary to underline three elements, which are the preliminary statements to the birth and the rise of the 'Movida':

- 1) Salerno has lived an intense renewal action, which has interested the historic city Centre, above all. The local public administration had, and actually has, a fundamental role in this process and this action is finalised to incite private economic investments.
- 2) Salerno represents a gravitational centre of a medium size territorial basin, with a comprehensive population that varies from 900,000 to 1.1 million inhabitants (Censis 1999)³
- 3) The tourism section, considered in its different applications (congressional, youthful, cultural, familiar tourism), constitutes a priority axis for the local economic policy.

The economic sector of movida represents an important economic source but it is characterised by informal and precarious jobs, in many cases by low wages. However, these traits do not represent an anomaly. In accord with Sassen's analysis, they are structural conditions of the contemporary urban economy and represent new economic assets that we cannot resolve by a criminalizing strategy but inventing new mechanisms of regulation, new normative schemes:

Informalization emerges as a set of flexibility-maximizing strategies by individuals and firms, and consumers and producers, as a result of growing inequality in earnings and in profit-making capabilities. Its expansion invites us to focus on the broader set of problems in the relation between new economic trends and old regulatory framework (Sassen 1998)

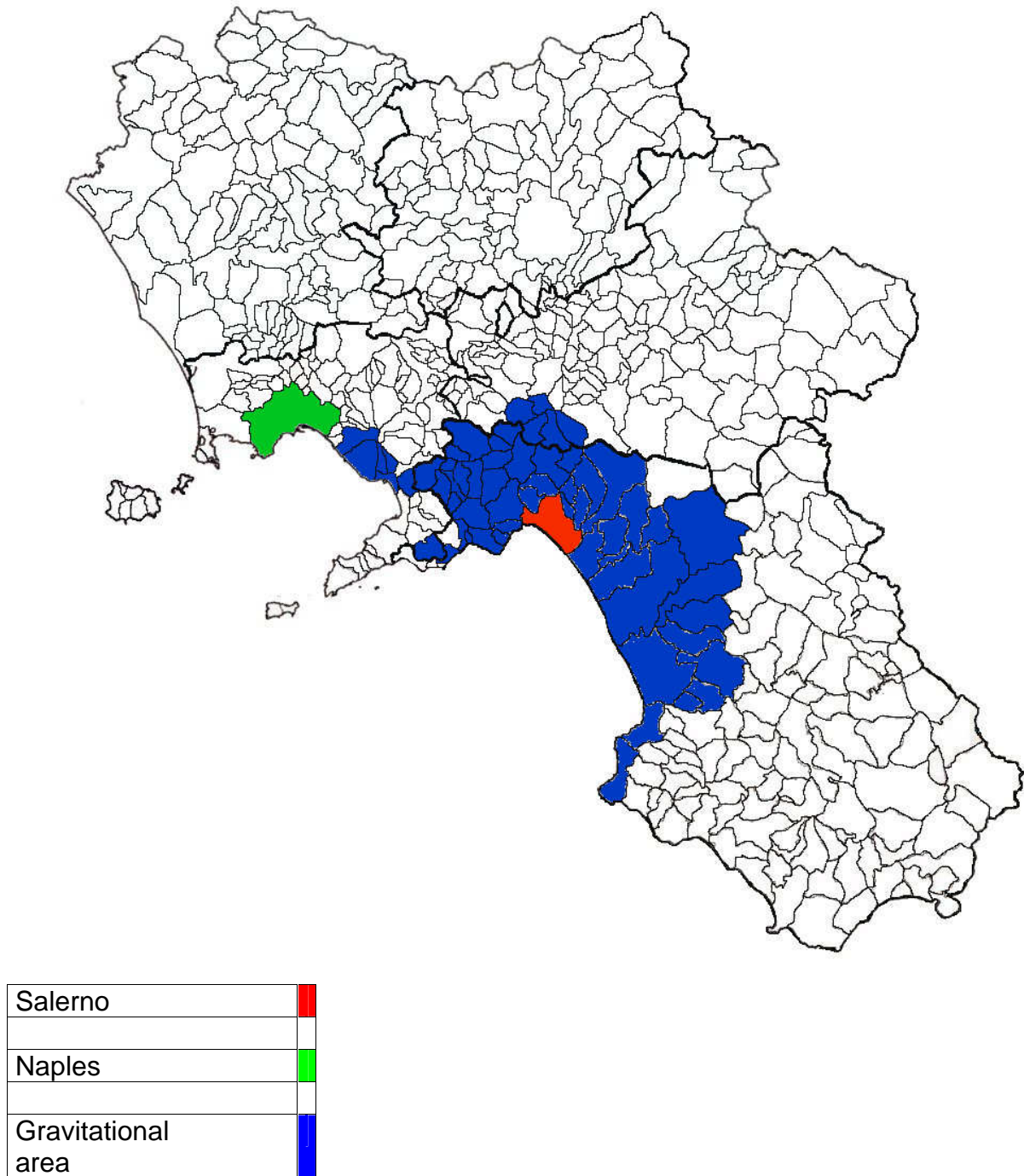
³ See figure 3

Table 3. Total working population in Salerno

	Total	%
Primary sector	1,848	3,9
Industrial sector	9,527	19,9
Service industries	36,522	76,2
Total	47,897	100
Employed	42,860	71,2
Unemployed	5,037	8,4
In search of a first employment	12,236	20,4
Total working population	60,133	100

source: Istat, 1991

Figure 3. Campania's Map
The gravitational area of the 'Movidà'



4. The different faces of the 'movidà'

Starting from this introduction, it is important a study of the economic, cultural and social aspects expressed by this sector. It has been improving its importance in the Southern Italy's productive structure, while it takes up a great position in Salerno. Following notes will dwell upon the night leisure in Salerno with a prevalent goal: pointing attention on some social practices and on cultural forms interrelated with such economic and symbolic-cultural activities. Firstly, it is necessary to consider the different spheres, which configure

the night activities and their social worlds. On one hand, a heterogeneous people occupy the demand. They frequent the local clubs, bars, beer-houses and discos with different cultural forms; different consumption styles and express some different requests.

On the other hand, there is a general and growing supply. It is composed through an array of economic activities, which forms an articulated structure, with entrepreneurs, managers and a growing division of labour. A multiplicity of operators is involved, with different roles, functions, thoughts and powers. They are stratified in a hierarchy, dipped in a network of information, characterised by high levels of informality.

