



DRUGS, CRIME AND SOCIETY

DISNEYIZATION OF DRUG USE

Understanding Atypical Intoxication in Party Zones

Tim Turner

DISNEYIZATION OF DRUG USE

Disneyization of Drug Use offers an innovative, ground-up understanding of the atypical patterns of illegal drug use that often permeate multi-day party zones such as nightlife tourist resorts and music festivals.

Drawing on ethnographic research conducted over three summers in Ibiza, the book contextualizes the drug and alcohol-related experiences of tourists and seasonal workers operating in the island's infamously hedonistic party spaces. Through an innovative application of Alan Bryman's (2004) seminal work, *The Disneyization of Society*, the book argues how the same marketing principles that generate consumption in the legal economy of Disney theme parks also drives illicit drug use in Ibiza and music festivals, where the line between legal and illegal substances rapidly blurs to the point of collapse. This highly innovative book offers rich insights into the complex interplay between drug and alcohol use, agency, pleasure, risk, consumerism, and social context.

It will be of great appeal to academics and students interested in the fields of cultural criminology, deviant leisure, drug and alcohol studies, youth culture, and ethnographic research methods.

Tim Turner is an Assistant Professor of Criminology at Coventry University. His research interests focus on atypical patterns of drug and alcohol use in music festivals and other party zones. He is a volunteer research officer with The Loop, a ground-breaking service providing drug checking and harm reduction interventions within music festivals and city centres. Prior to his academic career, Tim was employed as a Forensic Mental Health Nurse in Camden Town, north London, working with violent mentally disordered offenders in the community, prisons, secure units, and police stations.

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1

INTRODUCTION

The mini ran on only three cylinders, but we didn't dwell on such mechanical trivialities. We left at dawn and headed south to a looped soundtrack of late-80s indie pulsing from the Pioneer. We'd never been away on our own, without the shadow of parental gaze. As the electricity of escape crackled through the car, we struck out for the festival, armed with a trunk-full of intoxicants and no plan.

I recount this powerful first experience of leaving the confines of home for teenage adventure through the rearview mirror of 35 years, yet the memory remains technicolor vivid – a week-long trip condensed into a flickering, cognitive film clip. In hindsight, that first seminal experience of escape reflects the fairytale monomyth and the three phases of the hero's journey – *separation*, *immersion*, and *return*. Leaving the security of home for an epic journey 'into the woods' is the premise of countless folklores, stories, myths, and movies, from *Alice in Wonderland* to *Jack and the Beanstalk*, and from *Star Wars* to *Lord of the Rings*. These enchanted, faraway realms represent 'secondary worlds', where the magical subversion of everyday life yields untold pleasures and hidden dangers (Warner 2014: xx).

This book is about the pleasures and dangers of the upside-down, magical realms of nightlife tourist resorts and music festivals. Every year, thousands of us leave the safety of home for faraway adventures in secondary worlds. Whether it's the oceanic super-club dance floors of Ibiza, or the rain-soaked, early-hours surrealism of Shangri-La at Glastonbury, we feel the need to punctuate everyday routines with periods of carnivalesque escape. When we cross the threshold of these 'bounded play spaces' – defined by Fiona Measham (2004: 343) as settings characterized by 'the possibilities of pleasure, excess and gratification' – the usual parameters of life are stripped away. And for many people, *atypical* illicit drug use is an integral, or even central, part of the experience. The emphasis on *atypical*

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use is important here because there are both untold pleasures and hidden dangers in a place where many people will try drugs for the first time, increase their usual dosage, take drugs more often, or take drugs in more harmful combinations. This book is based on extensive ethnographic research undertaken over three summers in the kaleidoscope chaos of Ibiza's party zones. It breaks open the experience of this secondary world through the eyes of those involved and shows how atypical patterns of drug use (and drug dealing) are wrapped up in a complex interplay between agency, pleasure, risk, and situated meaning. While researchers have often overlooked the relationship between drugs and social context, this book demonstrates that the backdrop to drug use is *crucial*. The question then, is how can the magical realm of Disneyland possibly tell us anything about atypical drug use in the secondary worlds of nightlife tourist resorts and music festivals?

Drugs and Disneyization in the Secondary World

The longer I spent in Ibiza, the more it felt like I'd walked through the gates of a deeply immersive adult *theme park*, but instead of rollercoasters, pirate ships, and candyfloss, this theme park was defined by ecstasy, ketamine, cocaine, alcohol, and electronic dance music (EDM). As days went by, I couldn't shake this perception, so, I began to dwell on two questions. Firstly, what are the marketing techniques that generate *legal* consumption inside the apple-pie bubble of the ultimate theme park, Disneyland? And secondly, if Ibiza *feels* like a theme park, is it possible these same techniques are driving the near industrial levels of *illegal* drug use that I was witnessing in the hyper-reality of this upside down, secondary world? So, as often happens with grounded theory, I followed an unforeseen theoretical pathway and started reading about Disneyland.

There are currently 12 Disney Theme Parks dotted around the globe, with versions in Hong Kong, Paris, Tokyo, and Shanghai. The global emergence of Disney Parks has provoked much debate in disciplines such as cultural geography, consumer studies, and leisure studies. Diverse opinions revolve around discourse related to consumerism, hyperreality, and the architectural 'play of signs' that constitutes the Disney experience (Hayward and Turner 2019). In terms of this research, it is Alan Bryman's seminal book *The Disneyization of Society* (2004) that stands out as the most significant. This far-reaching, influential text provides a comprehensive overview of the spatial dynamics and marketing principles that operate within Disney Parks. Bryman argues how more and more sectors of the post-modern landscape have replicated these same marketing principles to generate consumption in settings such as shopping malls, airports, and theme bars. This Disneyization of society, Bryman argues, is defined by 'four key pillars' – essentially marketing techniques perfected by the Disney Corporation to ensure visitors to any of their globally situated parks are thrust into a deeply immersive and memorable experience – a reflection of changing patterns of consumption in the burgeoning 'experience economy' (Pine and Gilmore 1999). These four

pillars of Disneyization are defined as *theming, hybrid-consumption, branding and merchandise* and *performative labour* – the combination of which creates a desire to ‘consume beyond necessity’ by establishing multiple consumer opportunities within spectacular staged experiences (Bryman 2004: 4). Bryman’s analysis is highly relevant to this research because, as this book will demonstrate, the marketing pillars that drive consumption in the *legal* economy of Disney parks are also evident in the *illegal* economy of Ibiza, where the boundaries between legal and illegal intoxicants have become blurred to the point of collapse.

Ibiza: Secondary World, Par Excellence

Ibiza stands as the gloriously hedonistic jewel of the Balearic archipelago. For over half a century the island has drawn the young, the wild, the hippies, the wannabes, the celebrity bourgeoisie, and the bohemian in-crowd, creating endless tales of legendary excess on sun-kissed beaches and exotic dancefloors. In the 1950s, Ibiza attracted Hollywood’s finest, with everyone from Errol Flynn to Elizabeth Taylor visiting the little-known island for idyllic, warm summer days and laidback tranquillity. The island took a countercultural turn in the 1960s when it became part of the global hippie trail for those following the advice of psychedelic pioneer, Timothy Leary, by turning on, tuning in, and dropping out. However, in the late 1980s, Ibiza culturally exploded as mass tourism linked to trance, techno, house, and other EDM genres, saw the island morph from a sleepy Balearic backwater to the epicentre of global club culture and hedonistic excess. And, of course, underpinning this dramatic rebirth was a systemic, *laissez-faire* attitude to illegal drug use amongst the island’s authorities.

Those early days of loved-up, in-the-knows dancing on the balmy, open terraces of Amnesia are long gone, replaced by the barmy, car-crash chaos of San Antonio. Even so, in the swirling summer claustrophobia of the West End and on the sunset rocks beneath the legendary Café Mambo, 21st-century Ibiza still *feels* wild. The difference is that it’s a *hyper-real* wildness orchestrated by major corporations pulling strings behind the dancers, the lasers, and the dry ice. Ibiza’s identity as the global party capital is indelible; it remains *the* place to go for European clubbing holidays. As such, this secondary world, par excellence, was the stand-out setting to situate ethnographic fieldwork.

The Research Lens

From the outset, the aim of this research was to develop our understanding of the social, psychological, cultural, and consumer processes that interconnect to create the atypical patterns of drug use that occur in secondary worlds. I wanted to get beneath the surface of the ‘Ibiza experience’ and go beyond tired narratives of rampaging Brits abroad. The island’s cultural history and transformation into global clubland mecca is a fascinating story invariably told from two contrasting viewpoints. On the one hand, a few journalistic, non-fiction books outline

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Ibiza's hedonistic history in celebratory, salacious detail. Stephen Armstrong's *The White Island* (2005) and Helen Donlon's *Shadows Across the Moon* (2017) are exemplars here. In contrast, the few social scientists who have researched Ibiza's night-time economy invariably strike a more negative tone. Consequently, the limited evidence base is dominated by narratives that frame Ibiza's party tourism as pathological, with a focus on public drug use, binge drinking, violence, sexual assault, arrests, and prostitution (for example, see Bellis et al. 2003, 2009; Briggs 2013; Briggs and Tutenges 2014; Kelly et al 2014). On my first field visit to Ibiza, in line with grounded theory, I left preconceptions at home and stepped onto the island with an open mind. After a couple of days, I was transfixed by the sheer scale of the exuberant, youthful, outrageous *fun* that surrounded me. Everyone I met, from tourists to bar workers, just seemed to be having a great time. These were not the duped, passive victims portrayed in the existing Ibiza drug literature, and I instinctively felt the people I'd met would be deeply scathing of such a (mis)representation. I wanted to put their side of the story. As such, this book, based on extensive ethnographic research in the wild zones of 'The White Isle', foregrounds the voices of those involved – primarily the tourists, the bar staff, the ticket sellers, the PR workers, the dancers, and the bouncers – and refracts their experiences, and mine as an immersed researcher, through the lens of cultural criminology. To be clear, the book does not ignore the issues of harm and risk that are undoubtedly embedded within Ibiza's night-time economy, but in contrast to previous research, neither does it shy away from documenting the multiple, experiential *pleasures* of drug use that I witnessed there, and which were recounted by those involved.

The Structure of the Book

The book has been organized around a further eight chapters. An outline of these is provided here. Chapter 2, titled, '*The Call of the Wild: Drugs, Pleasure, and Escape*' aims to set the context for the ethnographic research study undertaken in Ibiza. Firstly, the chapter provides a thorough analysis of social science research on European nightlife tourism. This outlines the existing evidence base on atypical drug and alcohol use in tourist locations such as Ibiza, Majorca, and Sunny Beach in Bulgaria as well as other spheres of harm that feature in the research. The chapter moves on to discuss the relationship between pleasure and drug use, an issue that is frequently either overlooked or deliberately sidestepped in drug research. The focus is on the pleasurable aspects of two renowned club drugs – ecstasy, and ketamine. The chapter concludes by highlighting the importance of the interplay between drugs, pleasure, and social context.

Chapter 3 is titled, '*Messy Methods and Dirty Knowledge*', and provides a systematic outline of the research methodology underpinning this study. The aim here is two-fold. Firstly, to offer a transparent account of how the research was undertaken, and secondly, to offer guidance to other researchers interested in studying drugs in secondary worlds or in the night-time economy more generally. The

chapter provides detail about the theoretical lens of cultural criminology, as well as a step-by-step outline of the ethnographic process, including access, sampling, and data collection methods. The complex ethical issues of ethnographic research in the night-time economy are explored before concluding with a section on reflexivity.

