

Urban party zones and their changes in former communist countries on the example of Polish cities

Grzegorz Iwanicki¹, CDFPMR, Anna Dłużewska², CDMR

¹Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Faculty of Earth Sciences and Spatial Management, Lublin, poland, e-mail: greg.iwanicki@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3711-2156> (corresponding author); ²Kazimierz Wielki University, Faculty of Physical Education, Health and Tourism, Bydgoszcz, Poland, e-mail: dluzewska.a@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5648-2975>

How to cite:

Iwanicki, G. and Dłużewska, A. (2020). Urban party zones and their changes in former communist countries on the example of Polish cities. *Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series*, 49(49): 65-80. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.2478/bog-2020-0024>

Abstract. Eight former communist countries joined the European Union in 2004, and since then they have become popular party tourism destinations. In connection with social and economic transformations following the fall of communism, public spaces with the densest concentration of clubs were formed in the centres of big cities. Such a space can be called a “party zone”. This paper presents such zones delimited in Polish cities and attempts to investigate changes in those zones in 2004–17 (and thus, after accession to the EU). An additional objective was to identify the most popular clubs based on information from social media and from interviews with DJs. The results lead to two main conclusions: (a) three main types of party zones can be identified in the analysed cities taking into account their form and relationship to urban space; (b) in 2004–17 the preferences of club-goers changed in favour of open air clubs.

Article details:

Received: 14 March 2020

Revised: 23 June 2020

Accepted: 3 July 2020

Key words:

before-party zone,
clubbing,
party zone,
Poland,
urban space

Contents:

1. Introduction	66
2. Delimitations of clubbing zones in spatial surveys.....	66
3. Data and methods.....	67
3.1. City selection criteria.....	68
3.2. Clubbing zones versus urban structure	68
3.3. Popularity of clubs, and changes in popularity in 2004–17.....	69
4. Results	69
4.1. Party zones.....	72
4.2. Changes in clubbing zones.....	72

5. Discussion and conclusions	77
Acknowledgements	78
References	78

1. Introduction

Clubbing as a mass social phenomenon originated in the mid-1980s in the United States and quickly became popular in other countries. With time the clubbing trend found its way into popular culture and lawfully existing clubs located mainly in city centres (Malbon, 1997; Goulding, Shankar, 2011), and gained popularity among young Europeans, which led to the emergence of a new branch of tourism – party tourism. Party tourism appeared at the end of the 1980s in Ibiza, which has remained one of the most popular party tourism destinations. Other islands and resorts in the Mediterranean, e.g. Cyprus (Aya Napa) and Mallorca (Magaluf), also became popular clubbing centres, and following the expansion of low-cost airlines at the end of the 1990s crowds of partygoers started visiting cities in more inland locations (Malbon, 1997; Sonmez et al. 2013).

The new, mass form of spending spare time led to the emergence of a city clubbing (or “party”) zone. The zone is characterised by the highest concentration of clubs and is normally situated within or near another space – the “before-party zone”, which consists mainly of pubs, restaurants and cafes. Similar zones appeared in many cities of former socialist countries, e.g. in Budapest, Cracow, Riga or Warsaw (Low, 2009; Smith, Puczko, 2010; Iwanicki, Dłużewska, 2018), but a few years later than they did in Western countries, because clubbing was non-existent in the communist environment, and Western electronic music was barely available. The fall of communist governments in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989 and 1990 was followed by political and economic transformations, as well as social and cultural changes. These changes manifested in new ways of spending spare time, such as clubbing, which appeared in those countries at the beginning of the 1990s.

Clubbing as a mass phenomenon in former communist countries, including Poland, appeared only

after 1995 and from that time young people moving from club to club has been a typical sight in the evening in many city centres. In addition, after several former Eastern bloc countries joined the EU, many of their cities became popular destinations for party tourists (Hughes, Allen, 2009; Smith, Puczko, 2010; Thurnell-Read, 2012).

This paper aims to delimit party zones in selected Polish cities and illustrate the relationships between these zones and urban space, and to identify the most popular clubs in the clubbing infrastructure in 2004–17.

The selection of years (2004–17) is closely related to social and economic transformations in Poland after it joined the structures of the European Union, in particular in terms of accessibility. Simultaneously with accession, the local market of aviation services opened to low-cost airlines, which increased the number of incoming European tourists, with a significant share of party tourists (Thurnell-Read, 2012).

The paper consists of four parts. The first part presents previous surveys regarding clubbing and the urban space understood as the party zone. The second part is devoted to the methodology used in this paper. The next contains the results of surveys split into: delimiting party zones in all the selected cities; and presenting changes in those zones on the example of four cities. The last part of the paper contains discussion and conclusions.

2. Delimitations of clubbing zones in spatial surveys

Research on delimitation of party zones has rarely been undertaken. Most publications on clubbing describe negative aspects of going to electronic music parties, such as incidents involving alcohol abuse and the consumption of drugs and other intoxicating substances (e.g. Ravn, 2012; Sonmez et al., 2013), and present health issues related to casual

sex (e.g. Bellis et al., 2003; Briggs, 2011; Downing et al., 2011).

The second thematic category is descriptions of clubbing from the point of view of sociology. They analyse issues related to the role of parties in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender communities (LGBTQ) (e.g. Markwell, 2002; Puar, 2002; Browne, 2007) and widely understood problems regarding interactions between people going to nightclubs (e.g. Redhead, 1997; Malbon, 1999; St. John, 2004; Laughey, 2006).

Also, some papers have described the market in partying & clubbing services from the economic or tourism potential side (Roberts, 2006; Roberts, Eldridge 2009; Iwanicki, Dłużewska, 2014; Shaw, 2014; Iwanicki, Dłużewska, 2015; Iwanicki et al., 2016).

The most detailed delimitation of party zones is attempted in the paper by Sonmez et al. (2013) in which the authors identified a number of areas connected with clubbing in the Aya Napa resort in Cyprus. Their study aimed to present areas in the public space that were most dangerous in connection with the abuse of alcohol and intoxicating substances, including drugs. The authors marked out the main zone called the Dance & Drinking District on a map of the resort. It consisted of 17 clubs and more than 200 pubs and bars. In addition, they marked out seven smaller zones – so-called “after-party” zones – as the main areas where alcohol and drugs were used. The analysis was supplemented by identifying two additional clubbing zones: Nissi beach and ships moored in the eastern part of the city. Similarly, zones with the highest concentration of venues with dance music and bars in Warsaw and Cracow were delimited in a study on conflicts between partygoers and the local community (Iwanicki, Dłużewska, 2018).

3. Data and methods

The methodology used in the paper consisted of three main parts: the first was selecting cities for analysis; the second comprised identifying clubbing zones in the selected cities and determining the relationship between such zones and urban space; while the third comprised identifying the most popular

clubs in the surveyed cities and an attempt to identify changes in clubbing preferences in 2004–17.

