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Dr Tim Turner

Coventry University, School of Psychological, Social and Behavioural Sciences, Priory Street, Coventry, CV1 5FB, United Kingdom.

Contact: t.turner@coventry.ac.uk

Abstract

Background: This paper combines evidence from an ethnographic study of illicit drug use amongst tourists in Ibiza with Bryman's (2004) theoretical model of Disneyization. The principal aim was to construct a new conceptual framework that may help scholars, practitioners and policy makers make sense of dynamic patterns of illegal drug use across bounded play spaces such as tourist resorts, music festivals and nightclubs.

Methods: Ethnographic fieldwork employing a grounded theory design was undertaken over three summers in tourist locations on the Balearic island of Ibiza, including nightclubs, bars, cafes, beaches, airports and hotels. Field notes from participant observation were supplemented with data from semi-structured interviews (n=56) and secondary sources gathered from tourist marketing.

Results: The framework of Disneyization has been discussed in terms of 5 constructs: theming, hybrid consumption, branding, performative labour and atmospheres; each having a specific role in relation to understanding illicit drug use in bounded play spaces. Thus: *Theming* sets the stage, by physically and symbolically demarcating space with indelible themes of hedonism that open up the possibility of illicit drug use. *Hybrid-consumption* blurs the distinction between legal and illegal forms of intoxication, making the trading and consumption of illegal drugs appear like a natural feature of the consumer space. *Branding* demonstrates how participants construct intricate hierarchies of taste and credibility related to drug of choice. *Performative labour* re-enforces hybrid consumption, with participants working in the bounded play spaces of Ibiza immersed within the illicit drug market. *Atmospheres* represents the alchemic synergy of bounded play space and is important to understanding illicit drug use as a sensorial, deeply immersive but transitory experience

Conclusion: This research offers Disneyization as a new conceptual framework for making sense of deeply complex spatial, socio-cultural, psychological and economic processes that underpin dynamic patterns of drug use in bounded play spaces.

Key Words: Disneyization; affective atmospheres; bounded play spaces; drug use; Ibiza

Introduction

Bounded play spaces have been defined by Measham (2004: 343) as settings characterised by "the possibilities of pleasure, excess and gratification". Scholars have demonstrated how patterns of drug use can be temporally transformed within such spaces, including nightclubs, music festivals and hedonistic tourist resorts like Ibiza and Goa (D'Andrea 2007; Hesse and Tutenges 2008; Measham and Moore 2009; Briggs and Tutenges 2014). The extent to which illicit drug use has become a normal feature of young people's leisure time has been widely debated for many years. Recently, a nuanced interpretation of normalisation has outlined how patterns of drug use can be temporally transformed within fluid, socio-cultural boundaries. Thus, the meaning of illicit drugs is negotiated between social groups acting within porous boundaries shaped and defined by 'time' and 'space' (Measham and Shiner 2009: 507). In sharpening this emphasis on context, scholars have also turned towards cultural geography and affective theory to consider the sensory connections between drugs and the environment in which they are consumed. This places the focus on the psychoactive experience of drugs as one aspect of dynamic spatial arrangements, or *assemblages*, of people, light, smells, practices and performances (Duff 2008; Bohling 2015).

Drawing on ethnographic evidence gathered in Ibiza, this paper refracts illicit drug use through the lens of Bryman's (2004) influential model of *Disneyization*. Ultimately, the aim is to present a new conceptual framework for making sense of deeply complex spatial, socio-cultural, psychological and economic processes that underpin dynamic patterns of drug use in bounded play spaces. Bryman's (2004) model of Disneyization is constructed around four key pillars: theming, hybrid

consumption, branding, and performative labour. These, he argues, have been dispersed across the legal economy to create a desire to consume beyond necessity. This paper argues that the model is also relevant to consumption patterns within the *illegal* economy, as each of these pillars has a specific role in relation to understanding illicit drug use in a range of bounded play spaces.

Methods

Research Design

This study was underpinned by an interpretivist philosophy aligned to the theoretical paradigm of cultural criminology (see Hayward 2008). A constructivist grounded theory design was employed, with ethnographic field work undertaken to foreground the voice of participants and to develop an understanding of the ways in which they make sense of their experiences within the social context (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 211). Five periods of fieldwork were undertaken in Ibiza during the summers of 2010, 2011 and 2012, with each visit lasting for 8 days.

Field Work Setting

Theoretical sampling was used to enable the development of theoretical insights 'grounded' in the data, with emerging concepts guiding who and where to sample next (Breckenridge and Jones 2009: 113). Field work was located predominantly around the resort towns of San Antonio and Playa d'en Bossa, both renowned for hedonistic nightlife. A range of touristic locations were accessed for observation and participant recruitment, including beaches, hotel pool areas, cafes, bars, airports, and nightclubs.

Ethnographic Observation

This study employed three observational approaches. Firstly, unobtrusive observation was undertaken at various points throughout the 24-hour period. This involved observing interactions as they unfolded; the busy public nature of the settings made it easy to merge into the environment, ensuring observation had no influence on the behaviour of those present (Robson 2002: 311). Thoughts, feelings and observations were noted down to capture the context and experiences of participants (Charmaz 2000). Secondly, marginal participation involved making connections with tourists and seasonal workers. Limited amounts of alcohol were consumed during this role to ensure a 'fit' with the environment, an essential aspect of rapport building during such fieldwork (Thurnell-Read 2011: 39). Thirdly, having established trust, some participants allowed me to spend time with them as a participant observer. This required a level of participation, whilst still being able to ask questions about what is going on (Robson 2002: 317). This was ethically challenging at times, as I was in proximity to both the consumption and trading of illegal substances. The risks associated with such a role were ameliorated as far as possible.

