Space, Drugs and Disneyfication
An Ethnography of British Youth in Ibiza

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Space, Drugs and Disneyization: An Ethnography of British Youth in Ibiza

By

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For Seb, Scarlett and Jude

And in memory of my uncle, Robert Cotterill, and my father, Mike Turner

Contents

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ABSTRACT

Study Aims: This study aims to provide an innovative 'ground up' interpretation of the lived experience of illicit drug use amongst British tourists and seasonal workers on the Balearic island of Ibiza, the global capital of electronic dance music.

Methods: Ethnographic fieldwork employing a grounded theory design was undertaken over the summers of 2010, 2011 and 2012 in a range of Ibiza tourist locations including nightclubs, bars, cafes, beaches, airports and hotels. Observations were supplemented with interviews, focus groups, informal conversations and documentary photography.

Findings: The four pillars of *Disneyization*, defined by Bryman (2004) as *theming*, *merchandising*, *hybrid consumption* and *performative labour*, are used to contextualise the differential normalisation of illicit drugs within bounded spaces of Ibiza. *Immersive atmosphere* is proposed as a fifth pillar of Disneyization, as such spaces incorporate the staging of spectacular events that envelop British tourists and seasonal workers into a theme park like arena offering temporal pleasures of drug use and hedonistic excess.

Conclusion: Ethnographic engagement with tourists and seasonal workers in Ibiza reveals that drug use on the island is a complex entanglement of Disneyized structure, agency, and a multitude of sensual pleasures. These findings challenge the dominant political and criminological ideology that consistently and simplistically represents such drug use as inherently senseless and pathological.

Implications: Three implications emanate from this research. Firstly, an ideological shift within criminology is recommended, with researchers engaging drug users from the 'bottom up' to counter dominant narratives of control. Secondly, it is recommended that the theory of Disneyization should be used to develop a more nuanced understanding of drug use within bounded spaces such as music festivals and nightclubs. Finally, those involved in harm reduction initiatives need to acknowledge the temporal risk distortion that occurs within Disneyized space, as this has implications for the health and wellbeing of those involved.

List of Images

List of Tables

Introduction

Aims of the Thesis

The aim of this research is to draw together and make sense of the socio-cultural meanings of illicit drug use amongst young people within tourist resorts and similar bounded spaces. The study focuses on illicit recreational drugs associated with the electronic dance music (EDM) scene, such as ecstasy / MDMA (3,4-methylenedioxymethamphetamine; MDMA), cocaine, mephedrone and ketamine (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007). These are classified as illegal substances within the *Misuse of Drugs Act 1971* (HM Government 1971), distinguishing them from the range of novel psychoactive substances (NPS) (known as 'legal highs') that have become increasingly popular within the United Kingdom (UK) (Davey et al. 2010) and which have recently been legislated against within the Psychoactive Substances Act (PSA 2016).

Background to the Thesis

The research was situated within bounded regions on the Balearic Island of Ibiza, a location that continues to draw tourists due to its enduring reputation for nightlife related to EDM (Bellis et al. 2003 and Diken and Laustsen 2004). European short-haul holiday destinations such as Ibiza continue to attract

large numbers of British tourists on an annual basis. Whilst the recession has undoubtedly had an impact on tourism, annual summer holidays to European resorts remain an affordable leisure activity for many people (Mintel 2014). In recent decades a number of factors have converged to see a rise in youth tourism. Wider participation in Higher Education has resulted in young people having increased leisure time during summer periods, as well as relatively easy access to student loans (Sellars 1998: 612). This has coincided with the emergence of budget airlines, which have made European air travel unprecedentedly affordable (Bellis et al. 2009 and Thurnell-Read 2011a). In a recent study, youth travel was shown to be one of the fastest growing sectors within the tourist industry, with young adults representing approximately 20% of all international arrivals (Khoshpakyants and Vidishcheva 2010).

For young adults, holidays are often characterised by experimentation and excess. When the constraints and responsibilities of home are removed, nightlife-focused holidays can immerse young tourists in environments defined by hedonism (Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014: 10052). In the wake of the recession, many young people have continued to live in parental homes into their twenties and beyond, consequently holidays can represent an important means of escaping parental gaze for brief periods of freedom (Mintel 2010a and Sellars 1998). Package tour beach holidays to European resorts remain the most popular option for young people, ahead of short city breaks. Several countries actively market resorts as international party destinations to the young tourist demographic (Bellis et al. 2009). It is Spain however, that remains the most popular choice for this group, as a consequence of the country's strong association with youth culture and vibrant nightlife. Indeed, in a 2014 survey over a third of adults aged between 25 and 35 said that they had visited Spain within the previous five years. The combination of proximity

and affordability make this a more popular option than longer-haul destinations in South East Asia, North Africa and Cancun in Mexico (Mintel 2014 and Sellars 1998).

In terms of resort choice, the Balearic Islands, consisting of Ibiza, Mallorca and Menorca, are the most popular destinations for beach holidays (Mintel 2014), with the Canary Islands second. The popularity of island resorts over mainland destinations may be explained by the Spanish Tourist Board's tendency to promote islands more intensively. Such promotion is essential as tourism-related activity is often the primary source of income for island economies (Carlsen and Butler 2011). Whilst Spain therefore represents the prime destination for young people, a plethora of alternative European destinations are similarly aimed at the youth market. British travel company, *Thomas Cook Travel Plc*, leads the way in this sector with their well-established *Club 18-30* brand. This offers 17-35 year olds a range of short-haul clubbing destinations across Ibiza, Crete, Zante, Mallorca, Corfu, Rhodes, Kos, Turkey, Cyprus, Gran Canaria and Bulgaria. Such holidays incorporate staged activities such as boat parties, beach parties, visits to superclubs (large, high capacity, high profile venues), and themed events such as 'school disco' nights, foam parties, and silent discos. In a major rebranding exercise in 2009, *Club 18-30* was actively targeted at young, male and female ABC1 tourists interested in dance music. This involved *Thomas Cook* forming partnerships with London's EDM-focused radio station *Kiss FM* and well-established EDM-associated brands such as *Ministry of Sound* and *Hed Kandi*, as well as renowned international DJs such as Judge Jules. Attractive promotional incentives were also included in this marketing, with

complementary tickets to superclubs such as *Space* and *Privilege* in Ibiza, for example (Mintel 2010b and Sellars 1998).

One of the main attractions of such travel is therefore the vibrant nightlife and clubbing associated with EDM, with a range of resorts promoted as international destinations. Nevertheless, it is Spain, specifically the Balearic Islands that represent the first choice destination for this group. Evidence suggests that these holidays are frequently characterised by disinhibition, release and excess. As the constraints from home life are removed, young people feel free to act differently in the holiday environment. Engagement with international nightlife has therefore become a key factor in the spread of recreational drug cultures associated with EDM around the globe (Bellis et al. 2009).

According to Edensor (2001: 63), most tourist encounters occur within distinct, bounded spaces. These include beaches, theme parks, museums and entire cities such as Las Vegas. The stage management of experiences within such spaces helps create strong narratives about what tourists should expect to occur there. In this regard, Ibiza represents an exemplar of a physically and symbolically bounded space, defined by narratives of hedonism associated with illicit drug use, alcohol, sex and EDM (Bellis et al. 2000, Bellis et al. 2003; Hughes et al. 2004 and Hughes et al. 2009). The dominance of this narrative is reflected in the island's economy, which relies heavily on the reputation and commercial success of its superclubs and parallel drug market (Armstrong 2004). However, whilst this study focuses on Ibiza, the research has wider relevance to understanding illicit drug use and dealing in similar bounded

spaces, such as music festivals and other tourist resorts (Martinus et al. 2010).

The research methodology involved ethnographic immersion with British tourists and seasonal workers in Ibiza, in order to explore the situated socio-cultural meanings that young people give to illicit drug use. Fieldwork was undertaken over five weeks during the summers of 2010, 2011 and 2012. The intention was to make observations of British tourists and their worker counterparts, in order to understand drug consumption and dealing from the perspectives of those involved. The study employed a combination of overt and covert roles (Agar 1986 and Bourgois 1995). Field observations were incorporated with 32 semi-structured interviews / focus groups and a total of 55 informants. This is a sample size that conforms to contemporary tourism research of similar methodology (Uriely and Belhassen 2005a). Data was collected throughout the twenty-four hour period, in a variety of settings including beaches, hotels, cafes, bars and nightclubs. The nature of the fieldwork meant that participants were often intoxicated to some extent. However, whilst ethically complex, this is invariably the case with fieldwork conducted in the nighttime economy (Measham, Aldridge, and Parker 2001a).

The study draws on and extends the theoretical framework of Disneyization (Bryman 2004) as an innovative and meaningful interpretation of the illicit drug scene in Ibiza and similar bounded spaces. This term refers to the manner in which marketing principles used by the Disney Corporation have been dispersed across a range of consumer environments, from shopping malls and bars, to entire resorts. This has corresponded to a shift in the pattern of consumption, with an emphasis on consuming memorable experiences, rather

than goods and services (Bryman 2004 and Pine and Gilmore 1999). The construction of Disneyization revolves around four key pillars. These are defined as *theming*, *hybrid-consumption*, *merchandising* and *performative labour*. The combination of these marketing principles creates a desire to "*consume beyond necessity*" by establishing multiple consumer opportunities within spectacular staged experiences (Bryman 2004: 4). This study argues that the marketing techniques used to generate consumption within the *legal* economy of Disney parks, are also evident within the *illegal* economy of Ibiza. The island therefore represents an exemplar of a Disneyized, bounded space that promotes the hyper-consumption of illicit drugs within a burgeoning experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999).

This research makes a significant contribution to our understanding of illicit drugs on four levels. Firstly, there is an emphasis on social context. Much of the evidence base around illicit drugs focuses either on the demographics of drug users, or on the risks associated with the substances themselves. The socio-cultural significance of the context in which they are consumed, and the role of pleasure are generally overlooked (Hunt and Evans 2008: 332 and Smirnov et al. 2013). Whilst clubs and raves have been the focus of considerable academic attention, there is a paucity of research on drug use within European tourist resorts. This study therefore contributes to the limited evidence base which foregrounds the importance of setting in relation to drug use.

Secondly, the study is strengthened by the employment of an ethnographic methodology. The relatively few studies that have been conducted in Ibiza tend to rely on survey data, with little attention to the voices of those involved

(Bellis et al. 2003, Hughes et al. 2004 and Hughes et al. 2009). Such epidemiological studies tend to represent dance events and associated tourist locations as places of risk that require regulation, however it is argued that qualitative approaches may contribute a more nuanced understanding of the motivations influencing tourist behaviour (Malone, McCabe and Smith 2014). Regular attendees at such events have expressed frustration at the absence of their perspectives, as the meanings they attribute to drugs, music and dancing are consistently overshadowed by the narratives of those without experience of the lived reality of the dance scene (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007). This study therefore overcomes the "ethnographic inertia" (Malbon 1999: 22) of researchers to obtain a deeper understanding of the spaces that young people occupy in relation to illicit drug-related behaviour.

Thirdly, the research represents an innovative application of the concept of Disneyization (Bryman 2004). Whilst, this has been applied to a range of *legal* consumer environments, it has never before been used as a means of understanding *illegal* drug use. This study therefore represents a theoretical innovation with an original interpretation of both illicit drug use and Disneyization.

Finally, the research is significant in terms of application. The findings are transferable to bounded spaces that go beyond the EDM scene in Ibiza, but which are nevertheless synonymous with illicit drug use and deviant leisure. These include other tourist locations, as well as the plethora of contemporary music festivals (Van Havere et al. 2011). The emergent policy and practice recommendations are therefore relevant to a range of social contexts.

Structure of the Thesis

The study is structured around the following framework. In Part One of the thesis a systematic review of the literature has been organised around three chapters. Chapter 1 provides an historical overview of legislative attempts to control and regulate drug markets, juxtaposed with a discussion of substance use trends, including claims that drugs have become a normalised feature of the lives of young people (Measham, Newcombe and Parker 1994). The chapter demonstrates the contested nature of this issue, with an inherent tension between the powerful forces that seek to legislate against psychoactive drugs and those who persist in using them. Chapter 2 provides a systematic analysis of research that has been conducted in regard to drug use within European tourist settings. This is important as it applies the concept of differential normalisation to the bounded spaces of tourist resorts. The literature review concludes with Chapter 3, a discussion about the role of agency and pleasure in relation to drug use. The focus here is on the pleasures of two principal club drugs, ecstasy and ketamine. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the complexity of risk attitudes amongst those using such substances.

Part Two of the thesis focuses on Methodology. This section is organised into six chapters. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the constructivist grounded theory research design that informed this study, this guided both the strategy for conducting the research and the approach to data analysis (Mills, Bonner and Francis 2006 and Robson 2002: 191). Chapter 5 outlines the rationale for *theoretical* and *snowball sampling* that were employed for the study. This demonstrates the rationale for targeting both setting and participants as theory was generated using the grounded theory method. Chapter 6 focuses on

various data collection techniques that were used during ethnographic fieldwork. These included observation, one-to-one interviews, small focus groups and documentary photography. Chapter 7 outlines the complex ethical issues that are associated with these data collection techniques in relation to deviant / illegal behaviour within the nighttime economy (Uriely and Belhassen 2005a). Chapter 8 provides a succinct and clear account of the data analysis process that was employed within the constructivist grounded theory method. The methodology section concludes with Chapter 9 and a consideration of reflexivity within the research process.

Part Three of the thesis represents the *Findings and Discussion*. This section is organised around five key chapters. These relate to key pillars of Disneyization and their relevance to the trading and consumption of illicit drugs within the bounded spaces of Ibiza. This commences with Chapter 10 and a discursive analysis of *Theming*, the first pillar of Disneyization. It is argued that strong themes of hedonism immerse tourists into a strongly narrativised environment within which they make decisions about illicit drug use. Chapter 11 focuses on the second pillar of Disneyization, *Branding and Merchandise*. The aim here is to illustrate the *agency* of tourists as postmodern consumers acting within the Disneyized tourist bubble of Ibiza. This shows illicit drug use as a feature of the changing shape of consumption in late-modernity, with consumer choice wrapped up in notions of identity and lifestyle (Miles 2000; Smith 2014 and Zukin and Maguire 2004). Chapter 12 focuses on *Hybrid Consumption*, the third pillar of Disneyization. This illustrates how illicit drugs are seamlessly interwoven into the consumer experience of Ibiza, creating differentially normalised, bounded spaces. Chapter 13 focuses on the final pillar of Bryman's (2004) Disney conceptualisation, *Performative Labour*. This chapter shifts attention to the

trading and consumption of illicit drugs by British seasonal workers in Ibiza. It is important to consider the experiences of this group as they have received little academic attention in the past, despite occupying a central role in the island's hedonistic atmosphere. Chapter 14 concludes the *Findings and Discussion* section of the thesis. This focuses on *Policy and Practice* issues, with the theory of Disneyization offered as an explanatory framework through which it is possible to make sense of a range of ideological, moral, political and practical debates associated with the use of illicit drugs.

PART ONE
LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review is organised around three chapters. Firstly, Chapter 1 provides a broad conceptualisation of the normalisation of illicit drugs. The inherent tensions of illicit drug use are explored by contextualising the agency of drug users against powerful societal structures that control and censure psychoactive substances. This demonstrates how the meaning of drug use is shaped by the intersection of agency, culture and the socio-political ideologies that influence the regulation and perception of such substances. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the concept of *differential normalisation*: the assertion that the meaning of illicit drug use is negotiated between those acting within bounded spaces. Chapter 2 focuses on the use of illicit drugs within the bounded spaces of European tourist resorts renowned for nightlife, including Ibiza. The chapter provides a synthesis of 21 empirical studies conducted across European destinations within Spain, Greece, Bulgaria and Netherlands. The limited evidence base in this area shows that illicit drug use is endemic to particular tourist spaces but not to others, with tourists' drug use in Ibiza escalating considerably compared to their use at home in UK. Finally, Chapter 3 provides an exploration of the pleasures of drug use, a concept that is frequently overlooked within drug research. The aim here is to focus on the agency of drug users themselves, with a foregrounding of the experiential pleasures of club drugs such as ketamine and ecstasy.

Chapter 1

Drug Use: Structure, Agency and Normalisation

The aim of this chapter is to provide a broad conceptualisation of the normalisation of illicit drugs. A critical analysis of the complex intersections between structure and agency highlights the role of social interaction in constructing the social worlds of drug users, whilst recognising that this interaction has a wider structural context (Miles 2000: 19). The inherent tensions of the normalisation thesis are analysed, as the agency of drug users is juxtaposed against structural forces that continue to regulate, control and condemn the trading and consumption of psychoactive substances. This tension between structure and agency is important in relation to this research as the meaning of drug use within the lives of young people is formed within a complex interplay of the structural and the cultural (Miles 2000: 9). In this sense, culture cannot be read autonomously; rather it is entwined with configurations of power, inequality and the material predicaments of the actors involved (Young 2011: 85). The chapter therefore aims to contextualise the social meaning of normalised psychoactive drug use, against the socio-political ideologies that influence the consumption, control and perception of such substances.

The chapter is structured around three key sections, each of which progressively draws out the debates outlined above. The first section provides an outline of the normalisation thesis. This contests that drug use is actually a relatively ordinary aspect of human endeavour, in both historical and contemporary contexts. The second section provides an analysis of the structural and ideological influences that have converged to redefine drug use

as inherently deviant. This enables an understanding of the structural context in which drug use occurs. The chapter concludes with a reinterpretation of the normalisation thesis. This argues that drug use is normalised only within certain social contexts, where meaning is negotiated between actors operating in differentially normalised bounded space. In order to engage with such spaces, it is argued that cultural criminology represents a theoretical framework which foregrounds the voices of drug users themselves, whilst taking account of the conditions of late modernity. This is important, as the powerful structural narratives that define drug use as inherently pathological have frequently overshadowed the lived experiences of those actually involved.

Drugs, Agency and Normalisation

In the early 1990s a group of British researchers conducted innovative longitudinal research to explore drug use amongst young people in northwest England. The study involved interviewing a large sample of fourteen-year olds (n=700) on an annual basis until participants reached the age of nineteen (Parker, Aldridge and Measham 1998 and Parker, Measham and Aldridge 1995). The results led the authors to claim that illegal drug use was a normal feature of young people's leisure time, as a consequence of a significant attitudinal shift amongst the 'rave generation' (Measham, Aldridge and Parker 2001a). The research outlined significant changes in the availability of illicit drugs over the first five years of the study. Whilst 60% of the cohort was offered an illegal drug in 1993, this had escalated to 90% five years later (Manning 2007: 50). Furthermore, the willingness of young people to try an illegal drug almost doubled over the same five-year period, with a little over a

third of respondents (36.3%) trying a drug at age 14, whilst five years later, this had escalated to two thirds (64.3%). Thus, as excitement and consumption became the focal points of youth leisure, the authors argued that experimentation with illegal drugs had moved beyond subculture and crossed boundaries of gender and class (Manning 2007: 50 and Measham, Aldridge and Parker 2001a). Furthermore, it was argued that this attitudinal change had filtered through to drug abstinent peers, with the 'sensible' use of illegal drugs increasingly accommodated within social networks (Measham, Aldridge and Parker 2001a: 5 and Measham and Shiner 2009). These dimensions of normalisation led the researchers to conclude that illicit drug use emanated from informed, rational decision-making, rather than the constructions of individual pathology and ill informed peer pressure that had dominated aetiological explanations beforehand. Drugs, they argued, occupied a central aspect of youth culture (Huggin 2013 and Pilkington 2007).

Drug Use: Ubiquitous and Ordinary

Over the last twenty years, this normalisation thesis has radically transformed the study of drug use amongst young people, with scholars continuing to debate the central propositions made by Parker, Aldridge and Measham in 1998 (Manning 2007, Measham and Shiner 2009 and Pilkington 2007). On reflection, it can be argued that these assertions are not particularly controversial, as psychoactive drug use has always been a ubiquitous aspect of human society (Young 1973: 327). A few notable exceptions aside, people have imbibed a plethora of substances, including alcohol, hallucinogens, opiates and stimulants for reasons of pleasure, medicine or religious ceremony throughout history (Barton 2011 and Woolner and Thorn 2003). As Power (2013: 2) suggests, humans have an innate desire to ingest

substances for mind exploration, pleasure, and the search for new knowledge and experience. As such, the use of psychoactive drugs to achieve altered states of consciousness is actually an endemic, ordinary, and unremarkable aspect of human endeavour: an everyday cultural practice (Manning 2007: 21).

This is borne out in the universality of drug use across international borders, as demonstrated by The United Nations' (2015) analysis of global illicit drug markets. This report outlines the enormous global scale of substance use to reveal that an estimated 246 million people between the ages of 16 and 64 used an illicit drug in 2013. This figure includes approximately 182 million cannabis users, 19 million ecstasy users, and 17 million cocaine users. In narrowing the focus to European drug use, the markets for cannabis, heroin and amphetamines have remained strong since the 1970s. The 1990s meanwhile were dominated by sharp rises in ecstasy / MDMA use, followed by a post-Millennial resurgence in the popularity of cocaine (EMCDDA 2015). The UK features strongly within these statistics. Trend analysis from multiple sources reveals Britain to be "one of the most drug experienced post industrial societies" in the world (Measham, Aldridge and Parker 2001a: 4) with the highest percentage of young drug users in North West Europe. Indeed only the Republic of Ireland comes remotely close to matching British levels of consumption (Aldridge, Measham and Williams 2011 and Measham, Aldridge and Parker 2001a). Recent statistics on drug use in England and Wales show that 985,000 people reported using a Class A drug in the previous year, with increases in the use of cocaine, ecstasy, LSD and ketamine. Young people remain the most active users, with almost 20% self-reporting the use of an illicit substance in the previous 12 months (Home Office 2015). These

statistics clearly indicate that drug use remains a common feature of social life on both a global and national basis.

Drug Use: Some Brief Notes from History

Whilst the global nature of drug use in contemporary society is not in doubt, historical accounts demonstrate that this is not a new phenomenon. Coca leaves, for example, have been chewed by the Amara Indians of Peru for more than a thousand years (Karch 1999: 394). The first written account of the effects of cannabis dates back to 2700BC, whilst tobacco, tea, coffee, khat, and a variety of mushrooms have been used as stimulants and psychedelics throughout human history (Power 2013: 1). More recently, in the early part of the nineteenth century, a range of psychoactive substances including cannabis, morphine and cocaine were an unrestricted, normal aspect of life that caused very little concern within society. Opium was particularly popular throughout Europe and America during this period, and was available in a variety of formulations, including lozenges, powder, and enema. People ingested this for a wide range of medical reasons including pain management, insanity, alcohol detoxification, and cholera. Opium was also routinely administered for a variety of childhood ailments, and fatal overdose not uncommon (Berridge 2013). In addition to medicinal preparations, opium was culturally embedded as a form of indulgent recreation, with unrestricted and easy access via small general stores and street markets within working class areas (Barton 2011 and Berridge 2013). The current notoriety of cocaine also belies its rich history of normalised usage. Declared a ‘miracle drug’ by Freud in 1864 (Karch 1999: 394), cocaine was highly valued within the American medical profession of the time, and soon filtered through to adjacent bohemian social circles (Friman 1999: 108). Its use as an intoxicant at this time is demonstrated by the popularity of coca

wine in Europe, with two glasses containing the equivalent of approximately 50mg of cocaine (Karch 1999: 394). In the early years of the twentieth century, the legitimacy and legality of cocaine was maintained by the support of medics, scientists and consumers alike (Gootenberg 1999: 1).

The aim of highlighting these brief historical reference points is to demonstrate that the ingestion of psychoactive drugs has actually been entrenched as an ordinary aspect of human behaviour for hundreds of years. It is the *perceptions* of this use that shift over time as a consequence of socio-political context (Woolner and Thorn 2003). History shows us that attitudes towards psychoactive drugs are not based on the physiological effect of the substance, but rather the identity and principal demographic of the users, the patterns of usage and the political context in which the drug is taken (Tracy and Acker 2004: 2). As prohibitionist regimes and attitudes became more established, psychoactive drug use, including opium and cocaine, shifted from being an open and socially acceptable leisure activity, to subterranean deviance predominantly associated with the myriad of style-based subcultural groups that proliferated in the post-war period, and which became an integral feature of British social life (Bennett 1999, Bennet and Khan-Harris 2004 and Hebdige 1979). These groups were invariably tightly affiliated to genres of music, and as Blake (2007: 103) suggests, the symbiotic relationship between drug consumption and music has been firmly established ever since.

Drug Use, Subculture and Neo-Tribes

The immediate post-war period in Europe and America saw a comparative indifference towards drug use. There was little concern about such behaviour in this pre-psychedelic period; drug use was essentially confined to “junkies and the underclass, bohemians and aristocrats” (Power 2013: 6). Changes

began as new stimulants emerged in the 1950s and as cannabis use became increasingly enmeshed within the jazz cultures of London's West End. However, it was the sudden and dramatic emergence of psychedelics within the cultural revolution of the 1960s that profoundly altered societal attitudes to drug use (Power 2013). This period witnessed a rise in both the number of people with addiction problems, and an increasing willingness amongst young people to experiment with cannabis, amphetamine and LSD (Barton 2011, Gair 2007 and Measham and South 2012). In this countercultural zeitgeist, Timothy Leary and his colleagues from the Harvard Psychedelic Research Project called for a generation to "tune in, turn on, drop out" and embrace the subterranean bohemian values of the time through the enlightenment of hallucinogens (Gair 2007, Leary 1983 and Young 1971). Whilst indigenous people had imbibed natural psychedelics such as peyote and mescaline for centuries beforehand, taking LSD for the first time offered many western users an entirely different experience from cocaine, opium and cannabis. From the mid-1960s, a combination of alternative values, hallucinogenic drugs and acid rock gave coherence to the hippie lifestyle (Hebdige 1979: 114). Psychedelic culture dominated the style, streets and music of a generation, with icons of the time such as The Beatles extolling the virtues of hallucinogenic mind exploration to cleanse what Aldous Huxley (1954) had termed "the doors of perception". As Tom Wolfe (1998: 119) declared in *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test,* his seminal account of psychedelic pioneers 'The Merry Pranksters', the world was divided into those aware of the profound spiritual experience of LSD and those who were not, or as they succinctly put it, "*you're either on the bus or off the bus*." The cultural centrality of LSD during this time was therefore key to "popularised, if not normalised, recreational drug use in that era and beyond" (Power 2013: 19). Consequently, the 1960s are defined by

an era where drugs saturated the everyday lives of young people in both Western Europe and the United States, in much the same way that Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998) were to describe of the rave generation a quarter of a century later.

A proliferation of western youth subcultures emerged in the decades that followed the 1960s. These were defined as groups of young people who shared moral standards, values, myths, language, behavioural codes, musical taste, and highly stylised dress (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015). Such groups were often responsible for dramatically reshaping social norms. They gained potency through an ability to cause outrage and moral indignation (Clark 2003), not least because illicit drug use was an embedded aspect of the collective subcultural experience. Mod subculture of the 1960s, for example, emerged as working class youth emulated the style markers of West Indian immigrants that they had grown up alongside. This subculture was characterised by obsessively detailed codes of style, and widespread use of amphetamines (Hebdige 1979: 53). The latter feature was replicated in the Northern Soul scene that followed in the early 1970s across the English north and midlands (Wall 2006) and which effectively acted as an early template for rave culture. Described as "one of the most pure and untainted musical movements ever" (Brewster and Broughton 2006: 87) Northern Soul was a subterranean subculture of working class youngsters dedicated to dancing to obscure 1960s American soul records that few other people were interested in (Brewster and Broughton 2006 and Hebdige 1979). Those involved often travelled long distances to converge on the Northern Soul clubs of Manchester, Wolverhampton, Stoke-on-Trent, Cleethorpes, Blackpool and Wigan. Illicit drug use was a core feature of the Northern Soul scene, with an

array of amphetamines routinely taken to keep people dancing all night (Brewster and Broughton 2006 and Wilson 2007), as this description of Manchester's infamous 'Twisted Wheel' Northern Soul club reveals:

> "There was a good reason for the fast nature of the songs played at the Wheel. Its clientele was wired on speed. They consumed the full range, from black bombers and purple hearts, to prellies and dexys (drinamyl, preludine and dexedrine) either bought from dealers in the club or stolen from pharmacies. It wasn't unusual for dancers traveling to a soul club to stop on the way to break in to a chemist's shop for the evening's sustenance" (Brewster and Broughton 2006: 91)

Thus, the amphetamine use that was associated with Northern Soul in the early 1970s had a context-specific meaning to those involved. It was functional and practical, rather than the flawed pathological decision making of ill-informed youth – a key argument of the normalisation thesis that emerged in relation to rave culture some 15 years later (Huggin 2013 and Pilkington 2007). Such was the endemic nature of drug use within the Northern Soul scene, like rave, it rapidly attracted police attention, with the 'Twisted Wheel' club closing in 1971 due to its reputation as a "drug haven" (Brewster and Broughton 2006: 95). In retrospect, Northern Soul has been described as one of the purest underground youth cultures that has ever existed, and like rave provided "nights of sweaty drug-ridden escapism for thousands of devoted dancers" (Brewster and Broughton 2006: 113). However as it broke up into factions, in the long hot summer of 1976 a new spectacular subculture was to emerge from the streets of lower Manhattan in New York City and West London. Punk took a bricolage of diverse styles from preceding post-war youth subcultures and literally cobbled them together with safety pins. Anger, rebellion and social discord was at the core of the early punk scene as working class youth faced high rates of unemployment in the harsh economic climate of 1970s Britain (Clark 2003). Inspiration was drawn from numerous

post-war subcultures and adopted Northern Soul's "subterranean tradition of fast, jerky rhythms, solo dance styles and amphetamines" (Hebdige 1979: 26). In a further example of the embedded nature of drugs within post-war music-based youth cultures, as with the Mods that preceded them, punks embraced amphetamine as a "key element in their oppositional strategies" (Manning 2007: 20).

These examples of the many youth subcultures that materialised in the post-war period are important in contextualising the meaning and centrality of illegal drug use amongst young people. Teddy Boys, Mods, and Skinheads may no longer hold relevance on the cultural landscape (Manning 2007), but each of these subcultures, and the many others like them, were populated by thousands of young people who engaged in normalised illicit drug use as part of a subcultural collective experience. For example, Wigan Casino, arguably the epicentre of Northern Soul and voted the best venue in the world by *Billboard* magazine in 1978, had over 100,000 members at the height of it's popularity (Brewster and Broughton 2006). One of the fundamental criticisms of subcultural theory has been the reification of differences between those on the inside and outside of subcultures (Manning 2007: 21). This has resulted in a tendency to construct such groups as "normative ghettos" (Young 2011: 88) or "closed semiotic spaces" that define them homogenously *against* other groups" (Laughey 2006: 15). In reality such groups overlap in everyday interactions between young people. As Bennett (1999: 600) suggests, whilst subcultures are invariably constructed as coherent groups with rigid boundaries, they are better viewed as temporal gatherings with fluid boundaries and transient memberships. Given the documented normalisation of illicit drugs within subcultural groups, this suggests, as in the later normalisation thesis, there was a wider acceptance of drugs amongst young

people that went beyond transient boundaries of subculture. However, it was not until the emergence of rave culture in the late 1980s that this permeability was fully recognised.

Rave and acid house, emerged from the nightclubs of Chicago, Detroit, and New York City (Collin 1998) to become a movement that “spiralled into a series of national and then international dance drug and clubbing cultures, chemically fuelled by ecstasy (MDMA), amphetamines, and LSD” (Measham and South 2012: 690). These early, illegal raves were characterised by a break down of the subcultural traditions that had defined post-war youth movements. Traditional subcultural theory was rendered obsolete in this context (Miles 2000: 90). Dance culture had less coherence in terms of visual style and musical taste; rather it was a collective experience with a diverse range of eclectic styles converging on the same dance floor (Bennett 1999 and Collin 1998). This has led to an assertion that the electronic dance music (EDM) scene was populated by neo-tribes, where “the group is no longer a central focus for the individual but rather one of a series of foci or ‘sites’ within which the individual can live out a selected, temporal role or identity before relocating to an alternative site and assuming a different identity” (Bennett 1999: 605). This period therefore witnessed the convergence of young people embroiled in EDM culture; with large swathes open to experimenting with easily accessible illegal drugs, including ecstasy / MDMA. Consequently, it has been argued that the era was defined by a youth culture that perceived illegal drug use as an unremarkable, normal aspect of leisure time (Measham, Aldridge and Parker 2001a), with an unprecedented 50% of British youth reporting the use of a wide repertoire of drugs, including cannabis, ecstasy, amphetamines, LSD, and cocaine (Aldridge, Measham and Williams 2011).

The extent of this normalisation in comparison to previous generations remains a contested debate.

New Psychoactive Substances and the Resurgence of Ecstasy

In the wake of the anti-rave legislation embroiled within the 1994 Public Order Act, illegal gatherings dissipated and the EDM scene fragmented into commercial enterprise (Miles 2000: 92), with superclubs opening in major cities across the UK. This period saw young people once again embrace alcohol in a new "determined drunkenness" within an aggressively marketed night-time economy (NTE) (Aldridge, Measham and Williams 2011: 15 and Measham 2004). Despite an overall reduction in the number of young people using illicit drugs at this time, those who *were* using, embraced a wider repertoire of substances including ecstasy, amphetamines, cannabis, poppers, and cocaine (Measham, Aldridge and Parker 2001a and Measham, Aldridge and Williams 2011). These fluctuations in illicit drug use are indicative of a combination of both shifting social attitudes, and the level of availability. For example, whilst LSD became almost obsolete during this period, cocaine became both more widely available and more socially acceptable (Aldridge, Measham and Williams 2011: 12). Over the last decade a combination of globalisation, technological advancement and the Internet have altered the nature of drug markets considerably (ECMDDA 2015). One of the most important recent changes occurred in 2009 with the widespread availability of new psychoactive substances (NPS), or so called 'legal highs'. The production of psychoactive substances to circumvent drug laws is not a new phenomenon, and began with the creation of alternatives to morphine in the early twentieth century (Power 2013: 6), however it is the range and availability of NPS that was unsurpassed at the end of the post-Millennial decade (ECMDDA 2015 and Winstock and Ramsey 2010). There are two

types of NPS popular in Europe: synthetic cannibinoids and cathinones. The former are marketed as legal alternatives to cannabis, whilst cathinones such as mephedrone, penedrone, and MDPV (3,4-methylenedioxypyrovaleron) mimic the effects of illegal stimulants (ECMDDA 2015).

The market for NPS is dynamic, with more than 450 substances currently monitored by the European Union early warning system. Just over 100 new ones were identified in 2014, representing a 23% increase on the previous year. These are marketed in a variety of forms. For example, ‘legal highs’ are aimed at recreational users who use them alongside or interchangeably with illegal substances, whilst other NPS can be marketed as ‘research chemicals’ or as dietary supplements (ECMDDA 2015). What is clear is that NPS have significantly altered the way in which young people engage with psychoactive drugs. The substances in question are easily sourced via encrypted websites that are not accessible using standard search engines (known as ‘the dark web’). The number of sources marketing NPS has increased dramatically over recent years, with EMCDDA identifying a total of 651 websites in 2013. The ease of access, legal status (prior to the UK’s inception of the Psychoactive Substance Act 2016), and anonymity offered by encryption and non-descript packaging makes NPS an attractive option to young people, with 1 in 8 reporting lifetime usage in a recent European poll (EMCDDA 2015). The popularity of cathinones is also partially explained by sharp declines in the purity and availability of ecstasy and cocaine, leading users to switch to cheap synthetic unregulated stimulants such as mephedrone (M-Cat) and methylone (M1, bubble). These produce a similar psychoactive effect to ecstasy, amphetamines and cocaine, with users attracted by their legal status, competitive price, and easy accessibility via ‘head shops’ and online sources

(Measham and South 2012, Measham et al. 2010 and Winstock and Ramsey 2010). As the popularity of mephedrone became established on the UK club scene, it was criminalised as a Class B substance within the 1971 Misuse of Drugs Act (HM Government 1971) in 2010. It has been argued that criminalisation led to an escalation in the price of mephedrone, with a simultaneous reduction in purity leading some users to revert back to previous illegal repertoires of ecstasy, amphetamine and cocaine (Measham et al. 2010).

The proliferation of NPS is undoubtedly an important contemporary issue in the field of psychoactive drug use. The dynamic, fluid nature of the market for NPS creates complexity and ambiguity for all involved. Furthermore, it has been argued that the legal status and easy access to such substances normalised such use amongst young people, adding support to the argument that such behaviour is an ordinary aspect of young people's leisure time. Furthermore, recent evidence indicates that young people are once again turning their attention to ecstasy. Whilst the MDMA content of ecstasy pills dropped sharply in the recent past, high dose MDMA pills and crystal is once again widely available (ECMDDA 2015). For example, Fiona Measham's UK-based harm reduction project *The Loop*, recently found an average of 100mg of MDMA in ecstasy pills tested. This compared to an average 20mg in 2009. In a recent interview published in *The Guardian* newspaper, Measham affirmed:

> "In terms of ecstasy use, it's going back to the sort of levels of the 1990s and early 2000s … there was a fall around 2008-9 because purity went down, and users responded by taking other things like legal highs. Now we're back to a situation where there's actually ecstasy in ecstasy again and people are very happy with it" (Coldwell 2015).

Some ecstasy pills were found to contain as much as 278mg of MDMA, corroborating evidence from the most recent *Global Drug Survey 2015*, which found levels of 200mg – 330mg MDMA per pill within Europe. Such high doses have inevitably resulted in increased medical referrals, with a 2015 survey of over 22,000 ecstasy users finding 202 people admitted to hospital for ecstasy-related complications, a rise from 0.3% to 0.9% in two years (Global Drug Survey 2015).

Drug-Associated Harm

The first section of this chapter has aimed to show that psychoactive drug use is essentially an ordinary, ubiquitous aspect of human behaviour. This is demonstrable throughout history, across international borders, and in the contemporary trends of psychoactive drug use amongst young people. However, the intention is not to conflate this argument with an agenda that is pro-drug, as this would obfuscate the multiple levels of harm associated with psychoactive drug use. For example, on an individual physiological level, The United Nations (2015) estimates that 10% of the world's 246 million illicit drug takers are 'problematic' users, defined as those with an addiction problem or drug-related health complications. Whilst many people use drugs without undue harm, there are of course associated health risks with any psychoactive substance, including prescribed medication and legal intoxicants, as well as those that are illegal. Cocaine for example represents a "devastating medical problem" (Siniscalchi et al. 2015: 163) for society and is associated with both haemorrhagic and ischemic strokes in young people as well as numerous other significant risks to cardiac function (Treadwell and Robinson 2007). The potential physical and mental health risks related to recreational drug use is summarised in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Psychoactive Drugs and Potential Health Risks

Some materials have been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version can be viewed in Lancester Library - Coventry University.

(The Loop 2016)

Furthermore, drug associated-harm goes beyond individual physiology to macro socio-economic level, with entire communities experiencing the damaging impact of illegal drug markets at times. This is exemplified in the

U.S. crack cocaine market of the 1980s, which had a catastrophic impact on sections of American society. This had little to do with the pharmacological effects of the drug itself, rather the post-industrial structural exclusion of the working class led many minority ethnic groups into the burgeoning and violent illegal drug economy. As Bourgois (1995: 3) states in relation to his study of crack dealers in East Harlem, for his participants “retail drug sales easily outcompete other income-generating opportunities, whether legal or illegal”. Drug-related harm is therefore a complex, multi-dimensional issue. It may emanate from the pharmacological effects of the drug itself, or as a result of wider structural socio-economic forces that criminalise psychoactive substances and those that use them. The following section aims to provide an analysis of the powerful structural forces that have converged over the last 150 years in an attempt to control and regulate psychoactive drug use. This is important as structural and cultural constructions of youth have frequently been delineated and addressed as independent entities by sociological researchers, “when young people’s actual experience of cultural and social spheres is almost entirely *inter*dependent” (Miles 2000: 12). The aim is to outline the structural context against which individuals exercise agency in drug taking decisions.

Drugs, The State and (Ab)Normalisation

In considering drug use, it is important to recognise the pivotal importance of the relationship between structure and agency, as this shows the individual to be “both free and yet somehow simultaneously constrained” (Miles 2000: 19). The meaning and perception of psychoactive drugs is structurally influenced for a range of actors including politicians, the public, health professionals, criminal justice agents, media representatives, and the people who choose to use them. Formal measures to control psychoactive substances emanate from a convergence of “political, socio-economic and cultural factors that are spatially and temporally specific” and which are continually open to challenge (Stevens 2011: 402). Drug policy does not emerge within a social vacuum; it is influenced by the dominant ideology of the time, and whether the ‘drug problem’ is framed as an issue of law and order, medicine or public health (Duke 2013: 40 and Wincup 2005: 204). The shifting influences on drug policy can be seen at different points in history.

In Britain, attempts to control the use of psychotropic drugs began in the mid-nineteenth century when the *Pharmacy Act 1868* (Barton 2011 and Berridge 2013) was implemented to regulate opium use. This marked the end of what Holloway (1995) termed *consumer sovereignty,* where drug use was unrestricted and constrained only by the finances of the user or their inability to harvest the drug in question (Barton 2011). Various drug regulatory statutes followed throughout the first half of the twentieth century, including the 1920 and 1932 versions of the *Dangerous Drugs Act* which saw Britain signing up to a range of internationally driven control measures (Barton 2011 and South 2007). The immediate post-war period witnessed a comparative indifference towards drug use. Until the early 1960s there was little concern about such

behaviour and prevalence was negligible amongst the general population. The *1964 Drugs (Prevention of Misuse) Act* (South 2007) and *Dangerous Drugs Act 1967* (Barton 2011) preceded the *1971 Misuse of Drugs Act* (HM Government 1971) which continues to provide the legislative framework for the possession, trafficking, use, manufacture and distribution of controlled drugs (Humphrey and Schmalleger 2012). This involved the construction of a tiered classification system based on *perceived* harm, with Class A including drugs such as heroin and ecstasy; Class B including amphetamines and cannabis, and Class C incorporating mild stimulants and tranquillisers (Measham and South 2012 and South 2007). This system essentially distinguished between 'hard' and 'soft' drugs, with drugs such as heroin associated with chaotic addiction, drug related offending, and significant health risks associated with intravenous injecting (Aldridge, Measham and Williams 2011 and Wincup 2005). It was specific concern around the social and public health harms associated with heroin and crack cocaine that saw drug control conceptualised as a 'war' under President Nixon's U.S. administration of the 1970s. Subsequently, as the neo-liberal politics of President Reagan and Margaret Thatcher converged, a renewed 'War on Drugs' saw the issue become highly politicised throughout the 1980s (Measham and South 2012). During this time the U.S. government ushered in a punishment structure of "ruthless illogicality" (Bogazianos 2011: 31) in relation to the possession of crack cocaine, which was represented as a major threat to American national security. Meanwhile in the UK, the threat of HIV and AIDS related to the use of intravenous heroin saw the public health agenda dominate official discourses with a focus on harm reduction (Duke 2003: 57, Huggin 2013 and Measham and South 2012).

Control and Condemnation: Drug Regulation, Medicine and Religion

The purpose of highlighting these sporadic points in the history of drug control is to demonstrate how perceptions of psychoactive substances are spatially and temporally defined depending on cultural tradition, vested interests, political ideology, moral attitudes and religious belief (Woolner and Thorn 2003). Furthermore, this shifting response reminds us that the construction of drugs as legal or illegal and as 'good' or 'bad' emerged only in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Barton 2011). During this period, it was the combined influence of two increasingly powerful groups that came to redefine society's view of psychoactive substances. The convergence of the late Victorian, religion-based, moral philanthropic movement and a burgeoning medical profession was a formidable and highly influential partnership. Their mutually reinforcing concerns about intoxicants drew considerable public support and as such exerted significant pressure on the State to regulate substance use (Barton 2011). As an exemplar of this, the *Pharmacy Act 1868* was initially instigated as a result of progress within medicine, as an appreciation of the harmful effects of opium developed (Berridge 2013, Measham and South 2012, South 2007 and Wincup 2005). This move to regulation was simultaneously supported by moral philanthropists of the time, exemplified by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, formed in 1874 by Quakers, Evangelists and factions within the Church of England (Barton 2011 and Berridge 2013). Medicine and religion were therefore key allies in the inception of drug control, and as Becker (1963: 136) argued, the prohibitionist agenda that followed was underpinned by three legitimising values that essentially combined the voices of religion-based moral philanthropy and medicine.

Becker (1963) identifies the Protestant ethic as highly influential on western attitudes to intoxication. This is defined as a puritanical code of living that prioritises hard work, frugality, asceticism, and rationality in the service of God (Weber 2003). Responsibility in this realm is located firmly within self-governance; as such the individual is expected to self-regulate by abstaining from activities that might compromise self-control (Becker 1963). This was partially responsible for legitimising the regulation of opium use in the late nineteenth century. As medicine and moral condemnation converged to redefine addiction as a problem located within the pathologically, self-destructive individual, rather than the pharmacological property of the drug itself. This "chorus of voices" that deemed opium use to be indicative of the immorality of the working class (Barton 2011: 11) is a clear example of how an activity previously considered quite normal was structurally redefined as deviant and pathological. Thus, as Becker (1963: 9) famously asserted:

> *"Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance*, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is *not* a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an "offender". The deviant is one to whom that label has been successfully applied, deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label."

The creation of rules that delineate substances into binary categories (e.g. good or bad, legal or illegal, harmful or harmless) emanates from a dynamic bricolage of structural forces that are not easy to extricate in terms of influence. On a fundamental level, such rules may be created as a consequence of *moral entrepreneurship* (Becker 1963: 147), the archetypal rule creator being the *moral crusader* (Cohen 1987: 127) who acts within an absolutist framework to eliminate a plethora of 'evils' including gambling, sexual promiscuity and intoxication. Religious dogma invariably underpins such crusades, with the assertion that those engaged in such behaviour need

guidance, and that prohibitive rules are essentially in their own interests. In relation to drug control, the moral crusader operates within a self-righteous ethic, and draws on a second legitimising value, *humanitarianism*, in order to instigate reform (Becker 1963). For example, in regard to the twin 'evils' of opium and alcohol, reformers believed that people "would benefit from laws making it impossible for them to give in to their weaknesses" (Becker 1963: 136). Opium regulation was therefore justified as a consequence of emerging medical knowledge that recognised the risks of long-term use, as well as philanthropic humanitarian concern for the morality of the working class. Moral entrepreneurs often played central roles in such rule creation, as their invariably powerful social positions enabled them to enlist support from other influential stakeholders within medicine, psychiatry, government and the media, for example (Becker 1963).

The third legitimising value to justify regulation of intoxicants was the cultural disapproval of deliberate attempts to attain states of ecstasy. Whilst, pleasure gained from the rewards of hard work or religious dedication were morally condoned, the illicit pleasures of intoxication were condemned, and as such targeted for suppression (Becker 1963: 136). The moral distinction is therefore one of pleasure and utility, a dichotomy that Thomas De Quincey alludes to in his legendary early nineteenth century account of opium addiction, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*:

> "True it is, that for nearly ten years I did occasionally take opium, for the sake of the exquisite pleasure it gave me ... It was not for the purpose of creating pleasure, but of mitigating pain in the severest degree, that I first began to use opium as an article of daily diet." (De Quincey 2009: 9)

Opium regulation was partially the result of recreational use spreading beyond bohemian enclaves, to the working classes situated within factories and seaports (Barton 2011 and Measham and South 2012). This condemnation of

illicit pleasure was to become the basis on which other drugs were suppressed in the future, including ecstasy and LSD (Collin 1998 and Stevens 1987). Indeed, even countercultural figurehead of the 1960s, Timothy Leary, later asserted that MDMA was a drug for "sophisticated people" rather than "lazy thrill seekers" (Collin 1998: 30). New legislation has therefore frequently been legitimised in order to curtail the hedonistic immorality of the "new leisured class" (Young 1971: 149), with the agency of individuals to attain the pleasures of drug use, overridden by their construction as pathological deviants. Put simply, the narrative indicates that if the pursuit of illicit pleasure is 'wrong' then it corresponds that there must be something 'wrong' with those doing so (Becker 1963). In this sense the drug taker is "the deviant *par excellence"* (Young 1973: 327), who subverts reality and shuns work for hedonism. This is a legitimising value that has not lost potency with time. For example, the government, police and media continue to routinely scrutinise the pleasures of intoxication at a variety of NTE settings across the UK, with contemporary official representations continuing to appeal to a perceived popular consciousness, and denigrate recreational drug users as subversive, irrational and morally bereft (Moore and Measham 2012 and Young 1973).

Drug Use as Social Construction

> "It is not psychotropic drugs per se that evoke condemnation, but their use for unreservedly hedonistic and expressive ends. Society reacts not, then, to the use of drugs but to the type of people who use drugs" (Young 1971: 149).

Jock Young's groundbreaking sociological study of west London marijuana users was conducted almost half a century ago and remains entirely relevant to the current social context. In 2016, just as it was in 1971, reaction to the ingestion of psychoactive substances is shaped by the identity of the

individual taking the drug, the social group that that they belong to, their drug of choice, their motivation for taking it, and the location in which they choose to ingest it. When viewed through this lens, substance use is not inherently pathological; rather it is behaviour that can be "*simultaneously* normal, deviant, legal, and illegal, depending on circumstance and perception" (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 40). This is because the *meaning* of drug use, in all its guises, is socially and culturally constructed between the relevant actors involved, including the public, politicians, criminal justice personnel, drug users themselves, and within media representations.

Although the news media invariably offers a superficial and fragmented depiction of social issues such as drug use, it nevertheless represents a significant source of knowledge for those with little direct experience of an issue themselves (Chibnall 1973). Early sociological analysis argued that the mass media "unwittingly set themselves up as the guardians of consensus" (Young 1973: 329) with an assumption that most people share a common reality as to acceptable forms of behaviour. Orthodox criminology reflected this consensual view, with law-abiding citizens seen as conforming to mainstream culture, and law-breakers lacking in cultural assimilation. Thus the meaningful world sought to explain the perceived meaningless misbehaviour of non-conformists. Criminological theory, the media and the public therefore combined to label and distort deviant behaviour, such as drug use, and then strip it of all meaning (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015).