A particular group is active in this hierarchy and links demands and supplies. It is formed by managers, organisers and, in some cases, entrepreneurs that realise a role of 'cultural intermediaries' (Bourdieu 1983:367-375). They put in act a strict relation between their individual representation on the scene and the image of disco or night-club where they work. Movida-goers attribute them a specific organising and leisure style. In effect, individuals of this group realise an opinion leader function in the night leisure's experience. Cultural intermediaries are engaged "in offering like an example their art of life" (Bourdieu 1983:373). In this way, they represent the legitimate way of life in the movida. They produce and reproduce legitimate leisure schemes and, in this way, condition the symbolic struggles to determine the shared and dominating life-style of the night. In this fight it is produced a differentiation, that concerns the social status and the ways of fruition and there is a correspondence with the typology of the night clubs. In fact, in disco people are selected and placed in a hierarchy, but it is operative a more important mechanism, the definition of situation (Goffman 1969), which regards the relation between the equipe of public and the equipe of operators:

The control [of other's behaviours] is above all obtained acting on the definition of situation formulated by the others (Goffman 1969:14).

The operators' action tends to classify and reduce the heterogeneity of people in their night-club or disco. In this way, they can control internal security but, above all, they affirm and, so, confirm the image of their disco or night-club. Each night the place tends to classify people and to impose a specific life style. It is active a homology among products and social groups, hence between supply and demand. These multiple homologies among cultural products and social groups produce different social and cultural tastes and, so, different symbolic systems. They constitute the basis for the processes of distinction. A game of mirrors acts in this mechanism. In this game, it is created a correspondence between discos and night-clubs' offer and customers' request. In effect, individual and groups behaviours are moved by a common feeling, which is oriented to search for affinities of tastes: this way of acting is not exclusive of Salerno, it represents a typical character of mass leisure experiences.

The research has verified that the sharing of cultural, musical and social tastes structures the groups in the night world. Tastes match and bring nearer individuals. This mechanism shows that fellow men search for and recognise fellow men, differentiation among groups gets stronger and each aggregation becomes stable.

Another point of observation concerns the relation among the city, examined as an identity and cultural structure, and the space-time orders and the cultural forms activated by the night leisure sector. In this way, we can see that there are processes of mutual conditioning between the general urban order and the specific urban forms. These processes take affect on two correspondent levels: the material level, which interests the

urban organisation and the symbolic level. As regards the latter, the leisure place can be seen as spaces, which participate to construct the collective identity. A singular club (or disco) or a whole leisure concentration area can be recognised like reference points, to build up a collective identity or the wide social groups identity. All of these elements has to be studied remembering the differences, which are active within this sector, between two different ecological areas, two 'moral regions' (Park 2000): the historic city centre and the suburban fraction that is named 'the discos' area'. The supply of the first area is organised around many night-clubs.