Semi-structured Interviews

Field observations were complimented by data from 33 semi-structured interviews with individuals and small focus groups (n=56). Interviews varied in duration from 30 to 120 minutes. Interviewees consisted of 42 tourists (21 males and 21 females) and 13 seasonal workers (8 males and 5 females); all were aged between 18 and 35 years. A male Spanish Police Officer was also interviewed. Workers were employed in various roles linked to the night time economy, including door security, bar staff,

dancers, ticket sellers, and public relations (PR) staff. The holiday atmosphere made it easy to engage tourists and seasonal workers in conversation, facilitating participant recruitment. Interviews were conducted in quiet areas of bars, cafes, hotels, and beaches. Focus groups, consisting of between 2 and 6 members, were made up of British tourists who had travelled together, or who had formed friendships in Ibiza. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed.

Secondary Sources

Official tourist literature was also incorporated into the analysis. This included promotional flyers; tour operators' marketing material; advertisements for hotels, nightclubs and bars; and drinks menus / promotional campaigns located within venues.

Data Analysis

As is required with constructivist grounded theory, data analysis for this research was conducted simultaneously with data collection (Hood 2012). Field notes, interview transcripts, and photographic images were analysed with the aim of generating theory. Data analysis progressed from descriptive open coding to analytical focused coding (Charmaz 2008: 408). This led to the emergence of the core category of 'Disneyization of Drug Use', constructed around four central pillars: Theming, Branding, Performative Labour and Hybrid Consumption. Atmospheres is proposed here as a new pillar of the Disneyization framework. While a considerable amount of data was collected during the study, including 580 photographic images and 805 self-complete surveys, the focus of this paper is on the interpretation of findings drawn from interview transcripts, field notes, and official tourist literature.

Findings and Discussion

This paper argues that the four pillars of Disneyization can be used to make sense of illicit drug use in bounded play spaces. Thus: *Theming* sets the stage, by physically and symbolically demarcating space with indelible themes of hedonism that open up the possibility of illicit drug use. *Hybrid-consumption* blurs the distinction between legal and illegal forms of intoxication, making the trading and consumption of illegal drugs appear like a natural feature of the consumer space. *Branding* demonstrates how participants construct intricate hierarchies of taste and credibility related to drug of choice. *Performative labour* re-enforces hybrid consumption, with participants working in the bounded play spaces of Ibiza immersed in the illicit drug market. Finally, *atmospheres* is offered as a new fifth pillar of the Disneyization framework. This draws on scholarship within cultural geography and demonstrates how the alchemic synergy of bounded play space is important to understanding illicit drug use as a sensorial, deeply immersive but transitory experience. In a recognition that the experience of drugs "cannot be attributed to any single element" (Bohling 2015: 133), the distinction between these pillars is made only for the purpose of analysis.

Theming: Setting the Stage for Drug Use in Bounded Play Space

The theming of consumer space is a central pillar of Bryman's (2004) Disneyization framework. This refers to the way in which corporations manufacture distinct thematic narratives to turn consumption itself into a more exciting, memorable experience. Theming is relevant because it prepares the ground for the possibility of illicit drug use; it does this in three ways: by creating a strong sense of place; by creating liminality; and by creating themed experiences.

Creating Sense of Place

Theming helps create unique bounded consumer environments that look and feel different from other spaces. The infamous Glastonbury music festival, in southwest England, for example, is captured here by Julien Temple, director of acclaimed documentary *Glastonbury Afterhours*: "Place is really important. Like Shangri-La [a notoriously hedonistic space at Glastonbury], wandering around that city in the middle of the night is something quite new, and I think in a way it's more important than the music: environments, and how they make you think" (Barton 2012). This other-worldly theming of festival spaces is evident in related marketing material, as noted here in another example from the UK:

> "As the day's vivid colours wash over this picturesque landscape, our imaginations come alive. While others merely daydream, we seek true adventure within EDC's otherworldly domains. In this place, we reaffirm that we are kindred spirits bound by a deep passion for music, art and discovery. And there is so much to discover." (Electro Daisy Carnival 2016)

On a larger scale, theming can stretch beyond the physically bounded play spaces of music festivals and define entire tourist resorts. Consider, for example, the hyperreal themed 'bubbles' of Las Vegas, Goa and Ibiza – each of which are thematically stamped with an indelible sense of place that differentiates them from other spaces. The meaning of such themed bubbles is crystallised in strong corporate marketing narratives, exemplified here in a British tour operator's packaging of Ibiza:

> "Last summer, thousands of you made unforgettable memories at Ibiza that will last a lifetime. With its white sandy beaches, electric atmosphere, and insane party culture, it's no wonder the island is home to over two million tourists each year! For 2018, we plan to take the Party Hard Ibiza experience to another level! Our fantastic party holidays are available to everyone who likes to party hard, you don't have to be 18-30 to have a great time. All age groups welcome!" (Party Hard Travel 2018)

These themed marketing narratives accentuate Ibiza's cultural history as a "freak zone safety net" (Power 2013) and represent a "staged authenticity" (McCannell 1976: 45) that augments the island's intrinsic sense of place.