3.1. City selection criteria

Out of several hundred Polish cities, the ones with the best developed clubbing infrastructure were selected (arbitrary selection of cities having more than 15 clubs). The second criterion was the city’s access to an international airport. Accessibility by plane (especially low-cost connections) is a condition for mass party tourism (Smith and Puczko, 2009; Thurnell-Read, 2012), so, taking this criterion into account, only airports that were within 50 km of the city and accessible by public transport were included. The distance to the airport was calculated using Google Maps, and information on public transport was found on official websites of the analysed airports.

Both criteria were satisfied by 11 cities: Bydgoszcz, Gdansk, Katowice, Cracow, Lublin, Lodz, Poznan, Sopot, Szczecin, Warsaw and Wroclaw (Fig. 1). The above-mentioned cities differ considerably in terms of the total number of clubs, from more than 50 clubs in Cracow, Poznan and Warsaw, to only 16 in Lublin. Information about clubs was obtained during a query on the most popular Polish websites devoted to clubbing: clubbing.pl, ftb.pl, klubowa.pl, and muno.pl.



Fig. 1. Location of the selected cities

Four cities were selected for further analysis, including identification of the most popular clubs and changes in clubbing zones in 2004–17 by means of a simple method. The two cities that were most popular among foreign tourists (over one million tourists visited Warsaw and Cracow, which was nearly three times more than in the next city – Wrocław) and the two least popular ones were selected (Bydgoszcz and Lublin, visited by 39,000 and 66,000 tourists). The first two are examples of cities in which the clubbing infrastructure was potentially shaped by the preferences of foreign tourists most, as compared to other cities. The other two cities, being the least popular ones among foreign tourists, are examples of cities in which the clubbing zones were mainly shaped by local residents, including to a large extent the academic community. Data concerning tourist traffic comes from the Local Information Bank of Statistics Poland (GUS-BDL) and refers to the year 2016.

3.2. Clubbing zones versus urban structure

Data concerning the locations of all 413 clubs in the surveyed cities was mapped onto satellite Google maps in the QGIS program. Data for all cities refer to 2017. For Bydgoszcz, Cracow, Lublin and Warsaw data from 2004 was additionally collected. Using the analytical tools of QGIS, spatial information concerning clubbing zones was calculated including: specifically, their area (in hectares) and the possible range or radius of the zone (in metres).

Clubbing zones were delimited by indicating the largest concentration of clubs in the specific city, whereas the maximum distance between clubs within the zone could be 300–500 m. In addition, for information purposes, before-party zones were also delimited, i.e. areas with the highest concentration of pubs and bars. To maintain the readability of the maps of the analysed cities, only the range of such zones was marked, without indicating respective spots. The results were compared with the topographic map of the city and their relationship with characteristic structures such as central squares, Old Town and shopping passages was determined.

3.3. Popularity of clubs, and changes in popularity in 2004–17

Information from social media such as Facebook and Foursquare was used to determine the degree of popularity of clubs in 2017. The first source is a typical social media site used for communication between its users (mainly within a network of friends). Both individuals and businesses (including clubs) can register Facebook accounts. Businesses can create various events, e.g. send invitations to events and parties, which are displayed on the timelines of users who like or view their profiles. On the other hand, Foursquare is a typical LBSN – Location-Based Social Network used to share experiences and impressions concerning a specific place. Data concerning a specific place available on both sites is easily accessible information about the preferences of visitors and in the past has been used in many urban studies (e.g. Fujita, 2013; Agryzkov et al., 2016; Marti et al., 2017).

The measure of popularity used in this paper is the number of “likes” on the profiles of the analysed clubs. The most popular clubs were identified by means of simple statistical analysis. The total number of clubs ordered according to the number of “likes” was included in two lists corresponding to data from Facebook and Foursquare. Next, the most popular clubs were identified in each list and the ones in the top quartile of the population were selected.

The popularity of clubs in 2004 was determined differently because at that time no social media existed and access to the Internet was not as common as it is nowadays. Thus, information on the popularity of clubs at that time was sought in interviews with DJs who were working in 2004. In each of the four cities covered by the survey (Bydgoszcz, Cracow, Lublin, Warsaw) three DJs were asked to name the clubs that were the most popular in 2004. A club was included among the most popular if at least two DJs named it.

4. Results

4.1. Party zones

Clubbing zones in cities covered by the survey were of different sizes and had different characteristics. Generally, they can be split into three groups. The first group comprises zones located along one or a few main shopping streets in the city centre. Zones with such characteristics were formed in six cities: Bydgoszcz, Gdansk, Katowice, Lublin, Lodz and Sopot. The second group was zones in the Old Town area that were clearly concentrated around the main market square. Cities with such zones were Cracow, Poznan and Wroclaw. The last, third group is extensive, poorly delimited zones surrounded by many clubs scattered over nearly the entire city centre. Such zones exist in Szczecin and Warsaw.

Zones formed along traditional shopping streets extend from the east to the west (Katowice, Lublin, Sopot), from the north to the south (Lodz), or in both directions (Bydgoszcz, Gdansk) (Fig. 2).

Lodz is home to the largest zone formed along shopping streets. The area of about 80 ha is home to 21 clubs situated mainly along Piotrkowska Street, which is the main pedestrian area in that city, and along the parallel Kościuszki Street. Clubs extend over nearly three kilometres, within the before-party zone that reaches one kilometre further in both directions, and in the north covering former factory grounds converted into one of Central and Eastern Europe's largest shopping malls and entertainment centres.

Katowice's party zone is located in the city centre within a radius of 300 m around Plac Wolności (Liberty Square) and is nearly three times smaller than the party zone in Lodz. It occupies a total area of 30 ha, with nine clubs. It is characteristic that it is nearly completely separated from the before-party zone, which it borders to the east. The before-party zone extends over one and a half kilometres and is closed in between railway tracks to the south and Warszawska Street and the river Rawa to the north.