The emergence of LSD is an exemplar of how news media can shift meaning and perspective over a relatively short space of time. Prior to 1963, the news portrayed LSD as a medical wonder drug suitable for a range of psychiatric diagnoses (Stevens 1987). As counter-cultural use of the psychedelic began to spread after 1963, this depiction was rapidly transformed by misleading and

misrepresentative headlines claiming the drug to be a dangerous source of illicit pleasure causing madness, suicide, murder and cancer (Braden 1973: 250). Such headlines were not simply a consequence of ignorance, but rather a "coherent part of consensual mythology" (Young 1973: 334). It is therefore important to recognise that different values determine both the selection of news events as well as the manner in which they are presented. Furthermore, these views are written with particular assumptions about the values of the intended audience. The way in which drug use is represented in *The Guardian* newspaper is therefore likely to differ from *The Sun*, for example, with tabloids more likely to focus on scandal and the extraordinary (Jewkes 2004). Consequently, it is the exceptionality of the suicide inducing bad trip that is newsworthy, rather than the multitude of drug experiences that culminate in no obvious harm (Braden 1973). Such scandalised reporting has of course been a feature of the moral panics that have been played out in the past in relation to an array of drugs, with the resulting influence on public attitude impeding rational, evidence-based approaches to drug use (Young 1973: 334).

The media has of course been revolutionised since the 1960s (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015 and Jewkes 2004), when drug use was rarely mentioned outside the realm of newspapers (Braden 1973: 260). This is in sharp contrast to contemporary media, which disseminates images via a plethora of digital technology, blurring the lines "between the real and the virtual, the factual and the fictional" (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 151). New forms of media permit horizontal lines of communication between family and peers whilst the continued proliferation of vertical media such as television engages in two-way commentary with the audience via blogs and social media (Young 2011: 95). This creates a cultural landscape of plurality

that continually loops back on itself to amplify and distort experiences of crime and criminality. Moral panics therefore no longer progress in a simple linear trajectory of scandal and control. A post-modern milieu of opinion and counter-opinion contests official and mediated depictions at every turn. Paradoxically, moral condemnation of youth culture continues to amplify the deviant behaviour in question, increasing its seductiveness. This is exemplified by the 1988 ‘second summer of love’, when amidst a potent milieu of hedonism and consumerism, moral panic once again saw UK newspaper headlines dominated by representations of acid house and wild British youth, particularly after the post-ecstasy death of Leah Betts (Collin 1998, Miles 2000 and Thornton 1995). It has been argued that young people are now relatively immune to media attempts to define them as folk devils. Instead they manipulate media for their own ends, via fanzines, blogs, and style magazines (Miles 2000). Consequently, late modern society’s relationship with drug use emerges from of a mediated ‘hall of mirrors’ that creates uncertainty, debate, confusion and ambiguity at every level (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015).

Confusion and Ambiguity

To unravel the complex influences on attitudes and responses towards drugs and the people that use them in the late modern context is not easy. The aforementioned proliferation of media, polarised public opinion, global migration, shifting cultural attitudes, political vested interests, pressure groups, divergent academic debate, and numerous other voices, combine to create an “incessant chatter” (Young 1994: 69) of plurality that generates uncertainty. This confusion is further exacerbated by a system of drug regulation that continues to operate on a misaligned continuum between the realms of law and order and public health, making the overall purpose of drug control

ambiguous and unclear (Barton 2011: 20 and Wincup 2005), with law enforcement strategies operating simultaneously alongside harm reduction strategies (Duke 2013: 39). It can therefore be argued that the "perversity of prohibition" (Measham et al. 2010: 19) is a system fraught with inconsistency, illogicality, and confusion, with no obvious relationship between the legal status of a substance and its associated harm. Drug control emanates from "political, socio-economic and cultural factors that are spatially and temporally specific" and which are continually open to challenge (Stevens 2011: 402). This complexity and inconsistency is borne out by a cursory glance at the current landscape. Tobacco smoking is viewed as increasingly anti-social but remains legal and heavily taxed, despite being responsible for at least 100,000 annual deaths in the UK alone (Cancer Research n.d). The decriminalisation of cannabis continues to gather pace across the United States, Australia and several European countries, including Netherlands, Italy, Spain and Germany. Meanwhile the UK maintains that its status as an illegal Class B substance is justified (Wincup 2005), despite protestations that cannabis yields benefits of sociality, creativity and well-being (Chatwin and Porteous 2013: 251) and is one of the least toxic substances known to man (Gossop 2013). 'Legal highs' can be delivered to a doorstep on the click of a button, without the aggravation of finding a reliable, safe dealer, but on arrival may subsequently turn out to contain illegal substances after all (Measham et al. 2010) – an area made even more complex by the recent Psychoactive Substances Act 2016 which criminalises the supply but not the possession of such substances. On a larger scale, the Portuguese take the dramatic step to decriminalise personal use of *all* drugs in 2001, with no clear impact (Greenwald 2009). In contrast, 74-year-old, British ex-patriot, Karl Andree,

spends a year in a Saudi Arabian prison after being sentenced to 350 lashes for transporting homemade wine in his car (Mason 2015).

This melange of response to intoxicants demonstrates that the control of drugs, their mediated representation, public attitude, and the patterns in which they are used are culturally, ideologically, temporally and spatially defined (Humphrey and Schmalleger 2012, Measham and South 2012 and Woolner and Thorn 2003). It is this complex structural backdrop against which debates regarding normalisation of drug use are played out. In acknowledging the multiple realities of late modernity, with “no absolute belief systems left” (Calcutt 1998: 42), it is important to recognise the heterogeneity of ‘young people’ as a demographic, with differentiated experiences across variables such as class, gender and education and ethnicity (Miles 2000: 1). Consequently, as past sociological analyses have been accused of focusing on melodramatic and problematic aspects of youth, this has arguably oversimplified the complexity of young people’s lives and unfairly over-emphasised rave culture as being representative of wider youth experience, when for some young people, it has no impact on their lives at all (Miles 2000). In reflecting on these divergent experiences of young people, the original normalisation thesis has since been re-formulated as *differentiated normalisation*. This offers a more complex interpretation of the normalisation thesis, and proposes that illicit drug use to be a normal, unremarkable aspect of certain social groups, but not others, and within *bounded situations and spaces*, but not others.

Drug Use and Differentiated Normalisation

Over the last decade, several key debates around the normalisation thesis have emerged (Shildrick 2002: 46). According to Shiner and Newburn (1997)

the concept was flawed on several levels. Firstly, it failed to distinguish between one-off experimentation with drugs and frequent use embedded within the everyday lives of the young people sampled. Secondly, there was a failure to acknowledge the normative contexts in which drugs are used, as structural divisions within the youth population impact on prevalence of use (Measham and Shiner 2009, Pilkington 2007, Ravn 2012 and Shildrick 2002). A study by Tracy Shildrick (2002: 35) set out to sharpen this critique with a critical examination of normalisation theory. She argued that the thesis was founded on theoretical and empirical limitations, and presented an overly simplistic account of young people's drug use. The fieldwork for Shildrick's (2002) study included participant observation and interviews with 76 young people in north-east England between 1996 – 1998. The study extended beyond the dance club scene to explore links between drug use, cultural identity, and socioeconomic factors. Findings revealed that whilst most participants were aware of the availability of illicit drugs and had been offered them, patterns of consumption were far more complex. Almost half of the participants stated that they had never tried an illicit drug, whilst the experiences of those who *had* taken drugs were varied. For example, some young people reported trying cannabis on one occasion, whilst others disclosed a much wider repertoire of use. To make sense of these variations, Shildrick (2002: 36) delineated participants into three principal groups. 'Ordinary' youth were not part of any specific youth culture and had the least drug using experience. 'Spectacular' youth were more clearly affiliated to distinctive youth styles and engaged in more wide-ranging, recreational drug use. Finally, 'Trackers' had more entrenched patterns of substance use, including 'problematic' use of solvents and heroin (Shildrick 2002: 44).

Shildrick's (2002) study therefore added empirical weight to Shiner and Newburn's (1997) earlier critique of the normalisation thesis, with a more holistic and integrated understanding of young people's experiences of illicit drugs. The emphasis on sociocultural context demonstrated "the ways in which some types of drugs and some types of drug use may (or may not) be normalised for some groups of young people" (Shildrick 2002: 47). This *differentiated normalisation* therefore provided a more nuanced appreciation of the complexity of drug use amongst young people.

This concept of differentiated normalisation was subsequently developed by Measham and Shiner (2009: 503) with normalisation defined around six key factors, namely: drug availability; lifetime prevalence of use; current use; intended future use; being drug aware irrespective of personal experience; and cultural accommodation on a wider societal level. In attempting to explain the widespread drug use that their original data had revealed, Measham, Newcombe and Parker (1994) argued that drug-taking decisions were founded on rational, cost-benefit analysis as such high rates could no longer be explained by notions of "individual pathology, peer pressure, subcultural rebellion or structural determinants" (Measham and Shiner 2009: 505). In combining to review this theory, Measham and Shiner (2009) sought to explain contemporary drug use beyond the simplistic binaries of rational action and structural determinism. Instead they assert drug taking to be a complex interaction of structure and agency, or 'situated choice' and 'structured action'. In this theoretical context, drug use is constructed as an example of consumptive leisure within post-industrial society. Decisions to use drugs are not solely a consequence of macro-social forces; individuals are not passive automatons in this respect. Instead such decisions are negotiated

between social groups acting within “bounded situations” where agency and pleasure can be located within a broader structural framework (Measham and Shiner 2009: 507). This re-imagination therefore extended both the original normalisation thesis and Shildrick’s (2002) concept of differentiated normalisation. This offers a more dynamic understanding of the relationship between drug use, social context, agency, and pleasure, and acknowledges “different types of drugs and different modes of their use may become ‘normalised’ for different groups of young people depending upon the opportunities and constraints placed upon them by their structural location” (Pilkington 2007: 214).

This re-framing of the normalisation thesis focuses on the meaning of drug use within certain social groups and the spaces that they occupy, with an emphasis on the complex relationship between culture, environment and drug taking behaviours (Smirnov et al. 2013). For example, drug use is strongly associated with University students (60% try an illegal substance) with a corresponding high tolerance of such behaviour amongst non-using friends. For regular club goers, the rate is even higher, with 80% using dance drugs (Measham, Aldridge and Parker 2001a: 9). Other examples of such bounded space might be music festivals and certain tourist resorts. It is in these spaces where usual rules have been suspended (Richard and Kruger 1998) that those involved can escape from the banality of everyday life in a temporal “collective disappearance” (Reynolds 1998: 404). What is clear is that such spaces warrant further academic scrutiny, as there remains a “voracious appetite for psycho-stimulant weekend party drugs by the British population, from teenagers to the middle aged” (Measham et al. 2010: 19).

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a broad conceptualisation of the normalisation of drug use, achieved by contextualising such behaviour as a complex interaction between structure and agency. To further our understanding of this important social issue, it is imperative that the voices of those acting in differentially normalised bounded spaces are prioritised, as past over-theorising of youth culture has obfuscated the lived experiences of those involved (Widdicombe and Woffitt 1995). This requires a criminology that can remove its own structural blinkers. Those engaged in drug research need to avoid the seduction of colluding with structural forces that construct drug use as inherently deviant, irrational and pathological. To understand the meaning of drug use within late modernity, we need a criminology that goes beyond simplistic constructions of "young people as dupes of a dehumanising society" (Miles 2000: 90), an approach that emphasises cultural complexity, rather than atomised rational choice (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 52). Cultural criminology offers such an approach. Within this paradigm, humans are perceived as cultural beings exercising free will, within the confines of their structural circumstances. As such there is a need for drug researchers to take account of "interactions between constructions upwards and constructions downwards … rules created, rules broken, a constant interplay of moral entrepreneurship, moral innovation and transgression" (Young 2011: 103), a sentiment that captures the tensions outlined within this first chapter.

Chapter 2

Drug Use and Nightlife Tourism

The principal aim of this chapter is to synthesise the evidence base relating to drug use within European tourist resorts associated with nightlife. This is an important area of literature to consider as it applies the concept of differential normalisation proposed in Chapter 1 to the bounded spaces of tourist enclaves. The chapter begins by identifying the principal authors in the field, and key locations where such research has been undertaken. This is followed by a discussion of the varied methodological approaches employed, and an overview of sample groups. The key findings in regard to substance use associated with nightlife tourism are discussed, along with dimensions of harm that are consistently measured across the evidence base. The chapter concludes with a discussion of qualitative researchers' interpretation of substance use associated with tourism, as well as a discussion of future directions for research.

The systematic review of the literature involved searching for peer-reviewed Journal articles across key bibliographic databases including *ASSIA*, *Web of Science*, *Academic Search Complete* and *Sage*. Key words were used in various combinations, including: *Ibiza; alcohol; drugs; drug tourism; dance tourism; nightlife tourism* and *clubbing tourism*. Interchangeable searches were made in relation to specific substances. For example, key words such as *ecstasy*, *MDMA*, *cocaine, M-Cat*, *legal highs*, *cannabis*, *alcohol* and *ketamine* were used in combination with popular European tourist resorts associated with nightlife including: *Ibiza, San Antonio, Crete, Zante, Corfu, Rhodes, Kos, Turkey, Gran Canaria, Malia, Mallorca, Magaluf, Ayia Napa and Sunny Beach*

(Mintel 2010a). These destinations were focused upon after consulting various travel agents' websites. After extensive literature searches, reference lists from the literature were also used in order to gather as many primary sources as possible to inform the systematic review. In terms of inclusion and exclusion criteria, it is acknowledged that some long-haul destinations, such as Goa, India, are associated with hedonistic forms of tourism, however these tend to attract more independent travellers in search of 'authentic adventures' (Jayne et al. 2012: 213). Studies outside of Europe were therefore excluded, with the focus on research relating to British tourists in the aforementioned European resorts associated with nightlife and clubbing. Date criteria were set for the literature search. Studies conducted prior to 1988 were excluded on the basis that these pre-dated the UK rave scene and the proliferation of ecstasy use (Collin 1998). Of the 21 studies reviewed, 17 were undertaken within the last decade. This ensured that the most current evidence was included. The literature focuses exclusively on illegal substances such as ecstasy, cannabis, cocaine and ketamine, as well as alcohol.

Nightlife Tourism: Key Authors and Research Locations

The systematic review of the literature synthesises 21 peer-reviewed journal papers relating to European nightlife tourism and substance use. These empirical studies represent a subdivision of an evidence base that has analysed this form of tourism on a global level. For example, there have been studies of young tourists in New Zealand (Ryan, Robertson and Page 1996), backpackers in Australia (Jayne et al. 2012), Spring Break vacationers in North America (Apostolopoulos, Sonmez and Yu 2002 and Josiam, Hobson and Dietrich 1998), and longer-term travelers who have reached the beaches of Goa, India, and Koh Phangan, Thailand (Westerhausen 2002).

Research undertaken in European nightlife destinations is however relatively scarce, and focuses on a narrow range of locations. For example, of the 21 studies reviewed, 10 were situated in Ibiza. This is an indication of the Balearic Island's continued position as the top European clubbing destination and the capital of EDM (Measham, Anderson and Hadfield 2009: 260). The Centre for Public Health, at Liverpool John Moores University in the UK, funded much of the initial exploratory research in Ibiza. Professors Mark Bellis and Karen Hughes led this work, with several key publications over a fourteen-year period (Bellis et al. 2009, Bellis et al. 2003, Bellis et al. 2000, Hughes et al 2009 and Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014). Their research followed earlier studies conducted in Ibiza by Elliot et al. (1998) and Khan, Ditton and Elliot (2000), situated in the School of Nursing, University of Dundee and the Scottish Centre for Criminology, Glasgow, UK. Sebastien Tutenges, an assistant Professor from the Centre for Drug and Alcohol Research at Aarhus University, Denmark, conducted a study in the resort of Sunny Beach, Bulgaria, over the summers of 2007 and 2008. The location was selected on the basis of its reputation for hedonistic nightlife amongst Danish youth. Indeed, Tutenges, along with Daniel Briggs (University of East London) assisted in the early stages of data collection for this study, with a number of early joint publications contributing to the limited available literature on touristic risk taking in Ibiza (Briggs and Turner 2012, Briggs and Turner 2011, Briggs et al. 2011a and Turner and Briggs 2011).

Uriely (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Isreal) and Belhassen (University of Illinois) (2005a, 2005b) have also made significant contributions to the literature. They conducted fieldwork with European participants between 2000 and 2002. This research focused on a number of international tourist destinations associated with drug use, including Amsterdam and Cyprus.

Newly established, low-cost airline routes to eastern and southern European destinations have seen changes in the pattern of party tourism. Cities such as Tallinn, Krakow, Riga and Prague have all become key destinations for the burgeoning hen and stag party market. Thurnell-Read's (2011a, 2011b, 2012) ethnography of British stag tourists in Krakow has gone some way to explaining the relationship between space, place, gender and hedonism. Nevertheless, this kind of 'alco-tourism' remains under-explored and warrants further academic scrutiny (Bell 2008), although research focusing on the impact of young tourists' alcohol consumption has been undertaken in Sunny Beach, Bulgaria (Hesse and Tutenges 2008a, 2008b and Hesse et al. 2008). The systematic review of the literature demonstrates that substance use associated with nightlife tourism remains a relatively untapped area of criminological enquiry. The limited empirical work available has been carried out by a small group of social scientists, in a limited range of European holiday destinations. Drawing comparisons between these locations is problematic, as each attracts different types of tourist with heterogeneous motivations. However, the studies in question are bound together in their representation of tourist space as locations where young tourists negotiate meaning through identity forming experiences (Crouch 2001). Furthermore, as these "tourist bubbles" (Jaakson 2004: 45) are experienced and interpreted in different ways, such spaces can facilitate forms of behaviour that would not be condoned within the tourist's home environment (Thurnell-Read 2012: 807). Further academic scrutiny is warranted to develop our understanding of the meaning, motivation, and impact of substance use amongst young tourists in such nightlife destinations.

Methodological Issues

Nine of the studies included in the review utilised survey research design. These studies have a number of advantages in comparison to qualitative research studies. For example, researchers are able to draw inferences from large data sets and generalise findings to the wider tourist population. Furthermore, this can be achieved quickly and in a relatively cost-effective manner (Rea and Parker 2005). For example, Bellis et al. (2009) located their research in both Ibiza and Majorca, and sampled British, German and Spanish tourists (n=3,003). Data was collected via short, anonymous questionnaires incorporating demographics, length of stay, reasons for choosing Ibiza, and measurements of alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine, amphetamines, ketamine and GHB. In addition, respondents were asked the number of days they believed that they had been drunk whilst on holiday. In a follow up study by the same researchers, Kelly, Hughes and Bellis (2014) accessed a relatively small sample of British casual workers in Ibiza (n=171). These were defined as seasonal workers employed in bars, nightclubs, restaurants and hotels, as well as individuals working as holiday representatives and ticket sellers. Such workers are important actors within Ibiza. They invariably live and socialise together in close friendship networks, and many of them supplement their wages by dealing drugs (Briggs et al. 2011b). Individuals were approached in a range of touristic locations, such as beaches and bars, and were asked to complete a short, anonymous questionnaire gathering quantitative data on demographics, drug use at home and abroad, and sexual-related behaviour. Such quantitative data is valuable in identifying the extent of such issues amongst tourists, however there are limitations. Data collection around sensitive issues such as drug use and sexual contacts can be subject to over and underreporting. Errors in recall and

misidentification of substances are also potential limitations in such research (Bryman 2012). Whilst these quantitative analyses provide a valuable insight into patterns of substance use amongst tourists, the data is descriptive and allows little theoretical interpretation of the socio-cultural meanings of such behaviour. As Shaw and Williams (2009: 18) state, “much of tourism research has been atheoretical and has abstracted tourism from the broader social and economic relationships within which it is set”. Furthermore, as Measham (2004b: 207) has suggested, “it is timely now to move beyond such mapping exercises to reflect on the broader conceptual issues regarding these changing patterns of consumption.”

Eight of the research papers reviewed are based on ethnographic research design. Criminologists have deployed this method effectively for many years, with ethnography contributing much to our understanding of the socio-cultural meanings that underpin crime and deviance (Noaks and Wincup 2004). Uriely and Belhassen (2005a) conducted ethnographic fieldwork over a two-year period (2000 to 2002) in order to gain insight into drug use and risk-taking behaviour amongst tourists. The study adopted a snowball sampling technique to obtain in-depth interviews with 19 males and 11 females (n=30). Interviews lasted for up to three-hours and were conducted after the interviewees had returned home. The length of time elapsed since travel was not included in the paper, an important omission in terms of impact on recall accuracy (Bryman 2012). The content of the interviews focused on information about tourist locations and events where drugs had been consumed. The factors that had motivated individuals to travel, and the social meaning of these experiences was also discussed, along with patterns of drug use and acquisition. Individuals were also asked about their fears and concerns

associated with drug use, as well as any precautions that they may have taken to decrease risk.

The rich data obtained from formal interviews was supplemented by extensive field observations and informal interviews at locations and events associated with drug tourism. These included a ‘full-moon’ party in India, a two-day stay at an Amsterdam guesthouse, four days spent at Bir Sware beach in Egypt, and an overnight party boat between Israel and Cyprus. The data gathered in this part of the study reflected the findings from the formal interviews. This combination of both formal and informal interviews, as well as field observations helps attain data triangulation (Bryman 2012). The study by Uriely and Belhassen (2005b) enables a more nuanced, in-depth appreciation of drug tourism beyond the descriptive data of survey design research. Their interpretive analysis of ethnographic data offers rich insights into the social meaning of drug use amongst a range of tourists. The focus on the social meaning of drug use and risk taking in general is, however, at the expense of any depth in terms of drug-specific analysis. Indeed, the study is limited by the lack of delineation between specific drugs, with individual substances mentioned incidentally within the findings; cannabis, LSD and ecstasy are referred to on two occasions, and cocaine only once.

However, this lack of delineation was addressed in the authors’ follow up study, with a narrowed focus on the relationship between cannabis use and tourism. In the only paper in the review that specifies the use of a “three-step grounded theory approach”, Belhassen, Sandos and Uriely (2007: 304) begin by identifying tourist motivations underpinning cannabis consumption. This is followed by an analysis of the social forces that influence these motives. They conclude by connecting their field observations to context-specific social forces. Grounded theory was selected due to the absence of theory around

cannabis use and tourism. As such the research was iterative, with data analysis and collection conducted simultaneously rather than as a linear process (Urquhart 2013). Such a phenomenological approach seeks to understand how participants construct and interpret the social worlds that they inhabit. Consequently, the emerging theory is grounded in the data obtained from the authors' in-depth interviews (n=18), as well as field observations in the tourist locations previously outlined in their 2005 paper.

Survey research design and ethnography have therefore both offered valuable insights into the issue of substance use and tourism. Some scholars opted to combine these approaches with a mixed method research design. This involves the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study. It is argued that a more appreciative understanding of research problems can be obtained by combining quantitative and qualitative approaches (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011). Tutenges' (2012) comprehensive study of Danish youth on holiday in Sunny Beach, Bulgaria, exemplifies this. Firstly, data was obtained from anonymous surveys administered to participants (n=1168) as they waited in the main departures area of Bourgas airport, Bulgaria. This is described as one of the most effective methods for gathering risk focused data from a large sample group of tourists (Tutenges 2012: 133). Reporting accuracy may however be impeded in such a setting as people may be reluctant to disclose illegal drug use in such close proximity to airport security personnel (Hughes et al. 2009).

This quantitative analysis was complimented by qualitative data from 45 semi-structured interviews conducted with both tourists and bar workers at Sunny Beach. Ethnographic field notes written over a three-month period were also utilised. These were based on observations conducted throughout the day and night, in places frequented by young Danish tourists, including beaches,

bars, nightclubs, cafes, and hotels. The focus of observations was predominantly tourists, although other key actors such as tour guides and bar staff were included. Khan, Ditton and Elliot (2000) also employed a mixed method research design. Their early exploration of substance use in the Mediterranean involved researchers traveling with over two hundred nightlife package tourists in 1995. The study was driven by health concerns about escalating rates of HIV and skin cancer in the wake of affordable travel to European beach resorts. Data was obtained from a short, anonymous survey completed on the departure flight, with follow up questionnaires completed at the end of the holiday (n=160). This data was supplemented by a series of qualitative interviews (n=30) and the researchers getting involved "in as much participant observation as decorum permitted, in order to understand … what it meant to be a raver on holiday." (Khan, Ditton and Elliot 2000: 222). In a previous study by Elliot et al. (1998), a cross-sectional comparison between a group of young tourists in Ibiza (n=160) and club goers in Scotland (n=90) was undertaken. This was combined with participant observation in various tourist activities, as well as qualitative interviews with thirty participants. The aim here was to measure the extent of drug use, sexual behaviour and other health-related risks of young nightlife tourists, and compare these with a matched sample group in Scotland. The authors conclude by calling for more observational, covert data collection techniques to be employed in the future.

The systematic review of the literature reveals that the limited evidence base is characterised by four specific methodological approaches; survey design, ethnography; grounded theory; and mixed methods. The synthesised findings of these diverse studies demonstrate that the issue of substance use amongst tourists is worthy of further academic scrutiny.

The Sample Groups

The nine survey design studies included within the review draw on sample sizes ranging from 171 (Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014) to 3,003 (Bellis et al. 2009). The age range of participants / respondents was fairly homogeneous across the literature, with the focus firmly on substance use amongst 'young people'. This is a reflection of a political agenda that focuses on a culture of intoxication amongst young, British people (Measham 2004b, 2006 and Measham and Brain 2005) as well as concerns regarding the association between substance use and crime within the nighttime economy (Hayward and Hobbs 2007). There is however some dissension in regard to the definition of 'young people' within the literature. For example, much of the work by Liverpool John Moores University sampled people between the ages of 16 and 35 years (Bellis et al. 2003, Bellis et al. 2009, Hughes et al. 2009 and Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014), whilst the studies of Danish youth in Bulgaria focus on a narrower range, with upper age limits of 25 and 26 respectively (Tutenges 2012 and Tutenges and Sandberg 2013). The arbitrary decision regarding age inclusion is further evidenced in the research conducted by Uriely and Belhassen with participants ranging from 19 to 32 years (Uriely and Belhassen 2005a and Uriely and Belhassen 2005b). It would seem important to consider the age of participants carefully, given recent concerns about drug and alcohol consumption amongst adults in their 40s and 50s, particularly in relation to cocaine use (Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs 2015).

In regard to nationality, the evidence base is dominated by studies of British youth in Ibiza (Bellis et al. 2000, Briggs and Tutenges 2014, Briggs et al. 2011a, Hughes et al. 2009 and Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014). This focus is perhaps a combination of the nationality of the authors and the geographic

location of the funding body, as well as the aforementioned concerns around binge culture and intoxication amongst young, British people (Measham 2006). The relevance of funding body is also demonstrated in the research conducted in Sunny Beach, Bulgaria, focusing on the experiences of a Danish cohort (Tutenges and Sandberg 2012 and Tutenges 2012). The authors being both located within the Centre for Alcohol and Drug Research, Aarhus University, Denmark.

The relevance of nationality in relation to drug use was given prominence by Bellis et al. (2009) with their retrospective survey design conducted in Ibiza and Majorca. This study attained a final data set of 3,003 across both islands (Majorca: British n=505, German n=484, Spanish n=487; Ibiza: British n=528, German n=500, Spanish n=499) (Bellis et al. 2009: 80). This enabled comparisons of substance use between nationalities, as well as highlighting the significance of holiday destination as a predictor of drug use. This demonstrated that the British sample in Ibiza used the most drugs both at home and abroad in comparison to their Spanish and German counterparts (see *Table 2.1*). The significance of location is also demonstrated within this study. There are marked differences between levels of drug use on the two Balearic Islands. It is also clear that those choosing to holiday in Majorca use drugs in the UK on a far less frequent basis than those selecting Ibiza. It is interesting to note, that drug use amongst British tourists in Majorca actually decreased in comparison to UK usage.

Table 2.1. Drug Use by Nationality and Location (Bellis et al. 2009)

Some materials have been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version can be viewed in Lancester Library - Coventry University.

Thurnell-Read (2012: 806) suggests that tourist landscapes are often highly gendered, and that this represents an important dimension of such space. Whilst all studies include a sample that is more or less split equally in terms of gender (see *Table 2.2*), there are few significant findings about the relationship between gender and substance use amongst the tourist groups concerned. Indeed some studies make very little reference to gender at all (for examples see Briggs and Tutenges 2014 and Tutenges and Sandberg 2013). The topic is however central in Thurnell-Read's (2011a, 2011b, 2012) ethnography of eight British stag parties in Krakow. The all-male groups had between 8 and 19 members, were predominantly white British, and mixed in terms of socioeconomic status. This study sets out to make observations based around modes of masculine embodiment. Discourses of self-control

and rationality in relation to the male body are juxtaposed to the “loss of control which is condoned and encouraged within the strictures of hegemonic masculinity” (Thurnell-Read 2011: 978). Although, when female tourists enact such loss of control, they are invariably condemned (Tutenges 2012: 142). Hesse and Tutenges (2008b) employed the Drinking-Induced Disinhibition Scale (DIDS) in a survey design outlining gender differences related to alcohol use and sexual disinhibition. They again focus on Danish youth (n=325) in Sunny Beach, Bulgaria, with the sample equally split between male and female, with a mean age of 20 years. Kelly, Hughes and Bellis (2014) also make reference to gender patterns from their sample of 171 casual workers in Ibiza. As sexual activity formed part of the focus of this study, the sample was equally divided between males and females. However, very few gender differences were identified. For example, in their chi squared analysis, there were no associations between gender and sexual activity, having multiple sexual partners or having unprotected sex. Nor were there any significant gender differences in regard to substance use, with gender having no bearing on recruitment into ketamine, ecstasy or amphetamine use.

Tourists and Substance Use

Whilst the research literature selected has analogous objectives, there are nevertheless some notable differences in foci. Ten of the papers reviewed set out to provide a description of substance use amongst tourists (i.e. what they take, and how often they take it) with comparisons to participants’ usage at home in the UK. Such exploratory work is necessary, as the issue of drug consumption has rarely been addressed within tourism studies (Uriely and Belhassen 2005a).

The information about patterns of substance use is invariably conflated with data collection around various dimensions of risk and harm. An exemplar of this type of research can be seen in the study funded by the Centre for Public Health at Liverpool John Moores University. Hughes' et al. (2009) short, anonymous questionnaire required participants to disclose quantitative data regarding their use of alcohol, tobacco, ecstasy, cocaine, cannabis, amphetamine, ketamine and gammahydroxybutyrate (GHB). Questions regarding substance use were then followed by information about participants' engagement in 'risky' sexual behaviour, episodes of illness and injury, contact with medical professionals, involvement in arguments and fights, and experiences of theft. A similar pattern of aims can be seen throughout the survey research (Bellis et al. 2009, Bellis et al. 2003, Bellis et al. 2000, Hughes and Bellis 2006, Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014 and Tutenges and Hesse 2008). In synthesising the evidence base, findings in regard to drug use can be condensed into five main areas: *Type, prevalence, frequency, location* and *recommendations*.

Type and Prevalence of Substance Use

There is a degree of consistency in terms of the substances included in the 21 studies reviewed. This information is summarised in *Table 2.2* on the following page. The table summarises the location of the study, research design, sample information, and other areas of focus including sex, health and crime.

Table 2.2: Research Design, Sample and Focus

	Year	*Location / Sample / Gender*	*MDMA*	*Cocain*	*Ketami*	*Cannab*	*Amphet*	*GHB*	*Opiates*	*LSD*	*Alcohol*	*Tobacc*	*Sex*	*Health*	*Crime*
Survey Design															
Kelly, Hughes & Bellis	2014	Ibiza / 171 / 52%F	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*	*	
Bellis, Hughes, Calafat, Juan & Schnitzer	2009	Ibiza & Majorca / 3003 / 52%F	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*			
Hughes, Bellis, Whelan, Calafat, Juan & Blay	2009	Ibiza & Majorca / 1033 / 53%F	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*	*	*
Hesse & Tutenges	2008	Sunny Beach / 325 / 53%M				*					*		*		
Tutenges & Hesse	2008	Sunny Beach / 1011 / 55%M	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*	*	*
Hughes & Bellis	2006	Ibiza / 960 / Gender NA	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
Lora-Tamayo *et al*	2004	Ibiza / 154 / Gender NA	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	
Bellis, Hughes, Bennett & Thomson	2003	Ibiza / 1714 / 57%M	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*			
Bellis, Hale, Bennett, Chaudry & Kilfoyle.	2000	Ibiza / 846 / 54%M	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	
Ethnographic Design															
Briggs & Tutenges	2014	Ibiza / 169 / 53%M	*								*		*	*	
Briggs	2013	Ibiza / not specified		*							*		*	*	
Tutenges & Sandberg	2013	Sunny Beach / 115 / 53%M									*		*	*	*
Briggs, Tutenges, Armitage & Panchev	2011	Ibiza / 169 / 53%M									*		*	*	*
Tutenges	2009	Sunny Beach / 63 / Gender NA									*			*	*
Belhassen, Almeida Santos & Uriely	2007	Netherlands / 12M / 6F				*									
Uriely & Belhassen	2005 a	Netherlands, Germany, Ibiza, Cyprus / 19M / 11F													
Uriely & Belhassen	2005 b														
Mixed Method Design															
Tutenges	2012	SB / 1168 (56%M) / 55F 60M SSI.									*		*	*	*
Hesse, Tutenges, Schliewe & Rheinholdt	2008	Sunny Beach – 1011 (55%M) / 63 Int	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*
Khan, Ditton & Elliot	2000	Mediterannean / 203 / 55%M											*		
Elliot *et al*	1998	Balearic Island / 250 / 55%M	*	*		*	*			*	*	*	*	*	

This demonstrates that the 9 survey design studies included have some degree of consistency in regard to the *types* of substance incorporated into the data collection process. For example, all nine take account of respondents' alcohol consumption, whilst seven include tobacco use. In regard to illegal substance use, eight of the studies incorporate data on the use of ecstasy, cocaine, amphetamine, ketamine, cannabis, and GHB. Only four of the studies collect data about LSD (Bellis et al. 2003, Bellis et al. 2000, Hughes and Bellis 2006 and Lora-Tamayo et al. 2004), whilst opiate consumption features in only two of the studies concerned (Hughes and Bellis 2006 and Lora-Tamayo et al. 2004). Hesse and Tutenges (2008) take a narrower focus, with their survey research in Sunny Beach concerned only with cannabis, alcohol and tobacco usage. Interestingly, none of the studies collected data about 'legal highs', which is an indication of the relatively recent emergence of such substance use (Measham et al. 2010). *Table 2.2* also reveals that the eight ethnographic studies included in the review make little distinction between specific substances. Instead, the researchers focus on more general discussion about intoxication and substance use *per se*, with very little delineation of the nature, effect and experiences associated with specific drugs. Of the four mixed methods studies included, two include data about a broad range of substances (Elliott et al. 1998 and Hesse et al. 2008).

The evidence emerging from Ibiza yields fairly consistent findings. The widespread availability of drugs on the island ensures that it has remained a popular choice for club goers with drug taking experience in the UK, as well as those with no previous history of drug use. Given Ibiza's position as the global capital of the EDM scene, it is of little surprise to find consistently high rates of ecstasy use amongst British tourists on the island. Bellis et al. (2003) found a

statistically significant increase in ecstasy consumption between 1999 and 2002 (from 35.2% to 43.1%). This increased to 44.2% in data collected by Hughes et al (2009), with cocaine (34.2%) and cannabis use (20.1%) also prevalent. Ketamine use has also escalated, rising from 1.6% to 4.4% between 1999 and 2002 (Bellis et al. 2003), up to 14.2% in 2007 (Hughes et al. 2009). Bellis et al. (2003, 2009) also reveal a section of tourists who use drugs for the first time in Ibiza. For example, 1 in 14 of their sample used ecstasy, having never done so in the UK. The ethnographic research conducted by Uriely and Belhassen (2005a) suggests that this may be because tourists take drugs as a result of increased accessibility in the destination concerned, arguing that for some tourists, drugs are a by-product of travel, rather than the principal focus.

The association between alcohol consumption and illicit drug use is also indicated. It is argued that the framing of holidays as a time to suspend normative rules of conduct results in considerably higher levels of alcohol consumption (Bell 2008). This in turn may influence the consumption of other drugs, as those who admitted frequent drunkenness on holiday, were significantly more likely to use cannabis, ecstasy and cocaine, with first time use of the latter associated with getting drunk (Bellis et al. 2009: 81). Kelly, Hughes and Bellis (2014) revealed even higher rates of substance use amongst British casual workers in Ibiza. This group has been described as ambiguous, with blurred boundaries between work and leisure essentially making them residential tourists (Briggs 2013 and O'Reilly 2000). Results show substance use to be extremely common amongst this population. Indeed, 85.3% reported using an illicit drug, with ecstasy (68.9%), cocaine (66.9%) and ketamine (54.7%) the most popular. Like their tourist

counterparts, many workers use drugs for the first time in Ibiza. This was the case for ketamine (16.5% of the sample), amphetamine (14.8%), ecstasy (11.8%), cocaine (7.7%), cannabis (7.7%), and GHB (8.9%) (Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014: 10054). It is suggested that new arrivals are quickly embroiled into the well-established drug networks of existing casual workers, with long working hours and constant partying make substance use a rational, necessary aspect of "maintaining the pace" (Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014: 1058).

Studies situated outside Ibiza focused on alcohol use over other types of substances. Bell (2008) argues that the relationship between tourism and alcohol consumption has yet to receive sufficient academic scrutiny. He calls for the establishment of a research agenda for what he terms 'alco-tourism' – which essentially combines alcohol studies with tourism studies. This is defined as the "assorted ways of travelling to drink, travelling while drinking, drinking to travel, and so on, that constitute an important but under-researched dimension of the growing body of work on 'drinking places'." (Bell 2008: 291). Tutenges (2012) goes some way to address this gap in the literature. His study in Sunny Beach found high levels of drunkenness amongst the cohort of Danish youth, with 79% consuming 12 or more units on at least one occasion and over a third drinking to this level every day of the week. The 'drink place culture' of Sunny Beach is therefore characterised by cheap Bulgarian alcohol prices, and a consent amongst participants that shuns moderation (Tutenges 2012). Hughes et al. (2009) also reveal that tourists in Majorca consume more alcohol than those in Ibiza, and experience more negative impacts as a result, such as involvement in fights and contact with medical services.

Frequency of Substance Use

The results from survey research in Ibiza consistently conclude that drug use escalates amongst tourists in comparison to their use at home in the UK. Bellis et al. (2000, 2003) demonstrate that the frequency of drug use – that is, the number of nights per week that drugs are used - was significantly higher in Ibiza than in the UK, and that this was the case for all types of drug included in the study. For example, whilst only 6.7% of participants reported using ecstasy on at least five nights per week in the UK, over one third of the sample (36.9%) admitted doing so in Ibiza. This pattern is consistent with the later study by Hughes et al. (2009). Only 2.4% of ecstasy users in their Ibiza sample used the substance two or more times per week in the UK, but nine out of ten reported using at this frequency in Ibiza. Indeed, almost half (46.7%) reported using ecstasy at least five days per week. This was similar for other drugs, with Bellis et al. (2000) revealing that respondents were twelve times more likely to use amphetamine five times a week in Ibiza than in the UK. These survey results clearly indicate drug use in Ibiza is considerably higher than tourists' usage in the UK (Bellis et al. 2000 and Hughes et al. 2009). This is also consistent with ethnographic findings, as evidenced here in an excerpt from Briggs and Tutenges (2014: 275):

> "They arrived on their holiday in Ibiza drunk and high on pills, and with only one-hour sleep after arrival, went drinking in bars and then clubbing. A typical day and night sees them get up at around midday, swim, eat breakfast, drink beer throughout the afternoon, swim, move on to cocktails and shots in the evening and taking various drugs"

Furthermore, it appears that more frequent visits to Ibiza were associated with higher levels of drug use. Thus, the number of individuals using amphetamine, LSD, GHB or ketamine more than doubled amongst those who

had visited the island on at least four previous occasions (Bellis et al. 2003: 1715).

Research Location

The evidence reveals that certain tourist spaces are more synonymous with drug use than others. This was demonstrated in the cross sectional survey research employed by Hughes et al. (2009). The study compared drug use in Ibiza and Majorca and revealed major differences between the two Balearic Islands. Over half of the Ibiza sample (53.9%) reported using at least one illegal drug (defined as cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine, amphetamine, ketamine, and GHB), whilst only 13.9% of those in Majorca had done so. In regard to specifics, there were ten times more ecstasy users in Ibiza than Majorca (44% compared to 4%), whilst cocaine use showed a similar pattern (34.2% and 7.5% respectively). It is therefore clear that the social context of the *tourist space* itself is important in how individuals and groups perceive and interpret the meaning of drug use. This is corroborated in Tutenges' (2012) research conducted in Sunny Beach, Bulgaria. The Danish cohort (n=1168) reported very low levels of illicit drug use. Only 1.2% of females and 11.6% of males admitted to using an illicit substance use in Sunny Beach. Indeed many participants were critical of individuals who used drugs. Explaining such differences between the tourist spaces of Ibiza, Majorca and Sunny Beach is a complex interplay between national attitudes, culture, and perhaps the anti-drug attitude promoted by respective tour operators. For example, many of the Danish youth were fearful of interactions with both Bulgarian drug dealers and police, making drug use a source of concern rather than pleasure (Tutenges 2012).

Risk, Harm and Health

It is clear from the evidence base that substance use, to varying degrees, has a strong association with nightlife tourism. The research in Ibiza demonstrates that tourism associated with EDM continues to play a key role in the dissemination of drug trends (Bellis et al. 2003 and Measham, Anderson and Hadfield 2009). Furthermore, scholars argue that any negative outcomes of such drug use are compounded by distance from family support structures and the unfamiliar nature of health and legal procedures in the host country (Bellis et al. 2003 and Bellis et al. 2009). Consequently, the evidence base identifies such resorts as ideal for targeting health interventions to a concentrated group of recreational drug users. As such, the recommendations emerging from much of the evidence base are unified in their call for implementation of harm reduction initiatives in nightlife resorts associated with EDM. Such measures would aim to discourage first time drug use, and address the higher rates of usage amongst existing users. It is argued that harm reduction information, such as educational leaflets, should be disseminated to protect young tourists in such resorts, with the dangers of combining multiple substances highlighted as a priority (Bellis et al. 2000, Bellis et al. 2003, Elliot et al. 1998 and Sellars 1998). Clarity on how tourists should go about seeking medical assistance abroad is also highlighted as a priority (Sellars 1998). Such interventions also need to be directed at the health needs of seasonal workers with collaboration between the commercial bodies involved in nightlife tourism, relevant authorities in home and destination countries and the wider tourism industry (Bellis et al. 2000, Briggs 2013 and Kelly et al. 2014).

Whilst the evidence base ostensibly focuses on the substance use of participants in European holiday resorts, valuable data has also been collected in regard to other associated forms of risk and harm, such as sexual activity, physical health, contact with medical services, and crime experiences such as theft, robbery and violence.

Sexual Health

Tutenges' (2012) study in Sunny Beach encouraged participants (n=1168) to disclose information about their sexual activity whilst on holiday. Almost half of the participants (45%) reported that they had had sex there, with 13% disclosing sex with multiple partners. The author acknowledges that whilst these statistics provide an overview of sexual behaviour, they fail to capture "the sensual curiosity, adventurousness, and lust that consume many of the young visitors" (Tutenges 2012: 140). Indeed, generating unbiased, accurate data in relation to sexual behaviour is notoriously challenging. Limitations regarding participation bias and recall along with the sensitive, private nature of sexual activity make accurate data difficult to attain (Fenton et al. 2001).

There were 14 studies included within the review that explored 'risky' sexual activity of tourists in Ibiza. Hughes et al. (2009: 267) define this as having unprotected sex or multiple partners whilst on holiday. Bellis et al. (2000) uncovered high rates of unprotected sex amongst their sample, with half the cohort reporting having sex in Ibiza, and half of these choosing not to use a condom with at least one person. This issue is compounded by the fact that basic protective measures such as condoms may not easily be available in the tourist environment (Bellis et al. 2000). These results are similar to those found in the survey research conducted by Hughes et al. (2009) in both Ibiza (n=528) and Majorca (n=505). The majority of tourists travelled without a

partner, (88.4% Majorca, 73.8% Ibiza). A quarter of this group in Ibiza reported having sex during their stay, whilst the figure in Majorca was slightly higher, with almost a third. One in five of those in Majorca had sex with more than one partner, compared to one in eight in Ibiza. A third of the sample reported having unprotected sex with a new partner, with one in six having unprotected sex with multiple partners. Male respondents were more likely to report unprotected sex, and multiple sexual partners (Hughes et al. 2009). However, issues of social desirability and over-reporting frequently bias such results. It is well established that men consistently report a higher number of partners in sex surveys, and also have a wider interpretation of what constitutes 'sex' (Fenton et al. 2001)

Significant contributions to understanding sexual behaviour have been made by ethnographic researchers. Such qualitative approaches have yielded prevention strategies based upon understanding cultural factors underpinning sexual behaviour (Fenton et al. 2001). The results from surveys carried out in Ibiza, have therefore been complimented by ethnographic work conducted by Briggs et al. (2011a) in San Antonio, Ibiza. They used a combination of observation, focus groups and interviews to explore the issues relating to sex amongst key actors, defined as British tourists, public relations (PR) workers, street prostitutes, strippers and lap dancers. The aim of the research was to "examine the role of sex and substances", although the exact nature of the connection between these two distinct areas is not made clear. They describe the behaviour of a small sample of young, British male tourists, paying street prostitutes for sex. Such behaviour was invariably perceived as a source of humour amongst the group, although those involved expressed some concerns about sexually transmitted infections. This corroborates Tutenges

(2012) findings in Sunny Beach, Bulgaria. From a cohort of Danish tourists (n = 1168) just under half of the males sampled had visited a strip club, whilst 1 in 8 disclosed paying for sex. Such behaviour was much lower amongst female tourists, with only 1 in 12 visiting a strip club. In addition to studies of holidaymakers in Ibiza, Kelly et al. (2014) uncovered high rates of substance use and sexual risk-taking behaviour amongst British seasonal workers on the island. They found the majority of this sample group arrive in Ibiza without a partner (86.5%). Almost 90% reported that they had sex during their stay and with half having had unprotected sex, often whilst drunk. Furthermore, only 1 in 7 of this latter group sought sexual health screening in Ibiza, which represents obvious concern in relation to the spread of sexually transmitted infections.

Although this body of evidence conflates risky sexual activity with nightlife tourism, some research argues that this is not the case. In early empirical work conducted in Ibiza, Khan, Ditton and Elliot (2000: 232) conclude that for the majority of their participants, sex on holiday was much the same as sex at home. Furthermore, Elliot et al. (1998) conversely found that their sample were more sexually active, and had more partners, at home than their time in Ibiza, identifying “a strong sense of sexual disinterest, both among males and females whilst on holiday” (Elliot et al. 1998: 328). Participants reported that their drug use, particularly in relation to ecstasy, was not conducive to sexual activity, and that they were content with ‘just looking’. This view is not unusual in the literature on the rave scene, where the proliferation of ecstasy and MDMA within clubs created an environment where females felt able to flirt and talk to strangers with little fear of sexual consequences. Aggressive male

sexuality and the need for gratification therefore seemed to be subsumed by the tactile, sensual pleasures of dance and friendship (Sellars 1998: 168).

Physical Injury and Illness

A total of 13 studies included in the review collected data around physical illness and injury. These demonstrate that nightlife tourists may be exposed to a variety of harmful health consequences as a result of the intensive periods of partying over the holiday period. Clearly there are significant short and long-term health risks associated with alcohol and drug use. These risks are compounded by the daily use revealed amongst nightlife tourists. For example, in August 2005 a total of 135 people were treated at Ibiza's Can Misses hospital for serious episodes of drug poisoning. The majority of these (80%) were young, non-Spanish males, admitted directly from nightclubs, many experiencing toxicity from combining drugs such as ecstasy, alcohol, cocaine and ketamine (Hughes et al. 2009). In addition to drug toxicity, tourists report a range of health issues, including injuries such as sprains, cuts and fractures, to more innocuous health issues such as gastro-intestinal infections, fatigue, sunburn, shivers, and coughs (Bellis et al. 2000 and Tutenges 2012). Dehydration is also a common health problem, and is particularly dangerous when combined with drugs such as ecstasy. Furthermore, unlike UK clubs, some overseas venues overlook or ignore established safe dancing codes with bottles of water in Ibiza clubs marketed at prohibitive prices and scarce access to information about harm minimisation. Consequently, despite the increased risk, only a third of respondents received any health related information about drug use (Bellis et al. 2000).

Crime

The crime experiences of nightlife tourists are addressed within 7 of the studies included in the literature review. In the survey design employed by Hughes et al. (2009) in the Balearics, 10% of the Majorca cohort was involved in a fight, compared to less than 3% of those in Ibiza. Fighting was found to be associated with young, male, poly-drug users. However, ecstasy was not associated with violence, supporting the reputation of the drug as a pro-social empathogen (Hughes et al. 2009). Tutenges (2012) revealed more serious forms of violence. Four instances of rape were reported amongst the young, Danish cohort, with one young Swedish tourist the victim of a fatal assault by nightclub security staff.

The review reveals an evidence base that highlights multiple dimensions of potential harm that young tourists may be exposed to. Whilst these risks are certainly real, it is important to recognise that the majority of tourists in such resorts are not harmed, and that transgression is invariably managed within parameters of risk-taking; young people ultimately want to engage in the pleasures of nightlife tourism whilst remaining safe (Tutenges 2012). On reflection, it is important to recognise that the evidence base essentially conflates harm with substance use, in the absence of any consistent empirical evidence that demonstrates causality. Thus the literature is rooted within a paradigm that constructs drug use as pathological behaviour with inevitably negative consequences.

Differential Normalisation within Tourist Space

Through a systematic review of the literature, this chapter has synthesised an area of research that has been described by Bell (2008) as fragmented and disparate. Survey research has revealed valuable insights into the extent of drug and alcohol use in the nightlife resorts of Ibiza, Majorca and Sunny

Beach. The data highlights the wide variance of drug use in these spaces, with prevalence in Ibiza far outstripping both Majorca and Sunny Beach. This validates the concept of differential normalisation, and suggests that drug use is best understood as a “contingent process negotiated by distinct social groups operating in bounded situations” (Measham and Shiner 2009: 502).

Whilst survey data has been valuable in highlighting these patterns of substance use, the socio-cultural factors operating within such normalised spaces require further investigation. This requires researchers to generate data from direct observation and experience (Bell 2008, Elliot et al. 1998 and Thurnell-Read 2011a: 807) in order to engage with the “force fields of emotional energy” that characterise nightlife environments (Tutenges 2012: 133).