The four chapters that follow represent the key research findings and theoretical insights developed from the ethnographic fieldwork in Ibiza. These have been organized around Bryman's four key pillars of Disneyization, demonstrating how each is relevant to drug use and drug dealing in the secondary world of Ibiza. This commences in Chapter 4, with a focus on the first pillar of *Theming*. This provides an overview of how theming creates sense of place. In relation to Ibiza, I show how the island is themed from the top-down, with tour companies marketing holidays in language that alludes to drug-infused experiences in ambiguous metaphor. Meanwhile, tourists theme the island from the bottom-up, with participants describing a strong sense of knowing 'what they signed up for' when they chose Ibiza as a destination. This thematic sense of place plunges tourists into a strongly narrativized bounded space within which they make situated decisions about engaging in atypical patterns drug use within Ibiza's spectacular staged experiences.

Chapter 5 moves on to the second pillar of Disneyization, *Hybrid Consumption*. This illustrates how illicit drugs are seamlessly interwoven into the consumer landscape of Ibiza so that boundaries between legal and illegal forms of intoxication are blurred to the point of collapse. The relationship between drug and alcohol use in liminal travel spaces, such as airports and hotels, is explored, before focusing on participant narratives about drug use and a surreal sense of disconnection felt in the secondary world. The important relationship between drug use, pleasure, and *atmosphere* is also explored, breaking open the synergy between psychoactive drug effect, light, sound, and connection to self and others.

Chapter 6 focuses on the third pillar of Disneyization, *Branding and Merchandise*, and illustrates how drug and alcohol use in Ibiza is wrapped up in post-modern consumer patterns linked to notions of youth, identity, and lifestyle. The chapter draws on Bourdieu's concept of distinction and shows how participants ruthlessly judged one another, based on consumer choices, in ever decreasing circles. This includes conspicuous affiliation to branded super-clubs, and aspersions about drug of choice and both the brand of alcohol, and manner of consumption. In a subversion of the everyday, those using certain types of drugs, particularly ecstasy, perceived themselves to be more cultured and aware of the 'real Ibiza', than the 'tasteless' tourists engaged in binge drinking.

Chapter 7 focuses on *Performative Labour* the final pillar of Disneyization. This chapter shifts attention to the trading and use of illegal drugs by British seasonal workers in Ibiza. As fieldwork progressed, it became clear that this tight-knit social network play an important role in Ibiza's night-time economy. Many of the workers were engaged in a deep level of performative labour, where they embody the hedonism of the space. Casual workers have received little academic

attention in the past, this research therefore adds to our understanding of a group who are engaged in atypical patterns drug use, sometimes over entire summer seasons. Furthermore, the chapter shows how the unregulated, competitive nature of labour in Ibiza's night-time economy leads many young British workers to start dealing drugs as an additional or primary source of income. This is facilitated by what I term 'a performance of control' – essentially a *laissez-faire* attitude towards drugs amongst bouncers, security, and police on the island.

Having demonstrated how each of the four pillars of Disneyization are evident in Ibiza and intricately linked to the atypical patterns of drug use there, Chapter 8 aims to pull these findings together around three main aims. Firstly, I emphasize how the lens of cultural criminology and the ethnographic method can generate valuable insights into drug use in secondary worlds. This helps counter a mainstream narrative that often seems to pathologize those involved. Secondly, I show how the Disneyization framework can be used to generate understanding of atypical patterns of drug use in the upside down, secondary worlds of music festivals. Given the rise in drug-related fatalities at such events, this is an important, contemporary area to consider. The chapter concludes with a consideration of risk and harm linked to drug use within Disneyized party zones. I argue for the routine installation of innovative harm reduction approaches that are responsive to the way in which attitudes to risk are rapidly distorted within the parameters of these staged, secondary worlds. The book concludes in Chapter 9 with a summary of the key contributions and implications of the research. For those interested in developing this area further, I conclude by outlining the possible directions for future research.

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2

THE CALL OF THE WILD

Drugs, Pleasure, and Escape

Introduction

This chapter provides the context for the ethnographic research conducted in Ibiza. It is organized into two key sections. Firstly, the chapter provides an outline of the existing literature on nightlife tourism. This reveals the atypical patterns of drug use often wrapped up in young people's experience of European beach holidays, as well as the potential harms that are associated with this. Secondly, the chapter moves on to explore the relationship between drug use and pleasure – a dynamic that is frequently overlooked in research, with an overwhelming focus on narratives of harm and risk dominating the evidence base. This is important, as pleasure represents an obvious – but obfuscated – driving factor for drug use within the transformational experiences that young people recount in nightlife tourist resorts and similar destination party zones, such as music festivals.

Nightlife Tourism: Going Wild in the Secondary World

In Joseph Campbell's seminal work, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, the protagonist's epic journey starts with a 'call to adventure' to faraway lands – perhaps a dark forest or a mysterious island, an underground Kingdom or an ominous mountain – “places of strangely fluid and polymorphous beings, unimaginable torments, superhuman deeds, and impossible delight” (Campbell 2008: 48). It is easy to see how the carnivalesque secondary worlds of nightlife tourist resorts – where the rules of home are temporarily suspended (Urry and Larsen 2011: 12) – symbolically represent such magical realms of faraway adventure. According to Hayward (2002), these bounded experiences of transgressive leisure and carnivalesque pleasure enable us to escape the hyper-banalization of everyday life; an overwhelming sense of feeling over-controlled, both by agents of the state and in

a cultural and economic sense – a feeling that has undoubtedly been magnified under the hyper-restrictive social conditions of the pandemic/post-pandemic world. For many nightlife tourists, the experience encompasses the abandonment of reason and rationality (Presdee 1999: 7) through intoxication to achieve a ‘controlled loss of control’ (Hayward 2002) within the bounded temporal parameters of the holiday. Clubbing holidays therefore provide opportunities for experimentation and excess as young people escape the panoptic gaze of parents in the neon party enclaves of Spain, Greece, Croatia, and Bulgaria, with the exotic, other-worldly EDM super-clubs of Ibiza drawing tourists from across the globe.

Research undertaken in European nightlife destinations remains relatively scarce, and focuses on a narrow range of locations, including the principal party destinations of Ibiza, Magaluf, Ayia Napa, and Sunny Beach in Bulgaria. Drug use associated with nightlife tourism therefore remains an area of limited criminological enquiry. The 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 evidence base is bound together by a focus on the role of tourist destinations as spaces where young people can participate in identity forming experiences (Crouch 2009). As these “tourist bubbles” (Jaakson 2004: 45) are experienced and interpreted in different ways, such spaces enable tourists to behave in ways that would not be condoned within their home environment (Thurnell-Read 2012: 807).

From a methodological perspective, survey research has provided invaluable data about patterns of drug use within nightlife tourism (see Bellis et al. 2009; Hughes et al. 2009; Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014; Tutenges 2012). While such quantitative analysis provides a valuable insight into patterns of substance use amongst tourists, the data are descriptive and allow little theoretical interpretation of the socio-cultural meanings of such behaviour. As Shaw and Williams (2004: 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 (2004: 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”.

In contrast, several ethnographic studies have been carried out in nightlife resorts. Uriely and Belhassen (2005) conducted fieldwork over a two-year period to gain insight into drug use and risk-taking behaviour amongst tourists. Their 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, 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. Interview data were supplemented with 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 study enabled a more nuanced, in-depth appreciation of drug tourism beyond the descriptive data of survey design research. Their analysis of ethnographic data offered rich insights into the social meaning of drug use amongst a range of tourists.

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. Tutenges' (2012) comprehensive study of Danish youth on holiday in Sunny Beach, Bulgaria, exemplifies this. Firstly, data were obtained from anonymous surveys administered to participants ($n=1,168$) 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 utilized. 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.

Some scholars set out to provide a description of tourists' substance use in comparison to their 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 2005). 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. 2000, 2003, 2009; Hughes and Bellis 2006; Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014). In synthesizing the evidence base, findings in regard to drug use can be condensed into five main areas: *drug type*, *prevalence of use*, *frequency of use*, *location of use*, and *research recommendations*. These are outlined below.

The evidence base 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 (2005) 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 explored. 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; 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).

In terms of frequency of drug use, the results from survey research in Ibiza consistently show that drug use escalates amongst tourists in comparison to their use at home in the UK. Bellis et al. (2000, 2003) demonstrated 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; 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).

In terms of location, the evidence base shows how 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 highlighted 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=1,168) 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).

In terms of risk and harm, scholars argue that negative outcomes of drug use in nightlife resorts 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, 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, 2003; Elliott et al. 1998; 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; Kelly et al. 2014).

This section has synthesized 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 highlight 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 normalization 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).

While survey data have been valuable in highlighting these patterns of substance use, the socio-cultural factors operating within such normalized spaces require further investigation. This requires researchers to generate data from direct observation and experience (Bell 2008; Elliott et al. 1998; Thurnell-Read 2011: 807) in order to engage with the ‘force fields of emotional energy’ that characterize 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 2004; Uriely and Belhassen 2005). The ethnographic research highlighted here has gone some way to meeting this challenge. Ironically however, while the normalization thesis understates the role of structure in favour of a rational action model of drug use (Measham, Newcombe and Parker 1994; 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; Briggs and Tutenges 2014: 293). This coercion is deemed equally applicable to the British seasonal 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 the passive 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). Ethnographic research has therefore made a contribution to our understanding of drug use within tourist resorts and adds depth to survey data. Furthermore, it has corroborated the view that Ibiza represents a differentially normalized 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, which defines drug users as deviant consumers in need of help or control (Belhassen, Ameida Santos and Uriely 2007). It is therefore essential to recognize and engage with the underlying pleasures of drug-related experiences within tourist spaces to make connections between the meaning of tourists’ social worlds and the structural processes that shape their context. This is important in order to balance an evidence base overwhelmingly focused on the negative outcomes of differentially normalized drug use within bounded spaces such as Ibiza.

The current research aimed to develop an understanding of the lived reality of nightlife tourists and construct them not as passive consumers vulnerable to exploitation, but as actors negotiating the complex interplay between structure and agency (Ettore and Miles 2002: 173; Measham and South 2012). I therefore constructed a grounded theory study that could get 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). The final section of this chapter sets the scene by outlining the evidence base that has analysed the relationship between drug use and pleasure.

Drugs and Pleasure: The Great Unmentionable

The voices of those with experience of club drugs are at the fore of this section, as pleasure represents a defining motivation for use of illicit substances within differentially normalized spaces. The section is organized around three main sunheadings. 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 section and chapter concludes with an analysis of risk attitudes amongst drug users. The aim here is to counter the narratives of risk and harm that dominate drug research. While some people actively engage 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 bounded party zones.

Every year new research emerges to draw attention to multiple types of harm and risk associated with substance use. Consequently, as Holt and Treloar (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”. It can be argued that the addiction discourse that dominates the evidence base represents a deliberate obfuscation of the pleasures of intoxication (Bunton and Coveney 2011). Those operating in the normalized 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; 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; 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; Moore 2008: 355) within a harm-focused framework dominated by bio-medical, psychological, and epidemiological funding sources (Bunton and Coveney 2011; Duff 2008; Moore 2008). Consequently, as with many youth subcultures, the voices of those involved in the differentially normalized spaces of the EDM scene are rarely captured in academic texts (Malbon 1999: 16). This obfuscates any positive aspects of illicit drug use and marginalizes 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 socialized (Hunt, Evans and Kares 2007; Kelly 2005; 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 Treloar 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 normalized 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; 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, Matthew 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 argued, are driven to spend money on rich and compelling, highly valued, memorable experiences. As such, the market reacted to offer carefully choreographed, staged events. The value of such experiences lies in the internalization 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, while 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; 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 through the eyes of those involved (Beck and Rosenbaum 1994; Kelly 2005). The experiential aspects of two such substances are now considered.

Pleasures of 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). 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). 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.

Pleasures of Ketamine

It's the most fun you can have for £20.