The party zone in Lublin extends east to west and has a similar layout. The before-party zone is

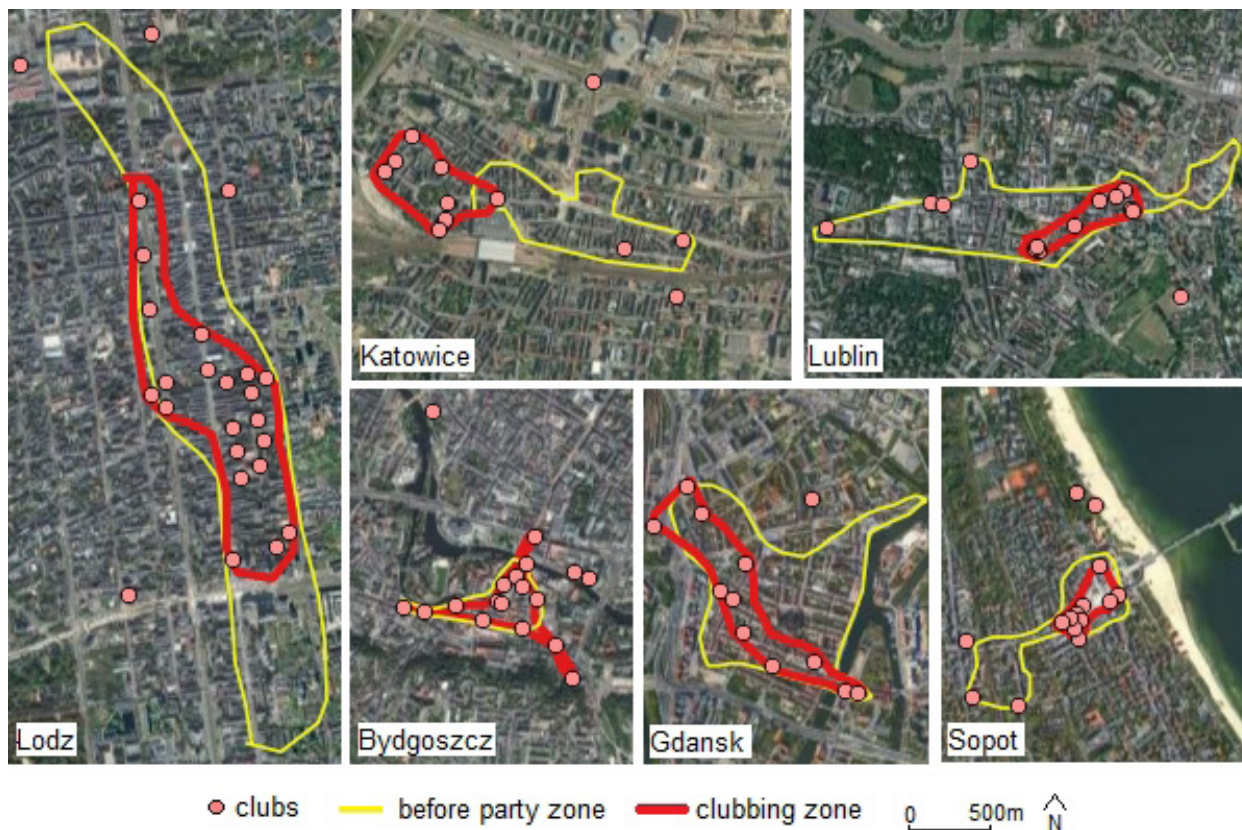


Fig. 2. Party zones along main streets

three km long in total, but its main part is enclosed within the Old Town walls (the most eastward area on the map, separated from the remaining grounds by the narrow passage of Krakowskie Przedmieście Street). The clubbing zone covers nine ha in the district of Śródmieście (the Polish name for the city centre in several cities) and nine clubs are located within that area. This zone is situated west of the densest part of the before-party zone and runs through the pedestrian area in Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, towards Hempla Street.

A typical arrangement of the clubbing zone along the main street, similar to that in Lodz, can be seen in Sopot. Ten clubs are located along Bohaterów Monte Cassino Street, popularly known as “Monciak”. The clubbing zone in Sopot is even smaller than that in Lublin and covers an area of six ha. The before-party zone, similarly to Lublin, is composed of two parts. The eastern part is the main area where pubs, bars and various fast food restaurants are located. The western part of the before-party zone is less significant and has fewer pubs and bars.

The clubbing zones in Gdansk and Bydgoszcz, although they are also concentrated along main shopping streets, are different from those previous-

ly described. Most clubs in Bydgoszcz are located along two streets running in opposite directions. The clubs are situated on Długa Street (running from east to west) and around the Old Town Market Square and along Mostowa Street, continuing to the north along Gdańska Street. This arrangement of club locations makes the clubbing zone in Bydgoszcz triangular, with an area of 25 ha within which 15 clubs are situated in total, and the before-party zone is situated within nearly the same area.

The party zone in Gdansk is three times larger than the one in Bydgoszcz. The before-party zone alone covers an area of more than 100 ha in the oldest part of the city, whereas it gradually extends beyond the river Motława onto the Granary Island. This island is the eastern limit of the local clubbing zone, which continues westwards through Gdansk's main street, Długi Targ, and then to the north towards the popular Madison Shopping Mall. The clubbing zone in Gdansk comprises 11 clubs only. They are scattered over an area of 36 ha.

The second group of the analysed cities, i.e. centres in which clubbing zones are concentrated in the Old Town, around main market squares (Fig. 3), is the group with the best-developed party space. De-



Fig. 3. Party zones around the main market square

spite all these zones being very similar, each of them also has its characteristic features.

The clubbing zone in Wrocław covers an area of 50 ha, but all 28 clubs in the zone are situated within a radius of 600 m from the Main Market Square. The before-party zone in Wrocław is nearly twice as big and reaches the banks of the Oder to the north and the green belt along the City Moat to the south.

The clubbing zone in Poznań covers 31 ha around the Old Town Market Square, where 25 clubs are located at more than 300 m from the Town Hall. The before-party zone is also concentrated around the Market Square, whereas it can be observed to extend to the west and the south of the Old Town.

The layout of clubs is similar in Cracow. The local clubbing zone is formed around the Market Square, in the northern and central part of the Old Town enclosed by Planty Park. The area of 58 ha hosts 39 clubs. The southern part of the Old Town is free of clubs, though an almost longitudinal network of pubs extends along Grodzka Street. The highest concentration of pubs and cafes in Cracow can be observed in the above-described club-

bing zone. However, it must be emphasised that its “fuzzy” extension runs to the west in a wide belt towards the Campus. An interesting phenomenon in the clubbing infrastructure in Cracow is its concentration of several clubs in the district of Kazimierz, south of the Old Town. More than one kilometre from the described zone it forms a kind of competitive clubbing zone together with the neighbouring cafes and pubs.

The clubbing zones in Warsaw and Szczecin are the two areas that were the most problematic to delimit because in both cities there is no place of any particular concentration of clubs (Fig. 4). They are scattered around nearly the whole city centre over an area exceeding 1,500 ha, so the following maps use a larger scale compared to the maps referring to the other cities, in order to ensure accurate presentation of the layout of clubs.

The clubbing zone in Warsaw is delimited by the area between Mazowiecka Street (to the north), where a few clubs are situated, the Palace of Culture and Science (to the west), the National Museum (to the east) and the Śródmieście Południowe



Fig. 4. Party zones without a clear structure

district. It is home to 29 clubs covering a total area of more than 130 ha.