It presents two relevant forms of aggregation. On one hand, there is a diffusion of small, often exclusive groups, joined by the night leisure usage. On the other hand, the association forms are qualified for their type of interaction among groups of frequenters and the clubs' managers, within relation founded on processes of interpersonal linkage building. These processes are favoured by the clubs' management, oriented to create a regular clientele through direct and informal relations. In the local geography of night leisure, another zone is important, the 'discos' area', situated in the extreme city east side. As for the leisure supply of this zone, you can see that discos are prevalent than other type of places. It is different between these two city's zones: places of source, classes of age, consumption demands, behaviour styles and youthful forms of aggregation. Another distinction regards the clubs' typology and the central competencies and possibilities that are exercisable by the managers. The historic city centre is characterised by small clubs and a regular clientele. In the other leisure zone, the clubs have greater dimensions than others, clientele is mostly geographical differentiated and the customers are mostly oriented to urban nomadism. Consequently, management strategies are more heterogeneous; they have to answer to a lot of demands, desires, and pressures:

in disco, you can see the mass, in club the groups. There are also groups in disco but they are localised and easily identifiable: they always are in the same places, with the same people (Alfonso, Movida-goer).

The distinction between these two specific ecological areas, correlated functionally with leisure activities, does not have to make us to think at a stiffly organised urban territory, where each area corresponds with only a single function. On the empirical level, in fact, it is possible to distinguish two ecological areas dedicated to leisure in Salerno. However, it is correct to say that the spirit of the movida is also extended to other specific places, through the urban field. One can verify an expansion on the territory of single points (clubs, bars, discos) that draw a fraction of leisure social demand.

In these processes, the city centre has changed its functions and its symbolic role. It represents a revalued area, reorganised around consumption and new forms of production, with a new central function in local economy but also for local identity. The city centre is returned to be the Salerno's 'central' area, the most important place for local symbolic economy. In fact:

The rise of the cities' symbolic economy is rooted (...) in such short-term factors, as (...) the growth of cultural consumption, and the marketing of identity politics (Zukin 1995:11).

5. Some feelings and cultural forms of night leisure

Night leisure sector's economic force lies in its capacity to produce and to get spread symbolic inducements, emotions and feelings. It produces a context where verbal and body communication is as important as iron and its transformation in the iron and steel industry. So, in this class of activities, it is impossible to distinguish the product from the raw materials and the product itself does not demarcate from the productive process, too. This happens because communication is characterised by instantaneousness and it is continuously and simultaneously produced and consumed. These articulated process creates a 'scene'. In this context, many actors are placed and they put in act a suitable rule of conduct answering to typical expectations of the context (Goffman, 1967), that are oriented towards hedonistic values and behaviours.

In disco and club's representation of situation, communication is lived and thought with modes that enhance the present time dimension. This condition puts on the features outlined by Simmel in own essay on 'adventure', about non-historic man. The latter is characterised by a nature "that lives in the present time" (Simmel 1985:17), "one's future prospective is eaten in the exaltation of the instant" (Simmel 1985:17) and this erases the past time. In Simmel analysis the emblem of this condition results Casanova, whose life was "dominated by feeling of present" (Simmel 1985:18). Casanova is all concentrated on 'here and now' dimension and this element is analogue at many youth's experience in the night leisure world. It is not a case that for many youth, disco represents a place where they can realise a fleeting sexual experience, out of any following obligation. They can play in the exclusive instant of a night (Torti 1997).

An ephemeral, volatile and present-centred character seems to accompany the entire leisure experience, too. It appears paradoxical because this quality lies near the highly ritualised leisure activities in the same movida-goers. Besides, it meets the managers, organisers and entrepreneurs' widely formal activities. In Salerno, breaking practices are connected to alcohol consumption rather than synthetic drugs and they are canalised in this schema founded on a double control. A ritual control, which is determined in the night leisure groups, and an hetero-direct control, acted by night's management, in other words the events' organisers and the clubs and discos' managers. The opinions of the young are in agreement with the presented description but for a lot of them, there is a negative sensation. They point out that the boundary line between boredom and the local leisure modes is vary unstable, as though in Salerno (but in other cities, too) the night leisure space was lived like a 'must':

you must enjoy yourself or you are out (Luca, movida-goer).