Ethnography is an approach that can generate such theoretical insights into the lived experiences of tourists, in order to engage with wider conceptual issues that shape changing patterns of drug consumption (Measham 2004b and Uriely and Belhassen 2005b). The ethnographic research reviewed here has gone some way to meeting this challenge. Ironically however, whilst the original normalisation thesis understates the role of structure in favour of a rational action model of drug use (Measham, Newcombe and Parker 1994 and Measham and Shiner 2009: 502), ethnographers in Ibiza have arguably inverted this by accentuating structure at the expense of agency. Consequently the island is deemed to subvert the morality of young tourists, who are perceived to be coerced into hyper-intoxication at considerable cost to their overall well-being (Briggs 2013: 33 and Briggs and Tutenges 2014: 293). This coercion is deemed equally applicable to the British casual workers in Ibiza, who “find it difficult to fend off the temptation to party - probably

because they have been told it is part of their job to stimulate the party atmosphere and encourage drinking" (Briggs 2013: 36). In this analysis, structure overpowers the agency of tourists and workers. They are passive and naive victims of "behavioural coercion" duped "pied-piper" like into "dangerous forms" of drug use in a social context critically condemned as "non-stop fun focused on the consumption of alcohol, drugs, sex and music" (Briggs 2013: 276). The ethnographic research within this review therefore makes a contribution to our understanding of drug use within tourist resorts, and adds depth to survey data. Furthermore, it corroborates the view that Ibiza represents a differentially normalised bounded space. Nevertheless it overlooks both the role of agency and the evidence that for many people recreational drug use is an inherently pleasurable experience. Such an oversight emanates from an alignment with a research agenda dominated by narratives of pathology, harm, addiction, and risk, and which defines drug users as deviant consumers in need of help or control (Belhassen, Ameida Santos and Uriely 2007).

Conclusion

The systematic review of literature has highlighted a need to recognise and engage with the underlying pleasures of drug-related experiences within tourist spaces (Thurnell-Read 2011a). This is important in order to balance an evidence base overwhelmingly focused on the negative outcomes of differentially normalised drug use within bounded spaces such as Ibiza. This could be achieved by employing an iterative, grounded theory method (GTM) to generate theory from the data (Bryman 2012). This approach has already been employed to explore the meaning of cannabis use amongst

tourists (Belhassen, Ameida Santos, and Uriely 2007), and could be replicated in resorts such as Ibiza, in order to make connections between the meaning of tourists' social worlds and the structural processes that shape their context. Such an approach could explore wider aspects of the clubbing experience such as the meaning of the collective pleasure of the music, and the construction of social identities and inequalities. Such aspects are frequently overlooked as clubbers continue to be pathologised within the evidence base (Measham, Anderson and Hadfield 2009). It is therefore imperative that future research in this area develops an understanding of the lived reality of nightlife tourists, and constructs them not as passive consumers vulnerable to exploitation, but as actors negotiating a complex interplay between structure and agency (Ettore and Miles 2002: 173 and Measham and South 2012). The need is for a grounded theory research approach that gets beneath the surface of nightlife tourism, to understand the complex interaction between agency, pleasure and space, three critically important features that have been neglected within the drug research evidence base (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 18).

Chapter 3

Drug Use, Pleasure and Risk

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the dimensions of pleasure associated with illicit drug use, a narrative that is frequently overlooked within drug research. The voices of those with lived experience of club drugs are at the fore of this chapter, as pleasure emerges as a defining feature of their motivation to use illicit substances within differentially normalised spaces. The chapter is organised around three main sections. Firstly, the importance of agency will be highlighted, as this is frequently absent from drug research. Dimensions of drug-related pleasure will then be explored, with a focus on the pharmacological and contextual pleasures of two principal club drugs, ecstasy and ketamine. The chapter concludes with an analysis of risk attitudes amongst illicit drug users. The aim here is to counter the narratives of risk and harm that dominate drug research. Whilst some implement strategies to balance the pleasures and harms of drug use, others paradoxically gain pleasure from the risk-taking itself. This is important as it reveals how those involved interpret, manage and subvert concepts of risk within normalised bounded spaces.

Drugs and Pleasure: The Great Unmentionable

"The fine point of seldom pleasure has been blunted" (Huxley 1954: 117) Every year new research emerges to draw attention to multiple types of harm and risk associated with substance use. Consequently, as Holt and Treleor (2008: 349) suggest, "when considering international drug policy and educational efforts you could be forgiven for thinking that drug use only ever

emerges from (or leads to) misery, ill health and social dysfunction". This of course emanates from aforementioned structural narratives of religious morality and medicine. The addiction discourse that dominates the evidence base can therefore be seen as a deliberate obfuscation of the pleasures of intoxication (Bunton and Coveney 2011). Those operating in the normalised spaces of club and ecstasy culture view such narratives as unjustified. They argue that those in authority simplistically construct EDM events as drug fuelled, hedonistic gatherings, even though they have little understanding of the meaning of such events for the participants involved, and no direct experience themselves. There are therefore two conflicting perspectives in relation to drug use. Powerful narratives within political, public health and media discourse construct recreational drug users as 'other', and view EDM events as risk-laden spaces requiring regulation. Meanwhile those actually involved vividly describe the entangled sensual pleasures of music, dancing, drugs and risk (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007: 74 and Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010). This dichotomy is further compounded by an apparent reluctance to acknowledge the role of pleasure within drug research, even though it is arguably the primary reason underlying use (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007: 74 and Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010). The disregard of pleasure is a particularly surprising omission in research focusing on ecstasy and other dance drugs, leading Hunt, Moloney and Evans (2010: 119) to claim pleasure is almost "unseeable" within the evidence base. Although perhaps pleasure is not so much unseen, as structurally condemned within a western culture that reinforces hard work and rationality over hedonism (Becker 1963). Researchers' reluctance to discuss the pleasures of drug use is also a consequence of professional self-preservation, as such research may be judged disreputable, unscientific and 'pro-drug' (Duff 2008: 385 and Moore

2008: 355) within a harm-focused framework dominated by bio-medical, psychological and epidemiological funding sources (Bunton and Coveney 2011, Duff 2008 and Moore 2008). Consequently, as with many youth subcultures, the voices of those involved in the differentially normalised spaces of the EDM scene are rarely captured in academic texts (Malbon 1999: 16). This obfuscates any positive aspects of illicit drug use and marginalises the importance of pleasure as a motivational factor for usage. In the absence of an appreciation of the role of pleasure, drug policy is formulated on an assumption that society is made up of health conscious, risk-averse citizens who would address their drug use if only they were sufficiently educated and socialised (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007, Kelly 2005 and Moore 2008). Risk information is therefore aimed at empowered, rational individuals who take responsibility for their own health needs (Bunton and Coveney 2011). Meanwhile, those who continue to use in the face of such information are deemed "irrational or unintelligible" (Holt and Treleor 2008: 350) and "do not know any better" (Kelly 2005: 1454). In order to understand the complexity of drug use as a feature of differentially normalised space, researchers need to develop a deeper appreciation of the dynamic interplay between agency, pleasure, social context and cultural attitudes to risk (Beck and Rosenbaum 1994 and Duff 2008).

Agency and Experiential Consumption

In the late 1980s, the Balearic Island of Ibiza became the epicentre of an emergent dance and ecstasy culture that attracted a committed group of young, British people. In *Altered State,* the seminal account of Acid House, Collin (1998: 51) identifies how for many young people such escapism became "an extended vacation in an alternate reality … a peak experience

that allows for utopian dreaming … dancing in the balmy Mediterranean air with all these fabulous, outlandish creatures around them."

This emphasis on the agency of those involved, so often overlooked in drug research (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007), resonates with Pine and Gilmore's (1999) analysis of previously unarticulated changing patterns of consumption in late modernity, with a focus on the purchasing of *experiences*, rather than goods and services. Consumers, they argue, are driven to spend money on rich and compelling, highly valued, memorable experiences. As such, the market has reacted to offer choreographed, staged events. The value of such experiences lies in the internalisation of cherished memories; the individual is engaged rather than entertained. They themselves contribute to the visual / aural spectacle of the staged event. This can either be as a bystander absorbing the experience, or as a fully immersed consumer within an *escapist* experience (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 33). Furthermore, this might involve a journey to engage in activities that provide visceral experiences of risk. Such experiences go beyond merely escaping the banality of everyday life; they may even "allow the average person to feel like a superstar" (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 34) and can be situated on a continuum of varying morality. For example, whilst every aspect of the Las Vegas experience is meticulously designed, beyond the ubiquitous slot machines, magic shows, and multi-million dollar themed hotel-casinos, "there is another side to the Vegas experience: the readily available alcohol, drugs, nudity-filled nightclubs, and prostitution … these are every bit as much a part of the Experience Economy as any other entertainment or escapist fare" (Pine and Gilmore 1999: xi). This is an important point, as the emphasis here is on the individual as an active consumer of socially deviant experiences of questionable morality. Put simply,

it acknowledges that there is a pleasure in consuming experiences as diverse as “drug use (including alcohol), dancing, eating, and hill-walking” (Malbon 1999: 23). In this sense, drug consumption is not a passive act, rather young people are embodied actors simultaneously constructing, transforming and expressing identity through the consumption of fashion, music, drugs and risk (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007 and Malbon 1999). Authorities meanwhile portray this experiential consumption of drugs as disordered, high risk, and in need of regulation. Users are not deemed independent moral agents; rather “their will has been hijacked by a chemical” (Sullum 2003: 11). In contrast, young people construct the experience through a lens of excitement and pleasure (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007: 77), it is therefore essential that their voices are heard in order to understand the meaning of club drugs from the perspectives of those involved (Beck and Rosenbaum 1994 and Kelly 2005). The experiential aspects of two such substances are now considered.

Experiencing Ecstasy

MDMA or ecstasy, is related to both amphetamine and mescaline, and is described as a stimulant with psychedelic qualities. Although academic scrutiny of the pleasures of ecstasy is limited (Bunton and Coveney 2011), of the range of club drugs available, Hunt, Moloney and Evans (2010: 122) found ecstasy users were able to provide the most vivid detail and nuanced description of their experience of intoxication. They identify a number of reasons for taking ecstasy, including the direct pursuit of pleasure, alleviation from negative life situations, and the enhancement of sexual experiences (Singer and Schensul 2011). The effects of the drug are predominantly emotional, without the major perceptual changes associated with LSD (Sullum 2003: 169). Some users describe ecstasy as a unique drug, as the ‘high’ is

experienced throughout the whole body as an ‘electric’ feeling, with enhanced physical sensation and mild hallucinations giving visual perception an extraordinary vibrancy (Singer and Schensul 2011). The physiological effects of ecstasy consumption can be deconstructed into three distinct stages: the rush, the plateau and the come down (Beck and Rosenbaum 1994: 59).

The initial ‘rush’ of MDMA usually occurs within the first hour of oral ingestion. This is experienced as an intense wave of euphoria that is often described as the most pleasurable phase of using ecstasy, although the intensity of the experience can also be overwhelming for some, especially when using for the first time (Duff 2008: 389). Users have described this phase in vivid terms, for example, a Dallas man in his 50s described the rush as hitting him “like a ton of bricks … I released control for a microsecond and POW! … Outer-space … it was marvellous” (Beck and Rosenbaum 1994: 65).

This initial euphoria is followed by a period where the effects of the drug level out and plateau. This phase usually lasts for several hours. During this time, users describe an over-whelming sense of emotional well-being and freedom, where the usual codes of mundane social interaction are transformed into something deeply pleasurable and exciting (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 124). Some users describe experiencing a new level of happiness during this phase, as the frustrations of everyday life are forgotten in a temporal ability to live only in the present. A young African American female exemplifies this in the following excerpt from Singer and Schensul’s (2011: 1679) qualitative study in the United States, “I’m free. I’m not worrying about nothing . . . My worries are just gone and I’m just there doing what I like to do, having fun”.

As Zajdow (2010) suggests, for some, the pleasure of intoxication is in the losing of oneself in the moment.

The come down phase of ecstasy describes the gradual descent to normality from the plateau of euphoria. Users may seek calmer ‘chill-out’ environments as the effects of MDMA wear off. The use of ‘downers’ is also common in this phase, including alcohol, tobacco, and marijuana. However, some seek to heighten the come down phase by the use of ketamine, this can both enhance and extend the effects of ecstasy, or offer users a different kind of high (Moore and Measham 2008: 238). The psychoactive effects of ketamine are outlined below.

Experiencing Ketamine

> “It’s the most fun you can have for £20” (Moore and Measham 2008: 231).

Having been first synthesised in the early 1960s, ketamine became known for it’s transformative, dissociative effects amongst a small population of new age ‘psychonauts’ interested in mind exploration. In the early 1970s the drug was legitimised within medicine as an effective short-term surgical anaesthetic. However, as rave and club culture emerged in the mid-1980s recreational use became more widespread across the United States and Europe. In the UK, ketamine has been categorised as a class C drug under the *Misuse of Drugs Act* since 2006 (Moore and Measham 2008). The extent of ketamine use has however remained relatively low in comparison to ecstasy, perhaps due to the asocial paralysis that invariably occurs at higher doses (Joe-Laidler and Hunt 2008).

Ketamine is generally taken alongside the existing repertoire of club drugs, and is often used to enhance or extend the ecstasy experience rather than in

isolation (Joe-Laidler and Hunt 2008). Fun and pleasure were the principal incentives for ketamine consumption amongst Moore and Measham's (2008: 234) sample, with an emphasis on the "playful" effects of the drug, and inducement of a "childlike" state differentiating the substance from other club drugs. Ketamine users also draw attention to the importance of monitoring dosage to control and shape the intensity of the psychoactive experience. For example, whilst some gain pleasure from mild intoxication, others deliberately increase dosage to induce the 'K-hole' experience: the intense, dissociative, perceptual and cognitive disruptions that ketamine can induce (Kelly 2005: 1444 and Moore and Measham 2008: 234). The phenomenology of such a ketamine trip has been documented in Newcombe's (2008) innovative employment of the now seldom-used paradigm of *psychonautics*. In the past, this approach involved various literary figures, academics and intellectuals ingesting psychoactive substances in order to explore and document phenomenological human experience. Aldous Huxley (1954) and Leary, Metzner and Alpert (1964) perhaps best exemplify this, with ground breaking personal accounts of the effects of LSD and Mescaline consumption. The study by Newcombe (2008) employed a mixed-method case study approach. A social science academic, with a history of drug use, intravenously injected two doses of ketamine and provided a verbal account of the experience. A set of rating scales was also used in an effort to quantify the perceptual and cognitive impact of the ketamine 'trip'. The powerful perceptual disturbances associated with ketamine use are described vividly in the user's account below:

> "There then followed what can only be described as a huge visual stripping away of the room. It was as if my visual world was made up of glistening fish scales with parts of the overall image in them, which dropped away to the floor in a diagonal fashion starting from the top left. What was revealed behind, or possibly superimposed on top, was some

> other large area/space, with strange textures and geometrical shapes. Two of these shapes were eventually perceived as intelligent beings, and were moving around on lines, turning in different directions but always at 90-degree angles. Then, behind them, I saw something like a gateway, so difficult to describe because it was visually complex and madly multi-dimensional. It was bright, but had dark components that changed shape, size, and colour. I suddenly felt a massive feeling of recognition, lifted my arm towards it, and exclaimed aloud: ‘‘The Godhead” (Newcombe 2008: 212).

Such inner psychological journeys are of course similar to the effects of other psychedelics such as LSD and Mescaline. However, part of the pleasurable aspect of ketamine is the relatively short duration of the dissociative experience, as described by Tom (21) a participant in Moore and Measham’s (2008: 234) study:

> “With other psychedelic drugs you can take them, you’re gone, it’s controlling you for that many hours, but you can control ketamine, but you still get the fun of it. I find you don’t get worried because you know it’s going to be over if it gets too intense, it’s not too long.’’

The intense inner-world experience of the K–hole represents a “contested space between perceived positive and negative consequences of ketamine consumption in relation to more or less ‘intense’ and ‘sociable’ states of intoxication” (Moore and Measham 2008: 238). Consequently, whilst some users actively seek the intense loss of self that defines the K-hole psychological journey, others found it to be a frightening, distressing and embarrassing experience. This individual interpretation of pleasure and fear is demonstrated in the two accounts below:

> “It seemed odd to me that I felt no fear at any time, in fact the usual range of emotions seemed to be largely replaced by pure wonderment and mental excitement, generated by a kind of intense child-like innocence” (Newcombe 2008: 212).
> “You just feel like you’re there and there’s no way out, you get scared at … It’s fear … you’re stuck there … until [the K-hole] releases you. That’s why they call ketamine ‘regretamine’.” (Bob, 22) (Moore and Measham 2008: 238).

These examples demonstrate that as Becker (1963) had found with marijuana users, the pleasure of drugs is subjective and has to be learned; subcultural

knowledge that is transmitted within normalised spaces and situations. Furthermore, the importance of *drug*, *set*, and *setting* are essential variables in understanding the relationship between ingestion of psychoactive substances and pleasure (Zinberg 1984). The same drug is interpreted in different ways, depending on context, individual personality traits, and expectations. Thus, the kaleidoscopic dissociation of a K-hole may be terrifying for one person and existential enlightenment for another (Newcombe 2008: 213). The experience of pleasure in relation to ketamine use is therefore closely related to user-expectation and motivation for consumption. Those wishing to engage in the connective aspects of clubbing, use ketamine in moderation to heighten sociability, or enhance their use of MDMA. The risk for these users is in balancing the social pleasures of the drug against unintentionally inducing the asocial inertia of a K-hole (Moore and Measham 2008: 234). Having outlined the pharmacological effects of two commonly used club drugs, the intricate relationship between drugs, pleasure and social context, or *setting* (Zinberg 1984), will now be considered.

Experiencing Social Context

> "E makes you open up. You're connected to everyone. I guess in a way, it's like a little bit of heaven" Andrew, 21. (Kelly 2005: 1449)

The pleasure associated with the use of ecstasy and other club drugs goes beyond the physiological effects of the substance in question. Zinberg's (1984) seminal study in New York City, demonstrated how the contextual setting shapes the *physiological* experience of illicit drug use. Those involved in the use of club drugs consistently support this perspective, and highlight how specific settings can be constructed as drug use spaces (Measham, Aldridge and Parker 2001a, 2001b). These could include a range of spatial contexts bound by a relative absence of formal supervision, such as

individual clubs, or outdoor public environments. These normalised drug spaces are experienced on a corporeal level. They are affectively charged with an uplifting, palpable energy, driven by the feelings engendered by EDM (Duff 2008: 388). Thus, pleasure goes beyond the drug itself, as individual identity becomes temporally submerged in the contextual setting (Beck and Rosenbaum 1994 and Malbon 1999). According to users, much of the pleasurable aspects of such drug use lie within the performative aspects of the *experience itself*. Thus it is not the substance that is key to understanding drug-related pleasure; it is the things that people do and the context in which they do them that is important (Duff 2008). It is therefore imperative to appreciate how drugs such as ecstasy are rarely the central focus of recreational activity; they are ingested to enhance activities such as dancing and social interaction (Duff 2008). Given the importance of this, Malbon (1999: 18) describes it as “incredible” that so little research has been conducted into what clubbers actually do. This lack of attention to the social context of drug consumption (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 120) may partially be explained by an academic reluctance to engage with the practices and social spaces of young people (Malbon 1999: 22) partly because of aforementioned accusations of being seen as ‘pro-drug’ or ‘unscientific’. This is a significant academic oversight as “the pleasures of using ecstasy are embedded within this wider context and cannot be easily divorced from the enjoyment of these other elements of the experience” (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 132). Two core aspects of the contextual pleasures of drug use will now be considered, namely the music, and the social connectivity of ecstasy club culture.

The Music

Sound has frequently been overlooked in the conceptualisation of urban space. The transformative ability of music to symbolically define the meaning

of space is an area that could fruitfully be explored under the concept of what Atkinson (2007: 1905) calls sonic ecology. For some groups, music creates a “soundscape” (Atkinson 2007: 1905 and Hayward 2012) that has a profound impact on social connection, interaction and physical movement within delineated “acoustic territories” (Atkinson 2007: 1915). It could therefore be argued that music, in this case EDM, creates a sonic transference of culture, lifestyle, ideology, and moral boundaries (Hayward 2012). The interwoven pleasures of ecstasy use, EDM and dancing are of course well established, with suggestions that the tribal carnival of rave culture was a social form that spontaneously erupted as a consequence of the over-rationalisation of everyday life (Bunton and Coveney 2011: 16 and Presdee 1999). The synergy between drugs and music “transforms sound into magic” (Collin 1998: 20) and as the following interview excerpt demonstrates, individuals describe, “feeling the music” both physically and sensually (Singer and Schensul 2011: 1678):

> "It's not like you're just listening to it, you can feel the pulsations of the bass drum … it's like you're feeling it." Magdalena, 24 (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010:124)

Collective Ecstatic Experience

The extraordinary, sensual appreciation of EDM is combined with ecstasy’s “incredible effect on the body, seeming to free up the spine and limbs” (Collin 1998: 28), a feature enhanced by the drug’s ability to shed self-conscious restraint (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 125). This symbiosis of ecstasy, EDM and dancing can be a deeply transformative experience, as people form intense connections between the contextual space and sound, their own bodies, and others around them (Duff 2008, Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010 and Malbon 1999). As Bunton and Coveney (2011: 17) suggest, the ritualistic experience of club and ecstasy culture offers “a return of the sacred” to

everyday existence by the entwining of sound, lighting, space, drug use and the crowd. This multi-layered connection to the crowd is described in vivid terms in the excerpt below, with a 23-year old female interviewee describing her first experience of MDMA:

> "I felt an overwhelming sense of the positive things in life, and an incredible need to touch people … great love … I was very animated … embracing everyone" (Beck and Rosenbaum 1994: 80)

This kind of "collective ecstatic experience" (Bunton and Coveney 2011: 17) based on enhanced social interaction is a defining feature of ecstasy consumption. Users describe the connection with strangers as a particularly pleasurable feature of the drug (Duff 2008). Indeed, some club goers report that irrespective of the venue and status of the DJ, it is the friendliness of the 'crowd' that is central to the intensity of the euphoria related to ecstasy. Interaction with strangers is therefore a central aspect of clubbing (Moore and Miles 2004). In the early days of recreational MDMA use, new age elitists claimed that the drug created a field of collective experience that users were able to tap into (Beck and Rosenbaum 1994). Notions of group togetherness and belonging are therefore central to the experiential consumption of the club and drug experience. This sociality is acquired, honed, and regulated in order to delineate social boundaries between groups as the individual is immersed in a "transitory feeling of social identification" (Malbon 1999: 50) established through notions of 'cool' and identity. Style is an important defining factor here, and is wrapped up in the clothing that people wear, the language that they use, the way they dance, their choice of drug, the venue(s) they attend, and their attitude to alcohol (Malbon 1999: 51). Such codes of style bind people together in a neo-tribal liminal communitas, creating spontaneous intense feelings of solidarity as existing structural constraints of gender, class,

and ethnicity are eclipsed within a collective code of equality and camaraderie (Goulding and Shankar 2011 and Jaimangal-Jones, Pritchard and Morgan 2010). This desire to feel a momentary sense of belonging and identification has been argued to be an antidote to the sense of atomised disconnection between strangers in the contemporary city. As Smith (2014: 45) states, in a world of frail social bonds collective intoxication can provide a momentary hiatus from the social pressures of late modernity. However, Individuals also describe benefits that go beyond the transitory connections of the night out. Friendship bonds may be strengthened by the ability of the drug to facilitate more intimate connections (Duff 2008: 387 and Malbon 1999: 86), and the experience may merge with the everyday self, as users reflect on how they relate to others (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010).

Understanding Drugs, Risk and Pleasure

Having outlined the pleasures of club drugs and the socio-cultural meaning that such substances have for those involved, it is important to consider how club-goers interpret the associated risks of such drug use. There is a paucity of research that has explored the socio-cultural meanings that young people give to drug-related risk taking. This is surprising, given that such behaviour has long been prioritised as inherently negative and ‘high risk’ by public health authorities. Such a perspective fails to register that for some young people, drug use is a relatively normal and pleasurable aspect of leisure time. Instead they are represented as passive “casualties” of drug use and without agency (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007: 75). Risk-taking in this context is therefore constructed as the irrational behaviour of those unable to comprehend the consequences of their actions. This narrative is problematic on a number of levels. Firstly, it overlooks the ways in which young people’s drug use

represents a calculated balance between pleasure and possible harm (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007). Secondly, for some individuals the pleasure is actually in the risk-taking itself, the meaning of such behaviour is therefore subverted as potentially harmful drug use becomes celebrated and even revered (Lyng 1990).

Risk and Differential Normalisation

The majority of individuals acknowledge that there are potentially harmful consequences associated with drug use (Kelly 2005: 1449). As Sullum (2003: 9) asserts, "the primary motivation in taking drugs is to enjoy ourselves not destroy ourselves". For many people, using club drugs therefore represents a careful balance of reward and risk. This is exemplified in the following interview excerpt with a male, aged 32:

> "You can ingest whatever you want to … if you're educated, within reason, and if you use it in moderation, whether it be 2CB, acid, ecstasy, whatever these drugs may be, you can have a rocking good time and still find yourself safe" (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007: 83).

Many drug users therefore develop a sophisticated understanding of substances predominantly from personal reflections on their own use and the experiences of their peers. This may be supplemented with online sources of information, as well as official harm reduction narratives (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007). This enables them to develop strategies to heighten the pleasurable aspects of drug use, whilst simultaneously minimising the associated risks (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007, Kelly 2005 and Singer and Schul 2011). These strategies are essentially structured around Zinberg's (1984: 5) three determinants of drug, set and setting: defined respectively as the pharmacological effects of the drug itself, the expectations and emotional state of the individual, and the physical, socio-cultural environment.

In regard to the specifics of the particular *drug,* individuals make judgements about the likely impact that the substance may have on their normal pattern of behaviour. For example some individuals view the possible anaesthetic effects of ketamine as non-conducive to the sociality of club interaction, and may therefore either avoid it or combine it with ecstasy (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007). The relatively few deaths associated with MDMA mean that many consider it to be a safe drug. Indeed it is paradoxically the illegal status of the drug that many see as the principal risk, as the content is unknown and common adulterants such as paramethoxyamphetamine (PMA) can be fatal in small doses (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007 and Sullum 2003). Concern about the MDMA content of pills is therefore addressed to some extent by using a regular, trusted dealer and buying pills that the user has taken in the past. Particular types of ecstasy pill can also be researched online, or discussed amongst friends. Limiting the dose and frequency of ingestion is also a form of controlled usage to test drug strength (Singer and Schensul 2011). More acute risks of ecstasy use include jaw locking and teeth grinding, however these are generally perceived as minor issues to be tolerated rather than reasons to abstain. Hunt, Evans and Kares (2007) corroborate this, with interviewees describing such risks as an unpleasant, but normal, aspect of drug use. Indeed, the meaning of certain negative effects may even be subverted and seen as positive. For instance, vomiting could be construed as an important part of heightening the ecstasy experience as it alleviates gastrointestinal pain.

The second of Zinberg's (1984: 5) determinants refers to *set*, the idiosyncratic personality structure of the user. In this respect, individual attitudes to the relative risk of specific drugs will frequently be shaped by personal

experience. As most people generally come to no harm after recreational drug consumption, any initial concerns about serious consequences diminish with experience (Sullum 2003: 18). This difference between insider and outsider understandings of risk needs to be acknowledged to form harm reduction interventions that resonate with the lived experience of club drug users (Singer and Schensul 2011: 1683), as individuals will otherwise construe official discourse as scare-mongering propaganda rooted in structural condemnation (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007). Other *set* factors include the individual's psychological state prior to consumption, with users highlighting the importance of being in a positive frame of mind prior to taking certain drugs such as ecstasy and LSD (Sullum 2003). Furthermore, whilst behaviour may be considered to be risky, individuals may feel this is not applicable to their own use, which they feel they can control to avert negative outcomes (Singer and Schensul 2011). Clubbers generally view psychoactive substances as neither inherently harmful nor entirely pleasurable; rather they situate their drug use within the parameters of social context, making the *setting* of such use equally important (Duff 2003, Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007 and Zinberg 1984). Participants in Singer and Schul's (2011: 1679) study identified contextual aspects that are important in heightening the pleasures of drug use, whilst minimising risks. The physical environment is one aspect of this, with the temperature of some clubs potentially exacerbating the pharmacological problems of dehydration and hyperthermia caused by ecstasy. This is counteracted by drinking water instead of alcohol, and taking time out from dancing in order to cool down (Sullum 2003: 187). The socio-cultural aspects of context are also important, in terms of the presence of particular social groups and trusted friendship networks. These social contextual factors both heighten pleasure and promote a safer overall

experience. Drug users therefore “conceptualise and experience risk and pleasure not solely as an atomised and individual response but as a socially embedded decision” (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007: 87).

Drug-related risk taking can therefore be seen as a consideration of potential harms across the three interrelated determinants of drug, set, and setting (Zinberg 1984). Individuals develop strategies across each of these three interrelated areas in order to maximise the pleasures of drug use and reduce the likelihood of any negative outcomes. This rational calculation between risk and reward does not however explain all drug use. On occasions individuals may use drugs spontaneously, without any prior planning, perhaps as a result of peer influence or social context (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007). Furthermore, for many young people, the excitement of drug use lies within the seductive appeal of the transgressive risk-taking itself, rather than the inherent psychoactive qualities of the drug (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015 and Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 120). Risk in this sense is subverted into something pleasurable, rather than a negative construct to be avoided. This edgework (Lyng 1990) has been argued to represent a reaction against structural boredom and frustration in late modernity, with a goal of attaining intense emotions of spatial connectedness, control and self-actualisation (Lyng and Bracey 1995: 246). Such edgework involves the individual engaging in actions that deliberately threaten their sense of order, and physical or emotional well-being. The activity may be potentially fatal, although the ultimate goal is survival. This is an important point in relation to recreational drug taking. Whilst such behaviour is often represented as an out-of-control, irrational pursuit of suicidal self-destruction, it is more properly a desire for temporary annihilation of the self, rather than death (Zajdow 2010:

223). Drug policy therefore needs to acknowledge that drug-taking decisions often go beyond a simplistic calculation of harm and pleasure. Instead such decisions are made in the context of beliefs and values about the socio-cultural meaning of danger and risk-taking (Kelly 2005 and Zajdow 2010).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined aspects of pleasure, “the great unmentionable” (Hunt and Evans 2008: 329), in relation to illicit drug use. The absence of an appreciation of the lived experiences of those involved in club culture means that pleasure, as a principal motivational factor for drug use, has remained largely absent from drug research and policy. This omits an issue that is integral to drug use, and further empirical and theoretical work on pleasure therefore appears paramount (Bunton and Coveney 2011: 19). The simplistic construction of those using illicit substances as either misinformed or irrational overlooks young people’s agency in participating in such activity, which can be seen as a life changing experience for many of those involved (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007). The evidence-base that has explored the narratives of club drug users shows how they give meaning to the pleasures of such use and possible accompanying risks (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007: 92). Furthermore it has been demonstrated that there is an intricate and complex interrelationship between drugs, social context, pleasure and risk. This emphasis on the “dynamics of space, embodiment and practice” generates new ways of interpreting drug-related pleasures, and potentially allows for the formation of more nuanced harm reduction initiatives (Duff 2008: 386). Only by acknowledging pleasure and exploring the nature of drug using space can we understand “the ways in which assessments about risks and pleasures emerge and take meaning” (Duff 2008: 296).

PART TWO

METHODOLOGY

The second part of this thesis provides a clear and systemic analysis of the methodology that underpinned this research, which was designed to explore the question: What is the nature and situated social meaning of illicit drug use amongst British youth in Ibiza?

Part Two is structured around six chapters, each representing a key element of the research methodology. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the *research design*. This offers a discursive account of the epistemological and ontological framework that underpinned the study, with a clear alignment between interpretivism, constructivist grounded theory and ethnography demonstrated. Chapter 5 provides an overview and discussion of the *theoretical* and *snowball sampling* strategies used during fieldwork in Ibiza. These complement one another and are commonly used in constructivist grounded theory. The rationale for the sampling of both participants and settings is addressed. Chapter 6 focuses on the data collection techniques employed in Ibiza. These included ethnographic observation, one-to-one interviews, focus groups, and documentary photography. Chapter 7 provides a discussion of the complex ethical issues associated with this project. Conducting research within the NTE of Ibiza raised significant ethical challenges and these are critically considered. Chapter 8 provides an illustration of data analysis procedures employed as part of constructivist grounded theory. This offers a transparent outline of the two stages of data coding that were undertaken in order to formulate an exploratory theoretical framework for understanding the nature of illicit drug use in Ibiza. Finally, Chapter 9 provides a reflective account of the research process. Reflexivity is an important aspect within social research as this situates the researcher within the study and reveals insights into factors that may have influenced all aspects of the research process. Brief biographical details are outlined as I reflect on the various personal, philosophical and theoretical influences that have shaped this study.

Chapter 4

Research Design

Background and Research Rationale

The aim of this research was to develop a theoretical understanding of drug use amongst British tourists on the Balearic Island of Ibiza. The existing knowledge base about this area is dominated by quantitative research examining patterns of drug use (see Chapter 2). These epidemiological studies along with limited qualitative research, show that Ibiza remains a popular holiday destination for British youth keen to participate in the island's heavily marketed, internationally renowned hedonistic nightlife, where there is apparently easy access to illegal substances. In the absence of any significant body of scholarship, this research aims to make a contribution to the theoretical interpretation of the situated social meaning of illicit drug use within the region, especially amongst British tourists and seasonal workers in Ibiza.

This chapter provides a comprehensive outline of the research design framework for this study. The chapter is organised around three key sections. In the first section, there is a discussion of the research philosophy that underpins the study. This provides an overview and rationale for the use of an interpretivist research design, embedded within the discipline specific theoretical framework of cultural criminology as defined by Ferrell, Hayward and Young (2015). The second section provides an outline of the constructivist grounded theory approach that guided both the research strategy and the process of data analysis. The final section of the chapter illustrates the various dimensions of the ethnographic method that was employed for this study, with fieldwork in Ibiza conducted over three summers in 2010, 2011 and 2012.

Research Philosophy: Interpretivism

There are a variety of philosophical positions that can be adopted within social science research. The choice of research design is essentially underpinned by contrasting assumptions about the nature of reality (ontology) and the theory of knowledge (epistemology) (Urquhart 2013: 57). This study is firmly located within an interpretivist research philosophy, an ontological position that assumes the nature of reality to be socially constructed. Whilst contemporary criminological theory is arguably dominated by positivism and the empirical measurement of 'objective truths' (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 64), there has been a challenge to this domination from those promoting interpretative, constructivist and relativist ontological positions (Robson 2002). For interpretivists, reality can only be understood from the perspectives of those involved in its construction, and by explaining the processes by which social reality is constructed *between* individuals when they engage in social interaction. The focus is therefore on developing an empathic *understanding* of human behaviour rather than trying to *explain* it (Bryman 2012: 13). As Jock Young (1971: 80) asserts in his classic account of marijuana users in London:

> "We have seen the absolutists' theories of drugtaking focus entirely on the drug used without considering its cultural meaning, take social reaction against the drugtaker for granted without attempting to explain it, picture themselves as having the objectivity of physical scientists by ignoring the fact that they view reality from the perspective of their own values"

As such, this research aimed to unpick the cultural meaning of illicit drug use from the perception of those involved, and within the social setting in which such behaviour occurs (Urquhart 2013: 59). This is important, as epidemiological literature has invariably disregarded both the meaning of young people's drug use and the social context in which it takes place (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 18).

The interpretivist philosophical position of the research is influenced by cultural criminology. This is a theoretical, methodological and interventionist approach to the study of crime that focuses on "the continuous generation of meaning around interaction; rules created, rules broken, a constant interplay of moral entrepreneurship, political innovation and transgression" (Hayward 2008: 119). The focus is therefore on behaviour as a *meaningful* construct;

that is the meanings individuals attribute to the social world shapes the way that they act and the way in which they see others (Bryman 2012: 14). Cultural criminologists therefore offer a fresh perspective to a mainstream that has become dominated by the abstract empiricism of positivism, which they argue has dehumanised the social groups that it allegedly strives to understand (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 202). As Ferrell (2009: 1) asserts, contemporary criminological research is "crippled by its own methodology, its potential for analysis and critique lost within a welter of survey forms, data sets, and statistical manipulations". Instead, it is argued that criminologists need to embrace methods that "can catch the subtleties of transgressive situations while locating these situations in larger currents of meaning" (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 209). This research therefore aims to add to the limited literature that foregrounds the lived experience of the often-silenced voice of the 'other' (Ferrell and Van de Vorde 2012 and McDonald 2001: 4). This was achieved through the employment of a methodology rooted in constructivist grounded theory and ethnography, and as such is aligned to contemporary youth research which draws on such methods in order to illustrate the experiences of young people from their own perspective (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 19).

Research Approach: Constructivist Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a well-established and diverse method that aims to build theory about social issues through an inductive data collection process. The fundamental aim of this approach is to generate theory from the data in an iterative process from the ground up (Mills, Bonner and Francis 2006). That is, the data itself informs the emerging theory, rather than attempting to force data into pre-conceived theoretical frameworks (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The end point of this method is therefore the development of theory that has relevance to the specific problem, social issue or group that has been studied (Robson 2002 and Urquhart 2013).

Several models of grounded theory have been developed to reflect the ontological and epistemological position of the researcher (Mills, Bonner and Francis 2006: 3). This study employs *constructivist grounded theory* (Charmaz 2000) as this reflects an ontological and epistemological position that rejects the notion of an objective reality and recognises the integral role of the

researcher in the process of interpreting participant narratives. Constructivist grounded theory is particularly suited to the interpretive paradigm as the subjective coding of data is in alignment with researchers' inherently subjective interpretation of social practices (Urquhart 2013: 61). Further details regarding this approach to data coding and analysis can be found in Chapter 8. In regard to the application of grounded theory to this particular research arena, it is a method that has been employed frequently within various affiliated fields. For example, there have been recent examples of grounded theory studies exploring how drug users construct meaning around definitions of problematic and recreational use (Caiata-Zufferey 2012 and Cruz 2015); research on the experiential aspects of tourism (Wing Sun Tung and Brent-Ritchie 2011); and interpretive perspectives on the interface between drug use and tourism (Goulding and Shankar 2011).

Whilst classic grounded theory requires the researcher to set aside existing theoretical ideas about the area of study (Holton 2012), it has been argued that this is an impossible task. On contemplating my own position at the outset of this research, I felt that a 25-year career spanning criminology, criminal justice and the mental health profession, meant that approaching the issue of drug use as a 'blank slate' was not viable (see Chapter 9 for a discussion of reflexivity). Proponents of constructivist grounded theory acknowledge this position and as McDonald (2001: 5) states, fieldwork can be approached with a theoretically open mind, rather than an empty one. This is important, as it is the iterative process within grounded theory that increases the likelihood of finding something new (Robson 2002 and Urquhart 2013). As is required within constructivist grounded theory, a brief review of the literature was undertaken prior to the commencement of this study (Charmaz 2008), and this revealed a paucity of research undertaken within drug tourism. This gap in the evidence base made grounded theory the most appropriate method, as this is a particularly useful approach when exploring new phenomena that have little or no previous research (Glaser 1978). Grounded theory was also advocated as fieldwork was conducted in Ibiza itself, rather than interviewing tourists on their return to the UK, for example. As Pidgeon (1996) states this method is suitable when studying interaction and meaning within the local context in which it occurs. This was achieved through periods of fieldwork conducted in

touristic spaces of Ibiza utilising the ethnographic method, the basis of which is discussed in the following section.

Research Method: Ethnography

This study incorporated a total of five visits to Ibiza to conduct ethnographic fieldwork amongst young, British tourists (see Chapter 6 for details of the ethnographic approach). Each visit lasted for eight days, and these took place in July 2010, June, July and August 2011 and July 2012. The inductive nature of constructivist grounded theory, with multiple visits to the field in an overlapping process of data collection and analysis is a feature of virtually all ethnographic studies (Bottoms 2004: 30, Robson 2002: 487 and Urquhart 2013). In employing ethnography as its principal method, this research draws on a rich and engaging history of scholarship within criminological literature. The Chicago School of Sociology illuminated social research at the beginning of the twentieth century with nuanced accounts of deep immersion in the worlds of those studied (Bottoms 2004: 30), with texts such as William Foote-Whyte's *Street Corner Society* attaining classic status. There is also an ethnographic tradition in relation to understanding the life-worlds of drug users. These include *Portraits from a Shooting Gallery* (Fiddle 1967); *Ripping and Running: A Formal Ethnography of Urban Heroin Addicts* (Agar 1973); and *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio* (Bourgois 1995). Ethnographies of deviance have however become increasingly atypical for a number of reasons. Hobbs (2007: 215) cites the "terminal timidity of bourgeois academics" as one influential factor in this respect. This is reflected in an increasing tendency to use research methods that require less effort and funding (Gobo 2008: xv) and which serve only to feed into the "white noise of the criminal justice system" (Young 2011: 223).

The level of time commitment required is undoubtedly one factor that makes ethnographic research problematic in the contemporary realms of higher education. Conducting fieldwork of this nature requires the researcher to spend extensive periods of time observing daily activities and the meanings that people invest in them (Noaks and Wincup 2004: 93). Some studies have involved the researcher spending several years immersed within the world of those they seek to understand. For example, Bourgois and Schonberg (2009)

spent over a decade immersed in the worlds of homeless people addicted to heroin and crack cocaine in the United States. Indeed, the quality of ethnographic research has often been judged on the length of time spent in the field. However, cultural criminologists have argued the validity of engaging 'instant ethnography' to capture the moments of chaos, confusion and "little flashes of fear and transgression" that punctuate late modern life (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 218). In this sense, even without years of immersive fieldwork, an ethnographic sensibility can record decisive moments in an instant (Ferrell and Van de Vorde 2012).

It is these flashes of transgression that I hoped to capture in Ibiza over the five separate weeks of fieldwork, with other methods incorporated to gain an appreciation of the situated meaning of such events from those involved (see Chapter 6 for a discussion of data collection techniques). For interpretative researchers this represents a form of *corroboration* rather than triangulation, as Urquhart (2013: 62) states "the idea that more than one method can be used to collect data on a phenomenon is too useful to be skewered on arguments about the nature of reality". This employment of mixed methods is therefore a common feature of ethnographic research, which often combine interviews and documentary analysis, for example (Bottoms 2004: 91 and Bryman 2012: 292).

This was reflected in the methods used during this study, with field observation supplemented by photography and ethnographic interviews in order to attain a deep understanding of the nature and social meaning of drug use amongst tourists and seasonal workers in Ibiza (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 211 and Sherman-Heyl 2007: 370). Cultural criminologists have asserted that such approaches to research on drug use can push analysis beyond simplistic cost-benefit decisions regarding motivation. Instead, ethnographic accounts offer a refreshing juxtaposition to statistical approaches commonly used in drug research, with a 'criminology of transgression' foregrounding pleasure, emotion, collective experience and individual agency within drug taking decisions (Measham 2004b: 215). In embracing such ethnographic fieldwork for this research, the aim was to "become part of the process by which meaning is made", and develop an understanding of the ways in which people make sense of their experiences

(Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 211). This reflects a core principle of 21st century constructivist grounded theory, which states that, “in order to understand how research participants construct their world, researchers need to know that world from their participants’ standpoints” (Charmaz 2008: 403). This can be achieved through a cultural studies approach that explores young people’s drug use as a complex interplay between social context, agency and subjective experience (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 25). Having outlined the research design that underpins this study, the next chapter switches focus to examine the sampling procedures that were involved.

Chapter 5

Sampling

Sampling considerations permeate all facets of research regardless of the investigative technique used (Robson 2002: 260) with the credibility of theory dependent on the process by which it has been generated (Breckenridge and Jones 2009: 113). The ethnographic fieldwork for this research drew on two inter-related, non-probability sampling methods commonly used in grounded theory qualitative research (Bryman 2012: 100). These were: *theoretical sampling* and *snowball sampling*. This chapter aims to provide a rationale for these sampling methods and outline their implementation during fieldwork.

The first section sets out the central tenets of theoretical sampling and snowball sampling. These sampling techniques were combined within this study, and are aligned to the grounded theory approach. In the second section, the sample setting is discussed. This provides a rationale and description of the spaces that were sampled during fieldwork in Ibiza, with a focus on contexts most closely associated with the EDM scene. The third section focuses on the characteristics of the sample used for data collection, with an overview of the key informants included in the study. The final section of the chapter focuses on access issues encountered during fieldwork.

Sampling Methods

Grounded theory differs from alternative research methods in that data collection and data analysis occur in a *parallel* rather than linear process. This requires the researcher to make repeated visits to the field and undertake several stages of theoretical sampling (Urquhart 2013: 8) in order to develop analyses and elaborate on ethnographic narratives drawn from the sample group (Charmaz and Mitchell 2007: 168). This sampling method is a pivotal aspect of grounded theory as it enables the researcher to develop and refine theoretical insights that are ‘grounded’ in the data (Breckenridge and Jones 2009: 113). Concepts were therefore formulated during the early stages of fieldwork, re-shaped on each respective visit, and then used to decide on who and where to sample next. This deliberate selection of people to interview and

/ or events to observe is also referred to as purposive sampling. However, there are subtle differences between this and theoretical sampling. Whilst a purposive sample is selected at the outset of a qualitative study, theoretical sampling differs as the selection of participants and the rationale for that selection is an active process that can change with the theoretical focus at any given point (Breckenridge and Jones 2009 and Morse 2008).

Theoretical sampling is neither representative nor random but enables the researcher to formulate theory by finding more examples of identified conceptual categories (Robson 2002: 193). To illustrate this process with an example from practice, the initial stages of fieldwork focused on the relatively narrow sample of 'young, British tourists in San Antonio'. However, early data analysis led to the emergence of the 'theme park' conceptualisation. This guided subsequent decisions on where and who to sample next. Consequently, other key locations affiliated to Ibiza's EDM scene were included, as well as British seasonal workers due to their emergent central role within the setting.

There is an inherent 'fit' between snowball sampling and theoretical sampling strategies within qualitative research (Bryman 2012: 102). This method was therefore also incorporated into fieldwork in Ibiza. This involved making contact with a person or small group of people relevant to the research topic, and then using these to establish links with others with similar characteristics (Bryman 2012: 100 and Gobo 2008: 104). This sampling method has been used effectively in a number of classic criminological ethnographies including Becker's (1963) study of marijuana users and Bourgois' (1995) study of the crack cocaine scene in New York City. This was a valuable means of sampling in Ibiza. For example, as one tourist stated:

> "You should speak to my mate actually. He hardly takes anything at home but he's been on it every day here." (Matt, tourist)

Whilst some participants made suggestions to interview people within their social network, on other occasions an interview or informal conversation with a tourist or seasonal worker often generated curiosity amongst those around them and connections were made in this manner. Having established the

principal sampling design aspects of this research, the next section moves focus to the spatial aspects of sampling.

Sample Setting

Recruiting participants in grounded theory begins with a focus on those who have experienced the research topic in question. As Morse (2007: 233) asserts, the most obvious way to recruit such participants is to "go find them where they are … from support groups, classrooms, pubs, sports venues, or wherever they may gather" (Morse 2007: 233). This has echoes of Robert Park's infamous quote as he extolled the ethos of the Chicago School of Sociology back in 1927 (cited in Auyero and Joseph 2007: 1):

> "Go and sit in the lounges of the luxury hotels and on the doorsteps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast and on the slum shakedowns; sit in the Orchestra Hall and in the Star and Garter Burlesk. In short, gentlemen, go get the seat of your pants dirty in real research."

As the focus of this study was drug use amongst British tourists and seasonal workers in Ibiza, it therefore made sense to focus attention on spaces affiliated to EDM, intoxication and carnival. Purposive setting sampling was used in order to "identify sites with an extreme status of particular attributes" (Gobo 2008: 102). These sites were identified from a range of sources including informal discussion with members of my own social network who had experienced the NTE of Ibiza as tourists; discussion with Paul Brindley (owner of EDM event staging company *Secret Party Project* and gatekeeper throughout fieldwork) based on his insider knowledge of the club scene on the island, and through a multitude of informal conversations with tourists and seasonal workers during fieldwork.

In the first instance, the focus of the study was located on the west coast of Ibiza in the popular town of San Antonio. This resort is renowned for its nightlife and is extremely popular amongst young, British tourists. There are a number of key spaces in San Antonio that were the focus of observations, informal conversations and formal interviews. The main locations occupied during the daytime were the central beach area, the sea-front promenade, the cafes and bars near or within the West End (the main touristic street associated with alcohol consumption), and poolside-bathing areas in hotels. As spaces were transformed over the course of the day we switched locations

and focused predominantly on the area around Café Mambo and 'Sunset Strip', and the West End. We also visited the two main nightclubs in San Antonio, *Es Paradis* and *Eden*. A map of these locations is shown in Image 5.1.

Image 5.1: Key research settings, San Antonio.

San Antonio proved to be an excellent base for each of the five weeks of fieldwork, with a different centrally located hotel chosen on each occasion. However, as data collection progressed in the back and forth process (Bryman 2012), location became an important thematic aspect underpinning the grounded theory. A number of other locations were targeted for observation and meeting prospective informants. The departure and arrival airports were sites of both observation and informal conversation with tourists. Ibiza Town was visited on two occasions, and Playa D'en Bossa on the east coast of the island was visited on ten occasions. This was the location of a number of key settings associated with the EDM scene. These were Bora Bora beach (visited during the daytime and night time), Ushuaia Beach Club (day and night), and the superclub, Space (night). Indeed several of Ibiza's superclubs were visited during each successive period of fieldwork. These were key locations for observation and informal meetings, but were unsuitable

for formal interviews due to the noise level and invariably intoxicated state of those present. *Table 5.1* shows details of these locations, with capacity, location and number of field visits made:

Table 5.1: Sampling of Ibiza clubs (Resident Advisor 2016)

Some materials have been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version can be viewed in Lancester Library - Coventry University.

Image 5.2: Location of Ibiza clubs

Having outlined the key settings that were sampled within this grounded theory, the next section will discuss issues regarding the negotiation of access to informants.

Negotiating Access

Research settings associated with criminological enquiry vary significantly in the extent to which they are open to academic scrutiny (Noaks and Wincup 2004: 56). Given the sensitive nature of such research, and the focus on behaviour that is deviant and / or illegal, negotiating access can be notoriously challenging. This research predominantly took place in the 'open' public spaces that were described in the previous section, eliminating the need for formalised access. Where illegal or contentious behaviour has been discussed in interviews or within field notes, the specific name of the venue has been omitted. Instead the anonymous term 'venue' or 'superclub' has been used.