(Moore and Measham 2008: 231)

Having been first synthesized in the early 1960s, ketamine became known for its transformative, dissociative effects amongst a small population of new age 'psychonauts' interested in mind exploration. In the early 1970s, the drug was legitimized 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 categorized 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; 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 normalized 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.

Drugs, Pleasure, and 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 2001). 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 normalized 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; 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.

Sound has frequently been overlooked in the conceptualization 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; 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-rationalization of everyday life (Bunton and Coveney 2011: 16; 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)

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; 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 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; Jaimangal-Jones 2014). This desire

to feel a momentary sense of belonging and identification has been argued to be an antidote to the sense of atomized disconnection between strangers in the contemporary city. As Smith (2014: 45) states, in a world of frail 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; 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).

Conclusion

This chapter sets the scene for the current research carried out in Ibiza. It has highlighted the importance of escape for young people and shown how night-life tourism represents a journey into the secondary world. The evidence base demonstrates how this is interwoven with atypical patterns of drug and alcohol use. While this carries risks and potential harms, the importance of pleasure as a motivating factor has been highlighted as important from the perspective of those involved.

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). 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). This helped shape the research carried out in Ibiza. In the next chapter, I will outline the current study in more detail, with a thorough outline of the research methodology.

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3

MESSY METHODS, DIRTY KNOWLEDGE

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is three-fold. Firstly, it provides an overview of the key methodological components of the ethnographic research study that underpins this book, including an outline of the epistemological position; details about accessing participants; data collection methods; and key ethical issues. Secondly, the chapter draws attention to some of the complex challenges of undertaking ethnographic research on drug use within the unpredictable spaces of party zones. The chapter concludes with a section on reflexivity, to highlight the importance of situating researcher biography in the research process. As such, the chapter offers guidance to researchers setting out to conduct ethnographic work in spaces such as nightlife resorts, music festivals, and the wider night-time economy (NTE).

The Research Approach

The Lens of Cultural Criminology

This research was grounded within an interpretivist research philosophy, an ontological position that assumes the nature of reality to be socially constructed. It is framed by the methodological and theoretical lens of cultural criminology, defined as an “open road into the study of culture, crime and their interconnections” (Ferrell and Sanders 1995: 297).

In recent years, cultural criminologists have been critical of the overwhelming dominance of positivism and abstract empiricism within mainstream criminology. As Jeff Ferrell (2009: 1) argues, the discipline has become “crippled by its own methodology, its potential for analysis and critique lost within a welter of survey forms, data sets, and statistical manipulations”.

As Hopkins-Burke (2021: 154) asserts, such methods essentially reduce the complexities of human experience by forcing participants into carefully controlled tick boxes defined by the researcher(s). This serves only to constrict participants' responses and risks obfuscating their subjective reality. This creates a sterile distance between the participant and the researcher, rather than seeing the world through their eyes. As Briggs (2015: 310) states, "it is important to 'live' their realities in some way so you can feel the data". In this sense, cultural criminologists strive to re-engage with ethnographic methods to reveal the kind of 'dirty knowledge' that is essential to understanding crime from the ground up (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 64).

The aim of this ethnographic research was to generate an empathic understanding of the psychosocial and cultural meaning of illicit drug use (and drug dealing) in-situ through the eyes of those involved. This is important, as epidemiological research invariably obfuscates both the *meaning* of drug use and the *social context* in which it occurs (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 18). As Dan Briggs (2015: 309) argues, ethnographic research is important in relation to drug use because it brings participants' stories to life and represents their subjective experience within a particular historical and socio-structural context. It is through this deep engagement with lived reality, that enables cultural criminologists to get under the skin of crime-related experiences to appreciate the emotions and ascribed meanings for those involved (Hopkins-Burke 2021: 154). In this case, my aim was to draw out the meaning that participants attributed to the atypical drug use that defines the social world of Ibiza – and how this, in turn, shaped their actions, their decision-making, and the way in which they related to others around them. By immersing myself in the setting, I hoped to 'catch the subtleties of transgressive situations' (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 209) and contribute to a limited evidence base that foregrounds the lived experience of atypical drug use and drug dealing within the 'natural lab' (Crampton et al. 2020: 360) of chaotic party zones bounded in time and space.

Ethnography

Ethnographic fieldwork was carried out in Ibiza over three consecutive summers, with multiple visits in an overlapping process of data collection and analysis a feature of virtually all ethnographic studies (Urquhart 2013). The foundations of qualitative research within criminology were established in the United States and owe much to the seminal work of scholars within the Chicago School, who pioneered ethnographic methods (Treadwell 2019: 52). More specifically, the discipline has a rich history of ethnographic drug research, including classic texts such as *Portraits from a Shooting Gallery* (Fiddle 1967); *Ripping and Running: A Formal Ethnography of Urban Heroin Addicts* (Agar 1973); *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio* (Bourgois 1995) and more recently, *Dead-End Lives* (Briggs and Monge Gamero 2017). In addition, a band of researchers continues to demonstrate the rich insight of ethnographic enquiry, with contemporary

studies on areas as diverse as the experience of fentanyl users on the Mexican border (Friedman et al. 2022); the pleasures of meth-amphetamine use (Brookfield et al. 2021); and drug crypto-markets (Kowalski, Hooker and Barratt 2019). While these studies are testament to the thick description that ethnography can offer – the transgressive highs and lows, the emotions, the collective experiences of drug use – the use of ethnography in drug research has nevertheless declined. As the neo-liberal grip on Higher Education tightens, researchers often feel cornered into adopting methods that are easier, quicker, cheaper, and more likely to gain funding, with criminological research increasingly underpinned by a need to feed the “white noise of the criminal justice system” (Young 2011: 223). Part of the issue in this respect is the perceived time commitment required for ethnographic research. Bourgois and Schonberg (2009), for example, spent over a decade studying addiction related to homelessness in the United States. However, cultural criminologists argue that *instant* ethnography can capture the ‘little flashes of fear and transgression’ that punctuate social worlds (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 218). This is achieved through the researcher’s rapid, deep immersion in ‘fleeting moments of criminality’ (Hopkins-Burke 2021: 168). These are the moments I aimed to catch in Ibiza over the course of fieldwork. In addition, other methods were included as a form of corroboration, 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”. I therefore included semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, and documentary photography into fieldwork – a multi-method approach to explore drug use and drug dealing as a dynamic interplay between social context, agency, and subjective experience (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 25).

Four Stages of Access

Stage 1: First Steps

Getting started felt daunting. I found it useful to ask a simple question, ‘who do I know, or need to know, who has knowledge and experience of this area?’ Informal conversations with people in social and professional networks was a good start point because it generated insider insights about Ibiza and opened up invaluable access points. I was lucky to have friends (and friends of friends) who were connected to the electronic dance music (EDM) scene in various guises: a nightclub owner, a promoter, a DJ, and a friend who had spent three summers working in an Ibiza super-club. Informal discussions with these contacts provided important background detail for the research and led to the recruitment of the principal gatekeeper for the research, a club promotor (from here on referred to by his nickname ‘Brina’ – pronounced ‘Brinner’) with a big personality and multiple connections across the night-time economy of Ibiza. It was agreed that some of the funding for the research would be used for his inclusion in field work. To say that Brina earned his place would be an understatement, his enthusiasm and unwavering ability to get us onto apparently impenetrable guest lists

was a source of admiration throughout fieldwork. We entered super-clubs and VIP areas that would otherwise have been off-limits due to the (famously high) ticket prices (up to €100 per person) – Universities are generally not enthusiastic when it comes to paying researchers to go clubbing.

Stage 2: Finding Ways In

We pinpointed San Antonio for our research base. Formerly a sleepy fishing village on the west coast, as the white isle became synonymous with hedonistic excess, this spot was transformed into a gloriously wild party town built around a sweeping harbour. On my first field visit, I got into town in the evening and found a low-key bar to find my feet, acclimatise, and get a feel for the place. I chatted amiably to bar staff and punters, making notes of informal conversations and observations as they happened:

I sit on a tall stool at the outside bar of the Irish pub. Cindy is fixing the drinks alone until midnight. She's a friendly 25 year-old from Leeds. This is her third summer working in Ibiza. We chat about the local area and she tells me that the real 'madness' is only a 15 -minute walk away. She doesn't like the scene there at all. She says drugs are 'incredibly easy' to get and the police turn a blind eye. I take the barfly role for 3 hours, chatting to Cindy and the PR James and Kerry (both self-confessed 'pill-heads'). A steady stream of good-humoured single sex groups rolls by, usually in fours and fives. The offer of a free shot of schnapps isn't refused in the 3 hours that I'm camped at the bar. Cindy, like all Ibiza bar crew, free-pours her drinks the European way; two bottles are held upside down in the glass simultaneously, for what seems like an eternity. These are big measures. She's armed with a string of shots around her neck, like some kind of bandit from a spaghetti western. Although a free shot only follows your first drink, she sneakily hits me with a few extras after each beer. It's midnight and the bar is starting to fill up. The free shots have hit me and I leave to get my head straight for tomorrow.

(Tim Turner, field notes)

As San Antonio became more familiar, we gravitated to a series of popular locations – beaches, hotel pool areas, cafes, bars, and clubs. We'd identify a suitably busy tourist space and use the single page self-complete questionnaire (SCQ) as a means of approaching people, pick a small group, and wander over asking if they had a couple of minutes to spare (who doesn't on a beach?). People's initial scepticism that we must be selling something invariably turned into genuine interest (and often amusement) that we were on the island carrying out University-funded research. This chance to build rapport opened up many avenues for interviews as well as invites to join up with people on nights out.

We situate ourselves on the promenade near the beach with questionnaires. Two British males are sat on the wall nearby, eating take-away pizza.

I amble over, make some conversation and it transpires they're bored and waiting for their coach transfer to the airport. They're happy for the distraction of completing a survey, and as we chat afterwards they agree to an in-situ recorded interview.

(Tim Turner, field notes)

Situations of bored inactivity like this proved to be good moments to engage people. When people were just killing time, an interview or survey was seen as a welcome distraction rather than an annoying intrusion. Another example of this is featured in the field note below.

Ella stands behind an outdoor lectern selling super-club tickets. I stop to ask about tickets for Amnesia and we strike up a conversation. When I tell her about the research, she enthusiastically asks me to interview her, just to break up the monotony of her shift.

(Tim Turner, field notes)

Stage 3: Gaining Trust and Being Accepted

After finding contacts, it was essential to establish some level of trust and acceptance. This is a fluid process that cannot be forced; it requires reflexivity in the field and the ability to adapt to situations as they unfold. Trust was aided through what I term 'ethnographic osmosis' – a gradual, organic, word-of-mouth acceptance that happened as we became part of the scene, particularly among a close-knit group of British seasonal workers firmly rooted in the car crash carnival of San Antonio's night-time economy. In fact, the longer I spent in the town, the more I felt *part* of the worker community there, distinct from tourists. The knowledge that a small band of researchers were in the locality – and that we could be trusted – seemed to spread among workers and conferred kudos, credibility, and acceptance.

Caught in an afternoon storm, we sit outside a bar under the cover of a canopy. The streets are wet and miserable. We chat to a group of three male, British bar workers sat drinking at the next table. After an hour of good-humoured conversation, we tell them about the research. They've already heard about us – "ah *you're* the 'researchers' [in finger quote marks, laughing], you need to fucking interview us!"

The amused reaction to our role as researchers was very common. We just rolled with this playful scepticism as it helped build rapport. This open and relaxed approach was a key aspect of establishing acceptance.

I meet Ben in a West End bar at 3am. Him and a couple of friends come over and start calling me 'Eyeball Paul' (DJ character in the film *Kevin*

and Perry Go Large). I play along with the joke and we chat amiably for the next few hours as they pass a pouch of ketamine between them. We leave there at 6am, swap numbers and they agree to meet later that day for an interview.