The rest of the clubs in Warsaw are scattered around the centre, in an area that extends from the Vistula to the east, to an area of clubs more than five km to the west. The before-party zone starts in the Old Town, where pubs and restaurants are most densely concentrated, and continues along Nowy Świat Street towards the city centre. There, another part of the before-party zone extends. It largely coincides with the clubbing zone.

The clubbing zone in Szczecin is half the size of Warsaw's. It occupies an area of 62 ha and has 60% fewer clubs than that in the capital city (12 in total). An identical number of clubs is located within an area three km to the north of this zone. The

before-party zone occupies a relatively small area. It is situated within the Old Town, which has not been rebuilt after damage caused by World War II.

4.2. Changes in clubbing zones

The party zone in Cracow, being the most developed of the analysed party zones, consisted of 35 clubs in 2004. By 2017 this number had increased to 39, but the range and shape of the zone has not changed significantly. The main cluster of clubs is still situated within the limits of the Old Town, enclosed by a city green belt (Fig. 5).

Larger changes occurred if we consider the whole clubbing infrastructure. Only six clubs out

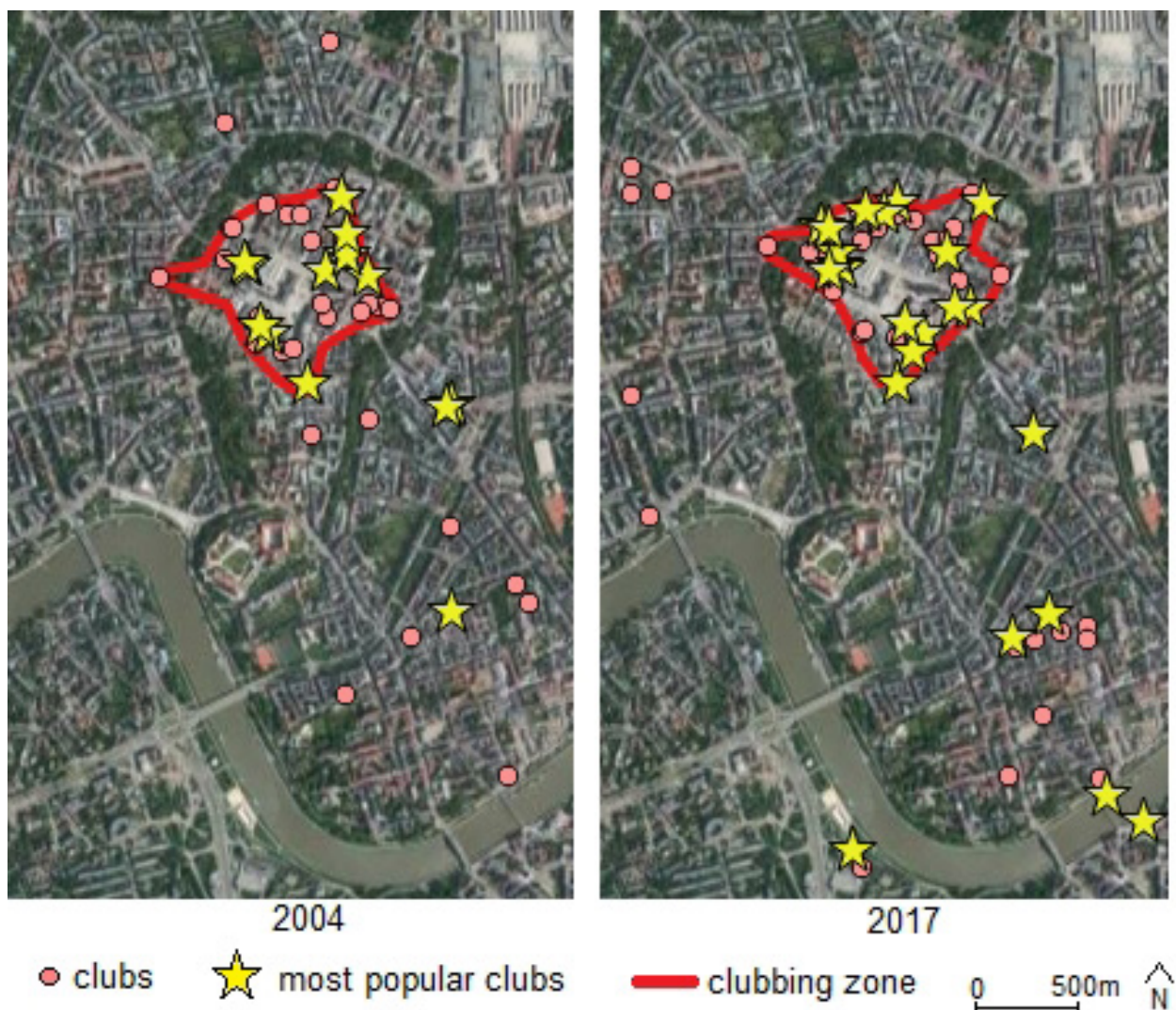


Fig. 5. Clubbing zone in Cracow in 2004 and 2017

of 65 that existed in 2004 survived until 2017. Eight other clubs still operate, but under a different name, in connection with a change of ownership or image. The remaining 78.5% of clubs operating in 2017 are new spots on the map of Cracow compared to the situation in 2004.

After 2004 both clubs situated north of the clubbing zone and three out of four clubs located in between the Old Town and the cluster of clubs in the district of Kazimierz disappeared. New clubs were opened west of the Old Town (in the area of the Campus) and in Kazimierz, as well as on the southern bank of the Vistula. Some of the new locations can be connected with the revitalisation of the city that took place in the analysed period and covered not only the Old Town but also the neighbouring districts.

Of the 15 most popular clubs in 2004, ten were located within the party zone. In 2017, the 23 most popular clubs were identified, including 17 within the limits of the party zone. Among them only Frantic and Alchemia maintained their popularity for more than ten years. Considering areas of revitalised public space, three clubs on the revived Plac Szczepańskiego square, and one in the Small Market Square gained in popularity. Also, two clubs situated at the footbridge over the Vistula and one within the recreation grounds of Hotel Forum became popular (Table 1). One of them, Forum Przestrzenie, is definitely the most popular club in Cracow, according to information available on both analysed social networks.

The connection between the location of the clubs and the modernised public space is visible in the southern part of Kazimierz, where a footbridge was built over the Vistula that gained popularity among tourists and local inhabitants alike. Two new clubs were opened in the direct neighbourhood of the footbridge and two more several metres farther away.

Warsaw's clubbing zone occupies a similar area to that in 2004, situated in the central part of Śródmieście. The number of clubs (26) existing at that time (in 2004) in the zone were complemented by three new ones by 2017, which is an increase of 12%. However, the total number of clubs in the city decreased from 78 to 71, whereas nine clubs from the previous period survived. Thirteen other clubs are still in operation but their names have changed. Thus, 69% of the clubs are completely new, as compared to those that existed in 2004.