Creating Liminality

Theming helps form a 'tourist bubble' defined by a sense of liminality, where conventional ties are suspended in a social and spatial separation from life at home (Urry and Larsen 2011: 12). For many participants, this sense of disconnection began at the departure airport, a liminal travel space that is both within, but distinct, from the geographic context (Shaw and Williams 2004: 85; Pritchard and Morgan 2006: 762). Thus, participants' time both within the airport and on the outbound flight seemed to represent a symbolic dislocation from the routines of home, with a growing sense of anticipation of what to expect within the themed hyper-reality of Ibiza:

> "We did pills at the airport before we went through security. Fucking ridiculous." (Zac, tourist)

> "Have you ever come up [peak of ecstasy experience] on a plane? I wouldn't recommend it." (Ben, tourist)

This overwhelming sense of liminality was intensified on entry to the themed spaces of the island, with participants stepping into a 'temporary sphere of behaviour' (Shaw and Williams 2004: 151) within a world that felt distinctly different. For some this engendered a creeping sense of the surreal:

> "It's totally different here [in Ibiza]. Totally different to any place I've ever been. It's like a different world, it's an experience." (Ben, tourist).

> "The whole place is just surreal. It's like nowhere else." (Ashley, tourist).

> "It's mind-altering being here. Every day you feel unreal." (Zac, tourist)

These narratives demonstrate the sense of liminality that defined participants' experience inside the themed bubble of the island. An experience that is replicated within the bounded play spaces of music festivals, which are often experienced as other-worldly domains, stripped of the formality and rules of the 'real world' (Borlagdan et al. 2010: 97). In such environments, people are "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between", out of time and out of place (Turner 1997: 95), as one participant stated:

"I love it here. I don't want to leave. It's not real though" (Bianca, tourist).

Creating Themed Experiences

Participants' hiatus from the mundane routines of the everyday can be contextualised against a backdrop of the flourishing experience economy, where sensation seeking consumers covet packaged events that provide cherished memories and social kudos (Pine and Gilmore 1999). The important point here, is that the 'Ibiza experience' is marketed and subsequently interpreted on a *dual level*. Top-down corporate narratives by festival promoters, tour operators, global super-club brands and other stakeholders – endlessly market themes of hedonism and aspirational freedom, but in sanitised language that obfuscates the role of illegal drugs, which often saturate such spaces. These coded allusions to psychoactive substances are then reimagined in bottom-up constructions, as switched-on consumers read between the lines. This duality of theming is exemplified in *Figure 1*, showing the juxtaposition between tourism marketing and participant narratives.

Corporate Top-Down Theming	Participant Bottom-Up Theming
Club 18-30 is what the summer is all about… Cool tunes. Great clubs. The ultimate holiday experience. There comes a time in life when you need to do it for yourself. A time to break free and break the mould. To explore, leave the map at home and find yourself. To find that one moment and make it last a lifetime. That time is now. Sunrise to sunset. Sunset to sunrise. This is the time of your life. Love every single second of it (Thomas Cook 2016)	One of my mates hadn't taken drugs before, but he knows what he signed up for. He knows what Ibiza is like and just agreed to try them over here. He tried coke on the first night and had a couple of [ecstasy] pills. He just tried ketamine last night. (Ben, tourist)
If you want to party all night this is the town for you! Endless bars and nightclubs in the original home of dance culture ... It has 2 of the classic beachfront bars Café Del Mar and Café Mambo where people gather to drink and dance on the rocks and watch the sun set. (The Co-operative Travel 2016)	This whole area, everyone here is off their head. M-Cat, oh my god, you have a key [refers to a small quantity of powder snorted from a key] and it'll get you buzzing all night. Pills. One green rock star [type of ecstasy] you are *off your head*. (Sarah, sunset on the rocks near Café Mambo)

Figure 1: Themed Ibiza: Top Down / Bottom Up

These excerpts demonstrate how corporate theming *sets the stage* for the possibilities of transgressive drug use, which for many participants was a central aspect of the 'Ibiza experience'. Bryman (2004) asserts how theming makes products in the legal economy appear more attractive and therefore more likely to be consumed; field work revealed that this is also true of the *illegal* economy, and partially explains the prolific levels of illicit drug use that occur in Ibiza and other bounded play spaces, as one participant stated:

> "I haven't really taken drugs for a while, probably like a year, but we've landed here and just got on it. We've done pills and ket every day, like five days straight." (Bianca, tourist)

Hybrid Consumption: Drugs as a Natural Feature of Consumer Space

According to Bryman (2004), *hybrid consumption* is the process by which disparate products and services are seamlessly woven together within the same consumer space, so that established differences become indistinct. This is relevant to understanding drug use, because in bounded play spaces the line between *legal* and *illegal* forms of intoxication can become eroded to the point of collapse. This transforms regular patterns of drug use in two principal ways: by generating hyper-reality; and, by making drug use an attractive and viable option.