There were also many times when adapting to the context meant reassuring participants when they felt uneasy about discussing sensitive information. As criminologists know, this comes with the territory. When relative strangers are asked about their involvement in illegal activities, trepidation is inevitable. In Ibiza, people were often suspicious we were journalists rather than police. Lazy journalism has long played on tired stories of wild British youth rampaging through chaotic holiday resorts. Take, for example, the recent Daily Mail headline, “Bizarre moment bikini-clad woman goes on a rampage and throws sun loungers and tables into a pool at an Ibiza resort as she is cheered on by fellow holidaymakers” (Penza and Newman 2019), or The Daily Star’s “Naked Ibiza Brit in ‘violent’ rampage had taken terrifying new designer drug” (Murphy 2019). The frequency and consistency of this media narrative meant that many of the tourists and workers we met were initially sceptical of our motives. As the following excerpt from field notes shows, trust is not immutable; it can fracture in an instant. Establishing acceptance involves traversing a fine line between curiosity and intrusiveness.

After a long night working the bar, Sam sits with me in a café and tells me story after story of his time working on the island. Then, from nowhere, he pauses mid-sentence and holds his head in his hands – “You are *really* a researcher, aren’t you? Promise me you’re not a journalist”. I try and reassure him and tell him we can change the subject. He regains composure and explains how a tabloid hack duped him last summer, splashing his photo across a British newspaper.

(Tim Turner, field notes)

Stage 4: Immersion

Sean: It’s all about Café Mambo and the sunset – that’s *the* Ibiza experience.

Tim: Yeah, we’re going down there later actually.

Sean: Well, you can come with us if you want? We’ll meet you by the pool at 7.30.

The above snapshot is an example of the fluid nature of access in ethnographic research. Sean, along with two male friends and his female partner, was sat at a table by our hotel pool. I watched them chat over a beer for a while and decided to approach and ask if they’d fill in a questionnaire. It took a little time to get past their scepticism, but as they relaxed, the conversation became warm and they invited us to join them for the sunset at Café Mambo – a seminal Ibiza

experience for many tourists. The transition from guarded scepticism to open trust is exemplified in the following excerpt from field notes relating to our night out with the group:

Our guides for the night lead us to a busy bar and shout orders to the waitress. Jugs of lurid cocktails and sangria are dropped on the table along with vodka jellies. Sean, the same man who had earlier insisted that he had “no interest in drugs”, has been dabbing at a pouch of MDMA throughout the night and offers it liberally to anyone in his vicinity, including me. He shrugs as I politely decline and takes a second dab for himself. Time accelerates as the night blurs into messy disorientation. Eventually, our newly bonded group seeps out of the bar into the stark daylight of 6am and we head for breakfast.

(Tim Turner, field notes)

This immersion represents the final stage of access, where the researcher moves beyond observation and *becomes part of the story*. This is essential in understanding the profound sensorial experience of party zones, as Sumartojo, Edensor, and Pink (2019: 4) argue, “attempts to describe and thereby understand atmospheres are most productive when we are immersed within them rather than regarding them from a distanced or outside location”. While fraught with ethical complexity, this is an example of the kind of ‘dirty knowledge’ gained from seeing crime close-up (Ferrell 2009); glimpsed moments of transgression captured by instant ethnography (Hopkins-Burke 2021: 168). As Jock Young (2004: 26) states, “what we need is an ethnographic method that can deal with reflexivity, contradiction, tentativeness, change of opinion, posturing and concealment” – a sentiment reflected in the previous, brief exchange.

As the last field note succinctly demonstrates, what people *say* they do and what they *actually* do are often very different (Gobo 2008: 28). This makes criminological evidence based on self-report inherently problematic because of the illegal, deviant, or hidden nature of the research areas concerned. The issue of veracity is compounded in drug research because ‘truth’ is twisted in both directions – while some people will deny using illegal drugs to avoid moral judgement and legal sanction, others will undoubtedly exaggerate drug use for bravado and kudos. This makes it important to corroborate participant narratives wherever possible. This was done through various means. Firstly, the extent to which accounts could be trusted was partially based on consistency and repetition. Having multiple conversations with participants, sometimes on different days, or even weeks, was really useful in this respect, as was hearing the same stories repeated by others. In this research, informal conversations, interviews, and protracted time with a range of actors – including tourists, bar staff, bouncers, dancers, tattoo artists, airline cabin crew, taxi drivers, police officers, and hotel staff – provided a wide-angle view of Ibiza party zones. Corroboration was further enhanced by using a range of data collection methods. These are outlined below.

Data Collection Methods

Asking Intrusive Questions

It's not easy to ask someone intrusive, deeply personal questions, sometimes, after only a few minutes of meeting them. It cuts through the socio-cultural rules that shape everyday interaction. And knowing when *not* to ask is equally important. Fieldwork requires a carefully honed ability to read the complex, subtle dynamics of social relations. In Ibiza, I tried to leave the sensitive questions until I'd spent some time building up rapport, even if only for a few minutes. On reflection, the inherently provocative nature of questions about illegal drug use (and dealing) were helpfully blunted by the social context – stopping an 18 year old stranger in a British high street and asking them what drugs they've been using, is qualitatively different to asking the same man in the middle of a two-week break in Ibiza. On the white isle, drugs are never far from conversation; there were many times when participants raised the issue without even being asked, as this tourist demonstrates:

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)

Interviews

In addition to observation, the research included 33 semi-structured interviews with individuals and small focus groups. Snippets of more informal, everyday exchanges were also noted down shortly afterwards. These kinds of brief, in-situ interviews are useful in capturing people who are just passing through spaces, and means the dialogue often reflects and draws inspiration from the immediate surroundings (Radice 2022: 273). This form of data collection can help draw out the complexity, subtlety, and contradiction of meanings around drug use (Aldridge, Measham and Williams 2011: 39). In total, 56 people were interviewed, these were made up of 42 British tourists (21 males and 21 females), and 13 British seasonal workers (8 males and 5 females), with an age range of 18–35. The workers were employed in various roles linked to Ibiza's night-time economy, including bar staff, door security, dancers, ticket sellers, and public relations (PR) staff. A Spanish Police Officer was also interviewed. The interviews were held in a range of settings, including bars, cafes, hotels, and beaches. Ideally, I tried to interview people in relatively quiet surroundings, no easy feat in Ibiza, where ubiquitous house music seems to set the backdrop to every public location. Interviews were recorded on a password protected smartphone app and then copied to a secure laptop. Only the police officer (understandably) refused to allow an interview to be audio-recorded. There were occasions when recording seemed to get in the way of the flow of the conversation around illegal drugs.

For example, in an interview carried out in a hotel room, Nick (bar worker/drug dealer) was clearly uneasy with the recording. I agreed to turn off the recorder and the interview atmosphere was immediately transformed.

A list of possible questions and prompts were prepared; these were easily adapted to fit with the natural rhythm of the conversation. The interview plan was organized around a logical narrative, and initial questions were designed to help build rapport. Narratives around alcohol and drug use often dropped into the flow of conversation without prompting.

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| Tim (author): | You've already mentioned drugs a couple of times. Can I ask what drugs you've been taking while you've been here? |
| Ben: | Just pills and ketamine |
| Leighton: | ketamine ... every single day |

Without exception, all participants described first-hand experience of illicit 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.

Observation and Participation

Participant observation, at the methodological heart of ethnography, requires the researcher to accompany participants in the rhythm of their everyday activities. This involves a combination of observation, asking questions, generating conversations, and actively listening (Radice 2022: 268). The fieldwork in Ibiza can be delineated into three types of observation. Firstly, there were long periods of *unobtrusive observation* at various times over the 24-hour period. This involved finding a spot in a suitable location and then simply observing the scene, usually over 1–3 hours. This kind of observation was undertaken in many different locations, including the chaotic streets that are central to the night-time economies of San Antonio and Playa D'en Bossa; inside bars or clubs; hotel bars and pool areas; beaches; boat parties; and airports in both the UK and Ibiza. The busy public nature of the settings meant that it was easy to merge into the environment, ensuring observation had no influence on the behaviour of those around me. I found the notes app on my smartphone useful to jot down thoughts, feelings, and observations in situ, this again made observation discreet in comparison to taking notes with pen and paper. An example of a field note from this type of observation is included below:

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*)

Secondly, *marginal participation* involved establishing connections with participants. This inevitably involved some alcohol consumption to ensure a 'fit' with the environment and social relations, this is an essential aspect of rapport building during such fieldwork (Thurnell-Read 2011: 39). Thirdly, having established a deeper level of trust, some participants allowed us to spend time with them for protracted periods of *participant observation*. This required a deeper level of participation, while still being able to ask questions about what is going on (Robson 2002: 317). This, of course, created significant ethical challenges as we were frequently in close proximity to both drug use and drug dealing. These three types of observation are demarcated here for the purposes of clarity – the messy reality of fieldwork involves switching between observational strategies, rolling with the scene as it unfolded around us.

Documentary Photography

The image above captures something of the essence of San Antonio's West End. As a snapshot of a typical evening on the infamous drinking strip, the image conveys something of the carnival-like atmosphere there, the sexualized nature of the labour, and the Instagram-spectacle of the area. Catching moments like this, between strangers operating in urban public space, have been defined by Radice (2022: 267) as a form of 'pop-up ethnography'. Images have added texture to criminological ethnographies for almost a century and are "widely recognised as

legitimate tools for the representation of events and people” (Ferrell and Van de Vorde 2010: 38). A total of 580 photographs were captured during this research. These images fulfilled two principal functions: firstly, they represented a ‘visual field note’, a means of recording (and remembering) interesting aspects of fieldwork and capturing sense of place. Secondly, they represented a form of data in their own right and contributed to theory generation (Bryman 2012: 313). Taking photographs in a tourist setting is hardly unusual, so this felt like a completely natural and discreet form of data collection. Some photographs were captured in order to support concepts that had already been shaped from observation and interviews; others were retrospectively analyzed to develop new theoretical leads.

Ethics in the Party Zone

The rich history of ethnographic research within Criminology has helped generate an understanding of hidden social worlds that are often either misrepresented or misunderstood. As Goffman (1968: 9) states, social action “becomes meaningful, reasonable, and normal once you get close to it”. However, this *proximity* creates multiple ethical challenges that must be negotiated. This section outlines the significant ethical issues associated with conducting fieldwork in the party zones of nightlife resorts and music festivals, with a focus on two important issues, *informed consent* and *harm*.

Informed Consent

According to Clark et al. (2021), there are three principal elements to consider in relation to informed consent: knowledge and understanding of what is involved; competence to give consent; and voluntary choice. In this study, a single page participant information sheet was given to interviewees. This outlined the aims and focus of the research; issues regarding anonymity and confidentiality; and participants’ right to withdraw consent. Participants were advised that they could decline to answer any question they were uncomfortable with. It was made clear that the information they provided could feature in academic publications in the future.

In the first few days of fieldwork, it rapidly became clear that the formality of asking for signed consent felt inherently out of place in the juxtaposed informality of the setting – in fact, it’s hard to conjure up a more relaxed setting than a beach. As Treadwell (2019: 139) asserts, repeated requests for consent may prove unnecessarily disruptive in some research settings, on that basis I decided early on that this formality would be replaced in favour of asking for verbal consent. This is further justified as ethnographic researchers of illegal behaviour have in the past been put under legal pressure to hand over signed consent forms (Robson 2002: 69). As all forms of data were gathered throughout the 24-hour period, it was inevitable that participants were intoxicated to varying degrees. In Ibiza, as in spaces like music festivals, it’s common to see patterns of alcohol and drug

use that are completely removed from typical patterns of use at home. Drinking from mid-morning is not unusual, for example. As a result, I tended to focus interviews around lunchtime or early afternoon. The issue of informed consent and intoxication is important to acknowledge when conducting in-situ research. For example, people who have taken ecstasy or who've had a few drinks may be overly compliant in agreeing to be interviewed (Measham, Aldridge and Parker 2001: 76). Where possible, I noted down participant's mobile number to reaffirm consent a few days after the interview. Observations were made in many different public spaces including streets, airports, bars, nightclubs, restaurants, beaches, and hotels. Clearly, it was impossible to obtain consent from everyone present in these busy public settings. This type of 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). This reflects the messy reality of fieldwork, where it is not always possible or practical to seek consent from all those present in urban public spaces (Clark et al. 2021).