The largest changes in the clubbing infrastructure occurred in the extensive City Centre surrounding the party zone. The last two clubs in the Old Town region disappeared and the grounds became a clubbing-free area. Its function was reduced to a before-party zone with numerous bars and cafes. In addition, nearly half of the clubs in the southern part of Śródmieście disappeared. On the other hand, four new clubs were opened on the western bank of the Vistula which was previously a clubbing-free area (Fig. 6). This region, connected with the boulevard Bulwar Flotylii Wiślanej, and the Vistula's eastern bank, became a popular place for

Table 1. Popularity of clubs in Cracow on Facebook (Fc) and Foursquare (Fr) in 2017

clubs	number of likes		clubs	number of likes		clubs	number of likes	
	Fc	Fr		Fc	Fr		Fc	Fr
Party zone			Jazz R.	14,794	115	Kazimierz		
Prozak 2.0	40,153	219	Teatro Cubano	14,655	47	Shine	35,938	83
Frantic	38,860	80	Baccarat	13,022	22	Alchemia	19,745	742
Coco	37,185	72	Bomba	10,706	192	Piękny Pies	16,599	113
Shakers	24,781	84	Re	3,526	126	Barka	5,972	98
Afera	24,479	45	Betel	4,294	122	Southern bank of the Vistula		
Pauza	20,338	198	Alternatywy 4	7,765	88	Forum	64,010	917
Diva	15,023	26	Społem	9,822	82	Przestrzenie		
Four	14,818	37	Pod Jaszczurami	7,431	78	Drukarnia	4,324	132

partygoers and people wanting to spend their spare time in the open air, near bars and fast food stands.

Another exception is the probable impact that the city beach Plaża Zoo on the eastern bank of the Vistula had in increasing the popularity of the local club La Playa. In 2004 it was the location of Bols Beach club, which after a few years changed its name to the present one. Currently, La Playa is the most popular clubbing facility in Warsaw (based on data from Facebook), despite being quite remote from the party zone.

In 2004 only two clubs (Enklawa and Labo) from the party zone were among the most popular clubbing spots in Warsaw. Other spots were scattered on the northern and western part of the city centre and in other districts.

In 2017 the location of the most popular clubs looked considerably different. There were 11 such clubs (out of 26) in the party zone and, in addition, eight more clubs were situated in other parts of the City Centre, including Plan B – the most popular club on Foursquare (Table 2). Only two clubs from 2004 in operation to this day – Enklawa and Park Klub – have maintained their popularity.

The clubbing infrastructure in Bydgoszcz is considerably different from those in Cracow and in Warsaw. As mentioned before, clubs in Bydgoszcz

are situated along two transportation axes. However, in 2004 this layout was completely different. Two small club clusters separated by the river Brda could be identified. The northern area located in Śródmieście ran along a high street (Gdańska Street) continuing to the west through Dworcowa Street (Fig. 7).

The change in the number of clubs in the party zone in 2004–17 was the highest increase among the analysed cities. This zone grew (in terms of number of clubs) by 66.7% in comparison to the previous period, taking a distinct shape. Clubs north of the Brda mostly ceased to operate. In turn, new ones were established in the tenement houses in the Old Town.

The total number of clubs in the whole city increased from 18 to 21 (by 17%), including four clubs that have been in continuous operation (22%). Two more operate in their former location but with changed names. New clubs that formed after 2004 account for 66.7% of all clubbing spots.

In 2004, three of the four most popular clubs were situated in Śródmieście in the northern club cluster. In 2017 the situation had changed almost completely. Now, the most popular clubs are mostly situated in the Old Town. Savoy has remained the only popular club north of the Brda. Accord-

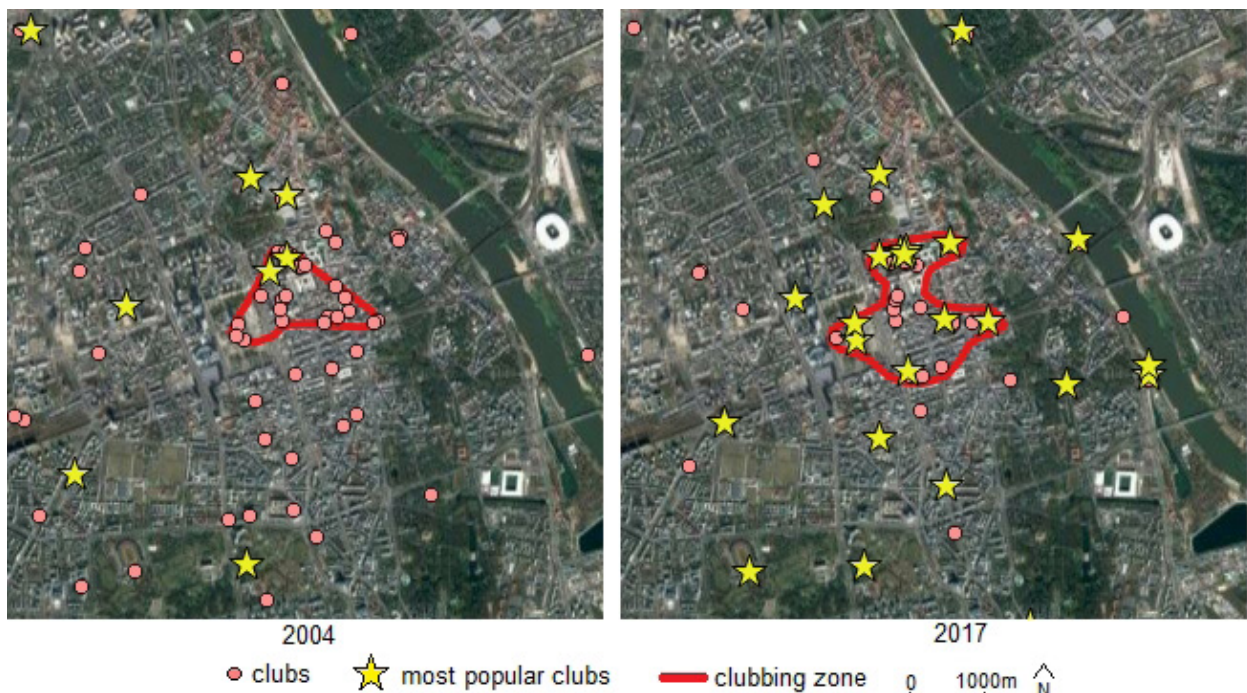


Fig. 6. Clubbing zone in Warsaw in 2004 and 2017

Table 2. Popularity of clubs in Warsaw on Facebook (Fc) and Foursquare (Fr) in 2017