The focus on illegal drug use did of course create barriers with participants at times, and consequently negotiating interviews could be time consuming (Noaks and Wincup 2004: 56). This was made more challenging by the transient nature of the tourist sample group. It was difficult to schedule advanced appointments with informants. This was in many ways a consequence of the holiday setting, as tourists were understandably reluctant to forego valuable leisure time to give an interview. Seasonal workers also had busy schedules with minimal breaks. Consequently, fieldwork was flexible and dynamic; plans often changed at short notice, as informants did not arrive for appointments or cancelled as a consequence of late nights and partying.

Interviews were therefore best conducted on an ad-hoc basis. It was very easy to strike up conversation with people during the daytime whilst sat outside the bars of the West End. The informal holiday atmosphere meant that communication between strangers within such settings was quite normal. Moreover, Ibiza is a destination that attracts a range of age groups, and whilst I was older than informants this did not seem to be a barrier to open communication. After a period of informal rapport building, we would drop into conversation that we were on the island in order to conduct research into tourists' experience of Ibiza and the drug scene there. This was invariably met with humorous disbelief, followed by offers to help out with interviews and information, as in this afternoon exchange with two young, male tourists:

Matt: So you're getting paid for this? Jesus! We're in the wrong fucking job!

Friend: [laughing] Spend the day with us! You'll get all the info you need!

When interviews were arranged on this ad-hoc basis, we nevertheless ensured that informants were given a verbal outline of the research aims. An information sheet was also offered (see Appendix 1). This clarified issues relating to confidentiality and stated how any information that participants disclosed might be used.

Whilst flexibility was therefore needed in relation to interviews, it was however possible to plan ahead in some instances. Repeat encounters were frequent within San Antonio, especially amongst the small community of seasonal workers that we met. Previous research has drawn attention to the transient instability of this social group (Lozanski and Beres 2007: 114). However, I found a surprisingly tightknit group of British seasonal workers in San Antonio, with some present across several field visits. I first met Nick (bar worker / drug dealer), for example, in June 2011. We then met up again on subsequent visits in July and August of the same summer. Coincidentally, we met again in the West End a year later, when Nick was visiting the island as a tourist. Nick and others like him became valuable gatekeepers in the study. They opened up access to other informants and experiences. They were also a valuable source of insider knowledge (Lozanski and Beres 2007: 110). Such 'revelatory' cases are common within interpretive research, with a focus on specific individuals for their knowledge about certain social phenomena (Urquhart 2013: 61).

Sampling Participants

A total of 55 informants were interviewed both as individuals and within small focus groups. 32 interviews were conducted, varying in duration from 30 minutes to 120 minutes. As the process of theoretical sampling progresses through repeated visits to the field, researchers become more selective about "what, when, where, why and from whom data are obtained" (Charmaz and Mitchell 2007: 168). Moreover the focus may move from individuals to certain roles or experiences in order to develop theoretical categories. However, on a

fundamental level, participants for grounded theory research either need to have been through, or observed the experience that is under investigation, and be articulate and reflective enough to discuss it (Morse 2007: 233). To some extent, this criteria was ensured by focusing on the aforementioned spaces, as these were synonymous with EDM, drug use and 'carnivalesque' excess (Presdee 2005). During the first period of fieldwork, conducted in July 2010, I focused entirely on the experiences of young, British tourists in San Antonio. Interviews were restricted to British males and females, aged between 18-35, who defined themselves as being 'on holiday' rather than as extended travellers / seasonal workers.

As the simultaneous process of data collection and analysis progressed, conceptual categories were formulated around the theory of theme parks and then Disneyization. As a result of this, the sample population targeted was frequently adapted to develop these conceptual categories and continue shaping the emergent theory. This led to the targeting of British seasonal workers (in addition to tourists) during field visits carried out in June, July and August 2011, and again in July 2012. These were defined as British males and females working predominantly in and around the NTE of the island, including bar staff, dancers, public relations (PR) staff, and ticket sellers. Engaging with this social group was an essential aspect of developing the Disneyization conceptualisation, particularly in regard to the *performative labour* category. Sampling was therefore constantly updated as theory developed. For example, as social control in Ibiza was conceptualised as *performance*, a police officer and bouncer were selected for interview, whilst a tattoo artist was interviewed to explore concepts around *branding*. A list of key informants (n=55) can be seen in Appendix 2. Theoretical sampling was completed once conceptual categories became saturated, and data collection no longer generated any new leads (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

This chapter has provided a thorough overview of the sampling strategies used within this study. These are aligned to the interpretive philosophy that underpins the research and are well established within the grounded theory evidence base. Having established the nature of the sample and settings used for this research, the following chapter provides a discussion of the data collection techniques that were employed during fieldwork.

Chapter 6

Data Collection

Grounded theory places emphasis on combining data collection methods in order to generate theory and understand the way in which concepts link and relate to one another (Urquhart 2013). This study adopted a number of data collection strategies during the fieldwork conducted in Ibiza over the summers of 2010, 2011 and 2012. These methods complimented each other and offered different insights into the social world. They were adapted throughout fieldwork in order to help shape the theory emerging from data. This chapter systematically illustrates these methods, and is structured around three key sections.

The first section provides an outline of the ethnographic observation that was used throughout fieldwork. This highlights the complex nature of such research conducted in the touristic NTE, especially in regard to the study of illegal drug use. The second section focuses on the importance of interview data in augmenting the observational aspects of the study. In the final section, the use of documentary photography is discussed. Images were an important source of data within the research, with photographs from fieldwork both generating and highlighting theoretical insights (Bryman 2012: 384).

Ethnographic Observation

The feature that distinguishes ethnography from other methodologies is the use of observation as a principal source of knowledge about social phenomena (Gobo 2008: 190). There are well-rehearsed methodological debates that surround the complexities of such observation. Some researchers may immerse themselves in full participation, whilst others take the role of a complete observer. In most cases however, the researcher adopts a position that is somewhere in between these two extremes (Wardhaugh 2000: 321). This study employed a number of different observational approaches to fit the various aspects of conceptualisation within the grounded theory. Each of these approaches “embedded me in the world I strived to understand” (McDonald 2001: 52). Whilst those being observed were informed of the aims of the research wherever possible, some social

situations did not require or facilitate the disclosure of my research role. This is common practice within ethnography, as researchers often balance a combination of overt and covert roles (Adler 1985, Agar 1986 and Bourgois 1995).

Firstly, *unobtrusive observation* was undertaken at various points throughout the twenty-four hour period. This is defined as an informal and unstructured form of *non-participatory* field observation (Robson 2002) and took place in locations such as hotels, the streets around San Antonio's West End, and other touristic public spaces. This involved situating myself unobtrusively within the environment in question and observing the everyday interactions and events as they unfolded in the setting. As busy public spaces, it was easy to merge into the environment, thereby ensuring that my presence had no direct influence on the behaviour of those being observed, as those present would routinely expect to be seen by others (Robson 2002: 311). Thoughts, feelings and observations were noted down using the 'notes' application on a smartphone. Constructivist grounded theory advocates that researchers use a more literary writing style in an attempt to capture the context, mood and experiences of participants (Charmaz 2000). This style was reflected in field notes, memos and "jottings" of events and impressions as they occurred in the field whilst maintaining a low profile as an observer (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 2011: 29). Whilst note taking using pen and paper can make researchers appear somewhat conspicuous, using a smartphone in public is hardly a form of behaviour likely to draw attention.

Secondly, there were times when I would class myself as a *marginal participant*. This is a "largely passive, but completely accepted role" (Robson 2002: 318), such as an audience member at a concert for example. This involved active observation in areas such as bars, superclubs, beaches and hotel pool areas. Again, field notes were recorded on a smartphone application to avoid being conspicuous. Limited amounts of alcohol were consumed within some settings during this observational role. This ensured a 'fit' with the environment and essentially acted as a "prop" (Robson 2002: 318). This is aligned with the approach of other researchers in this field. For example, in Measham, Aldridge and Parker's (2001a) study of the dance club scene in Manchester, researchers limited themselves to four units of alcohol

whilst working. Meanwhile, Thurnell-Read (2011b: 39) highlights the “mutual ‘common sense’ experience” of alcohol consumption as an essential aspect of rapport building in his stag tourism fieldwork.

Thirdly, there were occasions when I adopted the role of *participant as observer*. This involved establishing trust with particular groups and individuals who were aware of my role as a researcher from the outset, and who subsequently agreed to allow me to spend time with them in an observational role. This requires a certain level of participation, whilst still being able to ask questions about what is going on, essentially combining the role of participant and observer (Robson 2002: 317). The dual role that is adopted in this observational method was the most challenging in terms of ethics. There were times when I was in close proximity to both the consumption and trading of illegal drugs, and this clearly carried a number of potential risks, which were ameliorated as far as possible (see Chapter 7). However, such observation is an essential aspect of social research, as there is a notorious discrepancy between what people *say* they do in interviews, and what they *actually* do in reality (Robson 2002: 310). Direct observation therefore drew out some of these inconsistencies. For example, during one interview an informant was adamant that he had no interest in illegal drug use whilst on holiday, and that he was in Ibiza only for the music. However, during a night out in his company he was noted to consume a combination of cocaine and crystal MDMA at regular intervals throughout the night, and admitted that he had waited until trust had been established before feeling comfortable enough to reveal this. Building and maintaining trust with informants in this manner required constant self-awareness. As McDonald (2001: 51) states, “when you research an illegal subculture … a wrong tweak in self-presentation can cost someone’s confidence and co-operation”

Ethnographic Interviews

Whilst observation is a key source of knowledge within ethnographic research, there are some issues that are simply not revealed by this method alone (Bryman 2012: 339). Interviews and focus groups, as well as everyday exchanges amongst actors can therefore add depth and clarity to ethnographic research (Gobo 2008: 190) and can also draw out the complexity, subtlety and contradiction of meanings around drug use (Aldridge,

Measham and Williams 2011: 39). As such, a key dimension of this study involved taking time to build relationships with British tourists and seasonal workers. This nurturing of relationships “with deviant groups and their host communities” is essential to develop sufficient trust to enable interviews to take place (Hobbs 2007: 214). Informal conversations and ad-hoc meetings were therefore an invaluable means of securing more formal, audio-recorded semi-structured interviews. The research subject made it relatively easy to engage tourists and seasonal workers in conversation, with many happy to provide interviews and talk about their experiences in Ibiza. As Lozanski and Beres (2007: 118) state, asking tourists to reflect on travel experiences is not dissimilar to the kind of discussions that they share amongst themselves on an everyday basis.

Informal conversations and formal interviews were therefore an everyday feature of fieldwork, and formed an essential aspect of theory generation. Interviews were conducted in a range of settings within the field, including bars, cafes, open public areas, hotels, and beaches. Informal conversations on flights and in airports were also noted down. As is usually the case with qualitative research, interviews were semi-structured, with a series of questions that could be changed around, adapted and added to, depending on the flow of the interview (Bryman 2012: 543). The semi-structured interview schedule that was used (see Appendix 3) incorporated questions that were open, rather than leading, so as not to close off avenues of enquiry. This is consistent with grounded theory, as the aim is to avoid preconceptions as far as possible (Bryman 2012: 325). The interview schedule was organised around a logical narrative, with initial questions designed to put the informant at ease and develop rapport. For example, tourists were asked general questions their holiday experiences, and why they had chosen Ibiza as a destination. After a period of rapport building, the issue of alcohol consumption was discussed as this led naturally into conversations about intoxication. The topic of illegal drugs was raised tentatively, although many interviewees introduced this into conversation without prompting. Without exception, tourists and seasonal workers alike described some firsthand experience of drugs in Ibiza: they had either been offered drugs on the island, seen other people using them, had friends who were using them, or were using drugs themselves.

Interviews were ideally located in a quiet location, although the ubiquitous house music from bars, beaches, hotels and within public space often made this challenging at times. Some pre-arranged interviews were conducted in quiet public areas of hotels. Setting was important in this respect as where possible all interviews were recorded. This is a common feature of qualitative interviews as it is not only *what* people say that is of interest but also the *way* that they say it (Bryman 2012: 329). A password protected 'voice recorder' application on a smartphone was used for this purpose. This produced good quality audio, which was subsequently transferred into MP3 format and stored on a password protected laptop computer. These files will be permanently deleted on completion of the research. Only one informant refused to allow an interview to be audio recorded (a police officer). The majority of informants appeared ambivalent about the presence of a recorder. However, there were occasions when recording appeared to impede the interview and informants' willingness to be open about issues pertaining to illegal drugs. Nick (bar man / drug dealer), for example, spoke very openly about all aspects of his involvement with the drug scene in Ibiza. However, when a formal, recorded interview was conducted in a hotel room he was very cautious and reluctant to discuss anything that might incriminate him (he had previous experience of being duped by a tabloid journalist). In this instance, the recording was stopped and deleted, and we proceeded without recording. This was essential in maintaining a trusting relationship. Brief notes were made about each interview after completion, with thoughts and details about the interviewee, the setting, and any avenues of interest that were raised.

In addition to one-to-one interviews, small focus groups were incorporated into the data collection strategy. These are commonly used in multi-method research (Noaks and Wincup 2004: 82) and are often used in ethnographic fieldwork (Gobo 2008: 191). Focus groups therefore offered an effective adjunct to other data collection methods, and a means of generating new insights from early findings (Bloor et al 2001: 9). The focus groups consisted of between 2 and 6 members, and were made up of British tourists who had travelled together, or who had met and become friends whilst in Ibiza. They were conducted in similar settings to one-to-one interviews, and followed the same format. They were invariably conversational in nature, with communication flowing between participants who made enthusiastic

contributions about their time together in Ibiza. Where group members were particularly dominant to the detriment of others, attempts were made to draw less vociferous members into the conversation. My background as a mental health nurse was invaluable here, as I have facilitated many service user groups in the past, in a range of settings.

Documentary Photography

> "With the well-timed click of the shutter, then, a moment of *instant visual ethnography* – and an image whose particular subject matter and composition say something significant about the world the image encapsulates" (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 230)

The incorporation of photography and other visual methods has a rich tradition in anthropology and sociology (Penaloza 1998: 351). Indeed, images have been woven into criminological ethnographies for almost a century, with Thrasher's seminal 1920s study of Chicago gangs incorporating "his own *in situ* photos of gang rituals and juvenile gang life" (Ferrell 2009: 4). This tradition has undergone something of a revival in recent years (Bryman 2012: 312). Indeed as Knowles and Sweetman (2004: 2) argue, visual strategies have gained a new prominence as researchers strive to illustrate the texture of social life with "a determination to reach beyond words in producing accounts of the social world". Whilst this 'visual turn' is a feature of contemporary tourism research (Botterill and Platenkamp 2012: 179), criminological analysis now also routinely includes images, with photojournalism and documentary photography "widely recognised as legitimate tools for the representation of events and people" (Ferrell and Van de Vorde 2010: 38). Photographs that are carefully aligned to research questions therefore have great potential for ethnographers (Bryman 2012: 315).

The images captured during this study fulfilled three key objectives: firstly, they acted as a means of recording and recalling interesting aspects of fieldwork, and as such represented a visual component of field notes. Secondly, they were a form of data in their own right and contributed to the process of theory generation (Bryman 2012: 313). Thirdly, they provided visual texture to observational field notes and interview transcriptions.

A total of 580 digital images were captured during fieldwork. Taking photographs was an unobtrusive form of data collection, as this was entirely within the normative context of the holiday setting. Images were uploaded to a password protected laptop computer on a daily basis and the original images were deleted from the camera. The inclusion of photographs as a form of data collection in their own right commenced in the second period of fieldwork in order to capture a sense of place and identity, two interlinked concepts important to understanding social life (Spencer 2011). As with previous scholarship it was felt that photographs could provide "a valuable record of observable consumption behaviour and contextual factors characterising the physical world consumers inhabit" (Penaloza 1998: 353). For example, as the concept of *immersive atmospheres* emerged within fieldwork, it felt important to try and capture the visual aspects of such space, in ways that written description was unable to achieve. Photographs in this context aimed to convey the atmospheric effects of light (see Chapter 12 for examples). This demonstrates how some photographs were captured in order to support concepts that had *already* been shaped from observation and interview data. However, this was not always the case, as photographs were also *retrospectively* analysed in order to develop new theoretical leads. This was the case with many of the images taken of seasonal workers acting within the spectacle of the NTE, with photographs such as those featured in Chapter 13 helping to shape the *performative labour* concept.

This chapter has outlined three key methods of data collection that were employed during fieldwork in Ibiza. Whilst the contribution of these methods was invaluable in generating theory, they were nevertheless fraught with ethical complexity, especially as the focus was on social groups engaged in illegal behaviour. The steps that were taken in order to address these intricate ethical issues will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 7

Ethical Issues

Criminology has a rich history of ethnographic research in relation to deviant and illegal behaviour. As Goffman (1968: 9) states, social groups can "develop a life of their own that becomes meaningful, reasonable, and normal once you get close to it". It is this proximity that creates certain tensions, and as with all research involving human participants, there are significant ethical concerns associated with ethnography (Murphy and Dingwall 2007: 347). This chapter outlines how the complex ethical issues associated with fieldwork in Ibiza were addressed. Ethical approval was sought from Coventry University at the outset of this study (see Appendix 4). The research proposal was submitted as a 'medium to high risk' project, and was approved prior to fieldwork.

The chapter is organised around four key sections. Firstly, the issue of researcher safety is considered. This is an important consideration given the unpredictable nature of ethnographic research in the NTE, as well as the frequent proximity to illegal drug use. Secondly, issues of participant wellbeing and safety are illustrated. This outlines steps that were taken to protect participants from repercussions of participation. One aspect of such protection involves ensuring that participants have provided informed consent; this will be discussed in section three. In the final section, the focus switches to the issue of confidentiality, which given the illegal nature of drug use, was an essential ethical issue to address.

Researcher Well Being and Safety

One of the first principles of ethical practice is that those carrying out the research should not be harmed (Botterill and Platenkamp 2012: 75). It was therefore important to give thorough consideration to my own safety throughout fieldwork and make plans accordingly. Although this was accounted for within the risk assessment that accompanied the ethics application, it was important to see these as provisional risk management

strategies that may need to be adapted in-situ. Whilst contingency plans for a range of potential issues were made, it was also important to acknowledge that research in the NTE can be highly unpredictable. As Ferrell, Hayward and Young (2015: 212) state: “ethnographic studies generally mix hours of tedium with explosions of surprise and moments of dangerous uncertainty”. Flexibility was therefore essential to deal with situations regardless of the level of prior planning (Agar 1986 and Gobo 2008). An example of the volatile nature of the field is reflected in the excerpt below. This refers to a coincidental meeting in a club, with a female seasonal worker that I had interviewed earlier the same week:

> “Ella enthusiastically introduces me to Andy, her “fiancé” – a term that strikes me as entirely out-of-place in this context. It’s old-fashioned and traditional – and this man is wired on pills and wearing luminous yellow gloves. As Ella leaves to get a drink, Andy leans in to me threateningly: “this research thing, if you fuck me over, I will fuck you up. I will FUCK. YOU. UP.” He’s wide-eyed and pointing a yellow finger at me. I try and reassure him, but he’s deeply suspicious. I offer him a drink and suggest we sit outside on the terrace to chat. After ten minutes, he’s laughing and joking and invites me to come over to his villa for dinner one evening” (Tim Turner, field notes, 9 June 2011)

The majority of people that I met during fieldwork were warm, receptive and open. However, there were moments like this throughout data collection, and as Gobo (2008: 138) suggests, ethnographers should “expect the unexpected”. My previous role as a Forensic Community Psychiatric Nurse was invaluable in this respect, as I am experienced in the de-escalation of threatening scenarios. Given that interviews involved discussion about illegal drugs, some people were clearly suspicious of my motivation. It was important to carry University identification at all times. I showed this to all informants. On several occasions this allayed suspicion that I was a journalist, with two seasonal workers disclosing that British newspaper reporters had deceived them in the past.

In order to increase my safety in the field, I recruited two team members to accompany me during fieldwork. Firstly, Paul ‘Brina’ Brindley was present for each of the five visits to Ibiza. He is a personal friend and owner of *Secret Party Project*, a brand known for staging EDM events in UK, Europe and United States. His role was partially as a ‘gatekeeper’ (Bryman 2012: 298),

which was invaluable throughout fieldwork, particularly in terms of gaining guest list access to clubs. Given that some venues charged entrance fees up to €80 this proved essential in extending the sample settings of the study, which would otherwise have been limited by financial constraints. In addition to this, Brina offered continual insight and knowledge of the EDM scene in Ibiza. Secondly, Professor Keith Hayward, a key proponent of cultural criminology, joined the second field visit (June 2011). Keith acted as a critical friend throughout the week and offered advice regarding ethnographic fieldwork. Whilst their presence was therefore valuable from an academic perspective, the fact that I was not working in isolation also increased my safety in the NTE.

Fieldwork involved frequent occasions where I was in close proximity to both drug use and drug dealing. I ensured that I was carrying University identification at all times, and details of the research study. Whilst this clearly has inherent risks, this research aimed to attain an in-depth understanding of illicit drug use and associated behaviour from the perspectives of those involved within the context of Ibiza. It is this kind of 'dirty knowledge' that has enriched and informed criminological research for many years. Indeed, Criminology has a long and productive history of qualitative fieldwork that has been "entangled in the experience of criminality and illegality" (Ferrell and Hamm 1998: 24). Such research approaches have enabled us to see crime at close range – whether it be Ferrell's (2001) ethnography of Hip-Hop graffiti writers; Brotherton's (2005) study of the Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation in New York City, or Bourgois' (1995) deep immersion in the crack cocaine communities of East Harlem. As Ferrell, Hayward and Young (2015: 185) state:

> "Cultural criminologists are less likely to find themselves sorting statistics or mailing surveys, and more likely to get caught up in the ambiguities of daily transgression [and] the gritty particulars of criminal acts".

Participant Well-Being and Safety

Like all researchers, ethnographers have a responsibility to protect participants from harm. During the fieldwork for this study, I continually reflected on the rights of participants, and endeavored to ensure that their

values and decisions were respected (Murphy and Dingwall 2007: 339). Focus groups and individual interviews were recorded and the digital recorder was placed in a neutral space so as not to intimidate participants. Equally, non-threatening body language and careful choice of words was used in focus groups and interviews to ensure participants were comfortable. I am highly experienced in conducting interviews as a consequence of my professional background in a range of mental health and criminal justice settings. Whilst "there is no single correct way to ask the socially taboo questions" (Bourgois 1995: 261) this was done in a sensitive manner, understanding and empathy was expressed where participants described distressing situations (such as being 'spiked', for example). This approach is well recognised in ethnography (Agar 1986 and Jupp, Davis and Francis 2000) and in substance-use ethnographies (Bourgois 1995 and Curtis 2002). Asking deeply personal questions of relative strangers is an embedded aspect of my professional background as a mental health nurse. This experience was therefore once again an invaluable resource to draw upon during fieldwork, although the power relationship was different within this setting, as informants were always in control of the interview.

Consent

Informed consent was sought from participants undertaking both focus groups and one-to-one semi-structured interviews. Informed consent implies three elements: (a) knowledge and understanding of what is involved, (b) competence to give consent, and (c) voluntary choice (Bryman 2012). For digitally recorded focus group/interviews, a participant information sheet was given out (see Appendix 1). This outlined the aims and focus of the research; issues regarding anonymity and confidentiality and participants' right to withdraw consent at any point during or after the interview. It was made clear that participants were under no obligation to answer questions, particularly those they felt uncomfortable with. They were informed about how the information they disclosed might be used in the future (e.g. in academic journal publications). Participants had the opportunity to ask questions about the research at any stage.

Participants under the age of 18 years were excluded from interviews. Whilst signed consent is the ideal method, a decision was made to discount this

formal process. This was partially to avoid impeding the informal momentum and flow of social interaction and social relations. Furthermore, in the past ethnographic researchers of illegal behaviour have been put under considerable legal pressure to disclose signed consent forms (Robson 2002: 69). Therefore, given the sensitive nature of the interview content, verbal consent was sought on the digital recorder only. My current practice role as a Registered Intermediary for vulnerable witnesses (with the Ministry of Justice) helped in this respect. I am routinely required to establish rapport with victims in time-pressured situations. It was therefore very easy to develop rapport with tourists and seasonal workers in public locations such as hotels, cafés and bars. As with other researchers in this area (Measham, Aldridge and Parker 2001a) drinking alcohol with participants helped to break down barriers and close the gap "between the observer and the observed" (Young 2011: 173), with the informal atmosphere helping establish trust and rapport (Blackman 2007). On hearing that we were staying in Ibiza to conduct research this invariably sparked interest and jovial conversation that we were "getting paid to go on holiday". Thus many informants were well aware of the nature of the research before agreeing to an interview.

Data was collected throughout the 24-hour period. As such it was inevitable that some participants were intoxicated to varying degrees. According to Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001a) most clubbers within their sample were intoxicated by 01:00 hours, either with alcohol, drugs or varying combinations of both. The issue of informed consent and intoxication is important to acknowledge when conducting in-situ research. Ecstasy users and people under the influence of alcohol for example, may to some extent be overly compliant and co-operative in agreeing to be interviewed (Measham, Aldridge and Parker 2001a: 76). Where possible I took contact details of respondents (e.g. mobile telephone number) and contacted them to reaffirm consent a few days after the interview. Where individuals appeared extremely intoxicated they were not interviewed.

Observations were made in a range of public locations (e.g. bars, nightclubs, restaurants, beaches, streets, hotels). It has been argued that the nature of such space makes action there inherently public, and therefore open to

general observation and interpretation (Wardhaugh 2000: 325). Clearly in settings such as this, and within some social situations, it was not always possible to obtain consent from those present, as many were simply in the vicinity (Gobo 2008: 140). This is common practice in ethnography, which often involves a delicate combination of overt and covert roles (Adler 1985, Agar 1986 and Bourgois 1995). The process of such fieldwork is perhaps best described as semi-overt participant observation, where only some of those present know the identity of the researcher (Gobo 2008: 109). On this basis, the terms 'overt' and 'covert' represent "points on a continuum rather than polar opposites" (Wardhaugh 2000: 321). Such semi-overt observations made in public places were stripped of indicators that might reveal individual identity.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

The importance of confidentiality in relation to drug research cannot be over emphasised (Aldridge, Measham and Williams 2011: 35). However, this issue becomes much more complex when working with transient groups such as tourists and seasonal workers, far away from the infrastructure and private, safe spaces of University interview rooms (Lozanski and Beres 2007: 116). Good practice indicates that measures to protect participants' identity should be taken at the earliest opportunity (Murphy and Dingwall 2007: 341), as such all participants were given a pseudonym at the time of interview, and irrelevant details were not included (e.g. place of residence). Tourists frequently referred to feeling a sense of anonymity whilst on holiday in Ibiza. This transience seemed to result in openness with the researcher during interview. For some interviewees this stemmed from the one-off nature of the meeting, and the unlikely possibility that we would meet again. Consequently, participants' *sense* of anonymity helped overcome the reluctance to discuss the sensitive topics concerned (Lozanski and Beres 2007: 117).

Data was typed into a password protected laptop computer and stored securely in a locked hotel safe. Whilst participants were therefore assured that all possible measures had been instigated to protect their confidentiality, it was also important to convey that *absolute* guarantees in this area are not possible (Murphy and Dingwall 2007: 341). Moreover, it was important that participants understood the limits of confidentiality. Whilst confidentiality was

assured in relation to disclosures relating to illegal drugs, there are nevertheless certain issues when the requirement to report overrides any confidentiality agreement (Robson 2002: 71). In this case, participants were informed at the outset that confidentiality could not be maintained in relation to disclosures of criminal offences such as serious violent assaults, for example. This chapter has provided a thorough overview of the complex ethical issues that needed to be addressed prior to the commencement of this study. The research required flexibility in the field, as the dynamic and exhilarating environment of Ibiza's NTE frequently produced the unexpected. The following chapter provides a discussion of the data analysis techniques that were used in the study. As with all grounded theory research this was commenced during fieldwork in a simultaneous process alongside data collection.

Chapter 8

Data Analysis

This chapter aims to convey the methods that were employed during the data analysis process. The nature of qualitative data makes analysis a complex issue with few clear rules. Grounded theory is one of the most commonly used frameworks employed for analysing qualitative data, although many contemporary researchers use only certain aspects of the method (Bryman 2012: 401). To maintain alignment with constructivist grounded theory, data analysis for this research was conducted simultaneously with data collection (Hood 2012). A range of data, including interview transcripts, field notes, memos, conversational excerpts and photographs were analysed with the aim of generating theory that would contribute to our understanding of drug use in Ibiza.

The chapter is structured around the constructivist grounded theory approach developed by Charmaz (2000, 2006, 2008). The first section provides an overview of the nature and process of data analysis within constructivist grounded theory. This sets the scene by clarifying the epistemological and ontological assumptions about data collected for this research. The second section describes the initial phase of coding that was undertaken soon after fieldwork had commenced in Ibiza. This *open coding* involves the application of short, descriptive labels to data in order to begin the process of theorisation. The third section illustrates how the second phase of analysis, *focused coding*, results in the creation of more analytical, abstract concepts and categories, as open codes are grouped together. Finally, the chapter concludes with the process of developing abstract theory that is grounded in the data and which foregrounds the voice of the participants.

Data Analysis in Constructivist Grounded Theory

In essence grounded theory represents “both a strategy for doing research and a particular style of analysing the data arising from that research” (Robson 2002: 191). As discussed in Chapter 4, there have been a number of

re-imaginations of grounded theory since its inception in the late 1960s by Glaser and Strauss (1967). However, these approaches tend to differ in their overarching goals and their assumptions about the nature of reality, rather than their method (Higginbottom and Lauridsen 2014: 13). Classic grounded theory was founded on the assumption of a single, external reality, 'out there' awaiting discovery. In this approach, categories and concepts passively 'emerge' from the data and are identified by the objective, value-free expert. *Constructivist grounded theory* was developed in response to the perceived "naïve empiricism" (Charmaz 2008: 402) of such objectivism. In this model, data does not reflect a single, discoverable truth, but is a theoretical interpretation of the interplay between the researcher, the participants and the temporal socio-cultural context (Charmaz, 2000 and Mills, Bonner and Francis 2006: 6). The researcher's value system and philosophical position are therefore recognised as exerting influence on both the shape of the study and the findings. As such, constructivist grounded theory encourages vibrant theoretical innovation through the construction of interpretive categories that place emphasis on the voice of the participants.

Analysis in constructivist grounded theory moves through a systematic codingprocess (Charmaz 2008: 408). This is one of the defining features of grounded theory and requires the researcher to stop and ask analytic questions of the data gathered (Charmaz 2006: 42). This involves reviewing field notes and interview transcripts, and attaching labels to fragments that may be theoretically significant or of relevance to the social worlds of those being studied (Bryman 2012: 402). Constructivist grounded theory identifies two main phases of coding: *open* and *focused*. Although there are subtle differences in coding techniques, fundamentally this involves a movement from generating codes that stay close to the data, to more abstract conceptualising of the phenomenon of interest. In alignment with the constructivist approach, open coding and focused coding were carried out to "sort, synthesise, integrate, and organise large amounts of data" (Charmaz 2006: 46). The analytical process is illustrated in *Image 8.1*, whilst the following section outlines the initial phase of open coding.

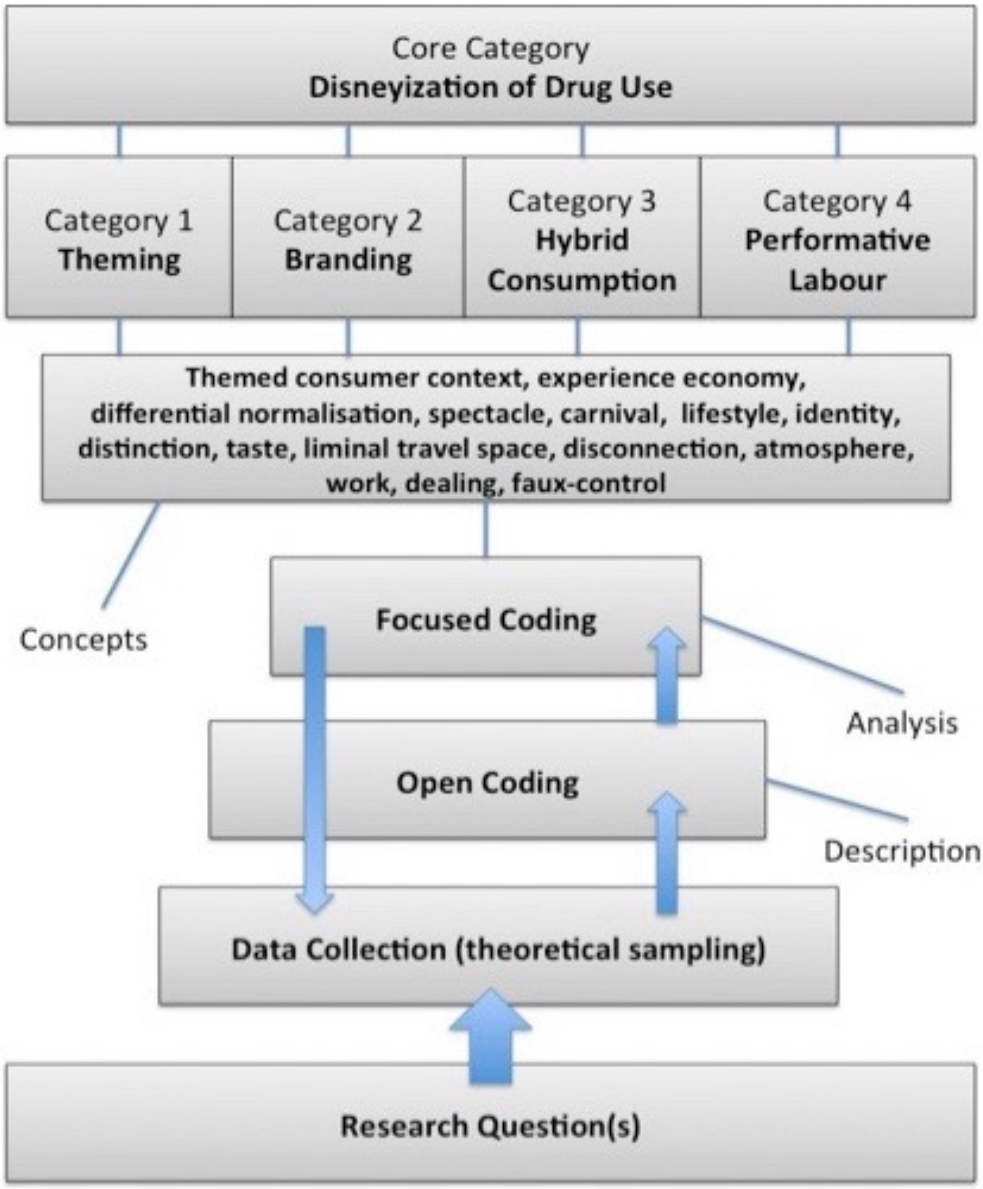

Image 8.1: Data analysis using constructivist grounded theory (image: Tim Turner)

Open Coding

Audio-recordings of semi-structured interviews and focus groups were transcribed verbatim. Whilst transcription is very time consuming, this allows for a more thorough analysis and is essential in grounded theory (Bryman 2012: 330). Where possible transcription was carried out as soon as possible after the interview. Some interviews were transcribed within 24 hours of completion. Once this had been completed, the initial phase of open coding was undertaken with the speed and spontaneity advised by Charmaz (2006: 48). This stage is a foundational technique within grounded theory and was first identified by Glaser (1978). It involves a procedure that breaks down and

codes small segments of data by attaching labels (Charmaz 2006: 43, Urquhart 2013: 36). As Urquhart (2013) advises, paragraphs were read in their entirety, reflected upon, and then interpreted in terms of asking 'what is happening here?' Line-by-line analysis was then undertaken, with words, sentences or paragraphs given a code. These codes were highlighted in different colours in order to facilitate analysis (Urquhart 2013). An example of the kind of short and simple codes recommended by Charmaz (2006: 50) can be seen in the interview excerpts below, all of which are drawn from the same tourist participant:

> I hadn't done any drugs before I came here last year. Not ecstasy or anything like that [first time use] [suspension of rules]
> I think you damage your body more drinking than you would taking a pill [negative attitude to alcohol] [ambivalence]
>
> Back at home I'm really healthy, everything's healthy you know, but when I come away to places like this, I'm like 'fuck it, I don't care' [suspension of rules]
> I said I'd never touch ketamine, and this morning my mate that I chat to on the balcony says 'do you want a line of ketamine?' and I said 'no, I don't touch that' … but, but, but … then I tried it … a really long line of it. [suspension of rules] [first time use] [drug use in hotel]

Grounded theory incorporates a process of *constant comparison*. This entails comparing how data for a particular category compares with other data labeled within the same category. In the excerpt above, this involved asking, 'how does this example of data labeled '*suspension of rules*' compare with this other example of data labeled '*suspension of rules*'? This process continues until theoretical saturation is attained (Urquhart 2013), codes can then be grouped into larger categories to indicate directions for analysis (Holton 2012 and Robson 2002).

Focused Coding

The aim of this stage of coding is to commence theoretical integration by developing concepts that facilitate the transition from description to analysis (Bryman 2012: 403). This is an important phase as:

> "Coding furthers our attempts to understand acts and accounts, scenes and sentiments, stories and silences from our research participants' view. We want to know what is happening in the setting, in people's lives, and in lines of our recorded data. Hence, we try to understand our participants' standpoints and situations, as well as their actions within the setting" (Charmaz 2006: 46).

It has been suggested that it is useful to undertake focused coding at an early stage in the analysis (with just one interview, for example) as it can help narrow the focus of the open coding for the remaining interview transcripts (Urquhart 2013). In this study, the initial phase of focused coding was undertaken after completing three interviews. This enabled the open codes such as those identified in the previous excerpt to be amalgamated into groups of concepts. These are essentially labels of discrete phenomena that have the potential to shape theory development (Bryman 2012: 403). The identification and labeling of these concepts is recognised as a subjective interpretation within constructivist grounded theory. However, as indicated by Urquhart (2013), concepts were discussed with colleagues and within the supervision context, and a consensus on their validity was attained.
Following the focused coding of three interviews, the remaining interviews were open coded to facilitate a process of constant comparison with additional data sources. These included interview transcripts, conversations, field note excerpts, photographs and concepts drawn from the existing literature (Bryman 2012). The analytical process can be seen in *Image 8.1* above, with focused coding resulting in the development of the following concepts: Themed context; experience economy; differential normalisation; spectacle; carnival; lifestyle; identity; distinction; taste; liminal travel; disconnection; atmosphere; work; dealing; faux-control.

Development of Categories and Theory Development

The two stages of coding that are undertaken in constructivist grounded theory provide the building blocks of theory. As Charmaz (2006: 45) states, “coding generates the bones of your analysis. Theoretical integration will assemble these bones into a working skeleton”. The task after coding is therefore to assemble higher-level theory that nevertheless remains grounded in the data.
The concepts developed from focused coding were therefore scrutinised in order to contribute to molding the content and shape of the emergent theorisation. There was however no explicit framework used to guide these analytic constructions of participant narratives and experiences. This differs slightly from the axial coding approach used in classic grounded theory, which Charmaz (2006: 62) asserts can, “limit what and how researchers learn about

their studied worlds and, thus, restrict the codes they construct". In contrast, constructivist grounded theory views the development of these categories as a reflection of the researcher's interpretation of the data, before, during and after the various periods of fieldwork (Charmaz 2006: 61). Analysis was therefore to some extent an artistic process in the same way that one locates abstract meanings within poetry (Kane and Tucker 2004: 224). These subjective interpretations are grounded within the researcher's perspectives, privileges, interactions and spatial locations (Higginbottom and Lauridsen 2014). The use of memos was important in generating concepts and categories. These are notes, diagrams and jottings that can help researchers crystallise ideas. They are a key aspect of developing new theoretical directions from emergent patterns in the data (Bryman 2012: 405 and Lempert 2012: 245). I frequently made use of sketch diagrams during fieldwork to try and give visual clarity to the analysis. These are a particularly useful form of memo in grounded theory, as they bring a sense of order to the data and help researchers develop a more abstract conceptualisation. An example of one of these simple diagrams is shown in *Image 8.2*, with ideas around *Disneyization* sketched out as a memo shortly on return from fieldwork.

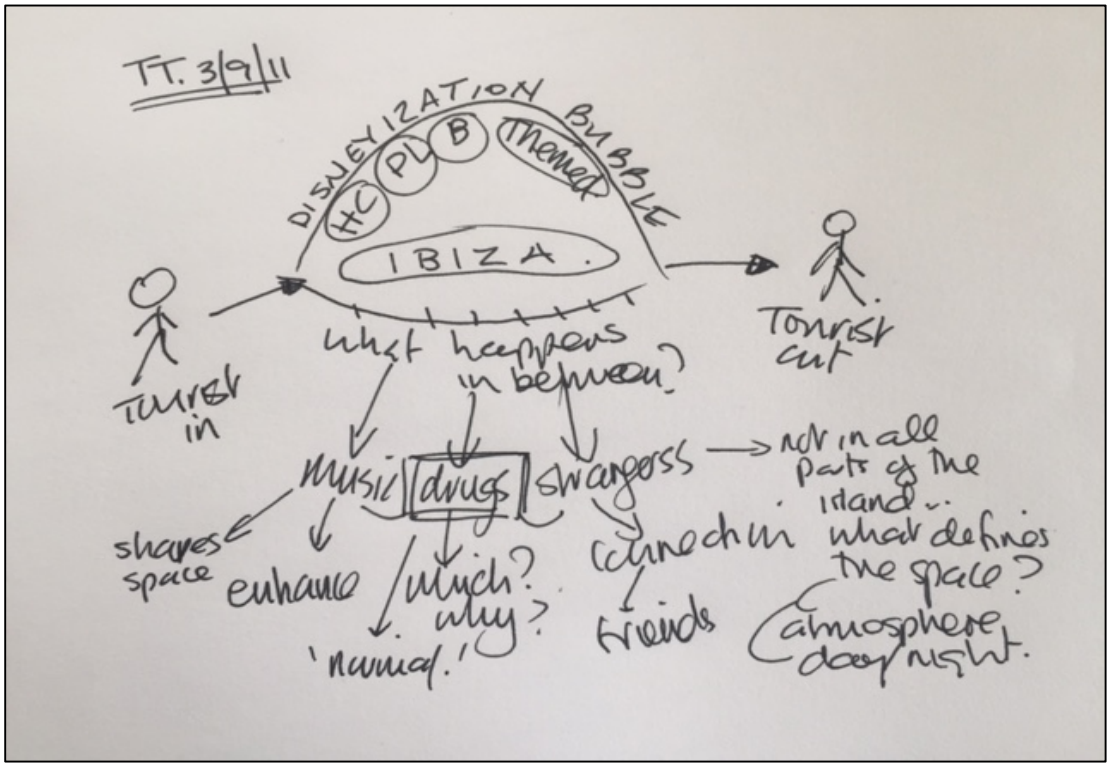

Image 8.2: Early diagrammatic memo (image: Tim Turner)

Such memos were a key aspect of the formulation of four central categories interrelated to the core category labelled as 'Disneyization of Drug Use'. This interpretation was generated during the second week of fieldwork, as I started to see Ibiza through the eyes of my participants as a kind of 'Adult Theme Park'. As Charmaz (2006: 54) advises, it was essential to look at how participants "understand their situations before judging their attitudes and actions through [my] own assumptions. Seeing the world through their eyes and understanding the logic of their experience brings fresh insights". This focus on the notion of 'Theme Park' led me to explore Bryman's (2004) theory of *Disneyization* as a framework for understanding drug use in the bounded spaces of Ibiza. The four pillars of Disneyization then formed distinct categories that could be employed as an "abstract tool for rendering data analytically" (Charmaz 2006: 96). These are defined as: *Theming*; *Branding*; *Hybrid Consumption*, and *Performative Labour.* The formulation of these categories and their relationship to coding is illustrated in Appendix 5. Drawing on *Disneyization* to try and make sense of drug use in Ibiza required a theoretical sensitivity that came from reading widely across other disciplines (Holton 2012: 275 and Kelle 2012: 211). In focusing on theory located outside of criminological scholarship, this provided the kind of "imaginative understanding of the studied phenomenon" that grounded theory strives for (Charmaz 2006: 126). Furthermore, this willingness to break out of disciplinary boundaries is also rooted within cultural criminology, which stresses a need to engage with disciplines as diverse as cultural anthropology and film studies in order to illuminate criminological issues from fresh angles (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 137).

This chapter has aimed to outline the various stages of data analysis that were undertaken using constructivist grounded theory. As previously discussed, this particular method recognises the subjective interpretation of the researcher in the generation of theory. The ability to *reflect* and be *reflexive* about my place in the research is therefore essential. My own reflections on the research process therefore form the focus of the following chapter, which concludes the methodology section of this thesis.

Chapter 9

Reflexivity

> "Almost all topics that sociologists study, at least those that have some relation to the real world around us, are seen by society as morality plays and we shall find ourselves, willy-nilly, taking part in those plays on one side or the other" (Becker 1967: 245)

This chapter focuses on the important issue of *reflexivity*. This refers to the need for social researchers to be self-reflective about the research process, including the methods chosen, underlying values and biases, and the implications of their presence in the social worlds that they investigate. Essentially reflexivity is an acknowledgement that social research is not a value free process (Bryman 2012: 543). This is an essential aspect of constructivist grounded theory, which requires the researcher to engage in reflexivity around perspectives, positions, and practices, as well as their interpretations of constructions in the social world (Charmaz 2008: 398). The need for reflexivity is also an important facet of ethnographic research. Anthropological ethnographers have in the past made claims that their accounts represent a window on an observable reality. However, by the early 1980s 'scientific ethnography' was increasingly subject to critique, not least from within feminist anthropology (MacDonald 2007: 69). The post-modernist turn arguably made such positions untenable, as meaning became "fractured, multiple, relative and subjectively situated" (McDonald 2001: 15) and importantly in the context of this chapter, when the nature of reality is assumed to be socially constructed then so is the account that describes it.

The chapter is structured around three key sections. The first section provides a brief outline of aspects of my own biography. This is important as the background, experiences and values of researchers have an influence throughout the research process. The second section outlines why this particular area was chosen as a research topic, with reflections on influential factors that underpinned this decision, as well as the particular research approach. In the final section, I reflect on my own position in the fieldwork, and

on the meanings that were constructed from a combination of my own experiences of Ibiza, the perspectives of those who participated in the study, and in conversations with colleagues and academic supervisors.

Researcher Background

Reflexivity requires the researcher to consider aspects of their own background and history in terms of the influence that this may have had on the research process. As Malterud (2001: 483) states, the background and position of the researcher will impact on all aspects of the research, from what they choose to investigate through to the framing of conclusions. With this in mind, a summary of my own position and background is offered. In this brief vignette, I focus on key biographical factors that may have been influential at various points within the research process.

I am a white, British male, aged 46 years at the time of writing. I conducted the fieldwork in Ibiza between the ages of 40 - 42. I grew up in Tamworth, a tightknit midlands town in the shadow of Birmingham, UK. I enjoyed a happy childhood, with my teenage social life revolving around friends, football, alcohol and music. I played the guitar (badly) in local bands; as ecstasy use proliferated in 1988's 'second summer of love' (Malbon 1999), I was 18 and generally dismissive of house music. As part of the biggest drug using generation that the UK has ever produced (Aldridge, Measham and Williams 2011), I have distinct memories of being around illegal drugs from the age of around 16. Cannabis, speed, ecstasy and LSD were on the fringes of my social life, and were accepted with a combination of ambivalence and wariness.

In terms of education and employment, underwhelming GCSE results at school meant that I began my working life in a distribution warehouse for four years. A desire to work in a role that had more meaning for me and which focused on 'people' took me back to evening classes at a local college to study for A' levels in Psychology and Sociology. This opened the door to train as a Registered Mental Health Nurse, a role that I remained in for ten years. I worked in a variety of London-based clinical settings, both on inpatient units and in community teams. My last five years in the role was spent in the

Camden Town Forensic Outreach Team, working with mentally disordered offenders. I believe my role as a Registered Mental Health Nurse has been highly influential on most aspects of my life. I have a great deal of empathy for outsiders, underdogs, and the people at the bottom of the social structure. I became adept at being able to communicate with a range of different people on a daily basis, from Crown Court Judges, to floridly psychotic people in police custody for serious offences. My ability to be non-judgmental was honed in this role, as irrespective of circumstances, I was required to give unconditional positive regard and see beyond powerful labels such as ‘drug user’, ‘schizophrenic’, ‘murderer’ and ‘rapist’.

I undertook post-graduate study at Middlesex University (MA Criminology), chosen for its International reputation in radical criminology. The course opened my eyes to critical aspects of mental health care, which I had overlooked in my immersion in the risk-focused medical framework of forensic psychiatry. As I commenced my career as a lecturer in Criminology, I remained connected to the radical and left-realist roots of my post-graduate study. I was enthused by the emerging framework of cultural criminology after a chance meeting with Jeff Ferrell and Keith Hayward in New York City. They were at the forefront of this theoretical turn, along with like-minded scholars such as Jock Young and Mike Presdee. On reflection, it was cultural criminology’s emphasis on bottom-up constructions of crime, deviance and control that I found seductive. This appealed to the mental health nurse in me, and a desire to give voice to social groups who are generally marginalised, demonised and excluded. This is also reflected in my current practice role, working with vulnerable victims and witnesses in the criminal justice system.

Having outlined these brief biographical details. It is important to consider how these have influenced various aspects of this research. Extricating such influential factors is not easy, as their significance is subtle. What is clear is that illicit drugs have felt relatively ‘normal’ to me within the generation that I have grown up in, and in the work that I have done in mental health care. It is factors such as these that may have been influential on the interpretations that have been drawn from the data. Whilst bias in research is often represented as undesirable, as Malterud (2001: 484) states, "preconceptions are not the same as bias, unless the researcher fails to mention them".

Choosing the Research Topic

The appeal of this particular research topic emanates from a number of levels. Firstly, given the anecdotal and journalistic description of the hedonism played out in Ibiza, I found the lack of criminological scholarship surprising. This seemed to tie in with one of the tenets of cultural criminology – an aim to engage with social groups that other criminologists "don't much care to encounter" (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 184). Furthermore, whilst some researchers had made concerted efforts to document the patterns of drug use amongst tourists in Ibiza through epidemiological studies, there was an absence of social research that prioritised the voice of the participants themselves. I felt that this was an omission that should be addressed, as this lack of voice essentially led to the continued vilification of a group of young, British people, assumed to be engaged in nothing more than senseless hedonistic excess. The opportunity to add to our understanding of this arena from the 'bottom-up' was driven by influences within both mental health and cultural criminology. I also felt that my historical lack of interest in EDM and the rave scene of the late 1980s and early 1990s would help ensure that participants' voices would be foregrounded without being tainted by my own experience within this particular youth movement. In regard to research focusing on the use of illicit drugs, this is a topic that has resonated with me for many years. Whilst, I have been interested in subculture and countercultural movements since my late teens, I also have extensive experience of working with drug users in a professional capacity. Many of the mental health clients that I have worked with in the past had co-existing issues with substance use.