Harm: Researcher Safety

The safety of researchers in ethnographic fieldwork is of paramount importance and is increasingly framed by institutional policies of occupational health and safety. In this respect, researchers are required to make stringent, detailed plans to maximize their safety when undertaking ethnographic research (Treadwell 2019: 91). However, fieldwork in the party zones of nightlife resorts like Ibiza, in music festivals, and in the night-time economy more generally, is anything but predictable. Even the most carefully considered risk strategies will fail to foresee some of the unexpected events that are inevitably thrown up. 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 is therefore a key attribute in dealing with any number of weird and wonderful situations that can arise in party zone research. Take the example below, describing a chance meeting with Ella, a female bar worker I'd interviewed the day before. It's the early hours and by chance I bump into her and her fiancé in a super-club.

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 drinks, Andy leans into 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, we're laughing and joking and he's insistent that I come to his villa for dinner.

(Tim Turner, field notes)

Moments like this punctuated fieldwork in Ibiza. Asking relative strangers about drug use and dealing inevitably created suspicion for some participants. Carrying a University ID helped to allay fears that I was either a journalist or an undercover cop, on numerous occasions. At times, I was in close proximity to drug dealing, with many of the worker participants topping up meagre bar wages by selling pills. While this carried obvious risks, the research aimed for a comprehensive understanding of illicit drug use and associated behaviour from the perspectives of those involved. This entanglement in the ‘gritty particulars of criminal acts’ (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2015: 185) is essential in developing a greater understanding of the social worlds under investigation.

Harm: Participant Safety

During the fieldwork for this research, participant safety was considered on three levels. Firstly, I strived to respect the values, decisions, and opinions of participants. This required a non-judgemental curiosity to see the world through the eyes of those I came into contact with. This respect for participant narratives continues throughout the research process to uphold the rights of participants. In the analysis and write up stages of this study, I continually reflected on whether I felt I was accurately representing the attitudes, actions, and opinions of my participants. Secondly, the chaotic nature of field work in party zones associated with drug and alcohol use requires the researcher to balance the role of *observer* against a perceived need to intervene. There were frequent examples of this tension within fieldwork in Ibiza, exemplified here:

I notice a woman sat on the floor nearby. She’s about 22 and clearly very unwell. Her eyes are rolling, and her head hangs limply, flopping from side-to-side as her panic-stricken friend shakes her by the shoulders. I kneel down and her tearful friend tells me they’ve both taken pills [ecstasy]. I try and get some water into her, but it just dribbles back out of her mouth. She needs medical assistance, but the friend immediately argues against this, fearful of reprisal. I make the decision for her and two paramedics arrive within minutes.

(Tim Turner, field notes)

This excerpt highlights the messy unpredictability of fieldwork in party zones; researchers may often be faced with compromising their role as observer against a *moral obligation to act* when someone is believed to be at imminent risk of harm.

Thirdly, it is essential that participants’ *confidentiality and anonymity* is maintained in drug research (Aldridge, Measham and Williams 2011: 35). In this research, all participants were given a pseudonym at the time of interview, and irrelevant demographic details were excluded. Many of the tourists I spoke to talked about the sense of anonymity they experienced on holiday in Ibiza, this created a sense of transience that made it easier for people to talk openly. The fleeting nature of our

meeting gave participants' a *sense* of anonymity that helped discussion of sensitive topics like drug use and enabled people to talk more candidly. Interview data was typed into a password protected laptop and stored securely in a hotel safe. While participants were assured that all possible measures had been taken 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. They were informed that confidentiality could not be maintained regarding disclosures relating to serious criminal offences such as violent assaults, for example.

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)

Reflexivity is important aspect of the research process. It requires reflection on why particular methods were chosen and on any underlying values and biases that may have impacted on the social worlds being investigated. 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). Reflexivity is 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' (MacDonald 2001: 15) and importantly in the context of this study when the nature of reality is assumed to be socially constructed then so is the account that describes it.

Reflections on Researcher Biography

Reflexivity requires researchers to consider socio-cultural aspects of their background and their potential influence on the research process. As Clark et al. (2021: 366) state, "from a reflexive position, 'knowledge' is always a reflection of a researcher's location in time and social space". For transparency, it is therefore useful to include a brief biographical vignette.

I am a white, British male; at the time of the initial fieldwork in Ibiza, I was 40 years old. I grew up in Tamworth, a tightknit English market town, situated in the midlands, in the shadow of Birmingham. My teenage social life revolved around friends, Aston Villa, alcohol, and music. I played the guitar (badly) in a local, low-fi indie band – in the late 1980s, as ecstasy use proliferated in the ‘second summer of love’ (Malbon 1999), I was 18 and sneered at electronic dance music. As part of the biggest drug using generation that the UK has ever produced (Aldridge, Measham and Williams 2011), I have clear 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.

After flunking school and working in a warehouse for several years, at the age of 22, I rediscovered education and got some A levels through evening classes. Energised, I became the first of my family to go to university and trained to be a Registered Mental Health Nurse. I loved this role – it took me into a range of fascinating clinical settings across London, from acute inpatient wards in the West End and the infamous Royal Free, to over-stretched community teams in the west and north of the capital. My last five years in practice were spent in the Camden Town Forensic Outreach Team, working as a senior practitioner with mentally disordered offenders. Being a Registered Mental Health Nurse has influenced most aspects of my life. I have a strong empathy for outsiders, underdogs, and the people at the bottom of the social structure. I became adept at communicating with a spectrum of people – from crown court judges to floridly psychotic people, held in police custody for murder. My ability to retain a non-judgemental attitude was sharpened in this role – irrespective of circumstances, I was required to see the person behind powerful labels such as ‘addict’, ‘schizophrenic’, ‘murderer’, and ‘rapist’.

With its strong history of radical scholarship, I chose Middlesex University to study post-graduate criminology while I was still embedded in mental health practice. This opened my eyes to the critical aspects of mental healthcare which I had overlooked in my immersion in the risk-focused medical framework of forensic psychiatry. As I commenced my career as a criminology academic, 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 a New York City bar. They were at the forefront of this theoretical turn, along with like-minded, progressive scholars like Jock Young and Mike Presdee. On reflection, it was cultural criminology’s emphasis on bottom-up constructions of crime, deviance, and control that I identified with. This resonated with my identity as a mental health nurse and my belief that social groups who are marginalized, demonized, and excluded should have a voice.

It is important to consider how these brief biographical details have influenced 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 ‘normal’ to me

throughout my adult life because of my generational experience, and in my work within psychiatry. It is important to reflect on how this may have influenced my interpretation of the data. While 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”.

Reflections on the Research Topic

The appeal of this research topic originated from several sources. Firstly, given the anecdotal and journalistic description of the hedonism played out in Ibiza, the lack of criminological scholarship was 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, while 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 foregrounded voices of those involved. The opportunity to develop an understanding of this area from the ‘bottom-up’ was driven by influences within both mental health and cultural criminology. Illicit drug use is an area that has resonated with me for many years. While I have been interested in subculture and countercultural movements since my late teens, I also have extensive experience of working with people presenting with dual diagnosis – a combination of complex mental health issues and problematic substance use.

Reflections on the Research Approach

This study has an interpretivist research design, employing an ethnographic approach rooted in a constructivist grounded theory. Ethnography is, of course, aligned 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). In reflection, this research approach was a good fit 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. During mental health training we were taught to respond to such interactions with an empathic, “I understand that this is *your* version of reality, but it’s not one that we share”. Regarding applying this philosophy to the study of recreational drug use within club culture, I was influenced by British criminologist, Geoffrey Hunt’s research in California. In a series of studies, Hunt rejects a position of detached objectivism and cites the need to embrace cultural studies, where researchers get more involved with their respondents to document their accounts and experiences from the inside (Hunt, Moloney and Evans 2010: 20).

In terms of interpreting the data, 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 wanted to avoid demonizing this social group with narratives of pathology. Constructions of people who use drugs as pathologically deviant have dominated much of the research in this area and were endemic to the framework that informed my practice within forensic psychiatry. As McDonald (2001: 27) states in relation 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 intention was not to advocate drug use or promote a pro-drug agenda. I wanted to explore the complex interplay between agency and structure and understand the *situated social meaning* of drug use through the eyes of those involved.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a clear, step-by-step overview of the research methodology employed for this ethnographic study in Ibiza. This is important as it represents a transparent account of the research process, as well as a biographical account of my own position in the relation to the research design. While this opens opportunities for critical reflection, I hope that the detail here may also be used as a guide for social scientists interested in pursuing similar research studies. As the existing evidence base and research methodology have now been addressed in some detail, the book now progresses to the main research findings. These have been organized into four separate chapters, each focusing on the relationship between drugs and one of the four pillars of Disneyization, namely, *theming, hybrid consumption, branding and merchandise, and performative labour*.

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4

DISNEYIZED THEMING

Welcome to the Pleasure Dome

I don't want the public to see the world they live in while they're in the park. I want them to feel they're in another world
(Walt Disney)

Introduction

This chapter is based on *theming*, the first pillar of Alan Bryman's (2004) Disneyization framework. The aim here is to show how the secondary world of Ibiza is marketed and indelibly stamped around themes related to electronic dance music (EDM), drugs, alcohol, freedom, and hedonistic excess. This thematic sense of place provides the structural and spatial context within which British tourists and workers on the island make decisions about consuming and selling illegal drugs. The chapter is structured around three key sections. The first section outlines how Walt Disney pioneered the use of theming to generate consumption within the parameters of Disney parks, with examples of how this marketing technique has since been replicated across the consumer landscape including aspects of the night-time economy (NTE). The second section demonstrates how Disneyized theming is evident in Ibiza, with powerful narratives of hedonism flowing from the island's history, myth, and enshrined cultural significance relating to EDM. This section shows that strong themes of hedonism permeate official, corporate constructions of Ibiza. However, this top-down theming is heavily sanitized and obfuscates the illicit drug use wrapped up within the island's cultural past and which remains an endemic feature of Ibiza's nightlife. Theming is therefore a *dual process*; bottom-up subterranean narratives of illicit drug use intertwine with official, top-down thematic constructions of the island. The chapter concludes by showing how the spectacular staged experiences that characterize Disney parks,

are also a strong feature of Ibiza's NTE, with illicit drug use woven through these deeply immersive experiences.

Disneyization, Theming, and Sense of Place

Disneyland opened in Anaheim, California, on July 18, 1955. The park was unique in that it 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 in Disney parks across the globe, including Hong Kong, Tokyo, Osaka, Singapore, Paris, and Shanghai. Since Disney's exemplar, this application of strong, narrative themes to create sense of place is a model that has become widely dispersed across consumer environments and tourist locations that go way beyond the theme park industry (McCarthy 2022). Theming therefore represents a central pillar of Bryman's (2004) concept of Disneyization.