Generating Hyper-Reality

Hybrid consumption patterns within bounded play spaces generate an immersive, hyper-real experience; a kind of "magical alternate reality" (Braverman 2000: 104). In Ibiza, the world of illegal drugs, more usually operating on a veiled subterranean level, is seamlessly interwoven into the everyday consumer experience. This indicates that in bounded plays spaces there can be different standards of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in operation, blurring the boundaries between the real and unreal. As Steeves (2003: 185) suggests, in Disneyized hyper-reality there is "a different kind of conscious engagement with the world [and] one cannot help but be altered by the environment". As these excerpts demonstrate, this means that conventional order becomes displaced by a sense of playfulness and subversion (Carlson 1996: 24):

> "It's nothing like home. Drugs are just accepted here. Simple as that. It's the same as ordering a take away." (Nick, bar worker / drug dealer)

> "People act differently when they're on holiday; they're like different people. Drugs are just so hugely accepted here, it's easy to get away with it" (Alex, tourist)

Drug Use as an Attractive and Viable Option

This new conscious engagement created within hyper-reality suspends and subverts the usual constraints associated with illicit drug use. For many of the tourists and seasonal workers that participated in this research, this opened up possibilities of transgression and made the use of illegal drugs a more attractive and viable option. Consequently, as field work consistently revealed, in certain spaces of Ibiza, buying, selling, offering, sharing and using illicit substances feels perfectly 'natural'. For many participants, this meant engaging in patterns of drug consumption that were completely different to their lives at home in the UK.

> "We've been doing pills and ketamine every day. I mean it's not healthy like; it can't be good having it every single day. I'd never have more than one pill back home. Over here, the first night, I think I had four. That's the most I've ever had, four or five." (Jed, tourist)

> "A lot of people will come out here and say, 'this is the first time I've ever taken a pill'. I met this couple here on holiday last week, they were so straight laced at home, and here they'd been doing pills for the first time. It's just seen as acceptable out here. It's just the done thing." (Karen, PR Manager)

> "I've been offered pills about forty times. Even sitting around here [by the hotel swimming pool] you'll get people coming and asking if you want anything. One of the mates I'm with is clean living at home, goes down the gym and all that. He took three pills yesterday afternoon, just sat by the pool." (Rob, tourist)

These excerpts show how hotels, with their evocation of fantasy and freedom, are a key example of liminal travel spaces; and for our participants the public, private and in-between spaces of hotels yielded opportunities for brief moments of transgression and adventure (Preston-Whyte 2004; Pritchard and Morgan 2006: 765). Illicit drugs were shared, consumed and sold within the privacy of hotel rooms, the semi-private spaces of adjoining balconies and the public sunbathing areas around hotel swimming pools, exemplified here by two tourists:

> "The only thing I took was a pill and a bit of M-Cat, because I'd never tried it before. We were in the hotel room with some guys who'd moved in to the room next door half way through the week, and I said I'll try a bit, just to see what it did" (Ashley, tourist)

> "I've never done ket. Always said I'd steer clear of it. Then this lad in the hotel offers me a key. I asked him what it was, and he goes 'ket'. I thought about it for about two seconds, shrugged and just did it." (Paul, tourist)

Here, we see the impact of Disneyized hybrid consumption within bounded play space, with illegal drugs a natural feature of the consumer experience. The result, as the following field note demonstrates, is that inside the bubble, drug use can feel 'normal' in the most mundane of locations:

> It's 6am and after a long night, I sit having breakfast with Nick (bar worker / drug dealer) in a local café popular with British workers. As we chat idly over mugs of tea, Nick takes a plastic pouch of ketamine from his wallet, dips a key into it, and openly snorts the white powder cleanly from the metal. In my third week on the island, over breakfast in a bustling café, this feels like an absolutely 'normal' thing to do. (Tim Turner, field notes, 12 August 2011).

Branding: Alcohol, Illicit Drugs and Consumer Choice

The importance of branding as a marketing technique to drive consumption represents the third pillar of Bryman's (2004) Disneyization framework.

In an era defined by individualism, notions of identity and lifestyle shape many of the choices we make as consumers. This is particularly apparent within youth culture, with overt projections of 'cool' distinction circulating around music, clothing, and flamboyant displays of intoxication (Bennett 1999; Bourdieu 2010). Through this lens, the changes in patterns of drug use that occur in bounded play space are not the result of structural determinism, but a conscious consumer decision projecting taste, identity and lifestyle. Here, in a notable twist of irony, the narratives of sociality and togetherness that have come to define the clubbing experience (Bunton and Coveney 2011:17) are refuted, with bounded play spaces shown to be "riddled with

cultural hierarchies" (Thornton 1995: 3) and fragmented by exactly the same judgements of taste that permeate other areas of consumer society. This is relevant to understanding drug use in three principal ways: the relationship between alcohol, drugs and social kudos; credibility, taste and branded identity; drugs and aspirational lifestyle.

Alcohol, Drugs and Social Kudos

For many participants drug use conveyed a degree of distinction that was aligned to the 'real' Ibiza, and as such represented an othering mechanism to disparage individuals and groups engaged in purposeful drunkenness. In bounded play spaces like Ibiza, the usual signifiers of taste are therefore subverted, with illegal drug use construed as a more positive signifier of identity than what Hayward and Hobbs (2007: 447) term the "warp-speed" drunkenness of "the tasteless, vulgar masses" (Urry and Larsen 2011:31).