Choosing the Research Approach

As discussed in previous chapters, this study has an interpretivist research design, employing an ethnographic approach rooted in a constructivist grounded theory. Ethnography particularly is affiliated to cultural criminology, which asserts a commitment to "shaking off the delusion of social scientific criminology" and embracing methods that "catch the subtleties of transgressive situations" (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 209). This was

therefore the research approach that sat most comfortably with my own philosophy and background. My experience as a mental health nurse has undoubtedly influenced my belief in the socially constructed nature of reality. When working with psychotic clients who describe vivid hallucinations, or are caught in the paranoid turmoil of delusion, our experience of multiple realities is laid bare. Indeed, during mental health training we were taught that the way to respond to such interactions is to empathically state: “I understand that this is *your version of reality*, but it’s not one that we share”. In regard to applying this philosophy to the study of recreational drug use within club culture, I was influenced by British criminologist, Geoffrey Hunt, and his work in the United States. In a series of studies around this topic, Hunt rejects a position of detached objectivism and cites the need to embrace cultural studies, where researchers are more involved with their respondents in order to document their accounts and experiences from the inside (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 20).

Fieldwork and Construction of Meaning

I experienced a range of emotions during fieldwork. Each of the five weeks involved periods of exhaustion, excitement, exhilaration, surprise, fun, anticipation, bemusement, wonder, disgust, trepidation and amusement. In this sense, my experience of the field was in many ways a reflection of the tourist experience. Given the holiday setting of the research, away from the mundane routines and responsibilities of life at home, participants, colleagues, and friends, often assumed that the project was some kind of elaborate ‘scam’ that the university had somehow been duped into funding. This struggle to be taken seriously has been frustrating at times, and is an issue that has been cited within other examples of touristic research (Lozanski and Beres 2007: 118).

I found the vast majority of tourists and seasonal workers to be warm and receptive during fieldwork. They engaged in conversation, agreed to interviews and allowed photographs to be taken. On reflection, the holiday atmosphere was highly conducive to this, as people were generally more relaxed and perhaps more open to conversations with strangers than they would have been at home in the UK. I maintained an awareness that I was potentially imposing on people’s valuable leisure time on holiday. I

endeavoured to keep interaction informal and friendly, and where I felt that my presence was intrusive I kept the interaction brief. The interview process was semi-structured and as such I made decisions about which lines of enquiry to follow and which to close off. In this way, the interviews were constructed in a mutual process with the participant, although a researcher with different interests and values may have focused upon different aspects. My status as a white male in my 40s differentiated me from the majority of participants. However, the NTE of Ibiza attracts a range of age groups, and there was never a time when I felt 'out of place'. This may of course have had some impact on what participants chose to disclose. My status as a University lecturer may also have had an impact in this respect, as some participants may have felt there was an imbalance of power, and that I was somehow an 'expert' in this area.

In terms of my interpretations of the data, as discussed, my aim in entering this research arena was to give a voice to the British tourists engaged in drug use in Ibiza, and to situate their experiences within the particular social context. On reflection, I was keen to avoid the tendency to demonise this social group and wanted to avoid slipping into narratives of pathology. Constructions of drug users as pathologically deviant have dominated much of the research in this area, and were also endemic to the framework that informed my practice within forensic psychiatry. As McDonald (2001: 27) states in regard to her ethnographic research with graffiti writers:

> "I was responsible for speaking for a consistently 'spoken' for group. This made me aware of my power, authority and representational control. It also made me aware of how important it was not to abuse their potential".

My overarching aim however, was *not* to advocate drug use, or promote a pro-drug agenda. Instead I wanted to make a contribution to our understanding of the *situated social meaning* of such drug use for those involved, as choices are made in the complex interplay between agency and structure.

PART THREE

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Part Three of the thesis represents the *Findings and Discussion*. This is structured around five chapters. The first four chapters each demonstrate the relationship between illicit drugs in Ibiza and one of the four pillars of Disneyization as defined by Bryman (2004). Chapter 10 provides a discursive analysis of *Theming*, the first pillar of Disneyization. It is argued that Ibiza essentially plunges both tourists and seasonal workers into strongly narrativised space within which they make decisions about illicit drug use. Themes of hedonism are constructed from both the 'top down', in official constructions of the island, and from the 'bottom up', as tourists weave illicit drugs into the sanitised theming of touristic marketing. Chapter 11 explores the second pillar of Disneyization, *Branding and Merchandise*. This focuses on the *agency* of tourists as postmodern consumers acting within the Disneyized bounded spaces of Ibiza. The aim here is to demonstrate how the use of illicit drugs can be viewed as a feature of late-modern patterns of consumption founded on notions of identity and lifestyle (Miles 2000; Smith 2014 and Zukin and Maguire 2004). In Chapter 12 the focus moves to *Hybrid Consumption*, the third pillar of Disneyization. This demonstrates how illicit drugs are seamlessly interwoven into the consumer landscape of Ibiza. This process essentially shapes differentially normalised, bounded spaces on the island for both tourists and seasonal workers. Chapter 13 focuses on the concept of *Performative Labour*, the fourth pillar of Disneyization. This chapter focuses on the trading and consumption of illicit drugs by British seasonal workers in Ibiza, a social group who have received limited academic attention in the past, despite their key role in the island's hedonistic milieu. The

performance of control is also theorised as a key facet of the normalisation process. This argues that both door security and policing in Ibiza is to some extent a performative façade. Chapter 14 concludes the *Findings and Discussion* section of the thesis. This addresses the *Policy and Practice* issues that have emerged in relation to this research. The innovative application of Disneyization is offered as an explanatory framework through which to make sense of a range of ideological, moral, political and practical debates associated with contemporary drug use.

Chapter 10

Disneyization and Theming

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how Disneyized theming is evident across certain tourist spaces of Ibiza. It is argued that deep-rooted themes of hedonism, intoxication and freedom immerse tourists into a strongly narrativised environment. This is important, as it provides the structural and spatial context within which British tourists on the island make decisions about consuming and selling illegal drugs. This provides theoretical insight into spatial aspects of urban tourism, an area that has been frequently overlooked in empirical work (Gotham 2005).

The chapter is structured around three key sections. The first section offers an overview of the conceptualisation of theming in relation to Disney parks, with examples of how this marketing technique has been successfully replicated across a plethora of consumer environments including the NTE. The second section applies the theoretical construct of Disneyization as a framework in which to understand the theming of Ibiza. It is argued that the island represents a Disneyized space, with powerful narratives of hedonism synonymous with Ibiza as a consequence of history, myth, and an enshrined cultural significance relating to rave and EDM. This section demonstrates that strong themes of hedonism permeate official, corporate constructions of Ibiza. However this top down theming is heavily sanitised and obfuscates the illicit drug use wrapped up within the island's cultural past and which remains endemic there. Theming is therefore revealed to be a dual process; bottom-up subterranean narratives of illicit drug use intertwine with official, top-down thematic constructions of the island, reinforcing its place as a global party capital. The final section of the chapter demonstrates how the spectacular staged experiences that characterise Disneyized landscapes are a feature of the themed context of Ibiza. Such highly choreographed events are a strong feature of the island's NTE, and for many of those involved the use of illicit drugs is an inseparable aspect of the overall experience.

Disneyization, Theming and Sense of Place

The first Disneyland park, situated in California, was neatly divided into four distinctly themed areas: *Adventureland*, *Frontierland*, *Tomorrowland* and *Fantasyland*. These were designed to “impose a visual order” (Edensor 2000: 329) and were subsequently replicated across Disney theme parks throughout the world. *Image 10.1* shows an early map of the themed Disney landscape.

Image 10.1: Map of Disneyland in 1964 (Theme Park Maps n.d)

Consistency and identity were established throughout these areas by combining architectural detail, cuisine, décor, sound and music (Atkinson 2007), “cast member” costumes (Edensor 2000: 324), and an array of theme-specific souvenirs. Such theming plunged Disney guests into narrative-driven environments to create memorable and coherent experiences that amusement parks of the past had been unable to achieve (Bryman 2004). These strong thematic demarcations within Disney parks were subsequently emulated in many of the rival theme parks that followed.

Furthermore, the commercial benefits of theming were recognised on a wider level and as such became diffused across a variety of consumer

environments. Essentially the application of a strong narrative to a consumable object, institution or place, enhanced pleasure by transforming *consumption itself into an experience* (Edensor 2000). This phenomenon has become more prevalent as patterns of consumption have been transformed in late modernity. Consequently, contemporary consumers now place great emphasis on investment in highly memorable experiences rather than goods and services. In this *experience economy* (Pine and Gilmore 1999), consumers do not judge service alone. Instead, they expect experiences to be simultaneously fun, entertaining and memorable.

The physical environment, or *servicescape* of an organisation is an important aspect of this overall consumer experience (Bryman 2004). The use of themes in consumer contexts adds a sense of novelty, and consequently distinguishes competing services in what has become an increasingly McDonaldized world (Ritzer 1998). Contemporary shopping malls have been highly effective in the implementation of theming and share many similarities with theme parks (Ritzer and Liska 1997). Rather than shopping from an array of disconnected outlets, such environments have been designed to make consumers' visit an event in itself, and could be considered tourist attractions in their own right (Ritzer and Liska 1997 and Zukin 1998). The aim of course is to encourage customers to spend a longer period of time in the mall and consequently spend more money. As Bryman (2004: 34) states:

> "Placing otherwise unremarkable goods or services for sale in an environment that is interesting or conveys messages beyond those provided by the goods themselves renders them more attractive and hence more likely to be purchased."

Such narrative themes do not necessarily need any inherent relationship with the place in question. Organisations have drawn on a range of common themes in order to attract customers. These include: *status*, *Wild West*, *surveillance*, *Arabian fantasy*, *tropical paradise*, *sport*, *Hollywood movies* and *music* as prominent categories (Bryman 2004 and Gottdiener 1997). Such themed venues are now a staple feature of the British NTE (Measham 2004c), exemplified by the flyer for a Birmingham-based Hawaiian theme bar shown in *Image 10.2.*

Image 10.2: Flyer for Hawaiian Tiki at Island Bar, Birmingham, UK.

Whilst theming is therefore highly successful in various consumer spaces, it can also be effective on a much larger scale. Disney, for example, succeeded in constructing an overarching narrative that celebrated America's historical achievements in a "magical place in which people can leave the harsh realities of the outside world behind them" (Bryman 2004: 19). Las Vegas represents a key example of such macro-level theming, with a myriad of spectacular hotels built over the last quarter of a century, including *The Luxor* and *New York New York* (see *Image 10.3*) essentially creating a gambler's version of Disneyworld (Ritzer and Liska 1997)

Image 10.3: New York New York hotel, Las Vegas (Grand Canyon Tour Company n.d.)

Theming of this scale has been successfully utilised in the construction of tourist resorts with themes based around cultural narratives creating a strong *sense of place*. Indeed the production, marketing and theming of place, is one of the key areas of research within social scientific explorations of an expanding global tourism (Gotham 2005 and Leite and Graburn 2012: 46). This is particularly effective when a tourist location is themed in terms of inherent links with renowned or prominent cultural products and / or events (Bryman 2004: 44 and Craik 1997). In the United Kingdom for example, certain locations have become synonymous with popular television programmes, with Yorkshire's *Heartbeat country* and *Last of the Summer Wine country*, being two such examples. In this sense, popular culture can thematically define tourist space, aligning a location with particular forms of tourism (Urry 2002). Hence the advent of adventure tourism, stag party tourism (Thurnell-Read 2011a, 2012), Jack the Ripper tours in London's East End, and dark tourism associated with sights of the macabre, death and tragedy (Stone and Sharpley 2008). Tourist promotional imagery may therefore involve the theming of place around intrinsic regional qualities and cultural narratives. These themes become embedded in consumer consciousness and are highly effective marketing strategies (Bryman 2004: 47). Since Disney's exemplar, the application of a strong, narrative theme to create sense of place has become widely dispersed across many consumer

environments and tourists locations. This therefore represents a central pillar of Bryman's (2004) Disneyization theory.

Themed Ibiza: Top-Down and Bottom-Up

> "The real spirit and heritage of Ibiza is free parties, open air, the moon and the stars, good music, dancing" (Collin 1998: 47)

In this section, it is argued that Disneyized theming is evident in Ibiza, and that this plays a pivotal role in the trading and consumption of illegal psychoactive substances on the island. Sanitised top-down themes of hedonism are drawn upon extensively in the marketing of Ibiza, whilst tourists' bottom-up narratives weave in the use of illegal drugs.

The origin of this theming can be traced back to the mid-1960s, when Ibiza was gradually transformed from a quiet, rural Balearic Isle, to one of the top three destinations on the hippy trail along with Goa and Tangier (Armstrong 2005: 230). As a key bohemian destination the island essentially became a "freak-zone safety net" (Power 2013: 43) for jazz musicians, artists, beatniks, and hippies keen to take advantage of the liberal attitudes that were absent from the Franco-controlled Spanish mainland. In these early forays into tourism, the island became known for its hedonistic pleasures, its openly flamboyant gay scene, and its status as a nocturnal playground for decadent celebrities and the rich (Power 2013: 43). In short, it was transformed into a place "whose character and economic structure is built on the heat of summer and the magic of the night" (Collin 1998: 45). As the 1970s disco scene flourished, British tourists in Ibiza were drawn away from the 'tacky' bars of San Antonio, to a few exotic and secluded clubs with moonlit dance floors populated by an equally exotic clientele listening to Balearic sounds from now legendary DJ Alfredo Fiorito (Power 2013: 44). At this point, *Amnesia* and *Pacha*, both now colossal global club brands, were relatively unknown "fantasy playgrounds, temples to Dionysus designed to stimulate the senses and accommodate the expression of the wildest desires" (Collin 1998: 49). It is this cultural heritage of dancing, music, and hedonistic exoticism that came to define Ibiza's sense of place, and which has become so central to the island's economy.

The embryonic days of disco and rave are long gone, but they have culturally endured to thematically stamp Ibiza with a stylistic hallmark. As such, it can be argued that over the last half-century, the island has been commercially transformed from a niche counter-cultural hang out, to a hyper-real themed *servicescape* (Bryman 2004) akin to that found in Disneyland and Las Vegas (Urry and Larsen 2011: 119). This top-down theming creates a 'staged authenticity' (McCannell 1976: 45) that draws heavily on Ibiza's place in cultural history. Consequently, official marketing draws extensively on narratives to conjure images of a golden past, with one online ticket outlet urging customers to:

> "Experience *Space* [Ibiza superclub] like the 'good-old-days' with the planes flying overhead as you get sunkissed by the Ibiza sun" (My Ibiza 2016)

This sanitised allusion to 'the good-old-days' of *Space* evokes halcyon days of rave at the club's inception in 1989 (Space Ibiza 2014). Such mythology filters downwards to provide strong, top-down narratives about sense of place. This is exemplified in an interview with a female seasonal worker selling superclub tickets in San Antonio:

> "Ibiza's about the real. It's not about the money making game. It's about the music and the history, the real hippy side of things. It always has been." (Ella, ticket seller)

Here, without any sense of irony, Ella (25) reminisces about a mythologised historical image of a 'real' Ibiza that she had never actually experienced, whilst in the midst of a 12-hour shift selling €80 tickets to globally commercial superclubs including *Space*, *Amnesia* and *Pacha*. Such is the power of top-down theming when linked to historically authentic cultural markers (Leite and Graburn 2012: 47). Indeed, in this respect, Ibiza shares many of the definitional hallmarks of a *theme park*, defined by Jafari (2003) as highly developed, capital intensive, recreational spaces that contain attractions organised around a unifying theme related to the history or culture of the local region. This in essence creates a distinct separate world, a carefully contrived thematic 'reality' (Hollinshead 2012: 272). This sense of disconnection with reality emerged during interviews:

> "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).

> "I love it here. I don't want to leave. It's not real though" (Beach Girl 1)

> "I don't know if it's the ket but everything here seems not quite real, in a good way … I dunno, it's hard to explain." (Shades, female tourist)

It is these strong narratives associated with location and local identity that make the contemporary theming of Ibiza so successful. As previously discussed in Chapter 2, nightlife tourism is now a lucrative, and highly competitive market (Mintel 2010a), the "specific and symbolically charged" identity of Ibiza is therefore successfully exploited to gain competitive advantage (Ulldemolins 2014: 3029) and draws heavily on the International reputation of the island's superclubs including: *Space*; *Amnesia*; *Pacha*; *Privilege*; and *DC10*. In terms of scale, *Privilege* is the largest club in the world, with a staggering capacity of 10,000 (Ibiza Spotlight 2016). The Official Tourism Site of Ibiza promotes the Balearic Island's nightlife with the following statement:

> "There is no doubt that Ibiza is the capital city of fun. Here you will find the very best nightlife and the best clubs and DJs from all over the world. The island bars and discos offer more than just music. They also put on incredible and fun audio-visual spectacles, which are advertised in the streets around the port of Ibiza. In consequence, it is not unusual to find celebrities soaking up the atmosphere on the terrace bars and in the discos on the island" (Official Tourism Site of Ibiza n.d)

When this promotional material is deconstructed, three top-down thematic messages are conveyed to the tourist: 1) Ibiza is the global epicentre of the NTE; 2) music is only one aspect of a staged, spectacular *experience*; 3) this is a place where celebrities routinely visit and want to be seen (ergo, for a brief moment, *you too can live like a celebrity*). Fun, hedonistic abandon, experience, and aspirational lifestyle are therefore central to Ibiza's *sense of place*. These themes consistently dominate the marketing of Ibiza, albeit in heavily sanitised language that obfuscates the reality of the drug use that saturates some parts of the island (Bellis et al. 2009 and Briggs and Tutenges 2014). This serves to reinforce an official façade of legal and moral respectability, despite evidence that dance drugs are an essential and integral aspect of the island economy (Briggs and Tutenges 2014). A Disneyized thematic sense of place therefore operates on a *dual level* in Ibiza. Bottom-up subterranean themes of "all-out, rampaging, no prisoners, hedonism"

(Armstrong 2005: 6) intertwine with a top-down sanitised version. This provides strong cultural narratives relating to the use of dance drugs within spectacular staged experiences. This bottom-up theming is exemplified within the following interview excerpts:

> “If it wasn't for the drug culture here, this island literally wouldn't exist. It would not be here”. (Christopher, bouncer)
> “Ibiza is all about the drugs. Drugs and raving. Some places are about pulling women. I don’t think Ibiza is about that, people are here for the drugs and the music”. (George, tourist)
> “I came here for the whole atmosphere, just have the whole Ibiza experience. A lot of people have said to me, go to Ibiza for drugs because you can truly appreciate it there” (male media student, tourist)

> “When I went to Magaluf last year I had sex with three different lasses [slang term for women] in the two weeks I was there. On this holiday, I haven’t even been bothered at all. Like the first five days or whatever I really didn’t try because of the pills. 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)
> “Some lad said to us the other day, ‘do you take drugs? Course you do, this is Ibiza!’ You look around and everyone is on it [ketamine]” (Bianca, tourist)

These views augment the diluted theming evident in official representations of the island’s nightlife. In a replication of techniques used within Disney parks, “consumers are provided with narratives that make consumption part of the experience itself, while they go to great lengths in order to ensure that the actual act of consumption is not explicitly acknowledged” (Smith 2014: 78). Note for example, the following promotional material from a popular British tour operator:

> “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.” (Co-operative Travel 2016)

Again, sanitised narratives of hedonism convey a strong sense of place, without explicitly acknowledging that such spaces are also synonymous with drug use. As the interview excerpt and field note from the rocks alongside Café Mambo demonstrates, the reality is not quite the sanitised version extolled in the above marketing material:

“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, tourist, sunset on the rocks near Café Mambo)

“As the sun starts to drop, there are at least 200 people here waiting for the sunset. I chat to a mixed group of five Brits. They have the biggest bottle of vodka I’ve every seen [see *Image 10.4*] and pass it around for neat shots. Most have taken a pill, and they point out their friend. He’s taken ketamine and is sitting alone on a rock about 20 feet away. His bare feet are in the sea, and he’s talking to himself, gesticulating with his hands to no one, and laughing hysterically” (Tim Turner, field notes, Sunset near Café Mambo, 5 June 2011)

Image 10.4: Vodka on the rocks, near Café Mambo. (Photograph: Tim Turner)

Furthermore, for many of the tourists interviewed for this research, the ability ‘to party all night’ as described in the above marketing excerpt is a thinly veiled allusion to dance drugs, as the following excerpts demonstrate:

“Everyone likes to get in the zone and enjoy the music [crazed laughing from his friend who has taken ecstasy and is using his hands to dig in the sand] and it takes drugs to do that. You can do it with alcohol, but it takes a lot more drinking. I wouldn’t make it through the night [without using ecstasy]” (George, tourist).

“Once you’re into it, you’re just dancing and then those six-hours have passed. From [venue], we went to the beach. We had to force ourselves to go into [a second venue] because we were so knackered. We had to take more drugs just literally so we’d last, like you wouldn’t last without drugs you’d be too tired to do it.” (Ben, tourist)

The place branding of Ibiza therefore occurs through multi-dimensional socially constructed processes, as a range of actors and cultural institutions converge to reinforce strong thematic narratives in an integrated way (Ulldemolins 2014: 3027). Touristic imagery flows from travel photographs, websites, brochures, and other media formats to create myths and narratives. Consequently, the packaging of place creates expectations and fantasies amongst tourists, as they reinterpret and give meaning to reimagined top down narratives (Craik 1997 and Leite and Graburn 2012: 47). Such expectations are exemplified here:

> Essex Boy 1 (tourist): Did we intend to take drugs? Sounds bad, but yes we did.
> Essex Boy 2 (tourist): Of course. That's the only reason we came over here.
>
> Ben (tourist): We knew exactly what this would be like. Everyone does. We knew what we were signing up for. [Discussing taking ecstasy and ketamine on a daily basis whilst in Ibiza]

On arrival to Ibiza such expectations are realised as the spectacular events of the island's nightlife are carefully stage-managed to provide the backdrop to hedonistic excess including an array of easily accessed illicit drugs.

Drugs, Disneyization and Spectacular Experiences

> "A mish-mash of music pumps out from various sources; there's a real festival spirit here. Promo girls in 6-inch heels and bikinis work the middle of the road for the bar across the street, with groups of men leering behind them. We move to the bar and I order four wine glasses and a €25 jug of Sangria full of fresh fruit and ice. The bar is pristine white and stands above a rocky coastline. Despite the hundreds of people here the air is warm and 'loved-up'. There's not a trace of underlying conflict. The terrace is full of 'beautiful' people dressed up, eating, drinking and flirting. Below the terrace, a terrain of rocks is littered with party-people stretching 500-yards up the coastline. Couples and groups clamber around the rocks with all manner of supermarket booze. Strangers offer wide-eyed friendly nods, smiles and words. Simon and Mike, our guides for the night, sit high on the wooden steps that descend to the beach. They overlook the throng like a couple of Ibiza gurus; they've surveyed this scene for a month. I find a spot where I can watch the sunset. The PA is kicking out Pavarotti's *Nessun Dorma* as we stand within a few feet of one another and watch a burnt orange sun sink into the ocean" (Tim Turner, field notes, Café Mambo and the rocks, 26 July 2010)

Image 10.5: Sunset from the rocks near Café Mambo (Photograph: Tim Turner)

The field note above captures some of the absorbingly immersive spectacle of San Antonio's sunset strip, a "must-do Ibiza experience" according to Stephanie (British lap-dancer, San Antonio). This in essence is an example of how Disneyized theming transforms consumer space into entertaining and memorable experiences that engage multiple senses (Shaw and Williams 2004: 119 and Smith 2014). Such urban spectacles can be defined as "spectacular public displays, including festivals and mega-events, that involve capitalist markets, sets of social relations, and flows of commodities, capital, technology, cultural forms and people across borders" (Gotham 2005: 227). Here we see the similarities between Bryman's (2004) construction of Disneyization and Pine and Gilmore's (1999) *Experience Economy*, with both concepts outlining the transformation of urban space to a site defined primarily by consumption rather than production (Urry and Larsen 2011: 53 and Zukin 1998: 825). In late modernity, consumption transcends the need for commodities, goods, and services. Instead, people increasingly want to invest time and money in highly valued experiences that will linger in the memory (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 12). Successful enterprise in the experience economy therefore relies on the effective staging of immersive, escapist events (Pine and Gilmore 1999 and Urry and Larsen 2011). The choreographed staging of such events is as relevant within the spaces of Ibiza's NTE as it is within Disneyland itself (Smith 2014: 159).
However whilst the immersive spectacles of Disneyland are constructed around wholesome family entertainment, In Ibiza they are read as temporary

spaces of transgression, with such contexts characterised by the relatively open use of illegal drugs as well as public sex and exposure of intimate body parts (Uriely, Ram and Malach-Pines 2011). The transgressive milieu of San Antonio's West End is reflected in the following excerpt from field notes:

> "I sit outside a heaving West End bar, at a rickety wooden table with benches. It's just after 1am and still warm. The narrow street is packed and chaotic. Two lads sit down on the same table, dip moistened fingers into a small pouch of white powder, rub it rapidly into exposed gums, and leave. A few minutes later, a wiry Scottish lad, about 18, nudges my shoulder and asks if I've got any pills to sell. In the West End it hardly registers". (Tim Turner, field notes, West End, 9 August 2011)

Whilst the "car crash chaos" (Alex, tourist) of San Antonio's West End is one example of spectacle, the island's superclubs were immersive on a different level. This is evident in the following field note excerpt relating to one of Ibiza's foremost venues:

> "I stand at the back of the main room to take it all in. I guess there are about 3000 people dancing. It feels cramped and hot. The visuals and volume have been ramped up and the crowd has morphed into a spectacular swaying ocean of raised hands cut by incessant red and green lasers. The decibel level is high, even from back here I feel the bass pound my chest. Sections of the room erupt as noisy, chilled jets of dry ice hit them. White lasers suddenly flood the room and a huge pure white sheet covers the crowd. Exotic female stilt-walkers stride in front of the stage spraying misty clouds of cool water into the sea of bodies before them. It's an enveloping spectacle and I push to get closer." (Tim Turner, field notes, superclub, 31 July 2012)

The seductive and immersive nature of such Disneyized spectacular events within the superclubs of Ibiza was a frequent theme within the interview data for this research. Interviewees frequently made reference to the dynamic interplay between the music, the venue, the visual spectacle, the connection between the crowd, and the psychoactive effects of dance drugs. The following excerpts highlight this:

> "The music was absolutely incredible. I've been there a lot [names the venue], but Saturday … it's not a big club, but the music, the pills, the DJs, the whole aura, the crowd. Everything was just perfect. Absolutely incredible." (Ella, ticket seller)

> "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]. Loved it, 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)

Ella and Jack describe their experiences within these immersive, memorable events in vivid, magical terms. As Shaw and Williams (2004: 13) state, tourist consumers are not passive automatons, rather there is a complex interplay between production and consumption, with tourists like Ella and Jack actively creating and contributing to spectacular experiences. The fact that both make reference to the importance of the crowd is interesting, as according to Carson (2004) collectivity and a sense of community is an integral aspect of the 'Disney experience', with success founded on consumers' ability to suspend belief and participate in the illusion. Such participation aligns the visitor with a community of like-minded Disney fans. In regard to Ibiza, as exemplified by Ella and Jack, this Disneyized collectivity is enhanced by dance drugs, which engender a sense of sociality and togetherness (Malbon 1999: 24). As other participants state here:

> "It's about the euphoria, the euphoria which is created through the music, and through everyone getting high ... It's just … [blows through lips indicating a sense of awe] ... You can't put a price on it" (Christopher, bouncer)

> "At the time, it felt ... it just felt magical. Combined with all the good times that we were having as a group. Often when I'm out, I like to wander off and have a little moment on my own, just soak it up. All the stimulus, the acoustics, the lay out, everything." (Alex, tourist)

Whilst Urry (1995) constructs the tourist gaze as the passive act of consuming predetermined places. These accounts demonstrate how nightlife tourists in Ibiza are essentially both the source and object of the tourist gaze, which has been described as an emerging feature of postmodern tourism (Coleman and Crang 2002). This is evident in promotional material for the 2016 opening party for the *Space* superclub, described as "always a spectacle *to be part of* [emphasis added]" (My Ibiza 2016). This is similarly reflected in the accounts of Ella, Jack, Alex and Christopher as they describe the combination of factors that create such memorable, spectacular experiences in the NTE. Crucially, in all three excerpts, illegal drug use features as an interwoven aspect of this collective participatory gaze. As Shaw and Williams (2004: 21) assert:

> "Tourism is *conditional on the production and consumption of a bundle of services, goods and ultimately experiences* [emphasis in original]. Some forms of tourism experiences, therefore, cannot exist unless particular combinations of services and goods are provided".

In this case, it can be argued that whilst the Disneyized spectacular events of the Ibiza NTE are legitimised commercially, their success is fundamentally reliant on the subterranean use of illegal dance drugs. It is a mutually reinforcing relationship where "consumption informs production, as much as production shapes consumption" (Shaw and Williams 2004: 13), as the following field-note highlights:

> "The club holds several thousand people at €60 each, and it's packed. Despite the numbers here, I stand at one of the bars, and it's surprisingly deserted. There's no queue to negotiate and no frustrating attempts to catch a barman's attention. I amble up and order a bottle of Budweiser, a sprite and a 200ml bottle of water. It comes to a staggering €36. No one seems too interested in alcohol here. Whatever the commercial spin, this place is for pre-drinks and then dancing on drugs" (Tim Turner, superclub, 9 June 2011).

Ben, a tourist in his 20s, corroborates this point in drawing attention to the issue of alcohol prices in the superclubs as a means of rationalising illegal drug use:

> "You spend money getting in the clubs, but drugs are cheap. We'll just buy a couple of bottles of water and save a hell of a lot of money. It's too expensive to drink here" (Ben, tourist).

This essentially represents an "*indirect* commodification of the tourism experience" (Shaw and Williams 2004: 25), or the selling of services crucial to support or enhance the tourism spectacle, in this case, the widespread and easy accessibility of ecstasy, ketamine and other illegal drugs associated with the EDM scene. As exemplified in an interview with Mike and Simon, two British tourists in their early 20s, visiting the island for almost a month:

> Tim (interviewer): How often are you offered drugs here [Ibiza]?
> Mike: About ten times a day.
> Tim (interviewer): Where does that normally happen?
> Simon: On the street … everywhere. Pills, ket, coke, weed.

Whilst official promotional narratives for these spectacular Disneyized events draw attention to such highlights as "luxurious VIP areas and [an] immense stage … complete with crazy visuals, pyrotechnics and lighting" (My Ibiza 2016) it is the dance drugs which saturate the Disneyized themed space of Ibiza that ultimately make the events in question so successful. Despite

arguments of staged authenticity and hyper-realism, such spaces within the NTE can be a "heavily involving and gratifying consumer spectacle that allows issues such as debt, relationships, work, careers, and housing to fade into the background" (Smith 2014: 45). This sense of losing oneself within the experiential spectacle was frequently alluded to within interviews, not least by Paul, a tourist in his 20s, and in my own reflections on leaving the Disneyized "tourist bubble" (Craik 1997) of Ibiza:

> "I don't know how much I've spent. I haven't checked my balance once, and I've been waving my credit card around all week. The consequences are gonna kick me in the face when I get home … financial consequences, health consequences. I mean, shit, I ain't been in bed before 08:30 for the last four days." (Paul, tourist)
> "I've had a week of freedom, where the usual money worries have temporarily been ignored. I've hardly given a thought to the minutiae of life that usually preoccupy me. Worries about an impending divorce, my children, my finances, and work – all shut in a box for seven days. I've focused only on the moment." (Tim Turner, field notes, Ibiza airport, 15 August 2011)

Conclusion

In an assertion that there is no objective 'truth' to be uncovered in relation to contemporary tourism, Ritzer and Liska (1997) allude to the complexity of this area of empirical study and warn against drawing any grand conclusions. Instead, they stress the need to develop concepts that enable us to "understand things about tourism that we might not have understood before" (Ritzer and Liska 1997: 109). This chapter set out to achieve that aim and has offered an innovative conceptualisation of illicit drug use in Ibiza on a number of levels. Firstly, the application of Bryman's (2004) concept of Disneyized theming offers a new formulation of the structural context within which tourists and other actors operate on the island. Such theming effectively creates a tourist bubble (Craik 1997: 115) or "arena of interaction" (Wearing, Stevenson and Young 2010: 5) which is temporarily stepped into. Secondly, whilst the concept of Disneyized theming has been applied to a variety of consumer and tourist landscapes before, the notion that this exerts a structural influence on *illegal* drug use is an original theorisation. The assertion of a link between Disney, a corporation that epitomises all-American, 'apple-pie' wholesomeness, and the deviant leisure of illegal drug use therefore offers

new insights and demonstrates criminological imagination (Young 2011). Finally, whilst previous research situated in Ibiza has often placed greater emphasis on structural determinants of drug use rather than agency. The ethnographic insights offered in this chapter reveal the complex interplay between structure and agency. Tourists' reimagine top-down themes of hedonism by weaving bottom-up narratives of illicit drug use into the spectacular immersive experiences staged in the Disneyized spaces of Ibiza. The agency of those involved in actively engaging in deviant leisure is explored in the following chapter, with illegal drug use shown to be intricately embroiled within postmodern patterns of consumption that convey identity and lifestyle.

Chapter 11

Disneyization, Branding and Merchandise

This chapter focuses primarily on the *agency* of tourists as postmodern consumers acting within the Disneyized tourist bubble of Ibiza. The principal aim is to show how illicit drug use on the island can be situated within changing patterns of consumption in late modernity. In an era defined by individualisation, the constructs of identity and lifestyle guide many of the choices that we make as consumers (Miles 2000; Smith 2014 and Zukin and Maguire 2004). Such choices provide cultural capital and allow postmodern consumers to distinguish themselves against others on the basis of stylistic preferences and notions of 'taste' and credibility (Bennett 1999 and Bourdieu 2010). Youth culture is therefore founded as much on expressions of boundaries and distinction, as it is on commonality. This is important as it provides a framework for understanding the multiple ways in which the young British people in this study construct hierarchies of taste around place, music, clothing, and most importantly in the context of this thesis, their use (and non-use) of alcohol and illicit drugs as expressions of identity (Room and Sato 2002).

The chapter is organised around three key sections. Firstly, the changing nature of consumption is outlined to show how investment in *lifestyle* has become a key aspect of the contemporary consumer landscape. This can be defined as the "active expression of a way of life" (Miles 2000: 16). Youthfulness is shown to be a highly valued commodity in this respect, with allusions to illicit drug use wrapped up in advertising and marketing in order to signify identity in a culture increasingly obsessed with staying young (Smith 2014). Secondly, the importance of *branding and merchandise* is outlined. This is important as it represents the second of Bryman's (2004) four pillars of Disneyization. The internationally renowned superclubs of Ibiza have created self-referential, branded merchandise that is intricately woven into the 'Ibiza experience' and which signifies identity. Analysis incorporates Bourdieu's (2010) concept of *distinction* to show how informants in this study differentiate themselves in comparison with others based on notions of credibility. Positioning oneself as a consumer affiliated to particular spaces within the

NTE is shown to be an important aspect of identity construction. The third and final section focuses on a further level of distinction made by participants. Crucially, in relation to this study, fieldwork reveals hierarchies of taste in regard to alcohol and drug use. Many participants frequently dismissed conspicuous drunkenness as vulgar, whilst certain drugs had more kudos than others. Furthermore, the physical branding of illicit drugs with symbols (particularly ecstasy) reveals that, in much the same way as alcohol, branding can signify meaning, identity and quality.

Consuming Lifestyle: Identity, Youth and Drugs

It is well established that concepts of self-identity have been transformed under conditions of late modernity. Dramatic changes within realms of urbanisation, industrialisation and consumption, have led to an increasing emphasis on the *individual*. This occurred as a consequence of a "loosening of the moorings" (Young 2004: 14) during late modernity, with reified absolutes such as family, religion, class, and nationality becoming fragile or discarded altogether. The notion of identity therefore shifted from "a fixed set of characteristics determined by birth and ascription to a reflexive, ongoing, individual project shaped by appearance and performance" (Zukin and Maguire 2004: 180). In this sense, late-modern identity is a "limitlessly malleable" construct that can be adapted to social context (Smith 2014: 164). Consequently, in addition to traditional social factors such as ethnicity, class and gender, contemporary urban populations are delineated by *lifestyle* (Giddens 1991 and Zukin 1998: 826), a concept which is aggressively marketed via an "incredible intensification of contemporary advertising techniques" (Hayward 2012b: 216) including social media, music, television, advertising, billboards, and branding (McCreanor et al. 2005: 63).

Bryman (2004: 17) cites *Coca-Cola* as an exemplar in this respect, noting how the flavour of the beverage is rarely featured in the corporation's advertising campaigns. Instead, as *Image 11.1* illustrates, the product is consistently positioned against aspirational identity and lifestyle. As Andy Warhol (1975: 100) states:

> “What's great about this country is that America started the tradition where the richest consumers buy essentially the same things as the poorest. You can be watching TV and see Coca-Cola, and you can know that the President drinks Coke. Liz Taylor drinks Coke, and just think, you can drink Coke, too.”

Some materials have been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version can be viewed in Lancester Library - Coventry University.

Image 11.1: Coca-Cola adverts in 1957 and 1993 (Coca-Cola 2016)

Such lifestyle marketing frequently alludes to notions of ‘youth’. However whilst this term generally refers to the ages of 16-25 (Valentine, Skelton and Chambers 1998: 5), it is no longer simply a reference to a linear stage of the life course. Instead it is a state of being that should be aspired to and admired. It is a fluid aspect of lifestyle, and a commodity that can be packaged for consumers eager to attain and retain the attributes of youthfulness (Miles 2000: 8 and Smith 2014: 86). Advertising essentially creates “discourses that socially and culturally construct a world” (Goldman and Papson 2000: 95), and contemporary marketing aims to erode the line between youth and adulthood by imbuing “older consumers with the tastes of the young” (Hayward 2012: 216). Themes of freedom, living for the moment, and youthful countercultural deviance therefore permeate the consumer landscape. Along with fashion and music, illicit drug use is indelibly associated with youth (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 2). It is therefore no surprise to see allusions to drugs woven through advertising and consumer products. Ferrell, Hayward and Young

(2010: 131) cite examples of how perfume brands such as *Opium* and *Poison* convey “edgy notions of the forbidden”, whilst *heroin chic* androgyny permeated 1990s advertising (see *Image 11.2*). Meanwhile, a recent North American campaign for Diet Coke went a step further with what appeared to be a direct reference to cocaine use (see *Image 11.3*). The advertisement was withdrawn after three months (Elliot 2014).

Image 11.2: The *Heroin Chic* aesthetic (Photograph: Bailey 2014)

Some materials have been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version can be viewed in Lancester Library - Coventry University.

Image 11.3: ‘You’re On’ Diet Coke campaign (Gianatasio 2014)

In deconstructing the Diet Coke ‘You’re On’ campaign, we can see references to Coca-Cola’s distant past, when cocaine was an active ingredient, as well as

allusions to the celebrity lifestyle associated with the drug. Marketing alignments are therefore made between a carbonated drink, cocaine and edgy celebrity lifestyle. The public's romanticism of the latter exemplified by British musician, Pete Docherty's elevation to 'Hero of the Year 2008' (Bychawski 2008) despite (or because of) a very public addiction to heroin and crack cocaine (Hannaford 2007).

The linking of identity to consumable products (illegal or otherwise) is therefore a formula that has been replicated across the breadth of the consumer landscape. Such symbolic consumption carries meaning within the lives of young people, and helps shape identity and status in relation to others (Smith 2014: 70). This is also highly relevant to the way in which young people consume tourism experiences. European clubbing holidays effectively combine two rite of passage activities for some British tourists, namely independent travel and drug use (Wearing, Stevenson and Young 2012). Such holidays are meticulously packaged around aspirational lifestyle as the following excerpt for a *Club 18-30* holiday, from a popular British travel agent shows:

> "Club 18-30 is what the summer is all about. Best mates. All in one place. No ties. No responsibilities. No work for a couple of weeks. Warm waters. Hot sun. Cool tunes. Great clubs. The ultimate holiday experience, for the people who need it most. 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)

Here, we again see sanitised top-down narratives of freedom and hedonism, which conceals the illegal drug use that infuses such tourism. However, it can be argued that the carefully chosen words convey many subliminal references to drug use. When the narrative is deconstructed, we see allusions to: sociality and play; music and clubs; focus on the self; freedom; breaking with tradition; leaving the map behind to take an unplanned journey of self-discovery; being in the present; immediate gratification all day and night. This type of symbolism could be defined as a form of 'murketing' that "blurs the line between branded products and experiences and everyday life" (Smith 2014: 68). Furthermore, in this brand we again see the blurring of generational lines.

Despite the *Club 18-30* brand name, such holidays are open to tourists up to the age of 35. The notions of freedom within the narrative are therefore designed to appeal to individuals keen to display their continued affiliation to youth and play. This is an important point in relation to drug use, with approximately 10% of the population aged 30-44 reporting use of an illegal drug in the previous year (Crime Survey for England and Wales 2015). Indeed, a bar worker, himself in his late-30s, drew attention to issues of age and drug use when we met on one of several occasions in San Antonio's West End:

> *"*It's definitely an older crowd over Playa d'en Bossa than the piss heads you get on the West End. It's like Ibiza Town, you've got guys who've been coming since the late eighties and they're still coming over. Definitely a more cooler, chilled out crowd. They're just doing pills and coke, rather than M-Cat and ket [laughs]" (John, bar worker)

In considering the *Club 18-30* marketing narrative, it is clear that the target audience is the 'sensation gatherers' defined by Bauman (1997: 146) as a spontaneous group of impulsive and narcissistic post-modern consumers who demand new and exciting experiences. The NTE is of course a primary provider of such consumption opportunities, with drugs and alcohol consumed there offering experiences of carnival and representing valuable signifiers of identity (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010 and Smith 2014: 61). Marketing actively promotes lifestyles that include the ostentatious consumption of alcohol, with intoxication associated with vibrant, playful aspects of identity. Those who embrace (perceived) countercultural ideology, with all the intoxicant pleasures therein (both legal and illegal) may therefore be afforded great prestige amongst peers. In the experience economy, this equates to the acquisition of carnival experiences "on which stories perpetuate and 'legends' are born" (Smith 2014: 159). As these informants succinctly state:

> "It's all we come here [Ibiza] to do. We hope to come back with good stories to tell." (Alex, tourist)
> "Well we knew we'd be leaving with some mad stories. I just didn't expect to get spiked on my first night! [laughs]" (Spiked Girl, tourist)

This can be extrapolated from the following interview excerpt with a group of six Irish females in their early 20s. We met in a beachfront café one morning, where the girls were eating breakfast after spending all night in police custody. They excitedly recounted a story of hedonistic excess, an argument over VIP

access, and their subsequent arrest after fighting with bouncers. It was clear that whilst this had undoubtedly been a traumatic event involving violence, verbal abuse, threat of sexual assault and possible legal sanction; it had already been transformed into an *experience* that would be retold again and again.

> Sunglasses: This morning we were all serious, but now we're laughing about it.
>
> Broad accent: Icing on the cake [laughs].
>
> Tim [Interviewer]: Have any of you put this on Facebook yet?
>
> Sunglasses: Not had time but we will after this [breakfast].
>
> Blue eyes: In the car, on the way home from all this [the police station] I thought about it [Facebook status]. Mine's going to be: 'Arrested and assaulted in Ibiza, very typical me.'
>
> Sunglasses: Mine's going to be: 'Welcome to fucking Ibiza, already been molested and arrested'.

In this sense, carnival experiences of hedonism within the NTE of Ibiza are neither a consequence of structural determinism nor individual pathology; rather they represent exactly the kind of exciting and novel experience demanded by Bauman's (1997: 146) sensation gathering consumers. Viewed through this lens, the Disneyized bubble of Ibiza facilitates the identity forming (perceived) counter-cultural pursuit of illegal drug taking far away from the demands of work and family. This is important, as any prestige associated with such excess is lost when it impacts on success within other realms of life (Smith 2014: 69). Engaging in illegal drug use, as a demonstration of edgy counter-cultural identity is therefore held in positive regard unless it impacts on family relationships and the 9-5 drudgery of work routine. This is evident in an exchange with a 21-year old male tourist holidaying in Ibiza to celebrate his recent completion of a health-based degree. He was nine days into his holiday and had taken ketamine and ecstasy every day:

> Tim (Interviewer): How do you rationalise your drug use here [in Ibiza] against your use back home [which was minimal in comparison]?
>
> Ben: Obviously I couldn't live like this. I think it was the fourth day, I woke up and thought, 'aaah, I probably won't be doing any more drugs this holiday', and then [my friend] said, 'we're on holiday, it's once a year, so we might as well just get on it', so I did, and I'm actually pleased I did

> because I've had a better time. Just the holiday mind, back home we'll stop.

The decision to choose Ibiza as a destination is for many tourists a deliberate planned hiatus from adult responsibilities or as *Club 18-30* phrased it, a "time to break free and break the mould. To explore, leave the map at home and find yourself". The strong Disneyized theming of Ibiza as a hedonistic playground is for many such consumers a major pull factor, as the "product and the associated experience seem to some extent guaranteed by its image" (Smith 2014: 67). As Pepe Rosello, the founder of superclub *Space*, announced on the club's 25th anniversary, "Ibiza's is a powerful brand that is felt and known throughout the world and sounds like a tuned bell, like a kiss in every language" (Space Ibiza 2014).

As access to tourism became increasingly open to the working class, a hierarchy of holiday resorts developed. Certain locations came to be seen as the embodiment of package tourism, and as such were mocked and derided as the inferior choice of the tasteless, vulgar masses (Urry and Larsen 2011: 31). As Shaw and Williams (2004: 24) suggest, "the purchase of tourism experiences also represents the purchase of lifestyle, a statement of taste, or a signifier of status" that can be embroiled into self-identity. This sentiment is clearly articulated in the interview excerpt below:

> "Places like Shagaluf [derogatory slang term for Magaluf] and Malia and places like that are just about lager louts going out to get laid and just fill their boots with cheap alcohol. Whereas here [Ibiza] for the majority it's about the music, the clubs are amazing, so it's about coming out to see the DJs." (Karen, PR Manager)

Such views are often crystallised within sensational media reporting of alcohol-fuelled debauchery, including a recent article about an 18-year-old British female filmed allegedly performing oral sex on 24 men in a Magaluf bar. The article, littered with aspersions of taste, describes how:

> "The most astonishing thing about Magaluf, or, as the locals don't call it, Shagaluf, is that anyone wants to spend more than five minutes in this Jeremy Kyle-themed barf dystopia. The food is disgusting, the noise is constant and the pavements glisten with vomit" (Long 2014).

In comparison, tourists in this study frequently described Ibiza predominantly as a place of distinction, cool and culture. This is a view that is reinforced by the Disneyized theming of the island, and the self-referential branding and merchandise linked to superclubs.

> "I said 'I don't really fancy Ayia Napa. Where do you think is the biggest party destination in the world?' And they were like, yeah fair play, let's go Ibiza" (Jack, bar worker, on persuading friends to holiday in Ibiza)

> "You get a bit more class around here like [in Ibiza], it's a different type of holiday really. It's more upmarket. I mean they're both party towns. I think Magaluf is more serious binge drinking" (Rob, tourist).

Ibiza therefore affirms aspects of identity that tourists may wish to promote as just another branded aspect of their life. The following section considers the importance of *branding and merchandising* within Ibiza itself, which in addition to *theming* represents one of the four defining characteristics of Bryman's (2004:79) definition of Disneyized space. This involves the marketing of a range of consumable goods carrying brand logos to gain value from an existing well-known image. Such branding and merchandising is important because it conveys conspicuous allegiance to identity and lifestyle, and facilitates differentiation against others (Moor 2007).

Distinction: Branding, Merchandise and Space

The interrelated concepts of identity, lifestyle and consumption discussed in the previous section can essentially be drawn together around the issue of 'taste'. In the absence of fixed facets of identity in late modernity, people became more conscious of the fluidity of self and of their own individualised role as actors in society (Bennett 1999). However, such freedom is not without cost. Without the comfort of fixed rules, "the individual is constantly at risk of getting it wrong, and anxiety attends each choice. Simply put, modernity's legacy is a mass crisis of identity" (Zukin and Maguire 2004:181). In this context, individuals differentiate themselves from others based on cultural capital including the acquisition and use of consumer goods to gain social status (Bourdieu 2010 and Zukin and Maguire 2004: 173). Stylistic preferences can therefore either signify notions of 'cool' and credibility or leave the consumer open to critical judgments about their perceived lack of taste (Bennett 1999). This concept is highly relevant to the NTE, where

cultural narcissism ensures individuals feel it necessary to display consumer competence by being seen in the 'right' clothes, in the 'right' venue, whilst listening to the 'right' music (Smith 2014: 166). Membership of cultural groups therefore comes with highly valued *insider* knowledge that is unknown to those constructed as *outsiders* (Room and Sato 2002) on the basis of consumer choices made in the NTE. Such outsiders are derided for their perceived lack of style and knowledge, a view exemplified here with interview data from San Antonio:

> "The kinds of people attracted to someone like David Guetta [superstar DJ] are the very commercial chavvy, Primarni [derisory term ironically combining the brands *Primark* and *Armani*] types. I wear Primarni myself but it's not *what* you're wearing it's *how* you wear it. I'm not being pretentious … well I guess I am. But what I'm trying to say is, these people haven't got a fucking clue about the music". (Christopher, Bouncer)

> "You'll get people without any sort of preference in music and when I mention 'Tiesto' [superstar DJ], they'll say 'oh I've never heard of that club', and you kinda laugh at them." (Ella, ticket seller)

In Christopher and Ella's comments here, we see allusions to insider knowledge and authenticity, one of the most valuable judgments about popular music, and intricately related to credibility as a consumer within the NTE (Thornton 1995: 26). Whilst Bourdieu (2010: 10) asserts that "nothing more clearly affirms one's 'class', nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music", tourists in Ibiza differentiated themselves on numerous other levels and in ever-decreasing circles, including: choosing Ibiza as opposed to alternative destinations; clothing; spaces to be seen in on the island; type of alcohol consumed; behaviour related to alcohol consumption; and use and non-use of illicit drugs. The focus here is on the way in which such differentiation is related to an economy of signs – powerful corporate branding and symbolisation that conveys identity and lifestyle (McCreanor *et al*. 2005). This incorporates effective brand merchandising, an area initially championed by Disney, with the fundamental aim of extracting further income from an image that people are already attracted to. For consumers however, merchandise may offer a tangible reminder of intangible experiences (Bryman 2004). Furthermore, merchandise affords the conspicuous display of brand affiliation, thereby aligning the consumer to a particular lifestyle and identity

(McCreanor *et al.* 2005: 251). As such, logos can be viewed as “collective hallucinations liberated from the real world burden of stores” (Urry and Larsen 2011: 28), where “product hyper-reality” elevates the importance of a branded image over and above its material existence or actual consumption (McCreanor et al. 2005: 255).