On Saturday you cannot stay at home because if you stay at home on next day your friends will be worry and will ask you how are you, if you have some problems, if it is all ok (Mario, movida-goer).

In fact, many young talk about their dissatisfaction about their leisure experience during the night, but they feel they have to stay for fear of losing something that will never happen.

I am often bored but I stay. Something could always happen (Norma, movida-goer)

The movida is a phenomenon linked to the processes of liberalisation but it has institutionalised by now. There is less euphoria. There is bore, now (Francesca, journalist)

Shifting attention on cultural forms, it has to underline that leisure activities are subject to the changes of fashion, which make conditional the socially shared definition about what are enjoyment, leisure, sociality and their correlated social practices. On the other hand, leisure world is characterised by power relations that concern the individual and the social features, qualifying the social groups 'in' and the social groups 'out' with respect to a given definition. The mode besides represents a mechanism of acceleration and intensification of consumption (Harvey 1993). This element has the effect to accelerate the change: it represents a common feature with the clubs and disco's management policy in Salerno. Therefore, it is possible to put forward a hypothesis: mode is strongly determined by 'world central places' action. They tend to direct it, with the consequence to put in act a volatility consumption programming. The 'centres' of this process are hierarchied on a world scale but an analogue structure is active on local scale, too. Therefore, in each city it is possible to individuate the central subjects who have an addressing function in the mode field: they are the subjects who 'dictate' the style. For example, in Salerno an operative concept is active, widespread among all people who frequent the night places, which permits them to individuate and label who is included in the leisure accepted forms and who is at margins.

The operative concept corresponds to a linguistic label, it is: 'beautiful people' (in Italian language: 'bella gente'). It is socialised through verbal and not verbal communication and it is perceived in this way:

Beautiful people are an array of well-know individuals in Salerno. They frequent the most important clubs and discos and are friends of night events and parties' organisers and managers (Alfonso, movida-goer).

People who are at margins can choice between two alternatives. They can fight to stick to the official definition of situation or they can propose an alternative definition, good for distinct places and dissimilar social characters in the local night leisure:

Before, I always went to the disco. Now, I go out with a group who does not like disco and I enjoy my self more than before. We do not often go out, stay at somebody's house, we play and are together. We usually are 7, 8 people (Daniela, movida-goer).

Spaces "on the margin" become valued spaces for those who seek to establish differences (Harvey, 1996: 230).

6. 'Beautiful people'

'Beautiful people' results a linguistic formula used to 'distinguish' the legitimate behaviours and, so, separate acceptable typologies of people from the others. 'Beautiful people' label recalls the structure of the shared tastes and the inter-individual affinities. It is expression of a determinant disposition, a habitus that searches other habitus, an array of affinity that orients the social meetings. 'Beautiful people' is a label that is a part of a specific habitus, it presents itself with a capacity of classification, consequently. It contributes to structure a classification of styles, modes of consumption, forms of sociality and expression (Bourdieu, 1983). This strongly spread label represents an ethic and aesthetic dimension.

In fact, it indicates how you have to behave (the ethics) and how you must seem (aesthetics). This concept is homologous to the definition of disco and night leisure. They share the same ethic-aesthetics confusion, the same social features. In all interviews, two levels of answer correspond to the 'beautiful people' label. The first concerns the interviewees' analysis about the meaning of the label in the movida world.

Beautiful people are individuals which are 'in', which love to enjoy themselves, which know how to have fun, which are always ready to make holiday: this means beautiful people for many people (Alessandra, movida-goer).

The second level corresponds to interviewee's individual preferences about the sense of the label.

In my opinion 'beautiful people' are individuals which like to live the nighttime, which like to drink in a special way, which like to listen a particular type of music and stay with other similar individuals, that reflect the same life-style (Cristian, barman).

A scission between the two levels is evident: at the first level the nature of beautiful people results superficial and subordinate to the ephemeral domain of the image. At the other level, the subjective level, beautiful people corresponds with:

1. Who wants and know how enjoying
2. Who lives happily in the night
3. Who is similar to interviewee's individual characters and to his/her way of living in the leisure places.

The two pointed out levels, which have been expressed in the interviews, show the contemporaneity of the ethics and aesthetics dimensions. They appear on two separated positions but it is important the fact that they recall reciprocally. Both the levels characterise spaces and times of the local leisure. They characterise the relational modes and the behaviours that are admitted in the free time context. They structure the habitus of the Movida in Salerno. In the local context, 'beautiful people' is not a banal linguistic label: it absorbs the features, which define the central world night's actors. These actors correspond to groups and individuals with the largest social power, which have the highest levels of symbolic capital but social capital, too. In this case, the quantity and the quality of the realized interpersonal contacts form the social capital.