> "You've got tourists who've come here on a package holiday and they just want to come and stay around the West End [chaotic drinking strip in San Antonio, Ibiza], because it's cheap drinks. They don't know anything about music; they've just come to get absolutely shit-faced for the whole week that they're here. You get a lot of stag and hen groups who are just lager-lout-Brits-abroad" (Karen, PR manager)

> "I hate people here this year, [they're] just thick piss-heads [derogatory slang term for heavy drinker]. Very, very thick, and very, very dull." (Jack, bar worker)

> "It bugs me that people just go down there [West End] and get smashed. They just sit around getting pissed, being lary and acting like dicks." (Alex, tourist)

> "As long as piss-head British tourists aren't acting like chavs, jumping up and down and singing stupid fucking football songs it doesn't bother me. I'm like, 'do us all a favour, take a fucking pill and just enjoy yourself'" (Christopher, bouncer)

Drug Use - Credibility, Taste and Branded Identity

Whilst participants using illegal drugs therefore distinguished themselves from

'pissheads', they also made distinctions against other drug users, with some

substances perceived as more acceptable than others. As with consumer products

within the legal economy, 'brand' choices were wrapped up in notions of identity,

credibility and taste. Ecstasy use, for example, was endemic and widely accepted

amongst participants:

> "I ruined pills for myself coming [to Ibiza]. I'd never taken them before here. I
> started off taking one or two, and then within a week I'd do five. I'm not
> exaggerating. I took four every day for two months. They're so cheap. Same
> as buying a couple of drinks." (Sam, drug dealer)

> "I went out yesterday and bought a hundred pills for the six of us." (Alex,
> Tourist)

Attitudes to ketamine, however, were more divisive. The asocial inertia of the K-hole -

a paralysed state induced by high ketamine dosage - was frequently alluded to with

marked disdain:

> "I'd never take ketamine. I think it's disgusting and I can't believe people
> take horse tranquillisers, so stupid, but they seem to enjoy it so leave them
> to it. One of my mates over here was in a K-hole. It was quite funny, he
> couldn't move for ages apart from his hand. He just rolled over, staring.
> Next day, he says, 'ah I couldn't move again'. I said, 'why do you keep
> taking it then?' He was like, 'because it's fun', I said 'it's fun, not being able
> to move? Alright, fair enough!' [dismissively]" (Jack, bar worker)

> "I can't fucking stand ketamine. I'll have a little bump now and again, just to
> get me through the night, fine. But a lot of people go back to these 'house
> parties' [does quote marks with fingers]. Now back in the day when I did
> house parties it was people getting high and bouncing off the walls, having a
> good time and dancing. Now it seems to be do a big fucking line of ketamine,
> roll up in a ball on the sofa and go off with the fucking fairies. That to me is not
> an after party." (Christopher, bouncer)

It is important to acknowledge here that the experience of drug use is of course

inherently idiosyncratic. As Weinberg (2013: 177) states, feelings of "hazy, druggy

pleasure" for one person may feel like "unpleasant dizziness and disorientation" for another. In this sense, the K-hole as described in these narratives represents a "contested space between perceived positive and negative consequences of ketamine" (Moore and Measham 2008: 238). However, participant narratives went beyond such constructions of pleasure, and instead revolved around notions of taste and class:

> "MCAT and ketamine are dirt. The people taking coke have got a bit more class and money." (Karen, PR Manager)

> "There's definitely more coke and pills taken in Playa d'en Bossa instead of ketamine, that's just a dirty drug" (Kelly, tourist)

> "People will just walk up and ask me if I've got any ketamine. I say, 'why are you doing that shit? Stick to pills'. It's stupid. I tell everyone they're stupid." (Chris, bar worker)

Amongst participants in this study, the literal branding of drugs was a further signifier of taste and quality. Smith (2014: 82) illustrates how extolling the virtues of one alcoholic drink over another can provide distinction over peers. This is also true for illegal substances. Ecstasy, for example, is invariably branded with distinctive logos embossed into the surface of the pill. These logos, along with colour and shape, convey brand identity, enabling consumers to distinguish them. The lack of research into the naming of illicit drugs is an important omission as they are essentially subject to the same marketing dynamics as any other consumer product (Fitzgerald 2002: 201). As such, the logos stamped into ecstasy pills can convey cultural capital and brand characteristics, with recent notable examples of luxury symbolism including Porsche (see Image 1), Louis Vuitton, Rolls-Royce, and Rolex (Pidd 2016).

Image 1: *Luxury Symbolism on Ecstasy Pills (Vice 2018)*

Aside from the allure of luxury symbolism, participants alluded to the importance of ecstasy branding on several levels. Symbols conveyed the strength and chemical composition of the pill, and the type of experience to be expected:

> "These fucking Gold Leaf, man, I only had half and I was off my fucking nut. They're fucking amazing" [opens his hand and shows me three hard-pressed, beige ecstasy pills stamped with a leaf] (Matt, tourist).

For some participants, branding was a key indicator of quality and was an essential aspect of their decision to use the drug, as Alex (tourist) states here:

> "I only wanted Yellow Smileys [ecstasy]. Judging what I'd seen on pill report and blue light [web-based forums], I knew exactly what I should be getting, and where I should be going. It's clean as you like; up sharp, down sharp, go home, go to sleep, eat next day, no problems. I was adamant, I said 'if you can't get Smileys then I don't want anything'."