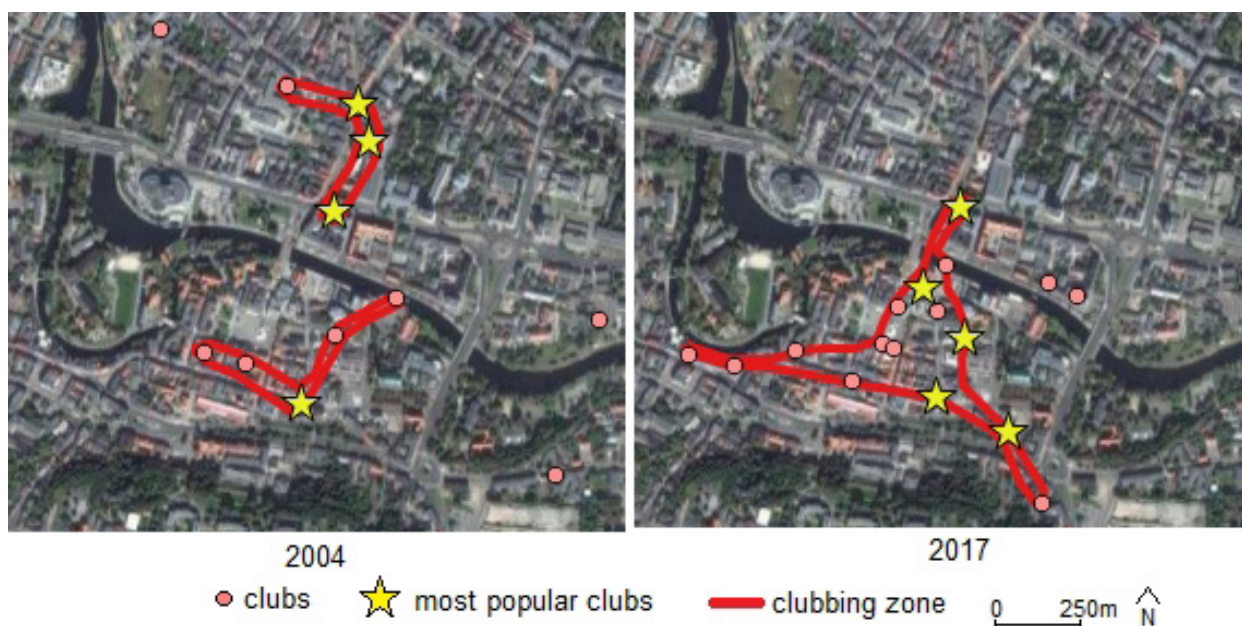
clubs	number of likes		clubs	number of likes		clubs	number of likes	
	Fc	Fr		Fc	Fr		Fc	Fr
Party zone			Harenda	13,852	134	Opera	23,824	126
BAL	75,069	76	Makulatura	6,067	145	By the Vistula		
Capitol	54,500	124	Other – City Centre			La Playa	123,070	102
Sketch Nite	41,775	248	Level 27	51,564	144	Cud Nad Wisłą	69,944	344
Cafe Kulturalna	37,869	318	The View	39,434	63	Barka	31,954	199
Luzztro	32,151	81	Park	35,908	104	Pomost 511	29,384	141
Bank	30,574	92	Na Lato	34,798	486	Other districts		
Miłość Kredytowa	30,498	231	Iskra	30,993	120	Explosion	79,523	17
Bar Studio	30,104	274	Plan B	28,848	553	Hulakula	58,631	11
Enklawa	26,153	130	Znajomi Z.	25,124	391	Dzik	26,995	140

ing to Facebook, the most popular club in Bydgoszcz is Metro (27,100 likes) coming before Kubryk (23,600), Jack (20,900), Soda (17,8000) and Savoy (15,100). In turn, Foursquare classifies the clubs according to other criteria and mentions: Kubryk (54 likes), Jack (36), Soda (35), Metro (22) and Savoy (14) as the most popular.

The party zone in Lublin in 2004 covered the area of western Śródmieście and continued along the streets of the University Campus, where all four of the most popular clubs at that time were located. In total the then party zone comprised 12 spots (Fig. 8). Currently, this zone extends over an area

nearly three times smaller and is composed of nine clubs (a decrease of 25%). It occupies the central part of the district Śródmieście and has moved eastwards relative to the zone in 2004.

In total, the number of clubs decreased from 17 to 16 (a 5.8% decrease), but only one (Koyot) has remained open. Two other clubs have continued under different names. Other clubs (81.3%) are new spots on the map of Lublin after 2004. In Lublin a trend similar to that characteristic of Cracow and Warsaw can be observed – parties are organised in the open air on artificial beaches (Fig. 9).