The network of secondary relations is as large and deep as much personal social capital is large and, so, it is strong the capacity to condition tastes, tendencies and choices.

Two groups form 'Beautiful people'. On one hand, there are the cultural intermediaries, that condition the structure of legitimate tastes, through a manipulator action, teaching the proper life-style and needs to movida-goers (Bourdieu 1983).

On the other hand, there are the individuals who confirm these tastes, adopting a legitimate and suitable way of conduct. The Beautiful people's action determines the nightlife cultural forms, because it structures a hierarchy based on the symbolic power. The label 'beautiful people' has a classifying power: it classifies styles, ways of consumption, forms of sociality and of expression.

The term 'beautiful people' is full of real consequences, because it has and expresses a power of distinction, which is realised on the market. In fact, the meaning of a discourse or

a linguistic label is also produced on the market (Bourdieu, 1988). Therefore, prevalent symbolic discourses define the meaning of beautiful people. There is a strict linkage among behavioural forms attributed to who is part of the beautiful people and the social power' structure, that emerges from the movida's relational space.

As more, someone is recognised like beautiful people as more he/she increases his/her social power but also the power of nearer to him/her social circle. In this way, a symbolic and social hierarchy takes a form, within the considered field. At the same time, the processes of mobility act in the individuated hierarchy: being 'beautiful people' is not an eternal attribution and its meanings are not unchangeable. Being beautiful people represents a recognition, which has to be continuously confirmed by its interpreters. Furthermore, its meanings have to be always kept alive.

This variable character can permit to everyone to become a member of beautiful people. This possibility makes the movida an open field. In this field, many individual and group strategies are active to determine the qualities of beautiful people and the persons who are recognised as beautiful people. However, this hidden conflict also determines the typology of individual and group tastes and practices, which are marginalised: the individuals and groups that are excluded from definition of 'beautiful people'. In effect, in these symbolic struggles, it is determined the common sense and the concrete meaning of the expression beautiful people.

Who embodies the beautiful people does not exclusively act an opinion leader's social role but he/she is important for his/her economic function, too. The opinion leaders among beautiful people intercept and condition the local tastes and fashion and, at the same time, the flows towards night-clubs and discos. The label 'beautiful people' has an economic importance, indeed. It acts on the night's flows, conditioning the leisure demand and the economic life of each night-club and disco. In a sociological view, the field of the Movida is dominated by behaviours of beautiful people. In brief, each individual is beautiful people if "he/she adopts a suitable style, conforming with a behaviour model that is imposed by the club's managers and the clientele's opinion leaders" (Antonio, movida-goer).

It is operative a homogenising proposal. This is able to weaken the leisure places of their own ambivalent features, reinforcing the normalised and codified rules.

This general context reduces the potential of holiday, which concerns the subversion of the socially affirmed code, which would be present in collective aggregation situations. Finally, we can assert that individual and groups who adapt the representation of them to the specific habitus of clubs or discos then they are included in the definition of 'beautiful people'. A social habitus is a specific mark shared among the individuals. The process of social and status differentiation (Elias 1990) and the connected process of social distinction are determined around the contents of the habitus. Individuals and groups who are 'out' of these contents risk a process of symbolic and material marginalization. They are out of the official 'movida' and are labelled as 'bad people', 'ill-mannered persons'. On one hand, they are 'selected' and excluded at the entrance to the discos and rarely frequent the most famous clubs and the most important beer-houses. On the other hand, the bad people represent the last hope in the unfortunate evenings, when the selection net looses the tension to increase box-office returns.

7. The urban primate

A cultural mechanism acts in the studied social world. It is a mechanism of inclusion/exclusion, based on a logic which “connects and distinguishes” (Simmel 1985: 31). It has a general effect of defining a dominating cultural model. This is a middle-class model, ruled by the middle-class values and it puts in the edges the groups that wear and behave in a different mode. The representatives of the predominant style label these groups as negative groups. ‘Out’ groups and individuals often dwell in a peripheral urban area or in peripheral suburbs, placed out of the Salerno’s administrative boundaries. Evidently, we meet a directly based-class selection, but its motive power is determined by other factors, too. In a particular way, it is operative a centre-peripheries dynamics, that acts on a cultural level. Within this direction, Salerno represents the dominating cultural space in a rather large territory.