Furthermore, branding also enabled tourists to convey identity and credibility based on an ability to consume large quantities of the drug in question, as Ben (tourist) demonstrates:

"We got hold of some Gold Leaf [ecstasy]. We'd heard they were really strong. I took at least five."

Drugs and Aspirational Lifestyle

The distinctions outlined above demonstrate that the bounded play spaces of Ibiza feature the differentiated normalisation of drug use (see Shildrick 2002), but with a late-modern twist. On the surface, entering the Disneyized bubble temporally obscures social differences, as one participant indicated:

"We're at the bottom, but we're trying to get up. Obviously, you get people here who've got the money, then you get people like us who haven't got the money, but just want to be here and try doing it on a budget." (Harry, tourist)

The irony then, is that whilst reified issues such as class and employment status may be obfuscated in Ibiza, consumer taste becomes the new vehicle to denigrate others. Thus, participants mercilessly judged one another in ever decreasing circles, with hierarchies of taste around place, music, clothing and drug use frequently alluded to within interviews. Such attitudes confirm how contemporary urban populations are delineated by branding, merchandise and aspirational lifestyle (Giddens 1991). This is crystallised by an "incredible intensification of contemporary advertising techniques" (Hayward 2012b: 216) which commodifies youthfulness as a fluid state of being. As *Image 2* below demonstrates, themes of freedom, living for the moment, and phony counterculture now permeate the consumer landscape, with themes of transgression even incorporated into advertisements for *Coca-Cola*. It is in this context, that illegal drug use, indelibly associated with youth culture, becomes a key signifier of taste as consumers strive for credibility within bounded play spaces.

Image 2: 'You're on Coke' advertising campaign (Gianatasio 2014)

Performative Labour: Drug Use and the Theatrics of Bounded Play Spaces

Performative labour defines the theatrical nature of employment within the contemporary experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999; Bryman 2004). This is evident in a range of bounded play spaces, including music festivals, night-clubs and tourist resorts. Many of the young, British people who travel to Ibiza for casual summer work, find performative labour roles within the island's night-time economy. Field work revealed the pivotal role of these seasonal workers in creating the hedonistic milieu of the main tourist areas. They are relevant to understanding drug use in this context in three principal ways: blurring of the line between work and leisure; the transition to dealing; and the performance of control.

Blurring the Line Between Work and Leisure

In Ibiza, the demarcation between seasonal workers and tourists was frequently blurred, with both groups involved in similar patterns of drug use, albeit over different periods of time. This served to re-enforce both the hybrid consumption of illegal

drugs and the hyper-reality of the space. Whilst performative labour can in some instances be little more than a cynical, surface level act (Goffman 1990), it can also be enacted on a much deeper emotional level (Bryman 2004; Van Diljk, Smith and Cooper 2011). Seasonal tourist workers, for example, are required to embody the adventurous excitement of the spaces they represent (Beardsworth and Bryman 2001). Such deep level performance was evident amongst participants, with the boundary between work and leisure rapidly eroded, effectively eliminating any distinction between Goffman's (1990) front and back stage performance arenas:

> "I work six days a week, from 10 at night till 5 in the morning, but to be honest you get to drink on the job and you get to talk to people and have a laugh, so it's not really like work. We get free drinks when we finish at 5, so we get even more drunk than we already are." (Jack, bar worker)

Seasonal worker participants personified the island's themed hedonism in a deep level of performance where they experience the emotion conveyed (Bryman 2004; Van Diljk, Smith and Cooper 2011). These excerpts illustrate that those engaged in such performative labour are rapidly enmeshed into the hedonistic atmosphere of the bounded play space:

> "How many workers use drugs? All of us! Well, at least 90 per cent" (Nick, bar worker / drug dealer)

> "I've worked out here for four summers, so I know what goes on with the workers. You wouldn't believe how many drugs they consume, and how little work gets done because they're always smashed out of their fucking heads [laughs]. It's pretty much endemic, and never changes much." (John, bar worker)

The Transition to Dealing

Many of those engaged in performative labour in Ibiza make the decision to generate additional income from dealing illegal drugs. This is facilitated as the economic benefits of dealing are measured against skewed perceptions of risk in the

Disneyized, hyper-real space. Seasonal workers are therefore key actors in establishing processes of hybrid consumption, with selling drugs to tourists an endemic practice across the worker community:

> "Every other person here is a drug dealer. It starts off every other person is a ticket seller, and then after about three or four weeks, every other person is a drug dealer. It's an easy way to make money. You take ten, fifteen, twenty pills out in your pocket. You make between two and three hundred euros straight up, and it's not difficult." (Ella, ticket seller)

> "My flat mates don't have jobs, they just sell drugs. They just make money from selling drugs." (Kazza, bar worker)

Many of the seasonal worker participants in this study exhibited a remarkably blasé attitude towards drug dealing. The Disneyized space seemed to distort their perceptions of risk in relation to the myriad of potential harms associated with involvement in the illegal drug trade, as these participants indicated:

> "Dealing is just too easy, you'd have to be really stupid to get caught" (Nick, bar worker / drug dealer)

> "I've walked in with pills in my bag. I mean I've taken fifty pills into [superclub venue] before. Literally had them clenched between my arse cheeks, walk in, sound! Stick 'em in your hair as well. That works." (Sam, drug dealer)