**Fig. 7.** Clubbing zone in Bydgoszcz in 2004 and 2017

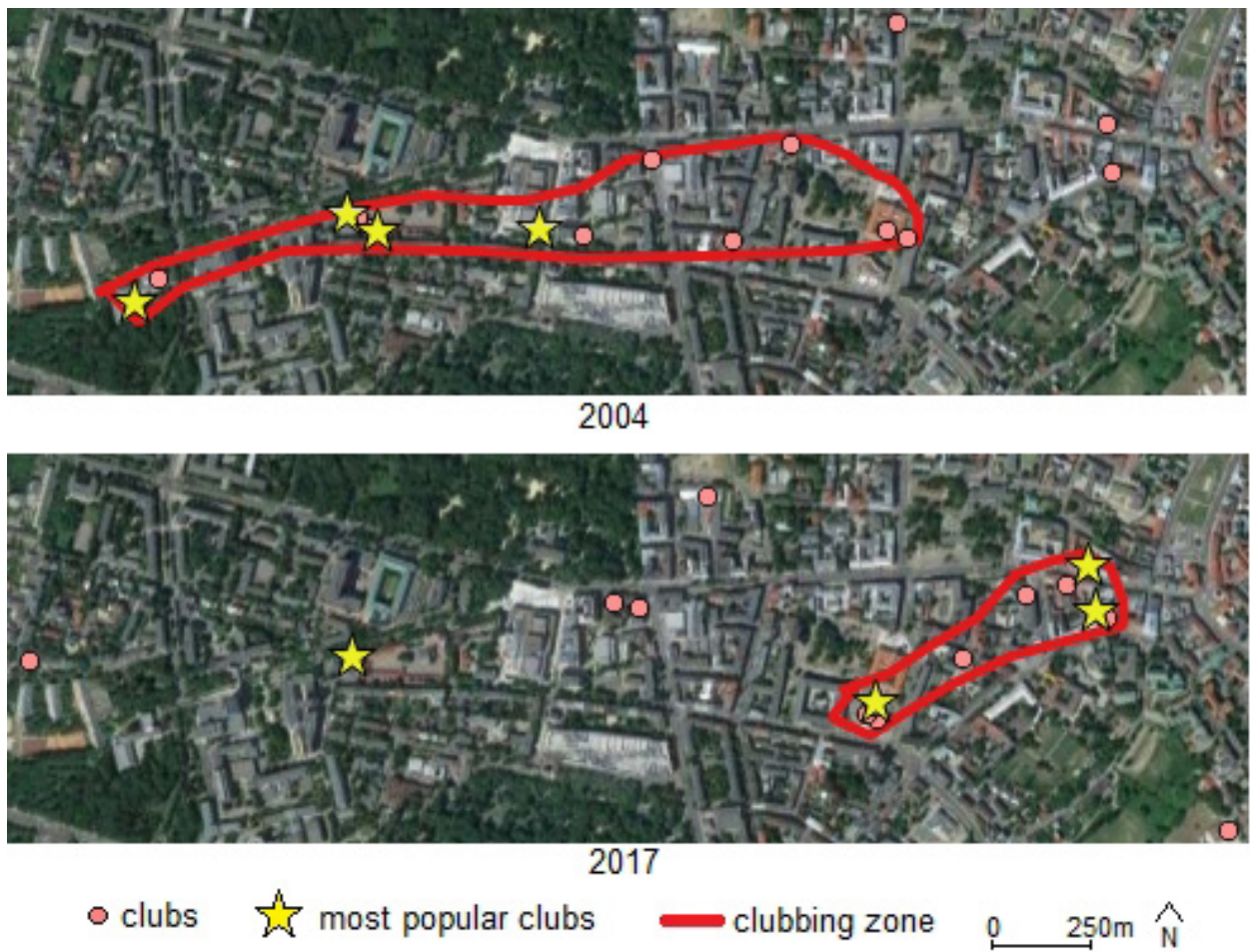


Fig. 8. Clubbing zone in Lublin in 2004 and 2017



Fig. 9. Imitation of a tropical beach at the Riviera Club

Source: own photo collection

Currently, two such clubs operate in Lublin: Riviera and Radość. The former was built on the roof of an office building and apart from the classic dance floor it offers a space modelled on tropical resorts, with deckchairs, a fountain, palm trees and a resting area. Riviera is the second most popular club in Lublin, with a total of 28,200 likes on Facebook. Other popular clubs (according to Facebook) such as Czekolada (39,500), Dom Kultury (24,600), and in the Campus (Silence Club; 30,400) are also situated within the party zone. Foursquare presented data concerning only three clubs in Lublin: Czekolada (42 likes), Dom Kultury (40 likes) and Riviera (15 likes).

5. Discussion and conclusions

In the analysed cities three main clubbing zone types were identified: a) zones within the Old Town around the main market square; b) zones along main shopping streets, and c) extensive zones in the city centre surrounded by a large number of other clubs scattered around a large downtown area. Why did the formation of clubbing zones progress differently in one city than in another? The reasons may be related both to the urban infrastructure and to the preferences of the partygoers and the decisions of local governments.

Two cities belonging to the last of the listed groups, Warsaw and Szczecin, were almost completely rebuilt after damage sustained during World War II. The centres of those cities were rebuilt from scratch without repeating their original layout, which resulted in the disappearance of some former city streets. The present clubbing and before-party infrastructure scattered over a considerable area may be an echo of the post-war development of those cities. War damage and later reconstruction caused the former most popular places in public space to disappear. Instead, new meeting places for the local community appeared, with restaurants and cafés scattered over a vast area. The rebuilt Old Towns in those cities are now places of recreation dotted with restaurants, and dance venues located close to 24-hour access to alcoholic beverages were built in newer parts of those cities, although not far from the historic buildings. This is especially visible

in Warsaw, where the Old Town is full of tourists, including foreign visitors, but the clubbing facilities are not there: they are located in the city centre to the south.

A similar situation can be seen in Lublin, where the Old Town is also free from clubbing. However, after leaving the Old Town in the direction of the city centre, you can see the first clubs and vodka drinking facilities that stretch roughly along the main street. The smaller size of the city and the smaller number of clubs in Lublin probably caused the clubbing zone not to have spread over a large area of city centre as it did in Warsaw, but limited it to a relatively small strip along the main shopping street (a similar distribution of clubs can be found in Katowice).

In other cities where the clubbing zone stretches along the main pedestrian routes (Bydgoszcz, Gdansk, Lodz, Sopot) a clear combination of before-party and clubbing function can be seen in the same location, which is also the most attractive area for tourists. The explanation for the development of such clubbing zones is the limited residential function in these areas. Almost nobody lives there, so nobody is bothered by loud music being played almost till the morning. For this reason local governments do not prohibit clubs there.

The last group of cities are those in which clubbing zones have formed around the main markets in the Old Town (Cracow, Poznan, Wroclaw). They have the densest network of clubs, which also largely overlap with the before-party zone. The Old Towns in these cities have long been areas of intensive tourism, with a huge number of souvenir shops, pizzerias, restaurants, pubs and other gastronomic facilities. The residential function has given way to short-term renting, so as with the previous group of cities, constant noise and crowds of people do not bother local residents so much. Premises often focused on serving foreign partygoers have been created over the years, sometimes turning entire streets into small clubbing zones, where clubs are located one next to another. In these cities, the problem of troublesome, often drunken tourists going from club to club is greatest because of the number of clubs and their density over a relatively small area.

The revitalisation of urban space had no great impact on the processes that transformed clubbing

infrastructure. Only single cases were recorded of new clubs opening in places where the public space was revived. It seems that the revitalisation of selected city quarters could have had a greater impact on increasing the popularity of certain clubs, which is particularly visible in Cracow.

The largest changes in the clubbing map (over the years 2004–17) occurred in relatively small cities such as Bydgoszcz and Lublin. The layout of the party zones in those cities changed nearly completely. This can be explained by two factors: the small spatial extent of the clubbing zone and the limited number of clubs. In such cases, the disappearance of a few clubs from the clubbing market can seriously remodel the entire clubbing infrastructure. In both cities over the years most of the popular clubs have been located very close to the before-party zone. Before 2004, most of the clubs were student-focused, hence most of dance clubs were located near the University Campus. In recent times, owners look more towards a wider clientele, especially the growing market for 25+ or 30+ people.

In Warsaw and Cracow changes in the clubbing map were almost unnoticeable. However, the environs of party zones have clearly modified – e.g. the growing popularity of clubs imitating tropical beaches and all other kinds of open-air events. In both cities there is a new phenomenon of combining music events with riverside activities. Clubbing by the Vistula River, both in Warsaw and in Cracow, became very popular and even fashionable. Clubs are open in the summer, exploiting their attributes of fresh air, artificial beaches and more lax dress codes. The boulevards are also a single zone where consumption of alcohol outside of club/bars boundaries is legally approved by the city governments. These factors attract many young people to leave the city centre in the evening to party in the open area on the riverside boulevards.