Consistency and identity were embedded into these themed areas by combining symbolic cues such as architectural detail, costume, cuisine, décor, souvenirs, sound, lighting, and music (Atkinson 2007; Edensor 2000; Lovell and Bull 2018). This multi-sensory theming plunged Disney visitors into narrative-driven, visually seamless environments that old-style amusement parks, with their disparate aesthetic, had simply failed to achieve (Bryman 2004; McCarthy 2022: 262). When the power of this immersive Disney experience was recognized, it wasn't only rival theme parks that jumped on the bandwagon – numerous other commercial enterprises quickly recognized how theming transformed the act of consumption itself into an *experience*. This phenomenon has become more prevalent as patterns of consumption have been transformed in late modernity. Contemporary consumers now place great value 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 service-scape of an organization is an important aspect of the 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). Shopping malls, a key part of contemporary consumer culture, have embraced the concept of theming and share many similarities with Disney theme parks (Lovell and Bull 2018: 183; Ritzer and Liska 1997). Themed malls are now found across the globe – rather than shopping from a series of disconnected outlets, such environments have been designed to make the visit an *event* in and of itself. In this sense, shopping malls are no longer merely functional spaces to purchase goods, they are tourist attractions designed to encourage customers to stay and spend money (Lovell and Bull 2018; Ritzer and Liska 1997; Zukin 1998). The Dubai Mall is the world's largest example and contains multiple themed areas such as Fashion Island and The Grove as well as a partially outdoor shopping

zone with a fully retractable roof. Canada's West Edmonton Mall is the first to have been defined as a mega-mall and shares many of the attributes of Disneyland. Opening in 1981, it houses a bricolage of themed tourist attractions, hotels, movie theatres, an indoor lake, and various experiential activities, including Galaxyland – the second largest indoor amusement park in the world (Lovell and Bull 2018). 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 require any inherent relationship with the place in question. Organizations have drawn on a range of common themes in order to attract customers. These include prominent categories such as *Wild West*, *surveillance*, *Arabian fantasy*, *tropical paradise*, *sport*, *Hollywood movies*, and *popular music* (Bryman 2004; Gottdiener 1997). Such venues are now a staple feature of the British NTE (Measham 2004), with themed experiential cocktail bars and pubs endemic across UK city centres. Examples include ABQ London, inspired by *Breaking Bad*; Mr Foggs, a Victorian explorer-themed gin emporium; The Bletchley, a pub bizarrely inspired by the infamous WW2 codebreaker headquarters; and Barts, a Chelsea-based 1920s-style speakeasy. As the bar's founder, Charlie Gilkes, astutely notes, "before, people would drink, eat and then go to the theatre, and now, people want theatre while they're drinking and eating" (Russen and Gelbart 2018). Clearly, from these examples, themes may have no connection to context. This is exemplified by the flyer for a Birmingham-based, Hawaiian theme bar. The bar in question, situated on a dull grey artery within the city centre, could hardly be further from Hawaii.

While theming is therefore highly successful within small consumer spaces such as the bar industry, 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*, *The Venetian*, and *New York New York*. As an experience, Las Vegas represents a kind of gambler's Disneyland (Ritzer and Liska 1997), where visitors can step outside the normal parameters of life and create an alternative existence, in a place that warps any sense of time and place (Lovell and Bull 2018: 179). Theming of this scale has been successfully utilized in the construction of many tourist resorts with themes based around cultural narratives defining the meaning, identity, and *sense of place* (Lovell and Bull 2018: 180). The production, marketing, and theming of place is one of the key areas of research within social scientific explorations of global tourism (Gotham 2005; 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 events (Bryman 2004: 44; Craik 1997). In the UK, for example, certain locations have become synonymous with popular television series. For examples, Yorkshire tourism has drawn extensively on the cosy nostalgia of police drama, *Heartbeat*, with tourists and fans still flocking to visit the key set locations, even thirty years after its initial screening (Ryan 2022). Birmingham, meanwhile, has attracted a record number of tourists, thanks partially to the BBC's astronomically popular *Peaky Blinders*. Set in industrial Birmingham in the period following the Great War, the award-winning series follows the trajectory of anti-hero, Tommy Shelby (Cillian Murphy), the leader of a violent organized crime gang. It has been argued that the 'Peaky effect' has elevated the cultural status of the city, with themed events, tours, and street art drawing international tourism (Murray 2022). In this sense, popular culture can thematically define tourist space, aligning a location with forms of tourism (Urry 2002). Hence, the advent of adventure tourism, stag party tourism (Thurnell-Read 2011, 2012), and an array of dark tourist sites associated with death and tragedy (Hooper and Lennon 2018). Auschwitz-Birkenau, for example, attracted over two million visitors a year, prior to the Covid-19 pandemic. While there has been a tendency to dismiss such tourism as superficial and commercial, Reynolds (2018) argues that such sites are crucial in the collective remembrance of the Holocaust. Tourist promotional imagery therefore involves the theming of place around intrinsic regional qualities and cultural narratives. These themes become deeply embedded in consumer consciousness and are highly effective marketing strategies, as I will now demonstrate in relation to Ibiza.

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)

This section demonstrates how Disneyized theming is evident in Ibiza, and crucially how this plays a pivotal role in the trading and consumption of illegal drugs on the island. This subverts the usual parameters of the Disneyization thesis by showing how theming can drive consumption of *illegal* products within staged experiential party zones. In Ibiza, we see how the sanitized top-down themes of hedonism that characterize the touristic marketing of the island, meld with tourists' bottom-up narratives of illegal drug use.

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 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 the cosmopolitan in-crowd, from renowned artists and writers to decadent stars and bohemian barflies (Hayward and Turner 2019: 106). 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 trash 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. In the 1990s, the explosion of the electronic dance music scene saw the inception of the island’s infamous super-clubs, and within the space of a few years, ‘the white isle’ stood at the epicentre of the global club scene, undergirded by a laissez-faire attitude to illicit drug use (Hayward and Turner 2019: 106).

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 *service-scape* (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* [former Ibiza super-club that closed in 2016] like the ‘good-old-days’ with the planes flying overhead as you get sunkissed by the Ibiza sun

(*My Ibiza 2016*)

This sanitized allusion to ‘the good-old-days’ of *Space* evokes halcyon days of rave at the club’s inception in 1989. 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 super-club 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 mythologized historical image of a ‘real’ Ibiza that she had never actually experienced, while in the midst of a 12-hour shift selling €80 tickets to globally commercial super-clubs, *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 organized 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 where time and space are suspended (Hollinshead 2012: 272; Lovell and Bull 2022: 180). This sense of disorientation and disconnection from reality frequently 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. Nightlife tourism is now a lucrative, and highly competitive market, 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 super-clubs such as *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 2022). 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. Firstly, Ibiza is the global epicentre of the

NTE; secondly, music is only one aspect of a staged, spectacular *experience*; and thirdly, this is a place where celebrities routinely visit and want to be seen (ergo, for a 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 sanitized language that obfuscates the reality of the drug use that saturates some parts of the island (Bellis et al. 2009; 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 sanitized 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, sanitized 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 sanitized 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 ever seen 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)

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. 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 realized 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)

The field note above captures some of the absorbingly immersive spectacle of San Antonio's sunset coastline, a 'must-do Ibiza experience' according to Stephanie (British dancer, San Antonio). This in essence is an example of how Disneyized theming transforms consumer space into entertaining, memorable, multi-sensory experiences (Shaw and Williams 2004: 119; 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; 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; 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, while the immersive spectacles of Disneyland are constructed around wholesome family entertainment, in Ibiza they are read as temporary spaces of transgression, with such contexts characterized by the 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)

While the 'car crash chaos' (Alex, tourist) of San Antonio's West End is one example of spectacle, the island's super-clubs 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, super-club)

The seductive and immersive nature of such Disneyized spectacular events within the super-clubs 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 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)

While 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* super-club, 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 legitimized commercially, their success is fundamentally reliant on the subterranean use of illegal 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, super-club)

Ben, a tourist in his 20s, corroborates this point in drawing attention to the issue of alcohol prices in the super-clubs as a means of rationalizing 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 the island.

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)

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 sets out to achieve that aim and has offered an innovative conceptualization of illicit drug use in Ibiza on several 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, while 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 theorization. The assertion of a link between Disney, a corporation that epitomizes all-American, ‘apple-pie’ wholesomeness, and the deviant leisure of illegal drug use therefore offers new insights and demonstrates criminological imagination (Young 2011). Finally, while previous research situated in Ibiza has often placed great emphasis on structural determinants of drug use, the ethnographic insights offered in this chapter reveal the complex interplay between both agency *and* structure. Tourists absorb and recalibrate top-down themes of hedonism by weaving in bottom-up narratives of illicit drug use into the spectacular immersive experiences staged in the Disneyized spaces of Ibiza. The next chapter focuses on *hybrid consumption*, a second pillar of the Disneyization concept. This reveals how illicit drug use and dealing is woven into the fabric of Ibiza’s consumer landscape

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5

DISNEYIZED HYBRID CONSUMPTION

Space, Drugs, and Normalization

It's 6am and the West End dive bars are closing 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)

Introduction

Drugs are interwoven into the fabric of Ibiza's consumer landscape. This can be framed as a form of *hybrid consumption*, a pillar of Disneyization, defined as the merging of different forms of consumer products, services, and experiences within one space so that established distinctions are almost completely eroded (Bryman 2004: 57). While exemplified in Disney parks, like theming, hybrid consumption has been replicated across many contexts, with different forms of consumption entwined to enhance consumer experience. This is now so commonplace that it is barely noticeable – shopping malls integrate world-cuisine food halls next to

bungy trampolines; international airports merge perfume-heavy duty-free outlets with fast food restaurants, chain pubs and sports car raffles; and entire resorts like Las Vegas – the high-rollers’ Disneyland – effortlessly fuse gambling into pretty much everything and in a stroke of consumer genius, creates hotels that are themselves tourist attractions. Whereas Bryman (2004) conceptualizes hybrid consumption in respect of the *legal* consumer landscape, this chapter shows that, in secondary worlds like Ibiza, it is the line between *illegal* and legal substances that has blurred to the point of collapse.

Drugs in Liminal Travel Spaces

International Airports: Letting Go of Home

One way in which we can understand how bounded party zones 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 (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). While contemporary international airports are, of course, subject to stringent forms of control and security, especially in the post-9/11 era, they nevertheless share a similarity with hotels and holiday resorts as examples of liminal travel spaces (Pritchard and Morgan 2006). Airports are boundary-crossing, places of transition defined by the performance of departure, arrival, and mobility. Sit in airport for long enough, and you will see they are infused with emotion – joy, sorrow, boredom, excitement, and fear. They are an intriguing and ambiguous part of the tourist experience, both place and non-place. The liminality of airports transforms the nature of interaction between strangers and offers experiences that sever the boundary between home and away (Huang, Xiao and Wang 2018). Regular social conventions may therefore be subverted as travellers open themselves up to opportunities of “incidental engagements, which puncture the otherwise mundane predictability of everyday life” (Pritchard and Morgan 2006: 762).

The airport is therefore a space of both hybrid consumption and liminality. Travellers are 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; Wearing, Stevenson and Young 2010: 86). Diverse forms of entertainment are also increasingly woven into the airport service-scape, with cinemas, casinos, and aquariums, representing contemporary examples (Huang, Xiao and Wang 2018: 1). These sit alongside the familiar chain pubs, wine bars, and cocktail lounges more usually associated with spaces of the urban NTE. In Ibiza airport, the island’s ‘sense of place’ has been woven into the terminal design by incorporating shops linked to popular hotel/club venue *Ushuaia* and the super-club scene more generally, with the *Club Ibiza* store offering souvenirs and branded club products.