The Performance of Control

The hybrid consumption of illegal drugs within bounded play spaces of Ibiza, and associated distortions of risk amongst tourists and seasonal workers, was intricately related to the complicit and ambivalent attitudes of those engaged in control roles. This was an issue that frequently emerged within interviews, exemplified in the narratives below:

> "I was working on a boat party and some guys were doing M-Cat. I watched them roll it up and crush it. It was so obvious. If I was a dickhead, I'd have took it off them, but I went over and said, 'mate, do me a favour, hold it down and don't be so fucking blatant'." (Christopher, bouncer)

"I've never seen door security search anyone. Even in the big clubs, they'd just take it off you, chuck you out, and then sell it themselves. I was in [venue] the other day and I'd got a gram of ket. I couldn't see. I was off my face. This doorman walks up, opens my hand, and takes the ket off me. And I don't know why, but I just gave him 20 euro, and he gave me the ket back and let me stay in! Robbed me ket! [laughs]" (Sam, drug dealer)

"The police here are rotated because they become corrupt if they spend too long on the island. They get involved in the drug scene because they realise they can make money. They'll take drugs off kids and sell them on. That's just what they do." (John, bar worker)

In this sense, those employed as controllers are also engaged in a deep level of performative labour and play a key role in negotiating the meaning of drug use within bounded play spaces. This represents a *performance of control*, with official narratives of intolerance contradicted by tales of police ambivalence, and door security exposed as routinely complicit to the use and trading of illegal substances. This is perhaps best exemplified in the blasé attitude of a Spanish police officer who commented:

"Up to 30 or 40 [ecstasy] pills here [shrugs shoulders with ambivalence], we take them to the police station and just fill in the forms. They get a fine. It's not a big problem. [Smiling] On the mainland, it's different. There, maybe 5 is a problem."

'Atmospheres' and the Pleasures of Drug Use

In Ibiza and similar bounded play spaces, the alchemic synergy of theming, branding, hybrid consumption and performative labour magically generates deeply immersive *atmospheres* that are experienced as greater than the sum of constituent parts. Whilst difficult to define, atmospheres can be tangibly 'felt' as they saturate space in a way that is affectively and sensually overwhelming, enveloping and connecting those present within an emotionally charged bubble (Anderson 2009; Shaw 2013; Edensor and Sumartajo 2015). *Atmospheres* represents an important addition to the Disneyization framework presented in this paper; this is relevant to

understanding drug use in bounded play spaces in three principal ways: drugs, immersion and assemblage; sensorial pleasures; and atmospheres as fragile and temporary.

Drugs, Immersion and Assemblage

In the bounded play spaces of Ibiza illicit drugs represent an immersive component of assembled space. This reflects Deleuze and Guattari's (1998: 476) concept of *assemblage*, defined as an, "amorphous collection of juxtaposed pieces that can be joined together in an infinite number of ways". As such, the narratives outlined below provide empirical weight to recent scholarship focused on the embodied, affective and sensorial aspects of drug use (see Duff 2008; Jayne, Valentine and Holloway 2008; Demant 2013; Bohling 2015):

> "Sometimes the rush [of ecstasy] can be so overpowering. You've never felt anything like it. Everything just came together. The rush of all the people, the music, all the lights … I couldn't stop staring and grinning at the whole, beautiful thing" (Carla, tourist).

> "When you're in the middle of the club with your mates, and everyone in the room is on the same level cos of the pills and the music and the visuals, it's just *off the hook*." (David, tourist)

> "All I know, is I had the best time in there. It was so good. Loved it. Absolutely loved it. I saw Tiesto [superstar DJ]. I was in my element. It was the imagery on stage, his presence in the middle of it all, the visuals behind him and all the people around me. I was just so happy that these people were next to me. We all had our arms around each other, everyone on pills, everyone at the same level" (Jack, bar worker)

> "It's not a big club, but the music, the pills, the DJs, the crowd, the whole aura. Everything was just perfect. Absolutely incredible." (Ella, ticket seller)

In these accounts, we see how drug use represents a key component of such spatial assemblages and are an essential aspect of the immersive atmosphere within bounded play space. Demant (2013: 198) refers to the "thrown-togetherness" of such dynamic spatial arrangements, a term implying that atmospheres materialise almost

by chance. However, in the bounded play spaces of tourist resorts, music festivals

and clubs, such atmospheres are not 'thrown together', they are *manufactured*

through the processes of Disneyization that have been outlined here. As Shaw and

Williams (2004: 21) assert, some forms of tourism cannot exist unless particular

combinations of goods and services are provided. In this sense, the experience of

Disneyized bounded play space represents a stage-managed assemblage that is

interwoven with illegal drug use to enhance the atmosphere, representing a

reciprocal relationship where "consumption informs production, as much as

production shapes consumption" (Shaw and Williams 2004: 13).