Superclub brands are important in this respect, as the spaces defined by drinking and drug taking in Ibiza allow tourists to “play out fantasmic identity work” (Smith 2014: 165) where the usual parameters of life fade into the backdrop. In spaces such as this they are able to project identity and social competence by affiliation to particular clubs. Such organisations engage in what Beardsworth and Bryman (2001) term *reflexive theming,* where the line between theme and the brand is essentially blurred and indecipherable in a self-referential manner. As Schmitt and Simonson (1997) state such corporate logos can incorporate the content, meaning, and image of an identity. The *Ministry of Sound* and *Cream* are exemplars of such club brands exploiting their logo as the basis for a variety of merchandising. The club itself is almost incidental to the merchandising income around it (Bryman 2004). This of course has relevance to Ibiza, as the island’s superclubs are highly effective in exploiting brand affiliation, with consumers eager to conspicuously display club symbolism as an indicator of identity and lifestyle. Indeed, this begins at Ibiza airport, with the CLUBIBIZA shop there providing “a one-stop shop where holidaymakers can purchase clothing collections and accessories in surroundings created to represent the look and feel of Ibiza lifestyle” (Chapman 2014). This essentially merges all four pillars of Disneyization in one small consumer space: *theming*, *hybrid consumption*, *performative labour* (of retail staff) and the promotion of *branded merchandise* associated with the ‘Ibiza lifestyle’.

Image 11.4: Club merchandise at Ibiza Airport (Chapman 2014)

Indeed, such branded club goods are found throughout the island's consumer landscape, with club shops found in various tourist locations and within the clubs themselves.

Image 11.5: Pacha shop, San Antonio (Photograph: Tim Turner)

In the excerpt below, Alex encapsulates the attraction of club branded goods and mementos. An articulate and thoughtful informant, Alex worked in a professional role and had visited Ibiza numerous times in the past. He was on holiday with his partner and both were using ecstasy on a daily basis in Ibiza but were highly selective about the clubs they would attend:

> "I've got a wall back at home, every night I've been out here, I've always taken a flyer. We've got one big corkboard, a huge picture frame and like

> a half wall dedicated to Ibiza. We can pick out things like ‘do you remember this moment? Do you remember that moment when we were there?’ And we always draw back on that. Absolutely, like little momentos and things like that.” (Alex, tourist)

Such memorabilia is therefore important for the memories conveyed, with flyers and fragments of ticket stubs acting as mementos for cherished experiences (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 57). As Alex states above, whilst such objects are means of generating conversation, they are also a means of creating envy. Hence, the frequent tendency to wear festival and club wristbands for weeks after the event has passed. Memorabilia in this sense, is a means of socialising the experience (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 57)

Image 11.6: Wristbands as memorabilia, San Antonio (Photograph: Tim Turner)

Club logos, like others in the semiotic consumer landscape, act as key signifiers of identity. Pine and Gilmore (1999: 18) draw attention to *Harley-Davidson* as an exemplar of a brand that is enshrined with meaning, after all, they say, “how many other company logos do you find tattooed on users’ bodies?" One can only assume, from this rhetorical question, that the authors have never been to Ibiza, where tattooed club logos are a common sight as British tourists take superclub branding to a literal level (see *Image 11.7*). The

extent of this was revealed in an interview with a tattoo artist based in San Antonio:

> Tim (interviewer): How many club logos do you tattoo a day?
>
> Tattoo Artist: Oh fuck … loads … I don't even have to look at a picture of the *Pacha* cherries, I do about seven a day, about the same for *Space*. *Cream* and *DC10* are popular as well. It's either that or they want *Ibiza 2012*, or an outline of the island.

Image 11.7: Branded with branding, *Space* tattoo in San Antonio. (Photograph: Tim Turner)

Such affiliation to club brands is also reflected within interview data. Tourists who had displayed insider knowledge of which clubs to go to were highly dismissive of tourists who only frequented San Antonio's West End. This space was seen as particularly vulgar, with tourists there deemed to have little understanding of the 'authentic' Ibiza.

> "The large majority of people there [in West End] are uneducated about what this place is about." (Alex, tourist)
>
> "It's better than when you go somewhere like Eden [club in San Antonio]. We don't go to Eden. When you see that it's only €30 to get in [disparagingly, like it's cheap] and then you've got Pacha which is 70€ or €80 to get in, it tells you how good it's going to be." (Rob, tourist)

> “Them two clubs there [in San Antonio] I wouldn’t even bother paying to get into them, they’re just shit. If you want a club you go to a proper club” (Manchester male, tourist)

> “I'll still come out to the West End for a laugh one or two nights. Just for some cheap drinks, people watch and laugh at people”. (John, bar worker)

> “I'd say 99% come to Ibiza and only go to the West End, and maybe go to Es Paradis and Eden, and go 'yeah, we went to fucking Ibiza'. Yeah whatever, you haven't got a fucking clue what you're talking about.” (Christopher, bouncer)

Brand affiliation to certain superclubs in Ibiza therefore acts as an important signifier of identity, with those who frequent spaces like the West End judged to be without taste or credibility. However, the differentiation does not cease there as the ubiquitous VIP areas of clubs enabled tourists to temporarily step out of the boundaries of class (Harrison 2003) as they buy into a pervasive culture of celebrity (Cashmore 2014 and Furedi 2010). This has emerged from powerful marketing forces that parade ostentatious lifestyle and wealth as an aspirational goal, exemplified by two male tourists interviewed in a San Antonio hotel complex.

> Harry: Ibiza is the place where the wealthy go, the superclubs, Amnesia, Pacha, Privilege. They’d never bother going to Malia or somewhere like that. That’s for really young people.
>
> Tim (interviewer): And where do you fit in?
>
> Fran: 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.

Individuals like Fran and Harry are encouraged to “purchase and discard akin to the wealthy elite and celebrities that dominate consumer culture” (Smith 2014: 90), as the conspicuous consumption of professional footballers, actors and musicians percolates down through aspirational youth culture. Meanwhile, those “at the bottom” could be defined as a ‘new petite bourgeoisie’. Whilst they seek to affirm social differentiation by placing emphasis on taste, they lack the economic capital for full participation (Harrison 2003 and Shaw and Williams 2004: 177). Consequently, they are:

> “Destined for failure in their quest to emulate the apparent satisfaction of those on their gilded pedestal, and instead [are] condemned to return again and again in the hope that this time their satisfactions will be realised.” (Smith 2014: 46).

Marketing on the island does of course indulge such aspiration and provides frequent opportunities to play out the “fantasies of identity” associated with dance and the NTE (Thornton 1995: 91) to experience a kind of faux-celebrity-VIP moment. For a price, anyone can ensure they are seen accessing the ‘right’ VIP entrance or drinking in the conspicuously roped off VIP sections within clubs and bars. As these tourists indicate:

> “Money wouldn't stop me. If I want to go, it doesn't matter, as long as the people are there, you just wanna get seen and have a good time.” (Zac, tourist)

> “We’re gonna get dressed up and go VIP next week. Got to be done! Even if I stick it on my credit card” (Bianca, tourist)

Such areas frequently have no discernible advantage other than enabling one to be *seen* behind the all-important velvet rope – paradoxically the antithesis to genuine VIP culture, which strives to avoid public gaze.

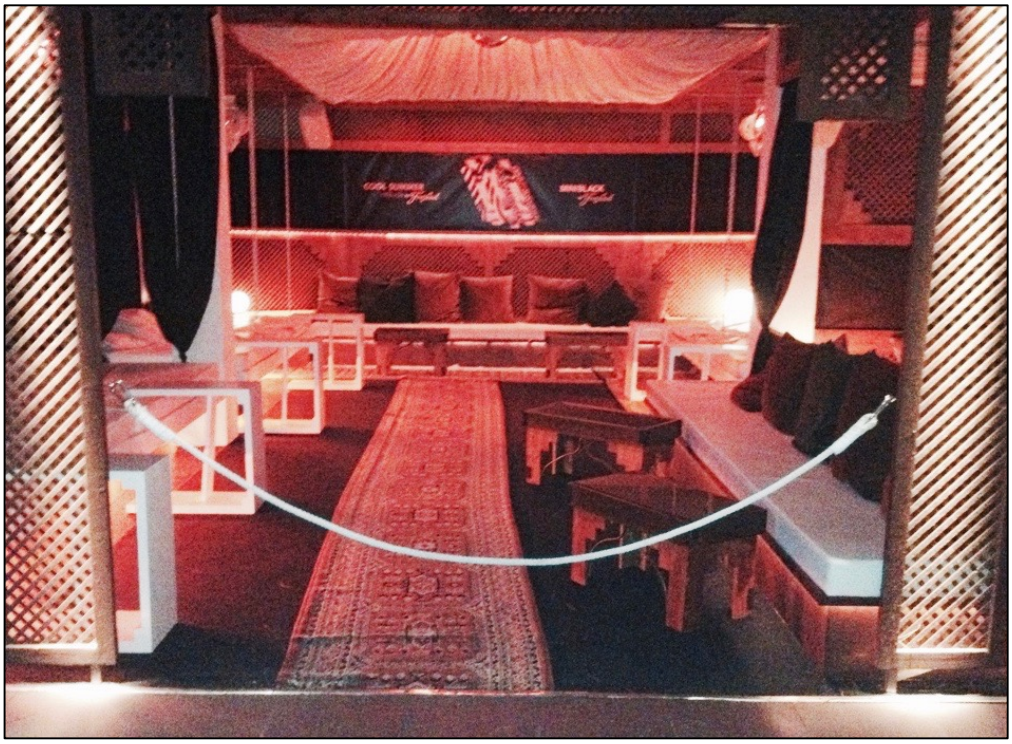

Image 11.8: The ‘VIP experience’, San Antonio (Photograph: Tim Turner)

Image 11.9: Conspicuous VIP entrance, Space. (Photograph: Tim Turner)

This is vividly described in the following field note excerpt, and in marketing material from Ushuaia beach club.

> "We decide to take a look at the VIP area, It's up a few steps off the main bar area. A moody bouncer stands at the bottom with the obligatory velvet VIP rope pulled across as a symbolic barrier. He checks our wrists with a cursory glance and we step into the hallowed yet underwhelming area. It's basically a pretty small room at the back of the DJ booth. It's opened out, to ensure that the crowd below can *see* you in there. It seems that whilst real VIPs want to avert public attention, the faux-VIP experience needs to be on display. It requires an audience. A few tables and chairs are littered around the room, and a bar sits in the corner. There are only about thirty people here and they're sat idly chatting. I wonder if they're trying to look deliberately VIP-bored. It's like they're sitting in their local, oblivious to the heat and the noise and the people below, who appear to be having a much better time jumping, writhing and throwing their hands up towards us. I cram up to the DJ booth, there's a thigh-high gate between me and Judge Jules and I watch him from an

> arm's length away. I look at the dance floor from his point of view. Green strobes are sliced by heads and outstretched arms. Occasionally the whole place is lit up in white light and a thousand laughing faces are revealed. Smart phones are held above the perspex screen guard around the DJ booth as they strive to get all-important proximity. A wired looking kid stretches an iPhone out to me, he wants a killer shot that his mates won't have, and he'll risk passing a £400 phone to a stranger to get it, but I can't reach. We leave after about ten-minutes. It really is nothing special. A few days later I meet a tourist who pays €300 to get in there, on his own without his mates. Clearly it's all about the story rather than the experience." (Tim Turner, field notes, VIP at *Judgement Sunday*, 6 June 2011)
>
> "You'll never take it off. You're on holiday in the trendiest hotel in Ibiza, and you want to look your best when you go out, whether you're on the beach or clubbing. You don't want to waste time on queues either. You just want to shop like a star and indulge your every whim. You'll have all this and much more in a single bracelet. Well, it's not just a bracelet, it's the new Smart VIB and it comes full of advantages, not to mention social presence, so you can stay connected to your social networks all the time. Everyone will envy you. *We've got a smart VIB with your name on it. New smart VIB. Be more VIP." (Ushuaia Beach Hotel 2014)*

This aspiration for temporary attainment of celebrity lifestyle is evident throughout the NTE of the island, and is wrapped up within the branding of clubs and merchandising which consumers can buy into. The best literal exemplar of this is perhaps the '*F*** Me I'm Famous'* brand (see *Image 11.10* and *Image 11.11*).

Image 11.10: 'F* Me I'm Famous' beach parade (Photograph: Tim Turner)**

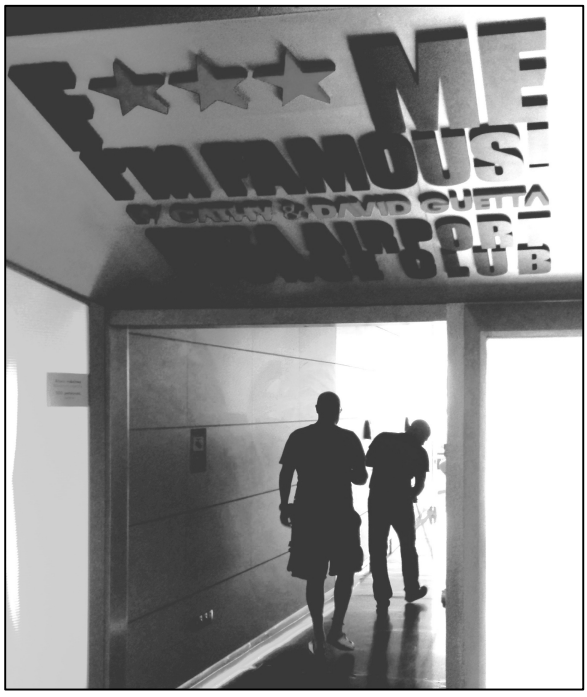

Image 11.11: 'F* Me I'm Famous' bar at Ibiza Airport (Photograph: Tim Turner)**

The *Ocean Beach* venue is a further example of such celebrity-VIP aspirational marketing. Described as "encapsulating the ultimate beach club, Ocean Beach Ibiza is dedicated to creating a unique and lavish lifestyle

experience" (Ocean Beach 2016) incorporating "VIP beds" for a minimum spend of €1500. The venue is captured in the interview data below, as well as my own field notes.

> "They're just trying to get people to experience a VIP lifestyle for the day. It's quite expensive, €220 for a bottle of Grey Goose [vodka]. I went on the opening day. Load of celebrities there. Half the England [football] squad were there and some Eastenders people as well, it was really good." (Jack, bar worker)

> "The clientele and staff are mostly hard bodied, tanned and 'beautiful'. Although we notice several groups of lads that we've seen battered in the West End on several occasions this week. As Brina [gatekeeper] notes 'they get all the wannabes in here'. He's right; this is all about aspiration, a brief slice of celebrity. We take a seat on a large, circular white sun-lounger with matching canopy [see *Image 11.12*]. A waiter quickly informs us that it's a €300 minimum spend to sit there, and we shuffle apologetically to some free chairs. A flyer for 'Mark Wright's Official Summer Pool Party' [British reality television celebrity, see Image *11.13*] sits next to a menu that says it all [see *Image 11.15*]: €220 for a 75cl bottle of Jack Daniels, €360 for a bottle of vodka. And there's champagne for a mind-blowing €48,000. I order a €15 gin and tonic and feel like a cheapskate. It arrives with sliced lemon, the peel meticulously stamped with the *Ocean Beach* logo" (Tim Turner, field notes, Ocean Beach, 27 July 2012).

Image 11.12: €300 VIP sun lounger, Ocean Beach (Photograph: Tim Turner)

Image 11.13: Flyer for 'Mark Wright's Official Pool Party', Ocean Beach (Photograph: Tim Turner)

Tourists within this study have therefore been shown to differentiate themselves from others in terms of multiple aspects of space including overall resort (e.g. Ibiza compared to Magaluf) and spaces within Ibiza itself including choice of venue for drinking and / or drug taking (club compared to West End / club compared against club / VIP compared to non-VIP). Knowledge of EDM and an apparent appreciation of Ibiza's cultural heritage were also highly valued. In the final section, the use (and non-use) of alcohol and illicit drugs is also shown to be a key signifier of identity in the NTE, both in general terms and specifically in Ibiza.

Drinking the 'Right' Drink and Taking the 'Right' Drug

Just as the NTE itself is strongly associated with the conveyance of postmodern lifestyles (Ulldemolins 2014: 3030) alcohol branding is also an important signifier of identity. The bar industry is highly adept at positioning drinks as purveyors of success and distinction (Smith 2014: 63 and Measham and Brain 2005). As such, alcohol consumption is far from inconspicuous, with heavily branded bottles and glasses enabling the consumer to align themselves with certain social groups, and differentiate themselves from others. The marketing of alcohol in this way can be viewed as part of the

creative revolution of the early 1960s and the emergence of the socially constructed ‘hip’ consumer. Here, for the first time, a subcultural notion of ‘cool’ was integrated into the heart of capitalism (Thornton 1995 and Zukin and Maguire 2004:180). Consequently, the alcoholic drink that one chooses to imbibe provides the consumer with a chance to display cultural relevance via “symbolically loaded” products (Smith 2014: 93). Take, for example, this photograph of a beer glass in a British bar (see *Image 11.14*), symbolically inscribed with a quote from ‘gonzo’ journalist, Hunter S. Thompson, perhaps the epitome of countercultural hip ‘cool’:

Image 11.14: Commodification of counterculture, Birmingham, UK. (Photograph: Tim Turner)

The fieldwork revealed that such identity forming distinction regarding the use (and non-use) of alcohol and drugs is complex. For example, branded alcohol in Ibiza certainly adds to the conveyance of the celebrity-type lifestyle marketed by some venues. This is evident with a cursory glance at a photograph of the drinks menu taken during a visit to *Ocean Beach* in Ibiza featuring the aforementioned €48000 bottle of Champagne and a €1200 bottle of vodka:

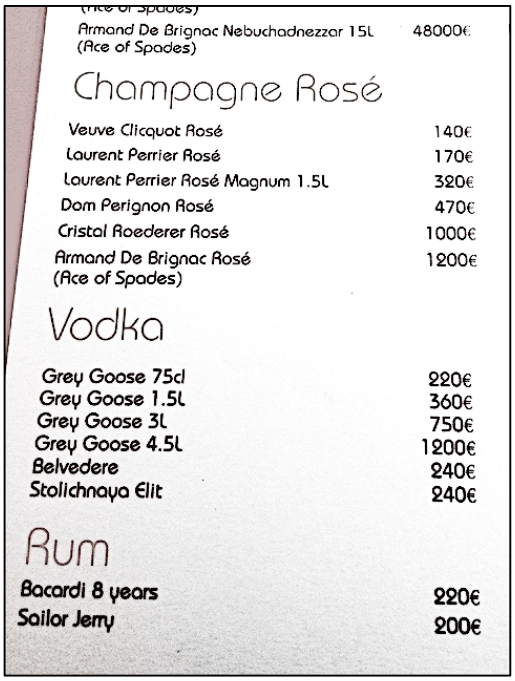

Image 11.15: Lifestyle by drinks menu (Photograph: Tim Turner)

In this context, alcohol consumption is marketed as an *experience* in itself and is rooted in consumer signification. Individuals purchasing a small bottle of Grey Goose vodka for €220 (retailing for approximately £35 in a British supermarket) must:

> "*Believe* they are purchasing the experience of exclusivity and indulgent, rarefied hedonism while being surrounded by a group of like-minded, informed and critical consumers, all of whom reaffirm each other's belief that they are consuming tastefully and that the highly priced drinks are somehow 'worth it'" (Smith 2014: 5).

Indeed, in Ibiza, the same principle applies to water sold in clubs. It's difficult to imagine any other place where €12 for a 200ml bottle of water would be judged to be reasonable value, as these interview excerpts demonstrate:

> Quiet One (tourist): It's like €10 for a bottle of water, or €12 in some places.
>
> Rob (tourist): Pacha is €10. I think it's alright.
>
> Sara (tourist): We paid fucking *ten quid* for a tiny bottle of water last night! Like not even a 330ml bottle!
>
> Damian (tourist): Yeah but it's fair enough. They gotta make money somehow. Everyone's doing pills, so no one's buying booze.

However, perceptions about alcohol use in Ibiza are not straightforward. Drinking the ‘right’ brand, in the ‘right’ setting, amongst the ‘right’ people, can conspicuously convey aspects of identity and lifestyle. However, paradoxically for many of the interviewees, illegal drug use was perceived as a more positive identity marker than alcohol use, particularly when the latter was used in isolation for purposeful drunkenness. Such tourists were frequently viewed with disdain in comparison to those using illegal drugs. This is exemplified in the following excerpts from a range of interviewees, all of whom identified themselves as regular drug users in Ibiza:

> “We can't stand all the proper drunk people just getting hammered. We're staying at the top of the West End at the moment, and we just walk the other way around.” (Rob, tourist)

> “I hate people here this year. I don't know if it's because I'm sober half the time, but people over here this year are just thick pissheads. Very, very thick, and very, very dull.” (Jack, bar worker)

> “You’ve got tourists who’ve obviously come here as a package holiday and they just want to come and stay around the West End, 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. Like you’ll get a lot of stag dos and hen dos, they just wanna be lager-lout-Brits-abroad basically.” (Karen, PR Manager)

> “I think if anything the West End is more drink fuelled, there’s so much anger. When you’re at the clubs, people are just on bottles of water and pills and they’re dancing. It’s a hell of a lot nicer atmosphere.” (Ben, tourist)

> “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 [drunk British tourists] are not being all chavvy, 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)

Whilst Smith (2014: 82) illustrates how extolling the virtues of one alcoholic drink over another provides the drinker with a certain distinction over their peers, crucially here, *this is no less true for illegal drugs*. LSD and ecstasy pills, in particular, are often literally branded goods. A visual symbol is often embossed into the ecstasy tablet to provide a branded name for the pill, with different colours and shapes also used to distinguish them. The naming of drugs has rarely been considered within academic texts, even though illicit

drugs are essentially subject to the same dynamics of consumption culture (Fitzgerald 2002: 201). Thus much like the superclub logos, the stamped symbols on drugs can exemplify cultural signs that express brand characteristics. Some ecstasy pills recently recovered at Manchester's *Parklife* festival for example, were stamped with the logos of 'luxury goods' such as *Louis Vuitton*, *Rolls-Royce*, and *Rolex* (Pidd 2016). The branding of ecstasy is an important consideration for tourists, as symbolisation may convey the type of experience to be expected, and the strength and chemical composition of the pill. This information is then shared on web-based user forums such as *Pill Reports.* This was revealed in fieldwork, in relation to a particular brand of ecstasy named *Gold Leaf*:

> "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 coloured pills stamped with a leaf] (Matt, tourist).

Image 11.16: Gold Leaf ecstasy (Pill Reports 2011)

For some tourists, branding was a key indicator of quality and was essential as to whether or not they would use the drug, as shown here:

> "I only wanted *Yellow Smilies* [type of ecstasy pill]. I knew, 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 *Smilies* then I don't want anything" (Alex, tourist).

Furthermore, the branding also enabled tourists to convey identity based on their ability to consume large quantities of the drug in question, as shown here:

> Ben (tourist): We got hold of some *Gold Leaf* [pills]. We'd heard they were really strong. I took at least five.

Tim (interviewer): You took five *Gold Leaf*?

Ben (tourist): I took them mostly in halves. I took one full one. I took one half then a full one, then just halves. Amazing.

Different branded drugs can therefore convey symbolic meaning and be an important signifier of identity. Furthermore, distinctions were made between different types of drug. Tourists and seasonal workers therefore defined themselves "in terms of which drugs and modes of administration they will experiment with and which they will not" (Room and Sato 2002: 9). Although, as the following interviewee demonstrates, such decisions were often revealed to be fluid:

"I tell you what, it's funny this, I said I'd never touch ketamine, and this morning my mate that I chat to on the balcony says 'do you want a line of ketamine?' and I said 'no, I don't touch that' … but, but, but … I tried it … a really long line of it … and I thought, ah this aint doing anything … so I did another long line of it and next thing I know I was in a K-hole [paralysed disorientated state] … I couldn't get out of it ... everything was slow motion … all my movements were in slow motion, I was feeling things that weren't there in midair [gestures with his hands]… yeah, it's not a nice experience, I'm not gonna do it again" (George, tourist)

Whilst both ecstasy and cocaine were widely described in positive terms and tolerated with ambivalence by non-drug users, attitudes to ketamine varied considerably. As with research conducted by Moore and Measham (2008) tourists and casual workers in this study were keen to identify themselves as 'sensible' users of the drug. This was juxtaposed against use that was deemed to be uncontrolled or anti-social (Moore and Measham 2008: 231).

"Ket's fine if you just do a bump [small quantity often snorted from a key] here and there, y'know just to keep you going. You've just gotta be careful though, if you take too much you're fucked. Last year you'd just see ket heads crawling around all over the place. Horrible." (Ben, tourist)
"Some kids come over here [to work] with a load of money in their pockets. They can't hack it and end up leaving a few weeks later with four grand debt and a ketamine habit." (Chris, bar worker)
"Workers are taking *a lot* of ketamine, because they're always skint and because they actually quite like it. I can't fucking can't stand it. I'll have a little bump now and again, like a key, just to get me through the night, fine" (Christopher, Bouncer)

Other informants were altogether dismissive of ketamine, and constructed it as 'dirty'. This is evident in the following excerpts:

> “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. [The next day] he said ‘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)

> “There’s definitely more coke and pills taken over Playa d’en Bossa instead of ketamine, that’s just a dirty drug” (Kelly, tourist)
> “M-Cat and ket are dirt. The people taking coke have got a bit more class and money.” (Karen, PR Manager)

> “Everyone loves ketamine. People will just walk up and ask me if I’ve got any. I say why are you doing that shit, stick to pills. It’s stupid. I tell everyone they’re stupid.” (Chris, bar worker)

These excerpts reveal the nuanced ways in which nightlife tourists differentiate themselves against others. Whilst the pleasures of togetherness and the connection of the crowd is a factor often cited by clubbers (Bunton and Coveney 2011: 17), it is evident that there are complex hierarchies operating within the NTE spaces of Ibiza. Furthermore, the branding, type and way in which illicit drugs are used there is strongly linked to identity. As Thornton (1995: 3) states, club cultures are “taste cultures … [and] are riddled with cultural hierarchies”.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to demonstrate how changing patterns of late modern consumption can be mapped onto the Disneyized space of Ibiza. Whilst the structural aspects outlined in Chapter 10 create the stage on which individuals act, previous research in this area has arguably placed too great an emphasis on structural determinants and negated the importance of agency. This is an important oversight as “structures and cultures affect young people’s lives in tandem” (Miles 2000: 9), and those involved have been represented as passive automatons compelled into nihilistic intoxication by hyper-aggressive marketing strategies on the island (Briggs and Tutenges 2014). This chapter challenges this view and constructs drug use in Ibiza as a complex interplay between Disneyized social structure and the agency of tourists. In this sense, the tourist is “less duped than aware, less desperately needing identity than using tourism in the negotiation of identity” (Crouch 2009: 88). As postmodern

sensation seekers (Bourdieu 2010) they *choose* the 'Ibiza lifestyle'. This is deeply embroiled in marketing representations of youthfulness, freedom and "edgy notions of the forbidden" (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2010: 31) that tourists consume and play out within an economy of signs in the Disneyized tourist bubble. Many of the informants in this research described the use of illegal drugs in Ibiza as a means of conveying identity in much the same way as any other consumer product. Through this lens, we can see that British tourists, rather than passive victims of aggressive marketing, step willingly into a hedonistic Disneyized arena to temporarily submerge themselves in a range of experiences that convey facets of identity and lifestyle in an increasingly uncertain world.

Chapter 12

Disneyization and Hybrid Consumption

> "It's 6am and the West End dive bars are closing up after another chaotic night. I leave with Nick, an easy-going barman who deals pills on the side. It's a strange, in-between time of day. A few tourists lurch by, as street cleaners busily wash away the debris of last night. We decide to get some breakfast at a local hang out for workers. After a short walk we arrive at a small café on a quiet side street, serving up full English breakfasts and booze. There's a lively mixed group of about 25 young, British workers buzzing in and out of the open fronted café in the early morning sun. Nick knows them all and takes the time to introduce me. Most stop to chat and the conversation is almost exclusively about drugs. In between interruptions, Nick regales me with tales of three Ibiza summers. As we chat idly over mugs of tea and bacon sandwiches, he takes a plastic pouch of ketamine from his wallet and dips a key into it. He offers it to me, shrugs when I decline, and then openly snorts the white powder cleanly from the key. 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).

This field note demonstrates how illegal drugs are seamlessly interwoven into bounded spaces in Ibiza. This can be framed as a form of *hybrid consumption*, a third pillar of Disneyization, defined as the merging of different forms of consumption within one space, so that established distinctions are almost completely eroded (Bryman 2004: 57). Whilst exemplified in Disney parks, hybrid consumption has been replicated across many contexts, with different forms of consumption interwoven to enhance consumer experience. Thus, contemporary shopping malls integrate world-cuisine food halls; international airports combine duty free shopping outlets with fast food restaurants and chain pubs; and entire resorts such as Las Vegas merge super-casinos with themed hotels that have become tourist attractions in themselves. Whereas Bryman (2004) focuses exclusively on the legal consumer landscape, this research reveals that the concept of hybrid consumption within Ibiza has been subverted, with the line between *illegal* drugs and *legal* forms of consumption blurred to the point of collapse *within bounded spaces and situations*.

Drugs in Liminal Travel Spaces

International Airports

One way in which we can understand how bounded spaces are experienced is through the construct of *liminality*, defined as a state where conventional ties are suspended in a social and spatial separation from home life (Urry and Larsen 2011: 12). Such spaces are "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between", out of time and out of place (Turner 1997: 95). Whilst contemporary international airports are of course subject to stringent forms of control and security, especially in the post-9/11 era (Sweet 2004), they nevertheless share a similarity with hotels and holiday resorts as examples of *liminal travel spaces* (Pritchard and Morgan 2006: 762). Much like the cities that they serve, airports are transitional sites characterised by the performance of departure, arrival and mobility. In this sense, airports represent intriguing and ambiguous spaces within the tourist experience. They are both place and non-place, with travellers moving through them "both in, and separate from, their geographic location" (Shaw and Williams 2004: 85). In such spaces, social conventions may be subverted as tourists seek the adventures of "incidental engagements, which puncture the otherwise mundane predictability of everyday life." (Pritchard and Morgan 2006: 762). The airport can therefore be seen as a space of both hybrid consumption and liminality. Travellers are essentially captive consumers bombarded by advertisements evoking dreams of travel, as they are corralled through the hyper-commerciality of duty-free shopping malls (Bryman 2004: 72 and Wearing, Stevenson and Young 2010: 86) alongside chain pubs, wine bars and cocktail lounges more usually associated with spaces of the urban NTE.

These liminal travel spaces help tourists create a spatial separation from the routines of home and work, as they step into a "temporary sphere" of behaviour (Shaw and Williams 2004: 151), replacing conventional structure and order with "playfulness, chance and the possibilities of subversion" (Carlson 1996: 24). This is captured in field note excerpts relating to two separate occasions awaiting a flight to Ibiza:

Indeed, allusions to the binge consumption of alcohol in both the airport and on the flight itself were a common feature of interviews conducted during fieldwork. This essentially seemed to be symbolic of the social and spatial separation from routine (Turner 1997), and a (legal) prelude to the (illegal) excesses of the holiday ahead, as these interview excerpts demonstrate:

> "We only got here at 2am last night. We had to carry him off the plane cos he was so drunk [pointing at friend, who has taken ecstasy and is laughing whilst digging at the sand with his hands]. We had to put him to bed, and then me and my other mate went out" (George, tourist).

> "There were some lads on the plane who were really drunk. They kept falling over and stuff. They got told off by the aircrew" (Pacha Shirt, female tourist)

> "We thought we'd have a few drinks [in the airport] so we drank Stella for three and a half hours and we got on the plane and people were serving drinks, so Simon decided 'why not start the holiday as we mean to go on', and ordered a couple of bottles of champagne." (Mike, tourist)
> "I was already slaughtered at the airport" (Jed, tourist)

The liminal travel spaces of international airport transit lounges are an interesting spatial context for this study. The departures airport is a place of ambiguity. They are a space of both freedom and control, where tourists begin to peel away the parameters of home life within a context that paradoxically epitomises hyper-securitisation, control and surveillance. Whilst the latter does of course limit opportunities for illegal drug use, for some interviewees this did not necessarily preclude it altogether:

> "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)

Passing through the last stage of airport security can therefore be construed as a final metaphorical hurdle for tourists to negotiate before leaving the confines of social life at home. Meanwhile, their counterparts in Ibiza await flights back to the UK and symbolic reintegration into the mundane patterns of work. This was succinctly illustrated in an exchange with Dominika, a member of the cabin crew on a flight from UK to Ibiza:

Tim (interviewer): Do you always work on the Ibiza route?
Dominika (cabin crew): No, but this is my favourite as the flight is always fun [smiles].

Tim (interviewer): What's so fun about it?

Dominika (cabin crew): Everyone is happy and wants to party. Coming back they're all different, like this [makes a sad face]. Everyone is tired and fed up about going home.

The 'Ibiza experience' is therefore bookended by the liminal transit spaces of international airports. They are both points of separation and reintegration; "the 'pause' before tourists move on to the next stopping-point along the extraordinary routeways of liquid modernity" (Urry and Larsen 2011: 29). The hotel context represents another significant 'stopping-point' for further exploration of drug use within liminal travel space.

Hotels

On arrival at Ibiza airport, tourists make their way to a myriad of hotels within Ibiza's main resort areas. San Antonio, situated on the island's west coast, is particularly popular amongst young, British tourists. Here, hotels too represent liminal travel spaces evoking transitory realms of fantasy and freedom. The public, private and in-between spaces of hotels yield opportunities for brief moments of transgression and adventure, far from the mundane routines of work and home (Preston-Whyte 2004 and Pritchard and Morgan 2006: 765). When applied to Ibiza, we can see how processes of hybrid consumption seamlessly interweave subterranean illicit drug use into various liminal hotel spaces. Drugs are 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. This is exemplified within both interview and field note excerpts:

"The only thing I took was a pill and a bit of M-Cat, just to try it, 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 little 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)

> “Never really bother now [with drugs]. I just stick to booze. I’ve been offered them about forty times though. 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 pretty clean living at home, goes down the gym and all that. He took three pills yesterday afternoon, just sat by the pool.” (Rob, tourist)

> “Standing neck deep in the hotel pool to cool off, I watch the various groups chatting and messing about. Unrelenting house music, as ever, sets the backdrop. A male tourist dives in the opposite end of the pool. He swims towards me and we end up chatting for a few minutes as we stand in the water soaking up the sun. He tells me that he’s flying home in the early hours, and asks if I want to buy five surplus ‘rock stars’ [ecstasy brand] from him at €5 each. A few minutes later I hear him ask a group of three sunbathing girls the same question.” (Tim Turner, field notes, 19 July 2011)

These excerpts illustrate how the process of hybrid consumption essentially differentially normalises illegal drugs (offering, selling and consuming) within the liminal space of certain Ibiza hotels. This occurs between relative strangers in private, public, and semi-public spaces where chance encounters range from the mundane to the extraordinary (Pritchard and Morgan 2006: 769). These liminal travel spaces therefore enable tourists to create a psychological and spatial separation from the routines of life in the UK, and step into a temporal bubble of behaviour where conventional structure is subverted (Shaw and Williams 2004: 151). In this liminal context the differential normalisation of illicit drugs amongst tourists symbolises “the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions, or from both” (Turner 1997: 94). This disconnection from the socio-cultural milieu of home life forms the focus of the next section, as this is implicated in major changes to patterns of drug use amongst tourists.

Disorientation and Disconnection

> “It’s so different from home. None of us want to leave” (Sarah, tourist)

Tourists in Ibiza frequently alluded to feelings of disconnection, a sense of being elsewhere. This seemed to emerge from a powerful intermixture of psychological and physical separation from ‘real’ life at home, as the summer

becomes “an extended vacation in an alternate reality” (Collin 1998: 51) set within playful liminal travel spaces (Lett 1983). This sense of separation from normal life is amplified by the wide use of illicit club drugs in the differentially normalised bounded spaces of the island. This is exemplified in two interview excerpts below:

> “People at home, have got to go home. They might be living at home with parents. I mean that used to be a problem for me, if I wanted to do pills, I used to be worried about going home, and thinking ‘shit, I've got Mum and Dad to worry about’. People act differently when they're on holiday; they're like different people. I also think because it’s so hugely accepted here, because they think it’s so easy to get away with it, actually at home it's not as easy. Because the law is tighter and people are more worried about it.” (Alex, tourist)

> “How’s it different to back home? Obviously because of the drugs and stuff like that. It’s just so easy to get them and it’s accepted here as well. It’s the culture over here; know what I mean? It’s totally different to home in that respect” (Ben, tourist).

This sense of otherworldliness is intensified in certain spaces of Ibiza. Bora Bora beach, the cavernous arena of the superclub, and San Antonio’s West End can be defined as liminal, hyper-real ‘fantasyscapes’, exuding a “vivid intensity and reality that far exceeds what might otherwise typically be thought of as being ‘real’” (Smith 2014: 159). Disney exemplifies this by submerging guests in a “magical alternate reality” (Braverman 2000: 104) where the boundaries of the real and the unreal become so blurred that guests even question the authenticity of the rainfall. According to a Disney employee, this is because “inside the park there are different standards … a different kind of conscious engagement with the world is at work. One cannot help but be altered by the environment” (Steeves 2003: 185). This disorientating sense of alternate reality is conveyed in the tourist account below:

> “It’s mind-altering being here. It’s like every day you feel unreal, you still feel like you’re on drugs the next day. I still do actually. I mean for ten days, fair enough, but I couldn’t do it longer than that” (Zac, tourist)

In this interview excerpt, like those in Chapter 10 (see page 154), we see the sense of disorientation amongst interviewees as they disconnect from life at home. Whilst the otherworldly experience of *clubbing per se* can erode the constraints of home life (Malbon 1999: 6), for nightlife tourists this is

compounded by the physical separation of being in a different country. This 'creeping surrealism' within Disneyized space blurs the boundaries of reality to the extent that nothing seems real anymore, indeed some may "not even care about that possible loss of "reality"" (Hollinshead 2009: 283). It is this disconnection with reality within liminal bounded spaces of Ibiza that subverts the usual constraints of illicit drug use. Individuals make decisions about whether to use a particular drug based upon social control, likelihood of sanction and expectations (Zinberg 1984). Consequently, in the bounded spaces of normalisation in Ibiza, many tourists disclosed a pattern of drug-related behaviour that was significantly different to their lives in the UK. This disconnection was partially facilitated by widespread, easy access to club drugs, as indicated in the excerpts below:

> "Mid-afternoon and I stop off at a San Antonio bar to get out of the sun for a drink. It's a quiet side street and I'm the only customer. The Spanish bar man is in his 60s and seems happy to talk, as it's so quiet. As I finish my drink, he asks if I want another, and almost as an afterthought asks if I want to buy some 'very good MDMA'. We've only been chatting for fifteen minutes." (Tim Turner, field notes, 30 July 2012)

> "You have to understand that getting hold of gear out here is like ordering a take away at home. I've got a list of numbers in this [holds up his mobile phone] that would have someone right here [West End] within five minutes" (Nick, bar worker / drug dealer)

This differential normalisation resulted in an apparent ambivalence towards dealing, buying and consuming drugs amongst tourists, with liminal bounded spaces of the island essentially transforming social relations between friends and strangers (Jackson 2004: 88). The disconnection from home, and disorientating sense of being elsewhere seemed to create a temporal suspension of norms, with many British tourists using drugs for the first time whilst in Ibiza, exemplified in the following exchange:

> Ben (tourist): One of my mates hadn't taken anything before, but he knows what he signed up for. He knows what Ibiza is like and just agreed to try them over here.
>
> Tim (interviewer): so he'd never tried drugs at all in the UK?
>
> Ben (tourist): never tried anything.
>
> Tim (interviewer): and what's he taken while he's been over here?

Ben (tourist): He tried coke on the first night and had a couple of pills, and just tried ketamine last night.

Tim (interviewer): So in two days, he's gone from taking nothing at home to taking pills, coke and ketamine? What did he think?

Ben (tourist): he said the night he had the pills was the best night of his life.

The use of club drugs at home is invariably constrained by the demands of the working week with a "blank Sunday come down [and] grey midweek negativity" (Collin 1998: 79). This is not the case in Ibiza. For many of the tourists in this study, the holiday represents "a special time when normal rules are suspended; an idealised, peak experience that allows space for utopian dreaming" (Collin 1998: 51). For some tourists, with weekend parameters removed, drug use is elongated over the period of an entire two-week holiday, or even whole summers in the case of seasonal workers. Consequently, many interviewees described steep rises in patterns of drug use, with daily use not uncommon:

"I ruined pills for myself coming here. 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*, more or less for two months. They're so cheap. Same as buying a couple of drinks." (Sam, drug dealer)

"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 just started doing ecstasy and that. Everyone else is getting on it, so you just join in" (George, tourist)

These interviewees exemplify many of the tourists featured within this study, with significant escalations in the use of ecstasy. For some tourists, the distorted sense of reality experienced within the liminal, hyper-real fantasyscapes of Ibiza was taken a step further through the use of ketamine. This is explored further in the following section.

Down the Rabbit Hole: Deep Disconnection and Flow

> "Now back in the day when I did house parties it was people getting high on pills 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" (Christopher, bouncer)

Ketamine use, often in combination with ecstasy, was not unusual amongst the tourists featured in this study. As in other research, some aimed to enhance and extend the effects of ecstasy with ketamine (Joe-Laidler and Hunt 2008 and Moore and Measham 2008). This required careful control of dosage, with small, frequent 'bumps' taken to maximise pleasure. However, there were numerous descriptions of the inner-psychological journey and inertia of the K-hole experience. There were clear examples of this uncontrolled loss of the self, and as with previous research, "for some users the K-hole was framed as too intense and distressingly asocial, resulting in considerable anxiety, embarrassment and feelings of regret if entered into unwittingly" (Moore and Measham 2008: 238):

> "You feel sort of spaced out, like you're on a different planet I suppose. I think in the right environment it would be okay, it's alright if you're just sitting there because you can't really move anyway, but they were saying 'ah we've got to go to this bar now' and I thought 'well, I can't really walk'. The worse one was when we we'd been out to [superclub] and we had loads. We were on the coach back but we thought it was a plane. Basically we couldn't leave the coach" (Jed, tourist)

> "I was in a K-hole but after about an hour and a half I was okay; well, I couldn't walk because I thought I was stuck to this bench. That's the thing with ket, you're in trouble for a while but then it wears off." (Beach girl 2, tourist)
> "I couldn't differentiate reality with where I was at the time. I forgot how it felt to love my children. I literally forgot that feeling. I couldn't feel love for my own kids. I was fucking petrified. I didn't understand how I had them, where they'd come from, who they were. It was fucking horrible. I went to walk to the shop - literally couldn't walk." (Christopher, bouncer)

> "I know I've got to sit down quickly, so I see a pillar by the dance floor and make it over there. Then I manage to get to this table, and everyone looks like snakes. So I just put my head down, and that was it for me, I couldn't lift my head back up. Occasionally I could just lift it and go 'uurrgh' and open one eye. I was going in and out of it. Sometimes I could think straight and think, 'fuck, you are fucked!' And I'd see my feet and think 'wow my feet are huge!' [laughs] Then I'd spin out again, and think 'oh I don't like this!' I bet I looked such a twat, but there's nothing I could do. People kept walking passed, and I kept thinking 'help me', but I couldn't talk" (John, bar worker)

For other tourists however, there was a deliberate intention to attain the intense dissociative experience of the K-hole (Kelly 2010: 1444 and Moore and Measham 2008: 234). This can be construed as another level of disconnection from the reality of home, exemplified by Maria in the excerpt below:

> "I've only done a couple of bumps in clubs at home and I know it sounds bad, but I *wanted* to be in a k-hole. So I took this big line of ket … it's really hard to describe in words. To say it was euphoric isn't enough. It was like falling into another world. Down the rabbit hole, I was lost and falling, falling, falling. It was almost *beyond* happiness" (Maria, tourist).

These excerpts suggest that for some tourists the disconnection with reality is taken a stage further through ketamine use, and that this may either be a deliberate or accidental separation. The excerpts in this chapter therefore show various dimensions of differential normalisation in Ibiza. Within the liminal bounded spaces described the sale and consumption of illegal drugs is woven into the fabric of social relations. Carlson (1996: 24) suggests that the absorbing nature of these liminal spaces creates a state of psychological *flow* for those involved. This represents a grounding in the present, where the individual becomes "so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter; the experience itself is so enjoyable that people will do it even at great cost, for the sheer sake of doing it" (Csikszentmihalyi 2002: 5). As a result, the individual may be so immersed in the present that they lose self-reflexivity. This is illustrated in the following interview excerpts with Alex, a professional man on holiday with a mixed group of friends and his partner, and with Rob a tourist travelling with friends:

> Alex (tourist): I bought a hundred pills for the six of us.
> Tim (Interviewer): would you ever buy that amount back home?
> Alex (tourist): no way. I mean I know I'd go down for about ten years with that many. I wouldn't be coming back for a long time. I'll take them with me on a night out because we won't take them all. I'll probably take five extra and sell them for ten. We bought them for eight each.
>
> Brina (gatekeeper): so basically you'll be dealing?
>
> Alex: eh?
>
> Brina: you'll be dealing?
>
> Alex: Hmm, I hadn't really thought of it like that, but I suppose so. I've got to. I need to get some money back.

> "I went out with the absolute intention of doing one [pill] and one only. But then y'know, you just get caught in the moment … my mate offers me half [a pill] and I just thought 'fuck it', opened my mouth and he threw it in" (Paul, tourist)

Rob's account here, and the previous illustrations of ketamine use capture a deep sense of immersion in the present moment. Indeed, this attainment of *psychological flow* is arguably the quintessential aim of both tourism and drug taking. As such, Ben's attitude seems to mirror the aspirational marketing of the *Club 18-30* advert featured in Chapter 11:

> "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)

This grounding in the present emanates from a powerful synergy between tourists' disconnection from home and the highly immersive experience of the liminal bounded spaces of Ibiza.

> "I sit outside a bar situated on the lower half of the West End and try to take in the heaving neon circus that surrounds me. A narrow, cacophonous street, stuffed wall to wall, where no one seems to stand still. There are stilt walkers looking down at snakeskin-painted faces heading to Zoo Project. A stag party dressed in full-face, luminous 'morph' costumes dances theatrically passed a bikini-clad PR girl selling tickets for some night or other. PR lads work the crowded path in front of battle-weary bouncers, hooking passers-by with overly enthusiastic, well-practiced words. A group of six, very drunk men lurch past throwing insults at a couple of bored-looking African prostitutes. The Senegalese 'Looky-Looky' men ghost through the crowd with trays of cheap sunglasses and umbrella hats that no one wants, mumbling offers of 'coke – weed – pills' to anyone ready to listen. I'm snapped out of the moment as an elderly Spanish woman stops by our table with an offer to buy a single red rose. Her tanned face is etched in deep lines. The West End is no place for the elderly, let alone romance and red roses. Then even more bizarrely, a couple struggling through the mass of bodies catch my attention and jolt reality; they have [what I presume is] their young daughter with them. She's about five, and is sat high on her father's shoulders, bringing her eye-level with the almost-naked PR stilt-walkers. She looks wide-eyed and completely out of place in the atmosphere that swirls around her" (Tim Turner, field notes, West End, 7 June 2011)

The deep sense of immersion here is conveyed in the sudden jolt of seeing those perceived as 'out of place'; their presence momentarily breaks the immersive spell. Such breaks reveal that the atmosphere of such night-time

spaces is fragile and vulnerable to sudden shifts (Shaw 2013: 93). The allusion to the *atmosphere* within this excerpt is an interesting point to pick up on, as this has been the focus of recent scholarship within the field of cultural geography. Edensor and Sumartajo (2015) note how atmospheres saturate certain spatial contexts in ways that are affectively, emotionally and sensually profound. As with the young girl on her father's shoulders, atmospheres can surround and envelop us (Anderson 2009: 80).

In returning to Zinberg's (1984) framework of drug, set, and *setting*, atmospheres are important as they shape the drug experience. In Ibiza, there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between setting and drug use. Ecstasy and ketamine for example, amplify the sensual, affective aspects of the atmosphere. This is evident in the excerpt below from Carla, a British tourist describing how she had taken ecstasy to watch the sunset on the rocks near *Café Mambo* before taking the brief walk to the West End, where a wave of euphoria had overwhelmed her as the ecstasy 'came up' [peaked]:

> "Sometimes it can be so overpowering … like, you've never felt anything like it. I came up when we were standing at the bottom of the West End. It just hit me. I was just standing there, grinning at it all. It was just … everything. 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).

Atmosphere is 'felt' by individuals as they enter space (Shaw 2013: 88) and this is clearly conveyed in Carla's account. She recalls the intense affective sensuality of her experience, with the synergy of the atmosphere enhanced by the use of ecstasy. Whilst Bohme (2008: 3) highlights how the seductive nature of such space can draw us in and take "possession of us like an alien power", it is important to note that atmosphere is not something that people are simply plunged into and then passively respond to in "mute attunement" (Edensor 2015: 333). As Smith (2014: 6) suggests, the consumer is not simply "a manipulated cipher occupying a desolate neoliberal landscape in which all individuality and creativity have been crushed by evil corporations". Instead, individuals like Carla make a decision to actively engage "in a complex and circular network of images, sounds, events and commodities" (Carson 2004: 233). As Pine and Gilmore (1999: 177) state, transformations within the experience economy "occur within the very being of the customer

and so must be made *by* the customer". This suggests that it was *not the space per se* that caused Carla to take drugs, rather in a mutually reinforcing relationship, she chose to use ecstasy as a means of attaining a deeper level of immersion in the atmosphere; a decision rooted in the historical and cultural context of the setting (Edensor and Sumartajo 2015: 252). The way in which tourists use drugs to co-create and enhance the immersive atmosphere within clubs is further exemplified in these interview excerpts:

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

> "When you're in the middle of the club with your mates, and everyone in the room is like on the same level cos of the pills … and the music and the visuals, it's … it's just *off the hook*." (Essex Boy 3, tourist)

The importance of drugs in enhancing the club experience is evident in the rise and fall of Manchester's legendary *Hacienda* club. As the early days of communal hedonism gave way to violence, gangs and undercover police, the venue's management attempted to eradicate drugs from the club altogether. As Collin (1998: 171) states, "the result was devastating. Numbers dropped immediately, *the atmosphere evaporated*" [emphasis added]. This is equally true of Ibiza, if club drugs were miraculously removed from the island, the atmospheres of certain spaces would similarly evaporate. It is the psychoactive effects of illicit drugs that combines with light and sound to strengthen the atmospheric bonding between those present and "make familiar places strange" (Edensor and Sumartajo 2015: 259). This symbiosis between light, sound and drugs serves to enhance, intensify and transform the spatial atmosphere (Anderson 2009: 80). This will be explored in more detail in the following two sections.