The liminality of the airport helps tourists create a spatial separation from the repetitive schedules of home and work, as they step into a temporary

sphere of behaviour (Shaw and Williams 2004: 151). Here, conventional structures and order are replaced by “playfulness, chance and the possibilities of subversion” (Carlson 1996: 24). Consequently, binge drinking in both the airport and on the flight were a common feature of interviews. This was symbolic of the social and spatial separation from home and acted as 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)

Fieldwork observations showed how the airport departures lounge is a place of ambiguity, simultaneously defined by both freedom and control, as tourists begin to shed the shackles of home life in surroundings that paradoxically epitomize hyper-securitization and surveillance. Despite such control, some participants managed to weave illegal drug use into the departure experience.

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 the last metaphorical hurdle for tourists to negotiate before leaving the confines of 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 (author / 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 (author / 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 because they're 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 and Drug Use

This is what's beautiful about staying in a club or hotel: you're invisible, as is your neighbour.

Amit Chaudhuri, Friend of My Youth (2017)

As tourists stream from Ibiza airport, they make their way to the hundreds of hotels crammed into the island's main resorts. San Antonio, situated on the island's west coast, is the most popular spot for 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 create a wealth of opportunities for moments of transgression and adventure wrapped in the exciting anonymity of being elsewhere (Preston-Whyte 2004; Pritchard and Morgan 2006: 765). In Ibiza, hybrid consumption seamlessly interweaves subterranean illicit drug use into the liminality of 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.

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 into 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 sunbathers the same question.

(Tim Turner, field notes)

These excerpts illustrate how Disneyized hybrid consumption normalizes illegal drugs (offering, selling, and consuming) within the liminal space of some 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 enable tourists to create a psychological and spatial separation from life at home 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 normalization of illicit drugs amongst tourists is symbolic of a “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 ‘normal’ life forms the focus of the next section, as this is a key factor in the dramatic changes to patterns of drug use that occur among tourists and seasonal workers.

Drugs, Disconnection, and Disorientation

It's so different from home. None of us want to leave

(Sarah, tourist)

Many of the tourists I met in Ibiza described an overwhelming sense of being elsewhere within an alternate reality, a feeling they were both psychologically and physically disconnected from ‘real’ life at home. This separation was amplified by patterns of drug use that were often completely at odds with their normal day-to-day lives in the UK.

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 otherworldliness is intensified in certain spaces of Ibiza – the dizzying chaos of Bora Bora beach, the kaleidoscopic dancefloors of super-clubs, and the carnivalesque spectacle of San Antonio's West End – each of these spaces are liminal, hyper-real fantasy-scapes, 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 boundaries of the real and unreal become so blurred that visitors even question the authenticity of the rainfall. According to one Disney cast member, 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. I mean for ten days, fair enough, but I couldn't do it longer than that

(Zac, tourist)

Zac's account exemplifies the disorientating vertigo experienced by participants in the otherworld. While the experience of clubbing per se can erode the constraints of home (Malbon 1999: 6), for nightlife tourists this is compounded by the physical separation of being in a different country. The creeping surrealism of 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 2012: 283). It is this disconnection within liminal party zones of Ibiza that subverts the usual thresholds of 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 Ibiza, many tourists described patterns of drug-related behaviour that were significantly different to life at home. This was facilitated by widespread, easy access to drugs.

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)

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 hybrid consumption created a deep ambivalence to dealing, buying, and taking drugs amongst tourists, as the liminality of the space transformed social relations between friends and strangers (Jackson 2004: 88). The disorientating sense of being elsewhere created a temporal suspension of norms, with first time drug use a common feature of tourists' experience.

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 (author / interviewer): he'd never tried drugs at all in the UK?

Ben (tourist): never tried anything.

Tim (author / 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 (author / 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.

For many people, drug use at home is constrained by the demands of the working week with a "blank Sunday come down [and] grey midweek negativity" (Collin 1998: 79). Ibiza is different, when weekend parameters are removed, drug use can be elongated over an entire two-week holiday, or whole summers in the case of seasonal workers. Consequently, many participants described steep rises drug use, with daily use not unusual:

I ruined pills for myself coming here. I'd never taken them before. 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 strait-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 dramatic escalations in ecstasy use. For some, the distorted sense of reality experienced in the liminal, hyper-real fantasy-scapes of Ibiza was accentuated using ketamine.

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 – an anaesthetic derivative of phencyclidine, with analgesic, dissociative, and psychedelic properties – is often used to enhance and prolong the pleasurable effects of MDMA crystal/ecstasy pills (Huang and Lin 2020; Joe-Laidler and Hunt 2008; Moore and Measham 2008). This was commonly found amongst participants in Ibiza, with small, controlled doses ('bumps') taken to maximize pleasure. However, there were frequent examples of participants taking the inner-psychological journey and anaesthetic inertia of the K-hole experience, leaving them in a state of detachment, where sense of time, space, and balance are temporarily distorted (Huang and Lin 2020). As with previous research, for some, this uncontrolled loss of the self, "was framed as too intense and distressingly asocial, resulting in considerable anxiety, embarrassment and feelings of regret" (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 [super-club] 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 and 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 past, and I kept thinking 'help me', but I couldn't talk

(John, bar worker)

For others, attaining the intense dissociative experience of the K-hole was deliberate. Such narratives represent a deeper level of disconnection from normal life at home.

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 notch higher through ketamine use, and this may be a deliberate or accidental separation. The excerpts in this chapter show various dimensions of

Disneyized hybrid consumption in Ibiza. Within the liminal bounded spaces described, illegal drugs are 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 excerpts below.

Alex (tourist): I bought a hundred pills for the six of us.

Tim (Author / 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 (tourist): eh?

Brina (gatekeeper): you’ll be dealing?

Alex (tourist): 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 offered me half [a pill] and I just thought ‘fuck it’, opened my mouth and he threw it in.

(Rob, 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 a Club 18–30 advert.

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 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 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)

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, revealing the fragility of the atmosphere within these spaces (Shaw 2013: 93). The allusion to the atmosphere within this field note is an interesting point to pick up on, as this has been the focus of scholarship within cultural geography. Edensor and Sumartojo (2015) note how atmospheres can saturate space in ways that are affectively, emotionally, and sensually profound. They have a deep impact on how we experience, understand, and find meaning in the worlds that we inhabit. As with the young girl on her father's shoulders, atmospheres can envelop us (Anderson 2009: 80).

In Zinberg's (1984) framework of drug, set, and setting, atmospheres 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 cutting through side streets to the West End, where a wave of euphoria 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)

The affective, sensuality of the experience is explicit in Carla's words and shows how spatial atmosphere can be felt, with the synergy of the atmosphere enhanced by ecstasy. Böhme (2008: 3) highlights how the seductive nature of space like the West End can draw in and possess people with an 'alien power' – however, atmosphere is not something 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 neo-liberal landscape in which all individuality and creativity have been crushed by evil corporations". Instead, tourists like Carla exercise agency 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 led to Carla taking 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 socio-cultural context of the setting (Edensor and Sumartojo 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, tourist)

The importance of drugs within the club experience is evident in the rise and fall of Manchester's legendary *Hacienda*. 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 [and] the atmosphere evaporated" [emphasis added]. This is equally true of Ibiza; if illicit drugs were somehow magically extricated from the party zones of the island in some Cnut-like miracle, the atmosphere would vanish. It is the psychoactive effects of drugs like ecstasy, in synergy with light and sound, that strengthens the atmospheric commune between those present. This symbiosis between light, sound, and drugs enhances; intensifies; and transforms the spatial atmosphere (Anderson 2009: 80). This will be explored in more detail in the following two sections.

Light and Drugs

The constitution of space, both in terms of characteristics and the presence of the crowd, 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 Sumartojo 2015: 257). Although the changing nature of cities at night has been explored within several disciplinary fields including criminology, sociology, and geography, recent scholarship in this area has focused on the affective, atmospheric aspects of cities at night (Shaw 2013; Sumartajo et al. 2019). By day, San Antonio's West End is a battleship grey, unremarkable street, barely distinguishable from any other, but throughout the tourist season, darkness transforms the street into a 'phantasmagoric realm' (Edensor 2015: 332) – a neon, larger-than-life, hyper-real sensual assault, saturated with life. As Sumartajo et al. (2019: 3) state, "light and lighting are not simply about visual perception but are deeply cultural in their indexation of particular activities or places". The affective nature of space in Ibiza's night-time economy transforms over night and day, the temporal boundaries of light pull bodies in to create a "flexible atmosphere [...] intensified within a small time-space" (Shaw 2013: 92). This alters the social relations between those present, with drugs woven into 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)

The coastline around the infamous cultural landmarks of Café Mambo and Café Del Mar is a good example of the relationship between light, atmosphere, and drug use. In the daylight, this stretch of coast is an unremarkable, rocky outcrop attracting very few people. At dusk, hundreds of revellers gather in the venues overlooking the sea, and on the rocks below. The atmosphere is completely transformed by the sunset, with open drug use among the tourists 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 and is the signal for behaviour and activities that have become synonymous with the space – namely, a collective experience founded on the hybrid consumption of recreational drugs.

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. 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; 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)

According to Edensor and Sumartojo (2015: 261), the “materiality of atmospheres” has rarely been considered within drug research. They describe how nightclubs give atmosphere a visual dimension with techniques such as the spraying of ultra-fine water vapour and incessant lasers that slice cross sections of the air. In describing *Shoom*, the infamous London club mythologised in early rave culture, 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.

The best night I've ever had was in [super-club]. 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)

The interaction between light 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 and Drugs

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 (Böhme 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.

I took the best pill I've ever taken in my life in there [super-club]. 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 hybrid consumption of drugs goes beyond the island's super-clubs, with spaces not traditionally associated with drug use transformed by music. The beach is a key example; in both sociological and touristic scholarship, beaches are represented as liminal spaces of carnival, where the usual parameters of social convention are subverted or discarded altogether (Shaw and Williams 2004: 216). The field note below illustrates how sound defines Bora Bora beach, one of Ibiza's iconic locations:

It's 1pm as we wander through the tanned sunbathers sprawled out over Bora Bora. Large buckets full of ice and alcohol sit at the end of rented sunbeds. The DJ at the central 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 directly overhead at low altitude, *almost* drowning out the bass. By 5pm, the numbers have doubled and so have the decibels. The music envelops the beach like a cloak. I step inside to use the bathroom near the DJ; the wooden door visibly rattles in the doorframe in time with the bass.

(Tim Turner, field notes)

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 and open up meanings and practices of interaction and experimentation (Edensor and Sumartojo 2015: 253). On the beach, as with other spaces in Ibiza, the hybrid consumption of 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 2012). A further example of this is the almost mythological 'Party in the Spar' in San Antonio. This was an event alluded to by several tourists and which I eventually experienced.

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)

This demonstrates how sound transforms 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 resorts like 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 past. 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)

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 urban space to match the subtle tastes of desired lifestyle groups. While 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 hybrid 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 super-clubs, getting high on ecstasy among 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 space and enfolds those present (Böhme 2008: 7) and adds an aural dimension to the hybrid consumption of illegal drugs on the island.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how certain drugs are seamlessly woven into spaces of Ibiza. This represents a subversion of Disneyized hybrid consumption with the distinction between illegal and legal intoxicants blurred to the point of collapse (Bryman 2004). The chapter has drawn out the key experiential aspects of these spaces. Liminality enables tourists to disconnect from life at home. As they immerse themselves within spaces of the island defined as hyper-real fantasy-scapes (Smith 2014: 159), patterns of drug use are temporally subverted. In these spaces, ecstasy and ketamine use is particularly prevalent amongst tourists, with the psychoactive effects in synergy with the deeply immersive atmosphere that saturates the spectacular staged events.