> "I've never known May [partner] to go out and *not* take drugs. She loves her music, but for her, she needs that enhancement". (Alex, tourist)

> "The lads asked me about it back home, and I tell them the truth, you come to Ibiza for the music and the drugs." (Ben, tourist)

> "If it wasn't for the drug culture here, this island literally wouldn't exist. It would not be here." (Christopher, bouncer)

Sensorial Pleasures

In deconstructing the sensorial experience of illicit drugs, *light* and *sound* represent

two crucial features of the immersive atmosphere / assemblage. Light is an aspect of

the sensory environment that can "envelop, guide, invite, deter and otherwise subtly

influence our patterns of sociability" in urban space (Atkinson 2007: 1907). The

changing nature of cities at night has been explored within criminology, sociology

and geography, however recent scholarship has focused on the affective and

atmospheric dimensions of night-time space (Shaw 2013: 87). In the current

research, darkness was one of the most powerful precursors of atmosphere. As the

sun goes down in the bounded play spaces of tourist resorts and music festivals, the

playful aspects of liminality and hyper-reality are intensified, as people step into

temporal forms of behaviour. As this excerpt demonstrates, sunset atmospherically

transforms an indistinct rocky coastline into a "phantasmagoric realm" (Edensor

2015: 332) saturated with illicit drug use:

> "Drug use is barely concealed amongst the three hundred-strong crowd gathered on the rocks at dusk. I've been offered pills half a dozen times in the last couple of hours. As the sun disappears into an oceanic horizon, the decibels are ramped up by the DJ, and the loved-up gathering spontaneously erupts into raucous cheers and applause. It feels like we're celebrating the symbolic arrival of the night." (Tim Turner, field notes, 11 August 2011)

Here, the temporal boundaries of light pull bodies in to create a "flexible

atmosphere […] intensified within a small time-space" (Shaw 2013: 92). This alters

the social relations between those present, with drugs an interwoven aspect of the

assemblage. *Sound* is also a powerful sensorial component of atmosphere and

has been defined by Hill and Saroka (2010: 509) as the fourth dimension of the

present. The "sonic ecology" (Atkinson 2007) of atmosphere is important in

understanding drug use, because sound can break open practices of interaction

and experimentation (Edensor and Sumartajo 2015: 253). In Ibiza, just as it does in

Disney parks, music defines both the meaning and the boundaries of themed

space (Carson 2004), sonically promoting culture, lifestyle and [drug] consumption

(Hayward 2012a). This immersive symbiosis of sound and drugs featured

consistently in participant narratives:

> "I took the best pill I've ever taken in my life in there [superclub]. The music was amazing. I had about two hours just next to the bass bins with my eyes closed." (Jack, bar worker)

> "We did gold leaf [ecstasy]. It was so intense, so good, like dancing inside some claustrophobic sweatbox. I felt the bass through every part of my body, like it had passed through every one of us in the club. It connected us, like we were inside the music." (Maria, tourist)

Atmospheres - Fragile and Temporary

Whilst these narratives convey the powerfully immersive spell of atmospheres, field work revealed their fragile nature. This temporality was acknowledged by participants to be *physical*, in that they perceived themselves to be acting within a time-limited bubble, indicated in these narratives:

> "I couldn't live like this. On the fourth day, I woke up and thought, 'I won't be doing any more drugs this holiday'. Then my mate said, 'it's once a year, just get on it', so I did. We'll stop when we get home." (Ben, tourist)

> "You still feel like you're on drugs the next day. I mean for ten days, fair enough, but I couldn't do it longer than that" (Zac, tourist)

Whilst participants were therefore aware of the temporal boundaries of their experience, atmosphere was also psychologically fragile and vulnerable to sudden shifts. The immersive hyper-reality was subject to fracture at any point, as this excerpt from field notes exemplifies:

> A woman in her 20s collapses on the floor, and in that moment the spell of the club is broken. She looks terrible. Her eyes have rolled back, and her mouth hangs limply open. Those in the vicinity look shocked as two, visibly shaken male friends grasp her under the shoulders and drag her limp body off the dance floor. As she disappears into the crowd, the group around me shake off their concern, turn to face the DJ and start dancing again. Out of sight and out of mind, the bubble is restored (Tim Turner, field notes, 10 July 2012)

In proposing atmospheres as an additional fifth pillar of this conceptual framework, the current research contributes to a growing, yet limited, evidence base that focuses on the affective and sensorial connections between atmosphere and the pleasures of drug use.

Conclusion

The principal aim of this paper has been to construct a conceptual framework that may help scholars, practitioners and policy makers to understand deeply complex spatial, socio-cultural, psychological and economic processes that underpin fluid patterns of drug use in bounded play spaces. In modifying Bryman's (2004) influential Disneyization framework, the paper has identified how theming, hybrid consumption, branding, performative labour and atmospheres can each be applied to understand drug use in contexts such as tourist resorts, music festivals and clubs. This is not however intended as an exercise in reductionism; extricating the enmeshed processes that underpin the dynamic shifts in drug use that occur in such contexts is not simple. The constituent parts of the Disneyization framework do not operate unilaterally, instead the trading and consumption of illegal drugs is folded into deeply immersive, affective atmospheres, alchemically generated as the pillars blur and collapse in on one another. In foregrounding the views of young people acting in the bounded play spaces of Ibiza, this research makes a contribution to the growing literature on the situated sensorial, affective and socio-cultural pleasures of drug use and shows how this experience is mediated by boundaries of time and space. The intention was not however to obfuscate the multiple harms associated with the patterns of drug use that occur in Ibiza and similar contexts. In this respect, the Disneyization framework reveals how perceptions and thresholds of risk are not fixed and can be rapidly distorted within hyper-real contexts. This lends weight to current campaigns (see Fisher and Measham 2018, for example) for ground-breaking harm reduction strategies that "de-dramatize risk" (Race 2008: 422) to be implemented across music festivals, clubs and other bounded play spaces.

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