Managers, organisers and entrepreneurs are usually resident in Salerno and, above all, express an urban model of cultural offer. It is based on heterogeneity, anonymity, rapid contacts and a blasè attitude (Simmel 1995) towards the others and their problems or needs. Furthermore, they propose a medium offer, oriented to mass leisure experiences, and they want affirm and confirm their discos or night-clubs’ image. Therefore, the common action of these groups produces a specific cultural offer, which becomes the official leisure proposal in Salerno. Individuals and groups, who come from peripheral geographical and often cultural areas, have difficult to support this type of offer. Hence, they suffer the Salerno’s cultural dominance, the ‘urban primate’, and often occupy a subaltern position in the movida’s symbolic hierarchy.

The research confirms the hypothesis that recognises the city as an attractive and predominant force on the surrounding district. City has an “enchanted character” (Wirth 1998) which is capable to condition the forms and the contents of social tastes. City, also medium city, confirms its own traits: it is an exclusive environment for the cultural innovation (Hannerz 1992). However, this transforming potential is reduced by the mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion that rules the physical, cultural and social spaces in the contemporary city in a growing way. It tends to segregate the social and cultural diversity, “to ghettoise differences” (Sennet 1992).

8. Final notes

The phenomenon and the structure of the Movida are placed in an urban context. In Italy, night leisure sector had been quickly growing during the 1990s. In this trend, Salerno represents a particular case because in a highly urbanised area, night-clubs have been increasing and discos, too. Usually, in Italy discos has been placed out of towns in the last decades, characterising rural landscape. In the contemporary economic structure, the areas that were outside fordism urbanisation can became new leisure zones. They can offer an alternative for the metropolitan leisure journeys and they can become objects for new colonisation processes (Magnaghi 2000).

The case of Salerno has an urban character, indeed. This general trait also has effects on the economic structure and on the labour market of the local leisure sector. The latter is similar to the structure of other economic sectors with an urban base. The labour forms, the modes of hiring of workers and the formation have the typical contemporary city’s characteristics. Informal economy and informal work are growing everywhere, in the

western cities, too (Portes-Sassen Koob 1987; Portes-Castells-Benton 1989; Sassen 1994; 1998). The informal is the prevalent dimension in Salerno's leisure labour market.

The informal dimension favours the high levels (entrepreneurs, managers, and organisers) in the economic structure but it involves a large number of persons working without a contract and with low wages. The research shows that workers in this sector constitute a new urban proletariat but they have not a conflictual attitude. Many workers, above all young workers, exchange some rights with opportunities for social status and a funny job.

Some discourses have been structuring more recently around the night world and discos. These public discourses have helped to create high social alarm. Discos, night-clubs and raves were been objects of representations, which have become common sense and stereotypes. Usually, idyllic or infernal images have been constructed. Discos have been represented as places of liberation and creativeness or through a simple equation: discos = drugs = car crashes. The reality is less simple; it is far from these classifications, which reduce its ambivalence and multidimensionality.

In fact, the night leisure culture presents specific features, in which body, emotions and sensations take on a new definition, a new status. They are different from the daily experience. The night leisure is the place of a particular cultural world. For this reason, it is a space-time of specific symbolic struggles to impose the right life of style.

The Movidia is a symbolic, cultural and social universe. Its features define it in relation to the cultural forms of labour, the social practices regarded as dangerous and the specific urban area: a whole of resources and bonds. The phenomenon of socialisation, connected to the presence of organised free time areas, constitutes an open question in the contemporary city, because it brings problems of territory and city's government.

In conclusion, the Movidia is a typical phenomenon of the contemporary city. On the inside of it, cultural and symbolic dimensions are deeply interwoven with the economic dimension. In this interlacement, the urban leisure begins a new way. It involves the forms of labour and sociality and determines a new field for competition among different urban areas (Hannigan 1995). In the contemporary city, the new configuration of the urban leisure represents a sector in which the new "flexible capitalistic accumulation regime" (Harvey 1993:185) expresses in the most evident way.

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1) *Sociologia urbana e rurale: il "mestiere" di una rivista. Intervista a Paolo Guidicini (con la collaborazione di Giuseppe Scidà)* with Raffaele Rauty

2) *La rivista Sociologia urbana e rurale attraverso i suoi articoli. Una classificazione per categorie analitiche*

3) *Saskia Sassen: Città e popolazioni nell'epoca della globalizzazione*

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