Light

The constitution of space, both in terms of characteristics or the presence of bodies within it, transforms the affective experience of atmosphere (Shaw 2013: 88). Lighting is one such characteristic, and as such the meaning, function and atmosphere of space can alter with variations in light over the course of the day (Edensor and Sumartajo 2015: 257). Although the changing nature of cities at night has been explored within a number of disciplinary

fields including criminology, sociology and geography, new directions in this area have focused on the "affective and atmospheric dimensions of night-time cities" (Shaw 2013: 87). For example, during the daytime San Antonio's West End is an unremarkable street, barely distinguishable from any other, however as darkness falls the space is transformed into an illuminated "phantasmagoric realm" (Edensor 2015: 332). *Image 12.2* illustrates the impact of light on this space with two contrasting photographs taken at 13:00hrs and 01:00am on the same day:

Image 12.3: The West End by day and night (photograph: Tim Turner)

In examining these photographs, we can see that the affective nature of the space is altered over night and day, the temporal boundaries of light *pull* bodies in to create a "flexible atmosphere […] intensified within a small time-space" (Shaw 2014: 92). This alters the social relations between those present, with drugs an interwoven aspect of the atmosphere there:

> "A tourist I interviewed earlier in the day meets me for a drink in the West End. It's 10pm and the street is already cramped and chaotic. We sit outside a busy bar; he needs to buy a couple of pills and has been given a number to call. He makes a brief call to discuss the meeting point and a few minutes later the exchange takes place just a few feet from where we sit." (Tim Turner, field notes, 13 August 2011)

The coastline around the infamous cultural landmarks of *Café Mambo* and *Café Del Mar* is a further example of the relationship between light, atmosphere and drug use. During the day light this stretch of coast is a rocky outcrop attracting very few people. However, at dusk, hundreds of revelers

gather in the venues overlooking the sea and on the rocks below. The atmosphere is totally transformed by the sunset, with relatively open drug use amongst the tourists occurring there on a nightly basis. This stretch of coast could be described as a "vibrating, pulsating atmosphere. It differs from day as a variety of affects and practices gain traction within a particular space-time and generate this atmosphere" (Shaw 2013: 93). Natural light therefore transforms this part of the coastline within Ibiza, and is one aspect of the bounded differential normalisation of drug use there. The excerpts below capture this:

> "We usually get up about midday. We're all inclusive so we drink around the pool all afternoon. There's a DJ on so it's alright there. I don't do drugs in the day like. We usually start doing pills when we get over to the rocks by [Café] *Mambo* about 7. I keep trying to get the timing right, so I come up for the sunset. After that I'll do a quarter every hour or so, keep topping it up all night" (Male media student, tourist)

> "The crowd has built up gradually since 6pm. Good humoured mixed groups stand and lounge around the rocks, overlooked by the cramped elevated terraces of Café Mambo and Café Del Mar. The volume of the music increases incrementally as the sunset edges closer. By the time the sun starts to dip into the sea, the crowd has grown to about 300. Drug use is barely concealed and I've been offered pills half a dozen times in the last two hours. The volume of the DJ is again ramped up, and as a beautiful sunset finally disappears into the horizon, the crowd 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)

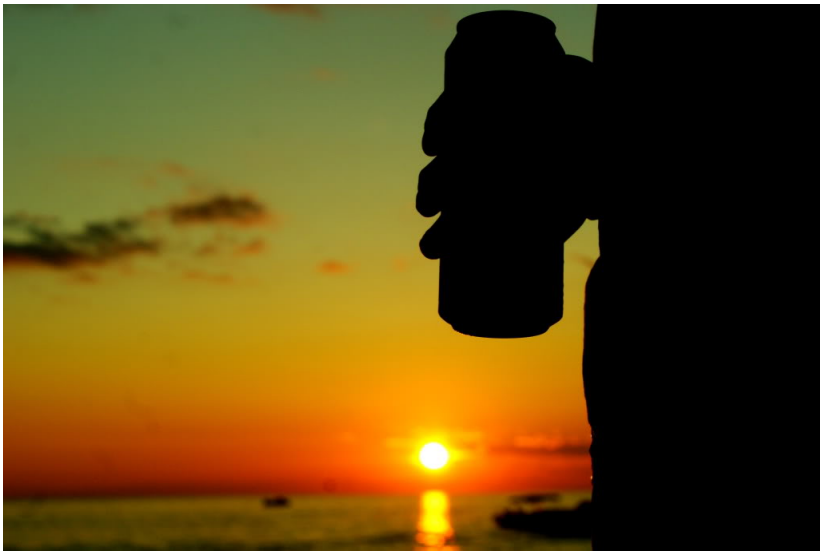

Image 12.4: Sunset from the rocks overlooked by *Café Mambo* (Photograph: Tim Turner)

Edensor and Sumartajo (2015: 261) highlight how little scholarly attention has been paid to the "materiality of atmospheres", and cite nightclub techniques to give atmosphere a visual dimension, such as the spraying of ultra-fine water vapour and incessant lasers that slice cross sections of the air (see *Image 12.4*). In describing *Shoom*, the infamous venue associated with early rave culture in London, Collin (1998: 61) describes how "you couldn't see more than a foot beyond your face as strawberry-flavoured smoke billowed out and relentless strobe lights froze motion into jagged shapes". Many tourists alluded to the importance of these visual aspects, exemplified here in reference to a night in a superclub:

> "The best night I've ever had was in [superclub]. When I walked in there, I just thought '*wow!'* I didn't believe things could ever be that good. The music, incredible visuals, the atmosphere, the people, the pills. The whole thing." (Alex, tourist)

Image 12.5: Creating visual atmosphere (photographs: Tim Turner)

The interaction between lighting and drug use is therefore a key aspect of the atmosphere within clubs, and can "provoke and enhance movement, ranging from the deployment of bright, animated illumination to align with the rhythms of rapid beats … to the glowing, calming lights of the chill-out room" (Edensor 2015: 336). There is therefore a powerful synergy between drugs, light and sound that creates an *atmosphere* greater than the sum of the parts.

Sound

> "Music, in performance, is a type of sculpture. The air in the performance is sculpted into something" - Frank Zappa (1999: 161)

Atmospheres enclose actors in both light and sound (Bohme 2008: 7), with the latter a powerfully immersive feature of space that has been termed the fourth dimension of the present (Hill and Saroka 2010: 509). Sound signifies the meaning of space within Ibiza and delineates boundaries, just as it does within Disney parks (Carson 2004). The symbiotic relationship between drugs, clubs and music is well established, and was a common theme within interview data. This is exemplified in the excerpt below:

> "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)

However, fieldwork revealed that the symbiosis between sound, atmosphere and the normalisation of drugs goes beyond the island's superclubs, with spaces not traditionally associated with illicit drug use transformed by music. Bora Bora beach is one such example; in both sociological and touristic scholarship, beaches are represented as liminal spaces of carnival, where the usual parameters of social convention may be subverted or discarded altogether (Shaw and Williams 2004: 216). The field note below illustrates the importance of sound in this beach space:

> "It's 1pm as we wander through the tanned sunbathers sprawled out over Bora Bora beach. Large buckets full of ice and alcohol sit at the end of most rented sun-beds. The DJ at the beach bar sets the rhythm of the beach, and many are already dancing to thunderous house music. They dance on the sand, on the wooden decking, on sun beds and on tables. Every hour or so, cheers erupt as the spectacle is enhanced by another plane roaring over at low altitude, *almost* drowning out the bass. By 5pm, the numbers here have doubled and so have the decibels (we guess to about 100db). The music envelops the beach like a cloak. I step inside to use the bathroom near the DJ booth and the wooden door visibly rattles in the doorframe in time with the bass. As I wash my hands next to a Spanish man, he nods and asks if I want pills or coke. I step into the sun again and watch the legal and illegal economy merge as PR girls and drug dealers mingle amongst the sunbeds. All this is in view of a starkly out-of-place, militaristic security guard with 'CONTROL' splashed across his back in white capital letters." (Tim Turner, field notes, 29 July 2012)

The "sonic ecology" (Atkinson 2007) of atmosphere that is illustrated here has received limited attention within criminology. This is an oversight, as sound

can both close down or open up meanings and practices of interaction and experimentation (Edensor and Sumartajo 2015: 253). On the beach, as with other spaces in Ibiza, the differential normalisation of club drugs is woven into the sound ecology of the atmosphere. The power of the music delineates the atmosphere and denotes the function and meaning of the space (Atkinson 2007). In this sense, beaches, much like clubs of the NTE, can be sonically marked for the promotion of culture, lifestyle and consumption (Hayward 2012a). A further example of this is the almost mythological 'Party in the Spar' in San Antonio (see *Image 12.5*). This was an event alluded to by several tourists and which I eventually experienced for myself during fieldwork:

> "You have *got* to find 'Party in the Spar'. I just fell into it after coming back from *Space*, can't remember where it is, but it's fucking mad! Fifty people off their faces, dancing in a supermarket." (Manchester male, tourist)

> "7am and I've just left a *Spar* like no other. About 30 British tourists have crammed in after leaving various club nights. Someone has brought music and it's *very* loud. They're all dancing in the aisles, hands raised, chanting "the Spar, the Spar, the Spar is on fire!" Ice-cream freezers have been turned into impromptu podiums, as people dance on them to the delight of the crowd. Some have turned plastic bags into comedy hats. Everyone here seems drunk, high, coming down, or a combination of all three. In the confined raucous space, strangers and friends alike laugh together at the ridiculousness of it all. The shopkeeper just sits at the rear of the shop in quiet resignation." (Tim Turner, field notes, Party in the Spar, 21 July 2011).

Image 12.6: Notice signifies the end of 'Party in the Spar' (photograph: Donaghy 2011)

This demonstrates how *sound* can transform the most banal of places – a supermarket – into an energy-charged, playful and immersive atmosphere. For a brief period, *sound* subverts the meaning and function of the shop and scripts "the range of behaviours deemed acceptable by the coordinators of the space" (Atkinson 2003: 1212). Indeed in the resorts of San Antonio and Playa d'en Bossa, it is rare to find any space that is *not* defined by an unrelenting cacophony of Balearic beat, acid house, trance, drum and bass, dubstep, techno and a myriad of other genres of EDM, however distant:

> "House music is everywhere, all the time. It is unremitting. I can hear it when I go to bed, and again when I wake up. It dominates the pool area, and merges from every bar and café that I walk passed. It's piped into bar toilets. It's in taxis and on boats. We hire a car and turn on the radio, and there it is, a constant soundtrack to the landscape." (Tim Turner, field notes, 24 July 2010)

> "It doesn't matter where you are, all you can hear is this *dickhead* music." (Female tourist on a bus, not a fan of house music)

This can be likened to the muzak that permeates contemporary urban space to match the subtle tastes of desired lifestyle groups. Whilst sound is therefore an "auditory territorial marker" that brands space and lubricates consumption (Atkinson 2007: 1910), in Ibiza sound provides a ubiquitous backdrop to the normalised consumption of drugs associated with EDM. Music can therefore "envelop, guide, invite, deter and otherwise subtly influence our patterns of sociability" in urban space (Atkinson 2007: 1907). When combined with ecstasy, the symbiosis of the atmosphere is intensely powerful, as this female tourist illustrates:

> "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. It's hard to explain … it was like it had passed through every one of us in the club. It connected us, like we were *inside* the music." (Maria, tourist)

Whether tourists are dancing all night on the packed floors of the island's superclubs, getting high on ecstasy amongst friends on the beach, or watching the sunset from the rocks beneath Café Mambo, they are submersed in an atmosphere defined by sound. Music delineates and gives meaning to these spaces, enfolds those within the space (Bohme 2008: 7),

and provides an aural dimension to the normalisation of club drugs on the island.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how certain illicit drugs are seamlessly interwoven into bounded spaces of Ibiza. This represents a subversion of Disneyized *hybrid consumption* with the distinction between illegal and legal intoxicants blurring to the point of collapse (Bryman 2004). The chapter has drawn out the key experiential aspects of these bounded spaces of differential normalisation. Liminality enables tourists to disconnect from life at home. As they immerse themselves within spaces of the island defined as hyper-real fantasyscapes (Smith 2014: 159), patterns of drug use are temporally subverted. In these spaces ecstasy and ketamine use is particularly prevalent amongst tourists, as the psychoactive effects of these substances acts in synergy with the light and sound of the deeply immersive atmosphere of spaces on the island. In the final results chapter, *performative labour*, the final pillar of Bryman's (2004) Disneyization is revealed to be an important aspect of this study. This focuses on the key role that British seasonal workers occupy within the bounded spaces of the island. Like tourists, this social group describe high rates of drug consumption in Ibiza. However, they are also deeply embroiled in the trading of club drugs both within their own social networks and to tourists. As such, it is argued that seasonal workers make a significant contribution to processes of differential normalisation on the island.

Chapter 13

Disneyization and Performative Labour

This chapter focuses on the trading and consumption of illicit drugs by British seasonal workers in Ibiza. Every year hundreds of young, British people travel to the island looking for temporary employment as a means of extending the pleasures of being on holiday (Guerrier and Adib 2003: 1406). Many of these employment roles are situated within the NTE and can be defined as *performative labour*. This fourth pillar of Disneyization defines how work within the experience economy is akin to a theatrical performance, with the work arena represented as a stage (Bryman 2004 and Pine and Gilmore 1999). It is important to consider the experiences of this group as such seasonal workers have received limited academic attention despite their key role as mediators and co-creators of Ibiza's hedonistic atmosphere (Guerrier and Adib 2003: 1402, Hughes, Bellis and Chaudry 2004 and Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014). The chapter is organised around three key sections. The first section provides an overview of Bryman's (2004) construction of 'performative labour'. This demonstrates that whilst pioneered within Disney theme parks, an element of performance is now a common requirement of many roles within the service industry. The second section applies this conceptualisation to the context of Ibiza. This shows how the line between work and pleasure is quickly eroded as seasonal workers come to *enact* and *embody* the hedonistic tourist arena (Guerrier and Adib 2003: 1400). Consequently, as with their tourist counterparts, this social group invariably describes a high incidence of illicit drug use. The third section reveals the pivotal role that British seasonal workers occupy within Ibiza's drug trade. During fieldwork it emerged that many seasonal workers were involved in drug dealing to varying degrees. Some were financially dependent on this income as a consequence of limited opportunity in the legal economy and through distorted perceptions of risk within the socio-cultural context of the island. As such, this social group is exposed to health risks associated with prolonged, regular use of drugs such as ecstasy and ketamine, as well as the risk of serious legal sanctions as a consequence of the decision to deal drugs within the differentially normalised spaces that they are immersed within.

Disneyization and Performative Labour

> "In the emerging experience economy, companies must realise that they make *memories*, not goods, and create the *stage* for generating greater economic value, not services. It is time to get your act together, for goods and services are no longer enough. Customers now want experiences, and they're willing to pay admission for them. There's new work to do, and only those who perform that work so as to truly engage their guests will succeed in this new economy" (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 100)

Disney places great importance on the role of employees in creating the memorable experiences that visitors demand. This emphasis on *performative labour*, a central tenet of Disneyization, is formalised by the company's embedded use of theatrical terminology in relation to the work environment. Thus employees are 'cast members' working in 'front stage' and 'back stage' arenas to "deliver treasured moments to people around the world" (Disney Careers 2016). Their "ever-present smiles … an indication that they too are having fun and that this is not 'real' work [all] conveyed through carefully trained attention to posture, facial expression and behaviour" (Bryman 2004: 101). This emotional labour has been diffused across a range of contemporary service environments including: airline cabin crew, police, hotel staff, call centre workers, retail employees and prison officers (Bryman 2004: 112, Naqvi 2013 and Nylander, Lindberg and Bruhn 2011). In roles such as these, as Pine and Gilmore (1999: 103) argue, "work *is* theatre".

Such performative labour also places significant aesthetic expectations on employees (Witz, Warhurst and Nickson 2003). Consequently, they may be selected or excluded on the basis of embodied attributes such as age, height, weight and general attractiveness. Appearance must fit the context; workers are essentially a component of themed space and need to "blend into the branding" (Guerrier and Adib 2003: 1400) to project the image of the company / product. The budget airline, *Ryanair*, for example, specifies that cabin crew should be between 5ft 2inches and 6ft 2inches tall, "with weight in proportion" (Payne 2015). Disney takes aesthetics down to pedantic detail with a stringently policed "Disney Look" that all cast-members must conform to (see *Image 13.1*). The appearance of those working both front and back stage is controlled down to the minutiae of acceptable fingernail shape, and style of spectacle frames:

> “The Disney Look is a classic look that is clean, natural, polished and professional, and avoids "cutting edge" trends or extreme styles. It is designed with our costumed and non-costumed cast members in mind. Our themed costumed cast members are a critical part of enhancing the experience of our Disney show, and our non-costumed cast members also play an important role as representatives of the Disney brand” (Disney Careers 2016)

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Image 13.1: Performing the ‘Disney Look’ (Disney Careers 2016)

Performative labour is therefore a central aspect of a contemporary tourist industry subsumed within the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999). The role of seasonal workers within this industry is essential in the creation of valuable holiday experiences and memories. This is partially achieved through the conveyance of emotion through surface level acting, including use of body language and other forms of non-verbal communication (Bryman 2003, 2004 and Pine and Gilmore 1999: 113). Goffman (1990) defined this deliberate manipulation of expression as ‘cynical performance’. McDonald’s, for example, requires till operators “to control themselves *internally* by being pleasant, cheerful, smiling and courteous to customers, even when customers are rude and offensive” (Royle 2000: 63). Alternatively, workers may go beyond this surface level act and engage on a deeper emotional level (Bryman 2004 and Van Diljk, Smith and Cooper 2011). This is a particularly important attribute in regard to experiential types of tourism, as ideally, the tourist worker will embody the adventure or excitement of the product that they are trying to sell (Beardsworth and Bryman 2001). This sense of embodiment is reflected in the job specification for potential *Club 18-30* representatives:

> “Being one of our Club 18-30 holiday reps is a job like no other! It's definitely not for the faint hearted, you'll need to have a great personality, awesome communication skills and enough stamina to keep you going from morning to night!” (Club 18-30 n.d.)

Tourist workers’ ‘front stage’ performance therefore requires them to act out the particular values of the arena that they operate within, dropping “their actor's mask only when they reach the domestic safety of backstage regions”. (Edensor 2000: 323). However, in regard to the seasonal workers in Ibiza, it can be argued that the distorted boundary between work and leisure (Briggs 2013 and O’Reilly 2000) effectively eliminates any distinction between front and back stage performance arenas. As workers embody the hedonistic narratives that attract their tourist clientele, their “every action contributes to the experience being staged” (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 102).

This was reflected in fieldwork, which revealed that many of the British seasonal workers in Ibiza personify the island’s themed hedonism in a deep level of performance where they *actually experience the emotion conveyed* (Bryman 2004 and Van Diljk, Smith and Cooper 2011). As the following sections will demonstrate, this places many seasonal workers in a central role within the island’s drug scene.

Performative Labour in Ibiza

The high volume of prospective seasonal workers in Ibiza makes competition for jobs intense. Those featured in this study were invariably employed in performative labour roles affiliated to San Antonio’s NTE. Some workers provided interviews, whilst others allowed me to spend significant lengths of time with them during fieldwork. They included bar workers, bouncers, dancers, ticket sellers, and public relations (PR) staff. Each of these roles can be considered staged performance, as Pine and Gilmore (1999: 110) assert “no matter what position you have in the company or what your co-workers do, *you are a performer*. Your work is theatre. Now you must act accordingly.” The role of bar PR, for example, involves tirelessly enticing passers-by with cut-price alcohol deals, mostly around the West End and surrounding areas. The work requires a determined display of engaging enthusiasm to attain any chance of success, particularly given the fierce competition for custom in the

West End. The role invariably involved long hours for minimal commission, as one worker stated:

> "I've seen PRs work 12 hours through the night and get like €10. The manager will give them 50 cents for every customer they get in the bar, but they don't even see half the punters they get in. It's bullshit." (Nick, bar worker / drug dealer)

The embodied nature of this work is illustrated in *Image 13.2*, by a PR worker employed by *Hed Kandi*, an Ibiza bar and well known brand affiliated to the EDM scene:

Image 13.2: Embodied labour in the West End, San Antonio (photograph: Tim Turner)

The performative nature of PR work is illustrated in an interview with Karen, an experienced seasonal worker employed as a PR manager for one of Ibiza's superclubs:

> Tim (Interviewer): what do you think makes a good PR?
>
> Karen (PR Manager): attitude, like how bubbly they are, what their character is like, how personable they are. It's just their character, y'know? I wouldn't want someone who looked all miserable, they've got to have a bit of banter about them, have a laugh with the punters and give out as good as they get. They need a lot of personality.
>
> Tim (Interviewer): Are you involved in interviewing them?
>
> Karen (PR Manager): yep, we interview them about what kind of music they like, why they're here, what jobs they've done, just find out a bit about them and their background really.

> Tim (Interviewer): do you look for anything different in male and female PRs?
>
> Karen (PR Manager): no, I just look at their personality. It helps if they're fit but at the same time you don't want people to look unobtainable. The thing is, girls are really bitchy, so you don't want really fit girls because they'd just make punters feel all insecure, I know I bloody would if I was approached by some size zero trying to sell me tickets. I'd be like 'no!' So it's just about personality really, I look for exactly the same traits in the boys and the girls.

Karen's assertion that female PRs need to look 'obtainable' demonstrates the sexualised nature of such performative labour, with women especially working in roles where sexual allure is one aspect of customer interaction (Bryman 2004: 112). This was certainly a common feature of seasonal work in Ibiza, with many of the roles occupied by females involving highly sexualised performance. Examples of such roles can be seen in *Image 13.3*, with a nightly parade passing through the West End to promote a local club venue.

Image 13.3: Sexualised performative labour, San Antonio (photograph: Lauren Holdup)

In hierarchical terms, bar work was seen as a step up from PR, with a certain degree of kudos associated with the role. The performative aspect of this employment was evident throughout fieldwork. The excerpt below illustrates how the barman transforms the mundane act of purchasing a round of drinks

into a memorable experience for the customers, to render an indelible impression (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 52):

> "The barman is working alone as it's still early. I watch as he serves a group of eight girls on a hen party. His effortless flirtation and theatrical cocktail-making acrobatics ensures he has their full attention. As he finishes their order, he ostentatiously hits them all with a free shot of schnapps, takes one himself and they all chink glasses." (Tim Turner, field notes, West End, 7 June 2011)

Staff working in such NTE settings seemed to draw little distinction between work and leisure. As Guerrier and Adib (2003: 1401) state "their customers are their friends, their workplace the place where they would 'hang out' for leisure anyway" and their work demands only that they are fun and sociable. This sentiment is echoed by Jack, a barman who had been working in the West End for a month, and by Karen, the aforementioned PR Manager.

> "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)

> "I finish at midnight after an end of night meeting. Then I usually get distracted by friends in the bars and end up getting up home about 8 in the morning." (Karen, PR Manager)

These excerpts illustrate the symmetry between seasonal workers and tourists in Ibiza. A factor reflected in the job specification for potential *Thomas Cook* tourist representatives:

> "As one of our Reps, you'll have the chance to travel the world, make lasting friendships and create memories that will stay with you a lifetime. Of course, you'll also be helping our customers make amazing holiday memories" (Thomas Cook 2016)

These socially embedded exchanges between workers and tourists are therefore ensured by employers within the NTE carefully matching the profile of staff to their customer base in terms of age, appearance and lifestyle (Guerrier and Adib 2003: 1401). Consequently, many of the workers echoed similar sentiments to tourists in regard to the value of the experience and memories gained from their time on the island:

> “I am living the dream, I’d rather be here walking up and down the beaches than sitting behind a desk” (Ella, ticket seller)

> “When I leave at the end of the season, I’ll really miss the atmosphere here. That and the fact that I go out every single night, have a great time, and don’t have to think about any commitments or anything. The only commitment I have here is to get drunk and get high” (Jack, bar worker)

As with Bryman’s (2004: 125) conceptualisation of performative labour, these seasonal workers clearly embody the hedonistic narratives that define Ibiza as a tourist resort. However, the socio-cultural context that seasonal workers operate in can be exhausting, as these interviewees note:

> “It's my first season. I came about ten weeks ago. It's been incredible. But it's exhausting. I work twelve and a half hours a day without a break. Six days a week. I try to go out as much as possible, because it's only four months. I love the music. I love the clubs, and it would be stupid not to. I know I’ll look back on this in ten years time, and I’ll have some incredible memories. But in more recent times its becoming more and more difficult to function, to work and play sort of thing.” (Ella, ticket seller)

> “For anyone to come out and work here it's a difficult environment. There's a lot of competition, so the jobs aren't massively well paid and apartments can be expensive. It can be really tough. Most of these guys are working seven days a week, most through the night. People obviously love this place, want to come out on holiday and they enjoy the island, but it's tough to continue working and to sustain the pace of life out here through the season. Some people do two months and need to go home.” (Pete, Ibiza 24/7 charity)

The long working hours and incessant all-night partying can make the use of club drugs an essential means of maintaining the pace. In one of the few previous studies carried out, 85.3% of casual workers reported using an illicit drug in Ibiza, with almost half (43.5%) using a drug in Ibiza that they had never used in the UK (Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014: 1058). Many of the British seasonal workers in this study were deeply immersed in drug use, and as with previous studies, this seemed to be in excess of their tourist counterparts (Hughes and Bellis 2006), with new arrivals rapidly enmeshed into a tight social network that promotes easy access to illicit drugs (Briggs et al. 2011a). In comparing his time as both a tourist and a seasonal worker, one interviewee stated:

> “You make really strong friendships with people. And you know where to get good drugs. I suppose that's the main difference between working here for a summer and just coming for a week - you know how to get hold of the best drugs” (Jack, bar worker).

Consequently, seasonal workers are exposed to similar drug-related risks as tourists, but over a *much* longer period of time (Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014), with a worker's average length of stay 100 days compared to just 7 days for tourists (Hughes, Bellis and Chaudry 2004). The following examples typified many of the workers met during fieldwork:

> "The whole place [worker accommodation block] is proper mental. All day, every day. It kicks off about 7am after people pile back there from work or going out and basically doesn't stop all day. Ket and pills everywhere" (Jack, bar worker)

> "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)

These excerpts illustrate that those engaged in performative labour in Ibiza are rapidly enmeshed into the hedonistic atmosphere of the spaces that they occupy. The demarcation between seasonal workers and tourists is in many ways blurred, as they are involved in similar patterns of drug use, albeit over contrasting timescales. However, for many workers, there is a transitional point where they move beyond the pleasures of drug consumption, and make a decision to start dealing. This shift is explored within the final section of this chapter.

The Transition to Dealing

> **"**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 ridiculous, absolutely ridiculous. My housemate thinks she knows what she's doing. The attitude she's got, this status thing, she's getting off on being a dealer." (Ella, ticket seller)

Almost without exception, the employment opportunities that seasonal workers find are low paid, commission-based roles, with long hours and no employment rights. Poor working conditions and job insecurity is therefore routinely accepted as the norm amongst casual workers in Ibiza, or as one interviewee succinctly states:

> "It's Ibiza. If you didn't like it, you wouldn't be here. You don't come here to be treated nicely at work" (Karen, PR Manager)

When such volatile, low paid working conditions are combined with high living costs and a lifestyle built around alcohol and drug use (Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014) it can be very difficult for workers to remain in Ibiza for an entire summer. This is especially true when relying on income generated solely within the legal economy. As one interviewee states:

> "Up until a couple of weeks ago it was a breeze. I could go out every night and get by on a few hours sleep, but it all catches up with you. I call this the mid-season drop. So many workers have gone home because they can't handle it anymore. They have no structure to their lives. They've given up their jobs. They're just dealing and on a downward spiral. It's not good." (Ella, ticket seller)

Indeed the highly competitive nature of the legal economy was illustrated in an exchange with Kelly, an 18-year old British seasonal worker. At the time of the interview she was on her final day of a trial period working in a San Antonio bar. This required her to work four 12-hour shifts without pay or tips:

> Kelly (bar worker): I'm paying €270 a month for my room. I really don't know what the pay is here.
>
> Tim (interviewer): Haven't they told you?
>
> Kelly (bar worker): Nope. I don't even know if there's a minimum wage out here. I need to find out. This is my fourth shift and I've not been paid for any of it. Most people seem to get about €40 a day I think.
>
> Tim (interviewer): What about the friends you're living with, what sort of money do they get?
>
> Kelly (bar worker): They haven't got jobs. They just sell drugs. They just make money from selling drugs.

The legal economy for seasonal workers in Ibiza is therefore a remarkably unstable and competitive environment, as these excerpts demonstrate:

> Tim (interviewer): And what would be a good result for PRs in terms of selling, how much would you expect?
>
> Karen (PR Manager): Minimum, bare minimum, would be five tickets each. They normally go off in pairs, so minimum per day would be five tickets. There should be no need for them to do less than that.
>
> Tim (interviewer): and if they do less than that?
>
> Karen (PR Manager): if they do less than that, they get one chance and next time they're sacked.

Tim (interviewer): okay, and how much do PRs earn?

Karen (PR Manager): It was €40 a day basic, and then €1 per ticket, but because a couple of them aren't pulling their weight we've introduced a sliding scale basic. So up to ten ticket sales they only get €20.

In a context where a small bottle of water can cost €12, many seasonal workers decide to supplement their income through drug dealing, whilst others abandon the legal economy altogether and make a decision to deal club drugs as a sole source of income. This is again a risk decision that is made within the Disneyized socio-cultural context, with the considerable financial benefits weighed up against the likelihood of legal sanction:

"You get a lot of people that come out here to work and they just don't anticipate how hard it is. Like PRing or ticket sales or things like that. There are so many ticket sellers around, I don't think they realise how hard the work is. Plus lots of places are commission only so they start worrying and think, 'I can't pay my rent. I'll have to start dealing'. They think instead of going out and trying to sell more tickets, they'll just do the dealing, because it's easy and no one really cares." (Karen, PR Manager)

"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)

To consider the pull of the illegal economy in Ibiza we can draw on a case example from fieldwork. I met Nick on several occasions over different weeks of fieldwork. He was 22 years old, well educated and from a suburban part of a large UK city. His parents were both in professional roles and were oblivious to his lifestyle in Ibiza. Nick had worked on the island for three consecutive summers. When we met in the summer of 2011, he was employed as a barman in a busy venue in San Antonio, working five nights per week. He had been supplementing his income by dealing (mainly) ecstasy on each of the summer seasons that he had worked there. As the following field note illustrates, the actual transactional process of dealing is usually pre-arranged and fast:

"It's late afternoon and I meet Nick for a drink at the top of the West End before he starts work. Before we sit down he tells me that he's arranged to meet a couple of British tourists, as they want to buy pills from him. He tells me that he's carrying 40 'rockstars' [ecstasy pills] and some Thai weed. Half are stashed in a take-away Coca-Cola cup and the other half in an empty packet of Marlboro light cigarettes. Although carrying this many pills could land him in a Spanish prison for four years, he seems relaxed and in good humour. We loiter around at the top of the West End for a few

> minutes. The streets are still quiet, as the sun hasn't gone down yet. As we talk, he sees his first man, a British lad in his early 20s, and shakes him by the hand. They exchange a few pleasantries and walk down a quiet side street. He scans the area as we walk, looking for anyone who might be watching. When he's sure, he offers the man the paper cup - "here you go mate, try that, it's nice" - the man takes the cup and pretends to take a sip. The handover complete, we turn and head back towards the West End. We were together for no more than two minutes. The second meet goes ahead a few minutes later. Another young Brit after 20 pills and the Thai weed. This time Nick hands over the dummy Marlboro packet. The man takes it without checking, and heads in the opposite direction towards the coast. We head back to a bar and sit outside in the sun with two cold drinks. Nick tells me that he just made a profit of more than €200 for five minutes work" (Tim Turner, field notes, Dealing in West End, 10 August 2011)

Nick's transition from 'barman' to 'drug dealer', can be contextualised around Luhmann's (1993) formulation of risk. This is essentially a balance of *subjective* determinants, Nick's perception of the likelihood of a negative outcome (e.g. arrest, imprisonment, shame, violence, robbery) and the *objective* likelihood of such an outcome actually occurring. Fieldwork revealed that for many of the casual workers in Ibiza, there is a remarkably blasé attitude to dealing drugs such as ecstasy, with both the perceived and actual risk relatively low in the differentially normalised spaces of the island.

> "No one forced me to sell drugs, but it was an easy option and as long as you're not completely stupid, there's zero chance of getting caught. You need the money here, I mean it's €100 for ten bottles of water in a club, €20 for a vodka and coke, ridiculous." (Rob, tourist, discussing his previous summer there as a worker)

> "Walking towards the coast with Nick [bar man / dealer] for an afternoon drink, he's stopped briefly by an acquaintance who quickly offers him a bag of one hundred pills for €200. Nick turns the offer down and we carry on walking. He tells me they're "shit pills" that would only fetch €3 each." (Tim Turner, field notes, 22 July 2011)

> "They don't really search you at all. I've walked in with pills in my bag. They'll open the main bit and have a quick glance, that's it. A lot of time, I'll have it in my swimming shorts in the little pocket for your keys. I mean I've taken fifty pills into [superclubs] before. But I didn't manage to [starts laughing] … well I lost about 35, took about 5, and made about €40. Literally had them clenched between my arse cheeks, walk in, sound! I mean us three don't really look like drug dealers do we? Stick 'em in your hair as well. That works." (Sam, seasonal worker / drug dealer)

> "Two friends of mine just got here and were looking to score some gear for a good time. It's about ten in the morning and they're walking past Ket Castle [slang term for a worker accommodation block] hear all the music and think, 'there's a party going on there, they'll have stuff'. So they go in

> and find the room with the music and the door is *wide* open. They're stood there for five-minutes, banging on the door shouting, 'hello … hello … hello!' But the music is so loud and they're all on the balcony fucked off their faces. So they just walk in, and all of a sudden these people are like, 'Holy shit, what are you doing here? What do you want?!' and they tell them they just want a few pills, and they're like 'well how do you know we've got pills?' ... 'well, it's a bit fucking obvious because you're partying at 10 in the morning' … 'oh right, how many do you want, a couple each? Yeah sound'. Then literally they pull a bag from under the living room table, and it's got about 5000 pills in it. I mean how fucking dumb is that? And the door was wide open! They think 'oh it's Ibiza, it's fine! We can do what we like, We're untouchable'." (Christopher, bouncer)

These excerpts reveal the ambivalence of some seasonal workers in regard to drug dealing. The differentially normalised space on the island effectively alters their perceptions of risk in relation to the myriad of potential harms associated with dealing illegal drugs. This subjective perception is however objectively augmented by the apparent laissez faire attitude of police and door security at venues within the NTE. In this sense, controllers of this nature can also essentially be defined as *performative labour*; that is differential normalised space in Ibiza is characterised by the *performance of control*, with fieldwork revealing narratives of police corruption, and door security that is at best ambivalent to drug use, and at worst complicit. As one tourist disclosed:

> "I never even bother hiding it [from security]. I just hold it in my hands. The first night we went to [superclub]. One of the bouncers caught us doing ket [starts laughing]. He takes the bag off me and just empties it over my head." (Jed, tourist)

The performative nature of security can be seen in *Image 13.4*. The photograph of this imposing military-style police uniform was taken at Bora Bora beach. Despite the relatively open selling and consumption of drugs there (see Chapter 12, page 215), there was no attempt at intervention by security staff, who remained ambivalent to the chaos around them.

Image 13.4: Performance of control (Photograph: Tim Turner)

This is further illustrated in the excerpt below in a conversation with two workers, John and Sam. The latter was a well-educated 19 year old male from the north of England, he was in Ibiza for the summer, and was due to commence a degree in September. Although he had intended to get a bar job, he had been unable to find stable work and consequently relied exclusively on drug dealing for his income. He also used ketamine himself on several occasions each week:

> Sam (seasonal worker / drug dealer): I've been told not to carry more than five pills if you're dealing around the West End. That's just rumours though, no one actually knows. I know someone who got caught with twelve and they got let off.
>
> Tim (interviewer): What about door security in the West End? What would happen if they searched you and found something?
>
> Sam (seasonal worker / drug dealer): 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.
>
> John (bar worker): I know for a fact that door security sell at certain clubs.
>
> Sam (seasonal worker / drug dealer): 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 doormen walks up and opens my hand and takes the ket off me, and I don't know why, but I just gave him €20 and he gave me the ket back and let me stay in.

Tim (interviewer): So basically he sold you your own ket for €20?

Sam (seasonal worker / drug dealer): Yeah! Robbed me ket! [laughs]

This *performance of security* was illustrated in an interview with a British seasonal worker working in various venues as a bouncer. In his account, we again see the erosion of the demarcation between work and leisure:

Christopher (bouncer): 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.

Tim (interviewer): So when you're working as security in the clubs, what happens if you catch people?

Christopher (bouncer): British security are different to Spanish, we work completely differently. We're a lot more laid back. We're here for the same reason, to work and to enjoy ourselves, so we want tourists to enjoy it too. Like this time I was working on the boat party. I'd got some guys on the boat doing M-Cat. I watched him roll it up and crush it, and they sort of looked at me and went [mimes trying to shield the M-Cat from view], pretending they were doing nothing, but it was so blatantly obvious. If I was a dickhead I'd have just walked up and took it off them. I just went up to them and said, 'mate, do me a favour, just hold it down and don't be so fucking blatant'.

Tim (interviewer): And is that the way you generally approach it?

Christopher (bouncer): Yeah, I saw someone dealing in a club I was working at one night. He looked at me and I said, 'mate, don't be a dick, if you're gonna do stuff like that, do me a favour and go in the fucking crowd where I can't see you. Don't stand next to the fucking toilet in the middle of everywhere, because if I see you do it again I'll take your money and all your drugs off you."

Interestingly, a Spanish Police Officer, who agreed to a brief unrecorded interview in San Antonio, imparted the following information in regard to the application of different rules within the context of Ibiza:

Tim (interviewer): How do you distinguish between dealing and possession, say for ecstasy pills for example?

Police Officer: Up to 30 or 40 pills here [shrugs], we take them [the person] away [to the police station] and just fill in the forms. They get a fine. It's not a big problem. More than this, it's serious. Last year I caught a British boy with 100 pills. He went to prison for four years.

> Tim (interviewer): Okay. And is that the same rules on the mainland?
> Police Officer: [smiling] No, no. It's different. There, maybe *five* is a problem.

The Officer also disclosed that his main priority on a daily basis was not the drug trade, but the African migrant women involved in street robbery and prostitution. It therefore appears that low-level drug consumption and trading is of little interest to club security and police in Ibiza. It is the larger scale drug trade that occupies the focus of police operations. However, as a consequence of differential normalisation, people like Sam and Nick redefine their own boundaries of acceptable risk behaviour. Ultimately however, they risk serious legal sanctions, as indicated in a case in August 2010 when twenty British drug dealers were arrested in a joint operation between British and Spanish police. The arrests included four British PR staff, seasonal workers much like Nick and Sam. Ken Gallagher, of Britain's Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA) summarised the case with the following warning:

> "This joint operation has taken out every level of a gang that was responsible for supplying and distributing a vast quantity of drugs to Ibiza. It represents an excellent result for our co-operation with the Spanish, and serves as a stark warning to students and others who might think they can make some easy money through the drugs trade. These arrests could have significant impact on their future, on their ability to finish their degrees and on their prospects for employment." (Tremlett and Topping 2010)

This case is by no means unique, indeed 2012 saw a 30% increase in arrests of British tourists and workers in Ibiza, with over 500 detained for violence and drug-related offences. Furthermore such detainees can face up to four years in a Spanish prison before facing trial (Kelsey 2012). The British seasonal workers in Ibiza are therefore at significant risk at multiple levels of the drug trade, and are ultimately targeted by powerful groups eager to exploit their shifting perceptions of risk, and their well-established immersion in the local drug scene (Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014).

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that performative labour, the fourth pillar of Disneyization, is evident in the tourist spaces of Ibiza associated with differentially normalised use of club drugs. Measham and Shiner (2009: 504) argue that such normalisation is a process that is "negotiated by distinct social groups operating in bounded situations". In Ibiza these bounded Disneyized situations and spaces are created by a potent combination of narrative theming, corporate branding, hybrid consumption and performative labour (Bryman 2004). For the majority of the British seasonal workers featured in this study, the temporal experience within the Disneyized spaces of Ibiza will leave them with the kind of treasured memories and stories that are so highly valued by late-modern 'sensation gatherers' (Bauman 1997: 146). However, this chapter has clearly illustrated significant changes in drug-related behaviour amongst British seasonal workers, and the potential harm associated with such changes is very real. There is a clear escalation in drug use amongst those already using similar drugs in the UK, whilst the combination of drugs used by many workers, along with high levels of alcohol consumption is also a factor that many experienced ecstasy users widely acknowledge as a dangerous practice (Hunt et al 2009: 495). Furthermore, like tourists, workers describe using drugs for the first time whilst in Ibiza. This is an issue that has been highlighted in previous research, with negative outcomes compounded by being away from both informal and formal support structures as well as language barriers and lack of familiarity with health care and criminal justice procedures (Bellis et al 2003, 2009 and Hughes et al. 2009). This chapter has also made a significant contribution to our understanding of the specific risks that British seasonal workers expose themselves to in regard to drug dealing. This carries multiple risks, both in terms of violence associated with organised crime, and from serious legal sanctions associated with the illegal drug market. The combination of risk factors makes this social group an ideal target for "information and harm reduction measures regarding drugs" (Hughes et al 2009: 265), especially given the island's entrenched cultural position as the global capital of EDM (Measham, Anderson and Hadfield 2009: 260).

The focus of the thesis now moves to consider the policy and practice implications of the research, with a number of recommendations made that

are both specific to Ibiza and applicable to the wider issue of drug use amongst young people operating in bounded spaces.

Chapter 14

(Re)Imagining Drug Use: Issues for Policy and Practice

This study has revealed a number of theoretical principles grounded within the research findings. These collectively represent a Disneyized interpretation of illicit drug culture within touristic spaces of Ibiza associated with EDM. As previous chapters have illustrated, these principles are deeply complex and intricately layered. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that this theory of Disneyization represents an emergent explanatory 'window' through which it is possible to draw together and make sense of a wide range of ideological, moral, political and practical controversies associated with illicit drug use. The aim of this chapter is to encourage these debates. The first section argues that the theory of Disneyization reveals biases within the structural ideology underpinning most mainstream criminological research regarding drug use, and suggests criminologists once again need to ask, 'whose side are we on?' (Becker 1967). Section two offers a culturally nuanced interpretation of the Disneyization framework and normalisation debate. Differential behavior within bounded 'play spaces' (Measham 2004c: 343) is examined, with a particular focus on the application of Disneyization to understanding drug use within the context of music festivals. The final section, addresses practical matters of health and well-being in regard to drug use in Disneyized space. It is argued that health promotion initiatives need to take account of event-specific risk distortions that can occur in Disneyized socio-cultural environments that interweave drug use as part of the experience.

Meaning from the Ground Up: The Case for Cultural Criminology

> "Loutish Brits breakfast on what looks like cocaine — in a sneak video by an enraged local in Ibiza. The clip of them snorting a white powder emerged along with separate footage of a balcony yob at the same hotel urinating on passers-by" (Philips 2014)

The news article above was published in British tabloid newspaper, *The Sun*, in September 2014. It is remarkable only in its similarity to the myriad of other journalistic accounts of British tourists in Ibiza and other European beach resorts. Indeed the 'Brits Abroad' format has been a staple feature of television schedules for some time, with programmes such as *Ibiza Uncovered*; *Sun, Sex, and Suspicious Parents*; and *Banged Up Abroad* serving up a diet of salacious viewing for the public. Programmes and newspaper stories such as these essentially vilify young, British tourists as senseless, uncultured yobs interested only in binge drinking, drugs, fighting and sex.

The limited academic literature focused on such British tourists (see Chapter 2) tends to offer similar narratives by overlooking the heterogeneous nature of the tourist group, and problematising them with the language of pathology and deviance. This is a reflection of an ideological position within orthodox criminology that stubbornly negates the role of pleasure in drug use, and focuses on the "miserable" and the "negative" in a "desperately thin" narrative that strips out the energy and spirit of human experience (Young 2011: 186-187). As Polsky (1971: 145) states:

> "Until the criminologist learns to suspend his personal distaste for the values and lifestyles of the untamed savages, until he goes out into the field to the cannibals and head-hunters and observes them without trying to civilise them or turn them over to colonial officials … he will only be a jail house or court house sociologist" (cited in Hobbs 2007: 215).

In embarking on the first period of data collection for this research, the rampaging excess of simplistic tabloid newspaper headlines was not borne out. Indeed, where there were such examples, those using club drugs invariably condemned this as the behaviour of alcohol users ignorant of Ibiza's place in dance culture (see Chapter 11). Ethnographic fieldwork therefore drew out the nuance of experience and provided a fresh

perspective. The tourists and workers that I encountered were invariably engaging, articulate, thoughtful and reflective about their experience on the island. Many were at University, or working a gap year, some worked in skilled manual roles; some were in professions such as teaching or law. These were neither the "Loutish Brits" represented in *The Sun*, nor the passive victims of aggressive marketing duped into partying, as suggested by Briggs and Tutenges (2014). First and foremost the participants in this research had *fun* in Ibiza. They laughed, danced, had sex, got drunk, made new friends, lay on the beach, read books, went swimming, watched the sunset over dinner, saw the sunrise from the beach, kissed strangers, flirted, and listened to a lot of music. And many of them took drugs. Many took more drugs than they usually take at home; some tried drugs for the first time. Some used drugs during the day, and some used them all through the night. *All* of them, without exception, described their *experience* in Ibiza with a range of superlatives, as one participant summed up:

> "We've had *the best time* here, so many memories to take home" (George, tourist).

Drugs in this context essentially represent a consumer product that tourists purchase in order to create what Measham (2004c: 344) calls 'head space' – a period of time out within bounded settings, away from the surveillance and over-regulation of consumer society. More than anything, the overwhelming experience within Ibiza was one of *connection*. The temporal experience of the holiday can be likened to the metaphor of the 'journey there; journey back' structure to storytelling that has endured for centuries. Such stories "connect people into collectivities, and co-ordinate actions among people who share the expectation that life will unfold according to certain plots" (Frank 2010: 15). As with Orpheus' descent into the Underworld, the journey narrative plunges the protagonist into a strange new world before returning to the safety of home (Yorke 2013: 69). This reflects the narratives of participants who frequently voiced a magical, sense of the unreal (see Chapter 12). As one tourist said:

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

This journey into the 'strange new world' of Ibiza enabled tourists and workers to connect in a number of ways. This connection to others within the

Disneyized spaces of Ibiza is made more powerful by the sense of disconnection that many young people feel at home in UK. The social atomisation of late modernity along with changes in patterns of leisure mean that many young people often live *virtual* social lives, with human connection mediated via the screens of tablets and smartphones in a dull "urban somnambulism" (Young 2007: 174). Thus the sense of fear and distrust that colours our perception of strangers in the late-modern cityscape (Raban 1974) fade in Disneyized space. As Bauman (2000: 95) states, the "meeting of strangers is an *event without a past*. More often than not, it is *also an event without a future* … a story most certainly 'not to be continued', a one-off chance, to be consummated in full while it lasts". The pleasure and presence of such connections are amplified in Ibiza and were frequently intertwined with the socialising effects of drugs such as ecstasy.

> "You get so loved up. It's unbelievable. We were dancing last night and we all got in a circle and just starting hugging" (Paul, tourist)

Indeed, this desire for sociability has been described as a core aspect of the tourist experience, with fleeting temporary bonds formed during travel leaving indelible cherished memories (Harrison 2003), as indicated in these excerpts:

> "When you work out here you meet the best people in the world" (Jack, bar worker)

> "People you meet here are wicked. People you wouldn't meet everyday at home. The best thing about being here has been meeting these [points to two friends made whilst in Ibiza]" (Matt, tourist)

Connection with friends is only one aspect however. Many of the tourists and workers gave vivid accounts of moments where they felt deeply connected to themselves and to the crowd, as a consequence of the synergy between dancing, the music and the drugs (see Chapter 12). This "oceanic experience" – the feeling of deep connection to the crowd - is *rarely attained with the music alone* (Malbon 1999: 110). It is the use of ecstasy that enabled many of the participants in this study to intensify this oceanic state, and to lose themselves in moments of benevolent euphoria.

> "I wandered through the different rooms in the club, and it was just like I was floating. I put my hand up for people to touch as they passed me. Everyone's just smiling at each other, *everyone*. Then I walk into this room and Primal Scream came on. I've *never* felt so happy. I just started dancing on my own – but not on my own – like the whole crowd is with me" (Carla, tourist)

The emotion and the sensuality of these connections are hard to capture in words alone, but the privilege of ethnographic immersion adds depth by prioritising the voice of the participants and engaging with the social context. Whist survey research in this area has been an invaluable source of information about the patterns and extent of drug use within tourist spaces, ethnographic fieldwork captures a sense of the collective euphoria of the crowd on ecstasy; it can capture some of the claustrophobic intensity of the sound and heat in DC-10 as the sweat drips from the low roof; and it can catch the easygoing ambivalence of a summer-time drug dealer with 40 ecstasy pills in his pocket. This method enables a more nuanced, in-depth appreciation of drug tourism beyond the descriptive data of survey design research (Uriely and Belhassen 2005b). Cultural criminology therefore compliments statistical analysis by drawing out the meaning, emotion and sensual pleasures wrapped up in the use of illicit drugs. The tourists and seasonal workers featured in this research perceived their time in Ibiza as a phantasmagoric, spectacular experience. As drug use was frequently a part of this experience, to cloak this in the language of deviant pathology would be a misrepresentation. Instead, it is argued that in order to *understand* drug use, mainstream criminology needs to break out of positivist constraints and engage in methods that reveal situated social meaning from the ground up. With this in mind, I leave the last words in this section to Maria (tourist):

> "I felt completely weightless and completely connected to everyone and *everything*. I couldn't talk. It was like every part of *me* was a part of everything else around me. Words aren't enough. It was a hundred times more wonderful and profound than that" (Maria, tourist, 'coming up' on ecstasy whilst dancing)

Disneyization of Drug Use: From Ibiza to Music Festivals.