The remaining Polish cities not covered by the analysis usually have underdeveloped clubbing infrastructure, so the changes that took place in them in the clubbing aspect probably more resemble those that took place in Lublin or Bydgoszcz than in Warsaw and Cracow. In turn, big cities in other Central European countries, especially those known for their popularity among party tourists, are more reminiscent of Cracow in terms of clubbing infrastructure and the likely changes that have taken

place since accession to the European Union. However, in order to confirm this hypothesis, an analogous study should be conducted in selected cities in other countries. Similarly, in order to determine whether the processes presented on the example of Poland are similar in other former communist countries, and if so, what the extent of such similarity is, an extra survey would need to be carried out in those countries.

Finally, the authors would like to point out that the methodology used has potential limitations. The changes shown in the clubbing zones included general data only, without going into different types of clubs (e.g. mainly academic clientele, clubs for LGBT, 30+, only rock parties, house parties, etc.). An analysis of the detailed division of clubs in terms of music played and preferred clientele could shed different light on the study. Also, the time scope of the study, due to the lack of relevant data, limited to the two selected years 2004 and 2017, did not take into account the differences that could have resulted from a year-on-year analysis within the 13 years of the selected period. Despite these limitations, the results of the study explain some general processes, and may be a prelude to a broader study, both in terms of comparing the analysed processes in other countries and in terms of the more detailed analysis that the authors intend to perform in the coming years.

Acknowledgement

This work was partly supported by Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education. Project: Tourism potential of Polish cities in the aspect of clubbing city break. No. WZD/326/2014.

References

- Agryzkov, T. Marti, P. Tortosa, L. and Vicent J.F. (2016). Measuring urban activities using Foursquare data and network analysis: a case study of Murcia (Spain). *International Journal of GIS*, 31(1): 100-121. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13658816.2016.1188931>

- Bellis, M.A. Hughes, K. Bennett, A. and Thomson, R.** (2003). The role of an international nightlife resort in the proliferation of recreational drugs. *Addiction*, 98(12): 1713–1721. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1360-0443.2003.00554.x>
- Briggs, D. Tutenges, S. Armitage, R. and Panchev, D.** (2011). Sexy substances and the substance of sex: Findings from an ethnographic study in Ibiza, Spain. *Drugs and Alcohol Today*, 11(4): 173–187. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1108/17459261111194116>
- Browne, K.** (2007). A party with politics? (Re)making LGBTQ Pride spaces in Dublin and Brighton. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 8(1): 1–7. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360701251817>
- Downing, J. Hughes, K. Bellis, M.A. Calafat, A. Juan, M. and Blay N.** (2011). Factors associated with risky sexual behavior: A comparison of British, Spanish and German holidaymakers to the Balearics. *European Journal of Public Health*, 21(3): 275–281. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/ckq021>
- Fujita, H.** (2013). Geo-tagged Twitter collection and visualization system. *Cartography and Geographic Information Science*, 40(3): 183–191. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15230406.2013.800272>
- Gouldnig, C. and Shankar A.** (2011). Club culture, neo-tribalism and ritualized behavior. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(4): 1435–1453. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.03.013>
- Hughes, H. and Allen, D.** (2009). Central and Eastern Europe and EU accession 2004: Views of the impact on tourism. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 9(3): 185–198. DOI: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23745356>
- Iwanicki, G. and Dłużewska, A.** (2014). Wybrane aspekty zagranicznej turystyki clubbingowej w Trójmieście. *Turystyka kulturowa*, 12/2014: 38–53. DOI: <http://turystykakulturowa.org/ojs/index.php/tk/article/view/516/498>
- Iwanicki, G. and Dłużewska, A.** (2015). Potential of city break clubbing tourism in Wrocław. *Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic series*, 28: 77–90. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/bog-2015-0017>
- Iwanicki, G. and Dłużewska, A.** (2018). Party space in Cracow and Warsaw: partying and conflicts. *Economic Problems of Tourism*, 44(4): 139–145. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18276/ept.2018.4.44-11>
- Iwanicki, G. Dłużewska, A. and Smith, M.** (2016). Assessing the level of popularity of European stag tourism destinations. *Questiones Geographicae*, 35(3): 15–29. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1515/qua-geo-2016-0023>
- Laughey, D.** (2006). Music and youth culture. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Press.
- Low, V.** (2009). Riga stag parties are not an entirely British affair. *The Time*, August 10. <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/world/europe/article2600798.ece> (accessed: 15 September 2017).
- Malbon, B.** (1999). Clubbing. Dancing, ecstasy and vitality. London: Routledge.
- Markwell, K.** (2002). Mardi Gras tourism and the construction of Sydney as an International Gay and Lesbian City. *Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 8: 81–99. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1215/10642684-8-1-2-81>
- Marti, P. Serrano-Estrada, L. and Nolasco-Cirugeda, A.** (2017). Using locative social media and urban cartographies to identify and locate successful urban plazas. *Cities*, 64: 66–78. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2017.02.007>
- Puar, J.K.** (2002). Circuits of queer mobility: tourism, travel and globalization. *Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 8: 101–137. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1215/10642684-8-1-2-101>
- Ravn, S.** (2012). Contested identities: Identity constructions in a youth recreational drug culture. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15: 513–525. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549412442209>
- Redhead, S.** (1997). Subculture to Clubcultures: An Introduction to Popular Cultural Studies. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Roberts, M.** (2006). From ‘creative city’ to ‘no-go areas’ – the expansion of the nighttime economy in British town and city centres. *Cities*, 23(5): 331–338. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2006.05.001>
- Roberts, M. and Eldridge, A.** (2009). Planning the Night-time City. Routledge: London.
- Shaw, R.** (2014). Beyond night time economy: Affective atmospheres of the urban night. *Geoforum*, 51: 87–95. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2013.10.005>
- Smith, M. and Puczko, L.** (2010). Out with the old, in with the new? Twenty years of post-socialist marketing in Budapest. *Journal of Town and City Management*, 1(3): 288–299.
- Sonmez S. Apostolopoulos Y. Teocharous A. and Mas-sengale K.** (2013). Bar crawls, foam parties, and clubbing networks: Mapping the risk environment of Mediterranean nightlife resort. *Tourism Management*

- Perspectives*, 8: 49-59. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2013.05.002>
- St John, G.** (2004). Rave culture and religion. London: Routledge.
- Thurnell-Read, T.** (2012). Tourism Place and Space. British stag tourism in Poland. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(2): 801–819. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.09.009>