Having asserted the need for an ideological shift in regard to the study of drug use, this section examines how the framework of Disneyization theorised in this research can be applied to other bounded spaces. This is possible as an abstract understanding of particular spaces and situations can allow social constructionists to move from local worlds to a more general conceptual level, with generic statements rooted in particular temporal, social, and situational conditions (Charmaz 2000: 398). As such Disneyization can potentially be applied to other 'play spaces', defined by Measham (2004c: 343) as settings characterised by "the possibilities of pleasure, excess and gratification", from controlled licensed venues of the urban NTE, to unregulated wild zones. To demonstrate this application, the focus now moves to examine the Disneyization of drug use within music festivals.

Until a major period of growth around the new millennium, music festivals were relatively small-scale events that were few in number. However a 70% market increase occurred between 2003 and 2007 with tens of thousands of people attending festivals on an annual basis (Mintel 2013). Such carnivalesque 'urban spectacles' (Gotham 2005) have continued to proliferate in recent years. Indeed, between 2010 and 2015 the 45% growth in the festival market was the strongest rise in the entire leisure sector, with British consumers alone spending approximately £2.1 billion (Mintel 2015). *Glastonbury* for example, the largest festival in the world, takes place every June on Worthy Farm, in southwest England. It began in 1970 and was founded on a countercultural ethos embracing the hippie movement. Now almost half a century old, the festival has grown from a capacity of 1,500 to over 177,000, with people travelling from all over the world to enjoy an array of music and entertainment staged over five days (Bailey 2013). For many attendees, alcohol and illicit drug use is part of the carnival experience of such events, and much like holidays, they are constructed as highly anticipated breaks from the mundane routines of daily life (Dilkes-Frayne 2015). Indeed those wanting a frequent reminder of the number of days remaining until the next Glastonbury festival can follow the countdown on *Twitter,* "one tweet at a time" (Glasto Countdown 2016).

Much like the evidence base relating to drug use amongst tourists in Ibiza (see Chapter 2), research on festivals is dominated by survey research outlining patterns of drug use amongst attendees (Hesse and Tutenges 2008c, Jenkinson et al. 2014 and Lim, Hallard and Hocking 2008). For example, Hesse, Tutenges and Shliewe (2010) examined the prevalence of substance use amongst a sample of 1,772 people at the *Roskilde* Festival in Denmark. They concluded that people often use drugs for the first time at such events, whilst others re-engage in drug use after periods of abstention. In the survey research that has focused on festivals, attendees report higher rates of illicit drug use compared with the general population. Moreover, as with participants in Ibiza, the use of such substances generally escalates during the condensed period of the festival (Dilkes-Frayne 2015, Hesse and Tutenges 2008, Lai et al 2013 and Lim, Hallard and Hocking 2008).
Whilst such research is invaluable in clarifying the parameters of the 'problem', the descriptive nature of survey data provides limited scope for theoretical interpretation (Shaw and Williams 2004: 118). The dominance of survey research at festivals therefore leaves a gap in the evidence base, with the role of space and place "often treated as passive and peripheral" (Dilkes-Frayne 2014: 446). Consequently, it is argued that socio-cultural practices need to be read alongside the spatial, temporal and affective dynamics of festivals in order to understand how people make decisions about drug-use (Dilkes-Frayne 2014, 2015). The Disneyization theory proposed within this thesis, therefore offers a framework that could overcome this under-theorisation, as the bounded play spaces of festivals share much in common with the tourist bubbles of Ibiza.

To take the first of the four pillars of Disneyization, music festivals are subject to the same 'top-down / bottom up' *themes* of hedonism that have been theorised in regard to Ibiza (see Chapter 10). The *Tomorrowland* festival for example, is a major European EDM event staged in Belgium over three days in July. The official website for the festival carries the marketing strapline, "Live Today – Love Tomorrow – Unite Forever" (Tomorrowland 2016). Meanwhile in the UK, the official website for the Electro-Daisy Carnival (EDC) held in Milton Keynes, paints the festival "experience" with thinly veiled allusions to the sensual experiences of ecstasy:

> "As the day's vivid colors 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)

This 'top down' Disneyized narrative serves two purposes. Firstly, the ambiguity of the language ensures that the words slip beneath the radar of moral entrepreneurs and those upholding the law. This helps maintain an official façade that illicit substances will not be tolerated within the festival 'bubble'. Meanwhile, the embedded allusions to drug use *simultaneously* appeal to those who know from experience that festivals represent a suspension of the rules. Disneyized theming of festivals therefore occurs on a dual level, with experience stagers providing a smokescreen of 'acceptable' hedonism, which is subverted by those involved once inside the bounded space of the festival. This is evident in the prevalence of high purity MDMA – in pill, powder, and crystal forms – found within forensic testing at festivals over the last three years (Measham 2016). A finding reflected in research examining drug-related social media content in relation to music festivals. This revealed over 40,000 *Instagram* posts linking MDMA use to the EDC festival (Drug Abuse 2016). Such events are therefore subject to the same process of place branding that occurs with Ibiza as a tourist resort, with a range of actors uniting to reinforce powerful narratives of hedonism (Ulldemolins 2014: 3027). The second pillar of Disneyization, *branding and merchandising* is also clearly evident in relation to festivals (Borlagdan et al. 2010). As with participants in Ibiza, music festival attendees embrace brand attributes with conspicuous displays of affiliation through the wearing of festival wristbands for weeks afterward, and the more permanent affiliation of festival-related tattoos such as the example in *Image 14.1*:

Image 14.1: Tattoo of *Tomorrowland* festival symbol (Pinterest 2016)

Such festival brand affiliation ties in with the issue of distinction discussed in Chapter 11, with attendees drawing cultural capital from their perceived 'superior' choice of festival in comparison with others. In a comprehensive review of UK festivals for example, 'V Festival' was described in the following terms: "unashamedly mainstream and all about the pop. If you fancy a dance in the mud with your mates and don't mind all the commercial stuff, you'll have a blast" (Denham 2015). Thus claims of taste and countercultural notions of 'cool' are affiliated to music festivals in much the same way as discussed in relation to choices made in Ibiza, with narratives of commerciality and authenticity again coming to the fore (Wilks 2009).

Like Ibiza, *performative labour* within festivals encapsulates all manner of performers responsible for staging phantasmagoric experiences, including DJs, musicians, set builders, dancers, actors, poets, lighting technicians and sound engineers. As McEvoy (2012) states, event spaces such Glastonbury's infamous afterhours area, *Shangri La*, reflect the performance of Gothic narratives that have been woven into aspects of the festival, and these are frequently infused and enhanced with the use of illicit drugs. The role of such performers within the drug scene of festivals is yet to be established. Whilst they may well be involved in the dealing (and use) of illicit substances, the extent of this remains anecdotal. As they are acting within Disneyized festival 'bubbles' that are formed and disassembled in a matter of days, there are likely to be both similarities and differences with British seasonal workers in Ibiza.

The *performance of security* is also very much in evidence within festival space. Whilst drug use is an integral part of the festival experience for some attendees, official marketing of such events does of course promote clear messages of intolerance in order to fulfill legal obligations, as the following example demonstrates:

> "The dealing in or use of illegal drugs is not condoned by Glastonbury Festival. Drug enforcement laws are as applicable on site as anywhere else in the country. Police officers will be on site and will deal with drug offences in accordance with national guidelines. If you deal in drugs, it is likely that you will be arrested" (Glastonbury Festival 2016)

However, despite this official narrative, police generally occupy a low-key role at festivals with a focus on the seizure of drugs, rather than arrests. Consequently whilst 880 ecstasy tablets were seized at Glastonbury in 2015, police made only 54 drug-related arrests (Hendicott 2016) representing just 0.03% of festival attendees. The nature of policing is therefore transformed within the Disneyized space of festivals. This was recently observed during my involvement in a research project at Cambridgeshire's *Secret Garden Party*. In a symbolic display of control, the Police and festival security staged a highly visible operation at the tightly controlled entrance of the event. Uniformed officers and 'sniffer' dogs patrolled the queue of attendees, whilst elaborately thorough bag searches were conducted by security. This represented a visual and symbolic *performance* of intolerance situated *outside* the physical parameter of the festival. Conversely, once *inside* the Disneyized bubble, police and security presence was barely noticeable despite endemic use of club drugs across the festival site. Indeed, forensic testing at the site revealed high purity MDMA crystal and high strength ecstasy to be present (Brooks 2016). Police officers 'turning a blind eye' to drugs such as cannabis is of course nothing new (Warburton, May and Hough 2005: 113). However, the pillars of Disneyization seem to blunt police legitimacy, founded as it is on their ability to control space (James 2006: 475). Consequently, policing within festivals often becomes low-key, tolerant and performative – as shown in *Image 14.2*:

Image 14.2: Performative policing at Glastonbury festival (Chilton 2011)

Theming, merchandising, and performative labour - the first three pillars of Disneyization - are therefore clearly evident within festivals. Crucially, these create the structural context for the *hybrid consumption* of illicit drugs within the boundaries of the event. A multitude of distinct consumer opportunities are interwoven within festival space, and this includes the trading and consumption of illegal substances. Furthermore, as in Ibiza, it can be argued that this hybrid consumption is facilitated via a sense of liminality and through the creation of immersive atmospheres within festivals. As such, attendees experience a hiatus from the usual rules of daily life, as a connection with others enables “different norms and identities to emerge, including those around drug use” (Dilkes-Frayne 2015: 2). What is remarkable about the context of festivals is the sheer speed within which the ‘bubble’ of hybrid consumption is created and then deconstructed. This represents a kind of ‘pop up’ hedonism where the pillars of Disneyization are rapidly instilled within a physically bounded space, and then dismantled just a few days later – allowing those entering the bubble to suspend social rules before going back to their lives at University or the routines of work and family. As one ethnographer states:

> “Entering the grounds of the music festival was like entering another world for the day. Although the tickets say things about rules of the festival being like rules of the outside world, there is a sense that social rules and ways of relating to each other were quite different from the outside world, allowing people to engage with each other with a sense of freedom, free from the formality of being among strangers in the ‘real world’.” (Borlagdan et al. 2010: 97)

The festival is therefore a kind of city in its own right; it sits outside the parameters of normal life. It is a place where people converge because the boundaries of social hierarchy that are important outside seem to blur and disappear within the temporal parameters of the event (Barton 2012). This oceanic experience within festivals is partially a consequence of the immersive spectacles that take place. The staged experiences help create the kind of spectacular multi-sensual atmospheres that can be enhanced with illicit drugs. This is conveyed in Julien Temple’s highly commended *Glastonbury After Hours* documentary capturing the *Shangri-La* area of the festival. The *Blade Runner*-like set is built by 1,500 crew and performers who provide a dystopian pleasure city where “interactive installations and wrap around venues, ground breaking live art and performance, epic-scale subversive artworks and multifarious music programming unify to inspire and engulf its audiences” (Glastonbury Festival 2016) (see *Image 14.3*).

> Some materials have been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version can be viewed in Lancester Library - Coventry University.

Image 14.3: Shangri-La, Glastonbury festival (photograph: Culture24 2014)

This engulfing, wrap around atmosphere within Shangri La has marked similarities with the descriptions of Ibiza in Chapter 12. The uniquely immersive nature of the original Disneyland (Bryman 2004: 102) therefore appears to be a defining quality of Disneyization in its replication across other consumer contexts. I would therefore argue that *immersive atmosphere* represents a *fifth pillar* of Disneyization. This study therefore builds upon Bryman's original conceptualisation in 2004. Such atmospheres saturate Disneyized space in profoundly sensual ways, and can completely transform the affective experience of those present (Edensor and Sumartajo 2015, Shaw 2013: 88). As in Ibiza, festivals create ethereal immersive atmosphere through a powerful synergy of light, sound, and the crowd. This atmosphere is enhanced and interwoven with drugs such as MDMA and ketamine to create 'phantasmagoric realms' (Edensor 2015: 332) such as Shangri-La, a festival space that comes alive after midnight in "a great swell of music, art, drugs, joy, fear and wild abandonment" (Barton 2012).

This section demonstrates that the theory of Disneyization can be applied as a means of understanding drug use within other bounded settings. In considering music festivals, it is argued that criminologists need to place a greater recognition of the active role of space and place in mediating drug use. Disneyization represents a useful framework in this context. Such spaces essentially represent an ambiguous paradox within the legal framework. Whilst the Misuse of Drugs Act (HM Government 1971) stipulates a clear classification system of illegal substances – Disneyized tourist enclaves, festivals and other play spaces subvert this legislation. Event stagers create experiences that are enhanced by the use of 'Class A' substances amongst many of those attending. Furthermore, as a form of hybrid consumption – this collapses in on legal forms of intoxicants and is both normalised amongst attendees and tolerated by police in an unspoken, temporal suspension of rules.

Applying the principles of Disneyization to festivals demonstrates that space is not simply a value-free backdrop to human action; rather it is a key constituent of drug use practices, pleasures and experiences (Dilkes-Frayne 2015: 2). This view is reiterated in film director, Julien Temple's summation of Glastonbury:

> “Place is really important. Like Shangri-La, 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).

Disneyization therefore offers a meaningful structured approach to understanding spaces such as festivals. Indeed, in an interesting ‘theory-becomes-reality’ twist, *Walt Disney Corporation* is currently in the process of purchasing SFX Entertainment – and as such will take over the staging of the *TomorrowWorld* EDM Festival. As Lee (2016) reports:

> “Disney has currently expressed curiosity in locating a way to integrate the theme park into the current electronic music establishment, probably alluding to TomorrowWorld returning in a newly presented theme park and resort type.”

Perceptions of Risk in Disneyized Space

Image 14.4: Ambivalence in the West End, San Antonio (photograph: Tim Turner)

If an image can “say something significant about the world” that it attempts to capture (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 230), what then are we to make

of the image above? It is 2pm and a male tourist lies prostrate on the pavement of the West End, intoxicated to the point of inertia (it was not clear whether he was drunk, or perhaps in a ketamine induced catatonia). Meanwhile, those around him pay scant attention. Tourists drink, chat or just walk on by, whilst the PR girl in the fore of the frame stands ambivalently just a few feet away. The image conveys both the differential normalisation of hyper-intoxication in the space of the West End, and the relative ambivalence to risk and harm amongst the actors present.

Although the focus of this research was not the issue of harm, the findings nevertheless have implications for promoting the health and wellbeing of those within the Disneyized spaces of Ibiza, music festivals and other such bounded settings. Risk revolves around two principal concepts: objective determinants represent the likelihood of a negative outcome of an action within a particular context, and subjective determinants, the *perceived* threat of danger associated with a particular action (Luhmann 1993). The latter of these forms the focus of this section, as interpretations of risk are not shaped in a cultural vacuum, rather they are grounded within the social milieu (Kelly 2005: 1444). It is therefore important to understand how drug use amongst tourists in Ibiza interconnects with risk attitudes shaped by differentially normalised tourist bubbles (Jaakson 2004) and other examples of Disneyized space such as music festivals.

To continue with the Disney theme park analogy, the consumption of club drugs in Ibiza can in some ways be likened to the experience of riding a rollercoaster. The seduction of the latter is essentially founded on a gulf between reality and perception. To ride the rollercoaster we must believe that we are actually safe, whilst simultaneously experiencing the thrill of danger. If we do not believe that we are safe then we would not get on the ride, and without the perception of danger there would be no sense of exhilaration (Steeves 2003: 178), or as one participant succinctly put it:

> “I thought I was having a heart attack. It was brilliant.” (Essex Boy 4, tourist)

In relation to the tourists in this study, the differential normalisation of drugs in certain spaces seems to instil this same sense of safety amongst tourists, whilst nevertheless enabling them to perceive and play out the kind of edgy

countercultural identities outlined in Chapter 11. In some ways, this affords tourists the opportunity to experience edgework as defined by Stephen Lyng (1990: 855) but in a context that does not threaten their sense of order to any great extent. In the excerpts below, two interviewees, Nick and George, allude to this altered perception of risk when comparing the qualitative difference between using drugs at home and in Ibiza:

> "Drugs are just accepted here, simple as that. It's not the same as home, people just don't worry about it here" (Nick, bar worker / drug dealer)
> "I wouldn't do the stuff I do here at home … pills, whatever, it's just the done thing here, everyone does it" (George, tourist)

Such Disneyized space therefore arguably creates a sense of ambivalence in regard to drug use. This was not necessarily founded on a lack of awareness about drugs amongst participants, but rather the *perception* that they were unlikely to be harmed, an issue that also characterises Disney parks:

> "Guests get reckless, thinking, "This is Disneyland. Nothing bad can happen to me." (Koenig 2006: 179)

Perceptions of the potential consequences of drug use therefore influence intent, both in terms of deciding to try certain drugs for the first time and in continuing to use them (Martins et al. 2011: 551), and these perceptions are shaped by the differential normalisation of club drugs within the socio-cultural context of Disneyized spaces such as those found in Ibiza and music festivals. Gamma et al (2005: 390) argue that one of the strongest behavioural determinants of drug use is witnessing immediate adverse effects. However, an ecstasy-related fatality occurred during one period of fieldwork, and the reaction amongst tourists to this news was ambivalent, as these excerpts illustrate:

> "I mean we read the paper about the lass dying [in a superclub], and not one person flinched. Not one of the group said 'oh I'm not going to have a pill tonight'. Then the group next to us started talking about it and they said the exact same thing, not one of them said they weren't going to have one that night." (Ben, tourist)

> "We heard about the girl that died. One of my mates cut his finger in a club, on a glass, and the paramedics took him away. They said 'gold leaf' [pills] are fine, but to watch the red ones. We only got those the first day, we had a couple on the second day, but mostly we've been getting the ones called 'white females'. They're better." (Male media student, tourist)

This apparent ambivalence did not however mean that tourists were unaware of the potential harms associated with their use of club drugs; rather they balanced *perceived* risks against *perceived* benefits (Kelly 2005: 1454), as illustrated in the following excerpt:

> "I'd been told not to buy pills from people inside the club but I still bought a rockstar [ecstasy] from a random lad. You know, it's not a very sensible thing to do, I'd been warned against it, but at the time I was partying and needed to go for another few hours and I needed to get another one, so it's just like [shrugs shoulders to show ambivalence]." (Matt, tourist)

This shows how perceptions of risk are potentially distorted within Disneyized space, with differential normalisation conveying a sense of well-being and ambivalence. This can transform patterns of drug use within such space as people step into the hedonistic bubbles of tourist resorts, clubs, and music festivals. To contextualise this risk, it is important to acknowledge that drug use is only *one aspect* of health and wellbeing in such spaces. For example, the participants in this study described exposure to a multitude of potentially harmful situations and issues, including: exhaustion from lack of sleep; sunburn; dehydration; sexual risk-taking; alcohol intoxication; violent crime; theft; sexual assault; and police-related violence. Whereas mainstream criminology invariably foregrounds the risks of drug use, it is important to maintain perspective and view this as only *one aspect* of a number of issues that potentially impact on the health and wellbeing of those operating in Disneyized play spaces. Indeed, ironically it can be argued that one of the key factors that exacerbates risk in relation to drugs is their illegal status, with numerous examples of participants reluctant to seek help during fieldwork:

> "I notice a girl vigorously shaking her friend by the shoulders. She's unresponsive and her head flops from side to side. When she opens her eyes briefly, they roll into the back of her head. Her friend is frantic and tells me that she's taken a Gold Leaf [ecstasy brand]. We try and force some water into her mouth, but she dribbles most of it down her chin. When I tell her that she needs to get a paramedic, she refuses because she's worried about the repercussions. Those watching take the decision for her and two paramedics arrive within seconds" (Tim Turner, field notes, superclub, 20 July 2011)

Two principal recommendations regarding the health of those who use recreational drugs emanate from the findings of this research. Firstly, it is recommended that innovative initiatives such as those promoted by Fiona

Measham's organisation, *The Loop*, are routinely employed within Disneyized bounded spaces such as Ibiza and music festivals. This UK-based, not-for-profit organisation conducts forensic testing of drugs within festivals and clubs, provides welfare support, and circulates health-related advice via social media. For example, *Twitter* is used to highlight the variable dosage of crystal MDMA, advising users to #CrushDabWait to avoid the dangers of overdose (see *Image 14.5*). Similarly, they rapidly disseminate invaluable information about high dosages of MDMA in pills, as well as the potentially fatal PMA (paramethoxyamphetamine) content of tablets sold as ecstasy (Sample 2015). For example, at the recent *Parklife* festival in Manchester, The Loop warned attendees that red *Mastercard* ecstasy pills there contained up to 250mg of MDMA – a potentially fatal dose (Gayle 2016). Indeed, following four recent fatalities in relation to 'Superman' pills in the UK, Professor David Nutt, Professor of Neuropsychopharmacology at Imperial College London, said:

> "As soon as the PMMA Superman pills were identified, we should have put out a warning. But we don't have a website or a proper harm-reduction process that could do this. This is a priority to prevent future deaths" (Sample 2015).

Image 14.5: #CrushDabWait campaign, *The Loop*

It is argued that such health promotion initiatives need to take account of perceptions of risk within Disneyized space. These construct harm as a consequence of the “the unfolding relations of the event whereby numerous actors come together in a way that generates harmful transformations” (Dilkes-Frayne 2014: 474). This requires an appreciation of risk perception as situated lived experience shaped by the socio-cultural context. The kind of progressive health initiatives promoted by *The Loop* could then be *routinely* incorporated into Disneyized spaces, in a recognition of “situational willingness to trivialise perceived drug-related hazards” within such contexts (Wiedermann, Niggli, and Frick 2014). Such health promotion recommendations locate risk as a property wrapped up within the chemical composition of the *drug* and of the *event*. This is an important distinction as such initiatives move away from the ideologically problematic construction of the ‘risky’ individual (Moore and Measham 2012: 64).

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn together three principal policy and practice recommendations extricated from the constructivist grounded theory research conducted in Ibiza. These have potential implications for the wider ideological framework of criminology; researchers keen to develop our understanding of drug use within bounded play spaces; and those with a stake in promoting the health and wellbeing of young people using recreational drugs. These recommendations are grounded in the evidence-base of this research, and as such are intended to be practical, realistic and potentially helpful to scholars interested in developing a cultural criminology that is sensitive to the lived experiences of those the discipline aspires to understand, but which so often only manages to condemn and pathologise.

Conclusion

Previous research on the nature of illicit drug use at tourist destinations such as the Balearic island of Ibiza has traditionally adopted a pro-establishment, mainstream criminological ideology. As such drug consumption has been implicitly or otherwise conceptualised as a phenomenon that can only be understood through a positivist framework of surveys and content analyses. Actually, the elucidation of such quantitative data has indeed proved helpful in presenting a thoroughly descriptive and tangible interpretation of the nature and patterns of unlawful drug consumption in such spaces.

The current study adopts a different approach. It both adds to and circumvents this knowledge base through adopting a cultural criminological perspective that is predicated on the epistemology of constructionism, and a methodological approach rooted in ethnography. As such, this research does not completely exclude the evidence-base from positivist, mainstream paradigms, but starts from the premise that a constructivist approach will allow us to capture more nuanced and abstract aspects associated with the use of illicit drugs. Thus, the principal aim of this study was to address the question: What is the nature and situated social meaning of illicit drug use amongst British youth in Ibiza?
This study concludes with a synthesis of the empirical findings, followed by an outline of the limitations of the research and directions for future empirical investigation.

Space, Drugs and Disneyization

This research has employed an innovative re-imagining of Bryman's (2004) concept of Disneyization to understand the relationship between drug use and social context. This is important, as criminological research has often overlooked the influence of social setting by focusing either on the psychoactive substance itself, or on the characteristics of those who use them. Epidemiological studies for example, often extricate social context from the equation altogether (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010). Where the issue of setting has been considered, it is invariably framed in the terminology of structural determinism. Briggs and Tutenges (2014: 276) for example, claim that tourists in Ibiza are essentially siphoned "pied-piper" like into "dangerous

forms of excessive consumption" by hyper-aggressive commercial forces on the island. Findings from the current study counter simplistic constructions of Ibiza as a two-dimensional exploitative environment. On the contrary, the Disneyized spaces of the island stage the kind of spectacular events that are so highly valued in the contemporary experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999), and for many tourists these events are enhanced and made *more spectacular* via the use of substances such as MDMA and ketamine.
This study therefore goes beyond static structural deterministic explanations of drug use and makes a significant contribution to the conceptualisation of differentiated normalisation. Shildrick's (2002: 47) study (see Chapter 1) argued that the normalisation thesis was overly expansive and disregarded the importance of socio-structural factors underpinning substance use, asserting how some types of drugs may be normalised for some groups of young people, but not for others. Measham and Shiner (2009: 507) subsequently revised this structural formulation of differentiated normalisation. They proposed that decisions about illicit drugs are rooted in a deeply complex interplay between 'situated choice' and 'structured action', as individuals negotiate the meaning of drug use within bounded spaces. Differentiated normalisation, they argued, occurs within different social groups depending upon the opportunities and constraints afforded by the structural milieu in which they operate (Pilkington 2007: 214). This research provides an empirical and theoretical contribution to this conceptualisation of differentiated normalisation by corroborating the significance of bounded space, and *deconstructing it through the four pillars of Disneyization.* Furthermore, this study revises Bryman's (2004) framework and adds *immersive atmosphere* as a fifth pillar of Disneyization. This therefore adds an additional layer to our understanding of differentiated normalisation and bounded space, and demonstrates the role of corporations in staging events that people frequently choose to enhance with illicit drug use. The conceptualisation of space in this thesis therefore offers a new way of understanding differentiated normalisation in a range of bounded leisure spaces including tourist resorts, nightclubs and music festivals. The application of the framework in Ibiza is synthesised in the following section.

Firstly, strong *themes* of hedonism and intoxication, rooted in Ibiza's socio-cultural history, define the island's sense of place. Such narratives are

amplified from the ‘top down’ in touristic marketing of the island, with the island’s nighttime economy heavily branded with *merchandise* to promote certain youthful lifestyles and hedonistic aspects of identity. Such theming is reinforced from the ‘bottom up’ as tourists reimagine sanitised themes of hedonism and interweave the use of certain illicit drugs. This represents a subverted form of *hybrid consumption*, where legal and illegal forms of intoxication collapse in on one another to appear entirely normalised within Disneyized spaces of the island. These spaces engulf actors within highly *immersive atmosphere* that are created in a magical synergy between light, sound, and the sociality of the crowd. Each of which is enhanced by drugs such as MDMA and ketamine. As such it becomes ‘normal’ to use drugs in higher quantities than at home, or try drugs for the first time whilst in Ibiza. It becomes ‘normal’ to be offered drugs, or to see people using drugs. Indeed, for many British seasonal workers engaged in *performative labour*, the prolonged exposure to Disneyized space also makes the selling of illegal substances a normalised ‘structured action’ founded on ‘situated choice’. Whilst these five pillars have been considered separately within the findings, they are deeply enmeshed and cannot be extricated in terms of individual influence on drug use within Disneyized space. Rather they are five interconnected, overlapping concepts that theorise both the space in which drug use occurs and the choices that actors make within it. As such the findings of this study neither pathologise the setting of Ibiza nor the actors present. Instead drug use is understood as a feature of deeply complex interactions between structure, agency and pleasure – a relationship that has been frequently overlooked in past research in this area (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010).

Research Limitations and Future Directions

Three principal limitations of this study have been identified. Firstly, aside from observations at the departure airport, fieldwork was conducted almost entirely within the context of Ibiza. Theoretical sampling focused attention on certain spaces on the island associated with EDM, nightlife, and drug use amongst young, British tourists. As with all ethnographic research, there are no claims that this study offers a representative sample of ‘young, British tourists’, nor does it capture the entirety of Ibiza as a tourist location. Instead, the study provides a comprehensive analysis of a particular social group acting within

particular Disneyized spaces of the island. Whilst it would have been interesting to follow up participants on their return to the UK, longitudinal analysis was not possible within the constraints of the research and was not within the remit of the research question. Irrespective of the narrow focus of the research, the Disneyized framework applied within Ibiza is of theoretical relevance to other bounded spaces that incorporate illicit drug use.

Secondly, the study set out to explore the nature and meaning of *illicit* drug use within Ibiza. This focused attention on 'club drugs' associated with EDM, principally: ecstasy, MDMA crystal and powder, ketamine and cocaine. It was the *criminological* lens of the research that informed this focus on illicit substances. Whilst alcohol consumption was endemic across participants, the nature, meaning and role that this plays in relation to drug use was not analysed in any depth and was not at the fore of participant narratives. However, it is acknowledged that processes of decriminalisation across international borders, as well as the popularity of new psychoactive substances have made distinctions between legal and illegal substance use more blurred in recent years. Consequently, future investigation could focus on the broader nature and meaning of *intoxication* within Disneyized space, irrespective of the socially constructed legal status of the substances concerned.

Thirdly, as the focus of this study was to develop an understanding of the nature and meaning of drug use from the perspectives of those involved, this necessitated the theoretical sampling of those actively engaging in such consumption. Consequently, analysis of the experiences and motivations of those choosing *not* to take drugs was limited within the findings. Developing our understanding of situated choice and structured action in regard to desistance is therefore a relevant area of future investigation. This would help sharpen our appreciation of agency as individuals and social groups negotiate decisions about drug use within the same Disneyized space.

Aside from future directions of research founded on the limitations of this study, two further areas of investigation have been drawn from the findings. The relationship between drug use and liminal space represents an interesting avenue of focused enquiry. It is proposed that the Disneyization framework

could be employed to analyse the differential normalisation of illicit drugs within other liminal tourist contexts. The opportunities for this are diverse and could include the beach parties of Goa, weekend stag tours of Amsterdam; or the annual “post-exam carnage” (Salkeld 2009) of Newquay in the summer. On a smaller scale, the role of hotels and international airports as ‘inbetween’ spaces is also worthy of further investigation. Such focused research would help develop our understanding of the complex relationship between space, disconnection and changes in patterns of behaviour around intoxication. The framework of Disneyization therefore offers researchers a fresh analytical lens on such liminal travel spaces.

Finally, it is proposed that British seasonal workers in nightlife resorts represent an important area of future criminological research. The grounded theory approach revealed that this social group is deeply enmeshed within the drug scene of Ibiza. They consume high levels of illegal substances over more prolonged periods of time than their tourist counterparts. Many also make the transition to drug dealing within the Disneyized spaces that they occupy. Whilst this study has gone some way to illustrating the lived experience of this group, further investigation is required to add depth to our understanding. For example: why do some workers resort to drug dealing, whilst others desist? To what extent are such workers at risk of exploitation and violence within the illegal economy in Ibiza? How do such workers perceive the risks associated with dealing within Disneyized space? How does workers’ drug use in Ibiza differ to their use at home? What are the positive impacts of engaging in seasonal work in Ibiza? How do workers adapt to life in the UK after the hedonistic rigors of their time in Ibiza?

This research has provided an innovative framework for the analysis of drug use within differentially normalised space, and opened up many potential areas of future investigation. These include areas of analysis that focus on both structure and agency, as these are mutually important in developing our understanding of contemporary forms of drug use within Disneyized space.

Final Thoughts

> Stag 1: These two fuckers are '*researching drugs'* here! [laughing to his friends, as he does quote marks with his fingers]
>
> Stag 2: [laughing] Well, you've come to the *right fucking town*, boys!

It is fair to say that the above reaction amongst participants was not uncommon. Playing along with such good-natured teasing was an important way of developing rapport with tourists and workers alike. Frustratingly however, this view was not confined to those in Ibiza. Indeed, the first tentative discussion of the project with my line manager ended with a dismissive expletive as he showed me the door. Friends meanwhile, looked on my research either with a sense of bemused admiration that I had somehow 'duped the system', or with feigned annoyance at the "waste of tax payers' money". Such scepticism was discussed during an early meeting with my PhD supervisor who said about the study: "Of course it matters but you are going to have to work hard to prove that to other academics. And then, even if you convince them, they may hate you for it because it drops them in a world of post-modern angst"! These views seem to resonate with the reluctance amongst academics to acknowledge *pleasure* in their work with drug users. In a bid to retain credibility, researchers engaged in such work seem to dutifully fall back on the 'serious' narratives of deviance and pathology, with misery and harm portrayed as the inevitable consequence of those misguided enough to step into the realms of illegal forms of intoxication. Whilst reactions to this research have therefore been frustrating at times, the significance of the findings demonstrate that such views are wholly unjustified. This study sought to amplify the narratives of those involved and has yielded powerful theoretical assertions about the nature of illicit drug use and the setting in which it occurs. The research challenges criminologists to break out of ideological constraints to understand drug use from the perspectives of those involved, rather than through the prism of the medico-legal framework that dominates the evidence base. The findings, grounded in the data, show how deep engagement with the social worlds of those who use drugs can reveal insights into setting that are obscured by other methods. Most importantly, the study offers researchers an innovative, fresh and meaningful framework for understanding the differential normalisation of drugs within bounded space. Disneyization can be employed to theorise drug use from the

sunset hedonism of Café Mambo to the full moon parties of Koh Phangan. This is just a start point.

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List of Appendices

Research to examine alcohol and drug use amongst British tourists in Ibiza

Participant Information sheet

Who are we?

We are researchers from Coventry University. Between us, we have extensive research experience on issues of drinking, drug use, crime, violence, victimisation, and social exclusion.

What are we doing?

We are carrying out a research study of British tourists' use of alcohol and drugs in Ibiza. This involves us making observations in public areas and interviewing people individually and in small groups. We are also looking at the role of bars, clubs, and the Ibiza environment in the promotion of alcohol and drug use.

Why are we doing it?

This research will help further our understanding of alcohol and drug use by exploring the opinions and perspectives of tourists themselves. The results of this research will be published in academic journals and contributes to a PhD being undertaken by one of the research team. Results may also impact on social policy.

Confidentiality and Consent

Your involvement in this study will be confidential. Only the researchers involved in the study will have access to the data. *Please note that we do not wish to know about any serious criminal offences that you might have been involved in which have or might have resulted in serious injury to other people. If you reveal such information the research team are under an ethical obligation to report such incidents to the police.*

You will remain anonymous, your name and other personal information that might lead to your identity will not be used. You will be given a false name.

The interview will be recorded, transcribed and then digital data will be deleted.

You do not have to answer all the questions. You do not have to answer any question that makes you feel uncomfortable or that relates to matters that you do not wish to talk about.

You have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time without disadvantage to yourself and without being obliged to give any reason.

Please be as honest as you can so our research can be accurate.
Thank you for your time and enjoy your holiday!

Appendix 2: List of Key Informants

Informant(s)	*Details*
Matt	Type of informant: Tourist Gender: Male Age: 20 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Highest Educational Attainment: GCSE Employment: Plasterer Background Information: On an 18-30 holiday with friends. Met in a West End bar one afternoon. Arranged to meet in his hotel later the same day. Interviewed in reception area with two male friends he'd met on holiday. Had got through all of his spending money within three days and resorted to dealing ecstasy to sustain his holiday.
Jack	Type of informant: Bar worker Gender: Male Age: 21 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: A' level Employment: Sales (when in UK) Background Information: Met in a bar in West End. Had visited Ibiza before as a tourist. First season working abroad before going to University. Regular user of ecstasy. Dismissive of ketamine. Met up on several occasions, including one night out in West End.
Ella	Type of informant: Ticket seller Gender: Female Age: 25 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Administrator (in UK) Background Information: She had made several visits to Ibiza as a tourist. Met as I approached her during one of her 12 hour shifts selling tickets near the West End. As it was quiet she agreed to an interview.
Nick	Type of informant: Bar worker / drug dealer Gender: Male Age: 22 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Sales (in UK) Background Information: Initially met him when he was working in a West End bar. Met on numerous occasions and over different field visits. He had worked in Ibiza bars for three consecutive summers. Coincidentally met in August 2012 (when he was back as a tourist) and went for a night out with him. Supplemented Ibiza income by dealing pills on a frequent basis.
Alex	Type of informant: Tourist Gender: Male Age: early-30s Ethnicity: White British

	Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Teacher Background Information: Articulate professional (teacher) in his early 30s. Met in a bar in San Antonio. Takes music and the club scene very seriously. Visited Ibiza several times before. Interviewed formally over a couple of hours in a quiet bar in the afternoon. Also went to Ushuaia (beach club) with him and his partner.
Jed, Zac & Ashley	Type of informants: Tourists Gender: Male Age: 20-21 Ethnicity: White British (Jed and Zac) Black British (Ashley) Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Students Background Information: Met at 2am in a West End bar. As we started to chat, Jed almost immediately offered me a 'key' [of ketamine] in full view of the room. After hanging out with them until closing time at 4am, I take their numbers and they agree to meet me the next day for an interview.
Pete, Ibiza 24/7	Type of informant: Manager, Charity Gender: Male Age: Mid-30s Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Unknown Education: Unknown Employment: Manager of charity, Ibiza 24/7 Background Information: Ibiza 24/7 is a West End charity that helps tourists who have become unwell or distressed through intoxication. They provide pastoral care and links to medical services where necessary. They also provide ongoing support to seasonal workers. I approached Pete for an interview, and although he was initially quite suspicious that I was a journalist, he agreed.
John	Type of informant: Bar worker / e-cigarette seller. Gender: Male Age: Mid-30s Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: GCSE Employment: Sales jobs in UK, several jobs as a Tour Rep in Greece and Spain. Background Information: Met in West End outside a bar one afternoon. Numerous visits to Ibiza as a tourist. Several summer seasons as a Tour Rep and in bar work. Regular user of ecstasy and ketamine. Met up on several occasions, including one night out.
Sam	Type of informant: Drug dealer Gender: Male Age: 21 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: A' levels & due to start University Employment: Sales (in UK) Background Information:

	Met in West End. Came to Ibiza for the summer with the intention of working in a bar. Found it difficult to find a job and rapidly embroiled into the party scene. Generates income from dealing ecstasy. Described daily use of ecstasy and / or ketamine. Starting University in September. Met up on several occasions and one night out.
Kelly	Type of informant: Bar worker Gender: Female Age: 18 Ethnicity: Dual heritage British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: GCSE Employment: Bar work in UK Background Information: Met on two occasions as a waitress in a beachside bar. She is on a trial period there and it's her third day when I interview her. She has visited Ibiza once before as a tourist (aged 17) and is a regular user of cocaine, ecstasy and ketamine.
Karen	Type of informant: PR Manager Gender: Female Age: 24 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Sales jobs in UK. Background Information: PR Manager working her third season in Ibiza. She employs PR staff to sell tickets for one of the superclubs. She knows Brina from UK and has helped get us on the guest-list for some venues. She agrees to an interview after a few days. This takes place in the afternoon as we sit on the steps of the beach.
Police Officer	Type of informant: Police Officer Gender: Male Age: Mid-30s Ethnicity: Dual heritage Spanish Sexual Orientation: Unknown Education: Unknown Employment: Police Officer (12-years in Ibiza and mainland) Background Information: After stopping to chat to us on San Antonio promenade, he agrees to a brief interview (but will not allow it to be recorded).
Ben	Type of informant: Tourist Gender: Male Age: 21 Ethnicity: Black British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Student Background Information: On holiday with four friends. Met in West End bar. Student studying *Sports and Exercise Science*. Never been to Ibiza before. Occasional use of ecstasy and cocaine at home. Daily use of ecstasy and ketamine in Ibiza.

George	Type of informant: Tourist Gender: Male Age: Early-20s Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: GCSE Employment: Electrician Background Information: Met on Bora Bora beach. He had just taken ecstasy as we started chatting under a tree near the sea. His friend had also taken ecstasy and is incessantly scooping at the sand with both hands with a big grin on his face.
Spiked girl (plus three friends)	Type of informant: Tourist Gender: Female Age: 25 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Primary School Teacher Background Information: Initially met outside a West End bar. She sat with us and seemed in need of help (distracted, non-communicative). We eventually escorted her to her hotel and reunited her with friends. We interviewed her three days later on the beach, along with four friends. They were teachers, on their first visit to Ibiza. She believes that a man who she had just met spiked her drink in the bar. She had only consumed two drinks when we met her.
Rob and Quiet One	Type of informant: Tourists Gender: Male x 2 Age: 21 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Sales Background Information: Met in a bar near the seafront, San Antonio. Rob has worked in Ibiza for two previous summers and has returned as a tourist. Quiet One is a friend who has never visited the island before. Rob used to deal drugs in Ibiza to supplement his income from bar work.
Beach Girl 1, 2 & 3	Type of informant: Tourists Gender: Females Age: Early-20s Ethnicity: White British (x2) Black British (x1) Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Students Background Information: Interviewed on San Antonio beach. They are eight days into a two-week holiday. They have been offered drugs every day, and took ketamine for the first time on the island. They use cocaine in the UK.
Manchester Male	Type of informant: Tourist Gender: Male Age: 19

	Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Gay Education: University Employment: Student Background Information: Interviewed after meeting in a bar in Play d'en Bossa. Travelled to Ibiza with six friends, had been on the island for 5 weeks and planned to stay for a further week. Regular use of ecstasy, cocaine, ketamine and weed throughout last few weeks.
Pacha shirt & Shades	Type of informant: Tourists Gender: Female Age: 19 and 20 Ethnicity: White British and Asian British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Students Background Information: Interviewed on Bora Bora beach near the end of their two-week holiday. Used ketamine and MDMA in Ibiza, never taken before at home.
Maria	Type of informant: Tourist Gender: Female Age: 22 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Bisexual Education: University Employment: Sales assistant Background Information: Met around the hotel pool during one morning. Interviewed and subsequently came to Bora Bora beach with me for the afternoon.
Carla	Type of informant: Tourist Gender: Female Age: 24 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Bisexual Education: University Employment: Teacher Background Information: Met in a bar in the middle of her seven-day holiday. Works as a school teacher in UK. Uses ketamine and ecstasy in Ibiza. Extensive knowledge of EDM and the Ibiza club scene.
Male Media Student	Type of informant: Tourist Gender: Male Age: 19 Ethnicity: Asian British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Student Background Information: Met in a bar in West End. Poly-drug user in UK and in Ibiza. Agreed to interview the next day. Met in a bar on San Antonio seafront.
Essex Boys (x5)	Type of informant: Tourists Gender: Male Age: Early-20s Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: GCSE Employment: All worked in the building trade Background Information:

	On holiday for one week. Met in bar in San Antonio. Poly-drug users. Interviewed and went out to a superclub with them for one night.
Jailed Irish Girls (x6) Sunglasses Broad accent Blue eyes	Type of informant: Tourists Gender: Female Age: Early 20s Ethnicity: White Irish Sexual Orientation: Unknown Education: Unknown Employment: Unknown Background Information: Met in a café in San Antonio at breakfast time. They had all just been released from police custody after being arrested at a club the previous night. The trauma of the event had been transformed into an exciting story.
Midlands Four	Type of informant: Tourists Gender: 3 males and 1 female Age: 20-22 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: A' level Employment: Property management (Mike) / electrician x 2 (Simon and Damian) / sales assistant (Sara) Background Information: Mike and Simon (early 20s) have been in Ibiza for a month as tourists. Their friends, Sara (21) and Damian (22) had joined them for a week. After a meeting and interview in the hotel, they invite me out for the evening. This begins in the hotel bar, progresses to the rocks near Café Mambo and ends in the early hours of the morning in West End. Simon meets me for second night out (on a subsequent trip) after calling me to arrange another meeting.
Fran and Harry	Type of informant: Tourists Gender: Males Age: Late-20s Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Unknown. Background Information: Interviewed on the beach in San Antonio. Harry takes ecstasy on a regular basis, but Fran only drinks alcohol.
Christian	Type of informant: Bouncer Gender: Male Age: Late-30s Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: GCSE Employment: Bar work / door security / entrepreneur. Background Information: A frequent visitor to Ibiza since 1995, both as a tourist and a seasonal worker (bar work and door security). We met in a (relatively) quiet terrace area of a superclub and chatted for a couple of hours (he was on ecstasy at the time). He agreed to an interview a few days later. We met in a

	seafront bar in the afternoon and recorded an interview on the beach.
Bianca & Sarah	Type of informant: Tourists Gender: Females Age: 19 and 20 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: University Employment: Students Background Information: They were on holiday for two weeks, and had been there for ten days. Both had been using ecstasy, M-Cat, and ketamine in Ibiza. We met on the rocks near Cafe Mambo and subsequently went for a couple of drinks in West End.
Chris	Type of informant: Bar worker Gender: Male Age: 35 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Unknown Education: Unknown Employment: Casual employment whilst travelling Background Information: Bar man, 35, West End. He'd been managing a bar in Ibiza for three months. Had been travelling for a year, and was in Thailand prior to Ibiza.
Dominika	Type of informant: Airline Cabin Crew Gender: Female Age: Late-20s Ethnicity: White Polish Sexual Orientation: Unknown Education: Unknown Employment: Cabin Crew Background Information: Informal discussion as she sat opposite me during landing and take-off on a flight from UK to Ibiza.
Tattoo Artist	Type of informant: Tattoo artist Gender: Male Age: Late-30s Ethnicity: Spanish Sexual Orientation: Unknown Education: Unknown Employment: Tattoo artist, Ibiza. Background Information: Working in a Tattoo Studio in San Antonio. Interview conducted in-situ, not recorded due to noise levels in the room.
Stephanie	Type of informant: Dancer Gender: Female Age: 22 Ethnicity: White British Sexual Orientation: Straight Education: A' levels (due to start University) Employment: Various sales jobs in UK. Background Information: Lap dancer, 22, San Antonio. Worked as a dancer for two seasons. Interview not recorded due to noise levels in bar. Planning to return home to start University at the end of the summer.

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Semi-Structured Interview Schedule

State the following information at start of interview:
Date / time / location of interview
Group participants: males / ages _____ females / ages _____

Part 1: Why Ibiza?

1. How do you know each other? Where are you from? What do you all do back in the UK?
2. Is this the first time in Ibiza for all of you?
3. Why did you choose Ibiza this time? What kind of people come to Ibiza?
4. Did you come with a package holiday? Were parties/drinking nights/events offered? What is the holiday rep like? Do they promote drinking?
5. What does a holiday in Ibiza mean to you? What were you hoping for / expecting? Can you summarise the 'Ibiza experience'?
6. Is the holiday what you were expecting it to be so far?
7. What are the best and worst aspects of your holiday so far?
8. Have you been on other holidays like this? If so, where? What happened? How did/does it compare?
9. Will you come back to Ibiza?

Part 2: Alcohol

1. Do all of your party drink alcohol? Any differences between party-members in terms of consumption?
2. Did you start drinking at the airport / on the plane? Why? How much?
3. What do you normally do every day in Ibiza? Can you describe an average day?
4. Where do you normally drink? What makes a good bar / club? What makes a bad bar / club?
5. What is your main reason for drinking alcohol whilst here in Ibiza?
6. How important is it to drink alcohol on this holiday? Why? What would an Ibiza holiday be like without alcohol?
7. Are drinking patterns any different in Ibiza than back home in the UK? If so, why? What do you drink, when? Do you have warm-up drinking games? Have you been out and remained sober? If so, how was it?
8. What do you think of the bars and their promotions? Which drinks to they promote? Name some typical offers.
9. How much do you spend on alcohol on an average day? Most you've spent in one day?
10. What precautions do you take in relation to your alcohol consumption?
11. Have you been on a 'booze cruise'? What happened?

Part 3: Drug Use

1. Have you been offered drugs? What? Where? Cost of drugs?

2. Do any of your party take drugs? Any differences between you?

3. Do you go to the clubs? If so, which ones and why? Do you drink there? What goes on in the clubs?

4. Have you taken drugs here? If so, which, where and why? What happened? What were the positive / negative aspects of the experience? Did you intend taking these drugs beforehand?

5. Is the setting important when you take drugs? Why? How? Where?

6. How much have you spent on drugs since arriving in Ibiza? (break down by individual drugs)

7. Do you plan to take drugs before you return home to the UK? What? Where? Who with?

8. Are there any drugs that you're thinking of trying whilst here that you've never tried before? Why? Are there drugs you would try here but not at home? Why?

9. Are there any drugs that you would definitely never try?

10. What precautions do you take in relation to your drug use?

Part 4: Risk Behaviours

- How would you describe the best and worst things that have happened to you as a consequence of drinking in Ibiza?

- Have you witnessed any extreme behaviour / risk taking amongst people who are drunk / using drugs whilst you've been in Ibiza?

- Have you got into any fights / altercations in Ibiza? What happened?

- Have you been arrested / had any other contact with the Police whilst in Ibiza? What happened? How were you treated?

- Have you been in hospital/doctors for any reason? Have you experienced any health problems here?

- How much money did you bring with you? How much have you spent? Have you spent more money than you intended to? How do you feel about what you have spent/intend to spend?

Appendix 4: Data Analysis using Constructivist Grounded Theory

Open Coding Labels	Focused Coding Concepts	Categories	Core Category
Display, hedonism, first time drug use, reputation, word of mouth, the place to be, the experience, youth, freedom, normalisation of drugs, risk and harm, the Ibiza bubble, theme park, edgework, safe risk taking, oceanic experience, magic,	Themed consumption Experience economy Spectacle, carnival	Theming of Ibiza & drug use	Disneyization of Drug Use
Authenticity, display, chav, status, cultural capital, VIP, knowledge, music, clothing, style, dirty drugs, club drugs, drug of choice, subculture, negative attitude to alcohol, ketamine use, non-drug use.	Lifestyle Distinction, Identity Taste	Branding, Merchandise & drug use	Disneyization of Drug Use
Theme parks, Suspension of norms, first time drug use, the moment, magic, visuals, music, frequency of drug use, connection to others, unreal, drug effects, buying drugs, lighting, day & night, hotels, airports, flight, freedom, anonymity, identity, ketamine, ecstasy, ambivalence.	Differential normalisation of drugs Drugs in bounded liminal tourist space (e.g. airports, hotels, beaches) Drugs and Disconnection Atmospheres (light, sound, the crowd, drugs)	Hybrid Consumption & drug use Immersive Atmosphere & drug use	Disneyization of Drug Use
Control, controllers, seasonal work, bar work, PR, hard work, low pay, instability, no job security, police, bouncers, commission only, dealing as easy and low risk, status, ambivalent to risk, legal risks, violence.	Work and pleasure Transition to dealing Performance of control	Performative Labour & drug use	Disneyization of Drug Use