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6

DISNEYIZED BRANDING AND MERCHANDIZE

Drugs and Hierarchies of Cool

Introduction

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 alcohol and illegal drug use on the island mirrors changing patterns of consumption in post modernity. In an era defined by individualization, scholars have argued that consumer choice is often driven by notions of identity, cultural capital, and lifestyle (Miles 2000; Smith 2014; Zukin and Maguire 2004). These choices enable postmodern consumers to distinguish themselves stylistically against others, in ever decreasing circles, along lines of taste and credibility (Bennett 1999; Bourdieu 2010). In this respect, participants in this study situated themselves within multiple hierarchies of taste linked to place, music, clothing, and most importantly in the context of this chapter, their use (or not) of alcohol and illegal drugs as an expression of identity.

The chapter is organized around three key sections. Firstly, the changing nature of consumption is outlined to show how investment in *lifestyle* – defined by Miles (2000: 16) as the “active expression of a way of life” – has become a key aspect of the contemporary consumer landscape. Youthfulness is shown to be a highly valued commodity in this respect, with allusions to illicit drug use wrapped up in advertising and marketing to signify identity in a culture increasingly obsessed with staying young (Smith 2014). Secondly, the importance of branding and merchandize is outlined. This represents the second of Bryman’s (2004) four pillars of Disneyization. Ibiza’s internationally renowned super-clubs market a huge range of self-referential, branded merchandize that conveys identity and the ‘Ibiza experience’. The chapter draws on Bourdieu’s (2010) concept of distinction to show how participants differentiate themselves against others based on multiple layers of stylistic and cultural credibility. The third and final

section focuses on a further level of distinction made by participants, and an important one in relation to drug research. Many participants expressed hierarchies of taste and credibility relating to drug and alcohol use. In allusions to Ibiza's cultural heritage as the centre of EDM, the mass binge drinking of some tourist groups was sneered at with great disdain by participants aligning themselves with the 'real' Ibiza, while for those using drugs, the substance of choice also conveyed identity. Finally, the physical branding of illicit drugs with symbols (particularly ecstasy) shows that, in much the same way as alcohol, branding conveys meaning, identity, and quality.

Buying into Lifestyle: Identity, Youth, and Drugs

It is well established that concepts of self-identity have been transformed in post modernity. Dramatic changes within realms of urbanization, industrialization, and consumption have placed emphasis firmly on the individual. The "loosening of the moorings" (Young 2004: 14) that occurred during late modernity saw reified absolutes such as family, religion, class, and nationality become increasingly 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). Through this lens, late-modern identity is a fluid construct that can be flexibly adapted to fit social context (Smith 2014). Consequently, in addition to traditional social factors such as ethnicity, class, and gender, contemporary urban populations are delineated by lifestyle (Giddens 1991; Zukin 1998), a concept which is aggressively marketed via an "incredible intensification of contemporary advertising techniques" (Hayward 2012: 216) including social media, music, television, billboards, and branding.

Bryman (2004: 17) cites Coca-Cola as an exemplar in this respect, noting how the actual *flavour* of the drink goes unmentioned in the corporation's global advertising strategy. In this respect, the corporation emphasizes brand over product, Coke is consistently positioned as a vehicle for aspirational identity and lifestyle. As Andy Warhol (1975: 100) said:

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.

Such lifestyle marketing frequently alludes to notions of 'youth'. However, this is no longer simply a reference to a linear stage of the life course; it is a state of being that should be aspired to and admired. It is a fluid aspect of lifestyle, a commodity that can be packaged for consumers eager to attain and retain the attributes of youthfulness (Miles 2000: 8; Smith 2014: 86). Advertising creates socio-cultural

constructions of the world 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 the heroin chic androgyny that permeated 1990s advertising, while perfume brands such as *Poison* convey “edgy notions of the forbidden”. Indeed, a television advert for Yves Saint Laurent’s *Opium* was banned in the UK for simulating drug use (Sweeney 2011). Meanwhile, a North American campaign for Diet Coke was quickly withdrawn for what appeared to be a barely concealed reference to cocaine use (Elliot 2014).

In deconstructing the ‘You’re On’ campaign, we can see references to Coke’s distant past when cocaine was an active ingredient. And in one simple advert, the corporation manages to align a fizzy concoction of fructose corn syrup, phosphoric acid, caffeine, and sweeteners with the archetypal cocaine-fuelled ‘glamour’ of the celebrity lifestyle. The public’s romanticism of the latter exemplified by British musician, Pete Doherty’s elevation to ‘Hero of the Year’ (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 a formula that has been replicated across 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 2010). Such holidays are meticulously packaged around aspirational lifestyle as the following excerpt for the now-defunct Club 18-30 holiday brand 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 again, we see sanitized top-down narratives of freedom and hedonism, which conceals the illegal drug use that infuses such experiential 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 present; immediate 24-7 gratification. This type of symbolism could be defined as a form of ‘marketing’ 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 (Home Office 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 lot cooler, more 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, the target audience is clearly 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; 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)

We went skinny dipping in the sea at midnight and someone ran off with all our stuff. We had to walk back to the hotel naked. Just when we thought it couldn't get worse some old local started hitting us with a stick [laughing]. It's a story anyway!

This is also reflected in an interview excerpt with a group of six Irish females in their early 20s. We met in a beachfront café one morning, where they 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 while this had been a traumatic event involving violence, verbal abuse, threat of sexual assault, and possible legal sanction, it had already been transformed into a story to be endlessly reshaped and retold.

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 hat: 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.

The Disneyized bubble of Ibiza therefore provides the stage for the identity forming (perceived) counter-cultural pursuit of illegal drug use, in a far-away secondary world where the rules governing 'real life' have been subverted. Temporal participation in illegal drug use, as a demonstration of edgy counter-cultural identity, feels okay here because it has no direct impact on family relationships or work commitments. This is evident in an exchange with a male tourist (21) holidaying in Ibiza to celebrate his recent completion of a health-based degree. He was nine days into his two-week holiday and had used ketamine and ecstasy every day:

Tim (author): How do you rationalise your drug use here [in Ibiza] against your use back home [which was minimal]?

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.

There is a myriad of European beach resorts that are marketed at young people, but for many participants, choosing Ibiza was a deliberate 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 Disneyized theming of Ibiza as a hedonistic playground is a significant pull factor for many young people, as the “product and the associated experience seem to some extent guaranteed by its image” (Smith 2014: 67). As Pepe Rosello, the founder of legendary Ibiza super-club 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).

In historical terms, as opportunities for 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 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 crystallized 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 as a place of distinction, cool, and culture. This view is reinforced by the Disneyized theming of the island, and the self-referential branding and merchandize of the island’s superclubs.

I said ‘I don’t really fancy Aya 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 facets 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 merchandizing 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 merchandizing is important because it conveys conspicuous allegiance to identity and lifestyle, and facilitates differentiation against others (Moor 2007).

Ever Decreasing Circles: Branding, Merchandize, and Hierarchies of Cool

The concepts of identity, lifestyle, and consumption discussed in the previous section are each connected to notions of taste. In the absence of fixed facets of identity in late modernity, people became more aware of the fluidity of self and of their own individualized role as actors in society (Bennett 1999). However, such freedom comes at a 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). This means that people differentiate themselves against others through the acquisition of consumer goods and consumable experiences to confer social status (Bourdieu 2010; Zukin and Maguire 2004: 173). Stylistic choices therefore signify notions of cool and credibility or leave the consumer open to derision for perceived lack of taste (Bennett 1999). This is highly relevant to the consumer landscape of the NTE, where cultural narcissism pushes individuals into conspicuous displays of 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 deliberately excludes those constructed as outsiders based on ill-informed consumer choices made in the NTE. In Ibiza, these outsiders were openly mocked 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 [Internationally renowned DJ] are the very commercial chavvy, Primarni [contemptuous slang 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 [Internationally renowned 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, we see allusions to insider knowledge and authenticity, one of the most valuable judgements about popular music, and intricately related to credibility as a consumer within the NTE (Thornton 1995: 26). While 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 on the island; type of alcohol consumed; the manner of alcohol consumption; and use or non-use of illicit drugs; and the type of drug used. The focus here is on the way in which such differentiation is related to an economy of signs – powerful corporate branding and symbolization that conveys identity and lifestyle (McCreanor et al. 2005). This incorporates effective brand merchandizing, 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, merchandize is important on two levels. Firstly, it provides a tangible, tactile memory of an intangible experience (Bryman 2004). Secondly, merchandize represents a conspicuous display of brand affiliation, aligning the buyer 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).

Ibiza super-club branding is important in this respect. These Dionysian cathedrals of hedonistic hyper-excess provide the stage for Ibiza's sensation gatherers to "play out fantasmic identity work" (Smith 2014: 165). Such corporations engage in what Beardsworth and Bryman (2001) term reflexive theming, where the line between theme and brand becomes self-referentially indecipherable, with corporate logos simultaneously conveying the content, meaning, and image of a brand identity. This, of course, has relevance to Ibiza, as the island's superclubs are highly adept in exploiting brand affiliation, with consumers eager to conspicuously display club symbolism as an indicator of identity and lifestyle. This starts at Ibiza airport, with the Club Ibiza shop 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 merchandize associated with the 'Ibiza lifestyle'. 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.

The swish beach resort/club, *Ushuaia*, for example, offers a range of clothing and merchandize, with the website marketing the Ushuaia experience as a lifestyle endeavour.

May you wear the spirit of Ushuaia every day. The spirit that inspires all of us who share a passion for electronic music and simply perfect moments. The ones that remain engraved in your memory. Under your skin. And over your skin.

(Ushuaia 2022)

In the excerpt below, Alex encapsulates the attraction of club branded goods and mementos. An articulate and thoughtful interviewee, Alex worked in a professional role and had visited Ibiza numerous times in the past. He was on holiday with his partner, both used ecstasy every day while on holiday, and was very discerning about which clubs they would go to:

Every night we've been out here, I've taken a flyer. We've got a big corkboard, a huge picture frame and a wall dedicated to Ibiza. We can pick things out and say – 'do you remember that moment?' – we can draw on these little mementos.

(Alex, tourist)

This shows how memorabilia is 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, while such objects are means of generating conversation, they are also a means of conferring identity and 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 socializing the experience (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 57). 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 super-club branding to a literal level. The extent of this was revealed in an interview with a tattoo artist in San Antonio:

Tim (author): 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.

Affiliation to symbolically charged club brands was frequently alluded to within interviews, creating conspicuous, differentiated status between consumers

(Hayward and Turner 2019). Tourists with insider knowledge of which clubs were 'cool', spoke with disdain about their counterparts who spent their time in the grimy excesses of San Antonio's West End. This drinking strip was viewed as particularly vulgar, with tourists there deemed to have little understanding of the 'real' Ibiza.

The majority of people in the West End are uneducated about what this place is about.

(Alex, tourist)

It's better than when you go somewhere like Eden [club near the West End]. We don't go to Eden. When you see that it's only €30 to get in [disparagingly, like that's too 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 super-clubs 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; 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.

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’. While they seek to affirm social differentiation by placing emphasis on taste, they lack the economic capital for full participation (Harrison 2003; Shaw and Williams 2004). 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 the real VIP experience, which actively shields the consumer from public gaze.

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)

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 2016)

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 merchandizing which consumers can buy into. The best literal exemplar of this is perhaps the 'F*** Me I'm Famous' brand.

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 €1,500. The venue is captured in the data below.

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. 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] sits next to a menu that says it all, €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 cheap-skate. It arrives with sliced lemon, the peel meticulously stamped with the Ocean Beach logo

(Tim Turner, field notes).

Tourists within this study have 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 Drinks, Taking the Right Drugs

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 skilled at positioning drinks as purveyors of success and distinction (Measham and Brain 2005; Smith 2014: 63). Alcohol consumption is therefore 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; Zukin and Maguire 2004: 180). Consequently, choice of alcohol represents a chance to display cultural relevance via ‘symbolically loaded’ products (Smith 2014: 93). Take, for example, a beer glass in a British bar, symbolically inscribed with a quote from gonzo journalist, Hunter S. Thompson, perhaps the epitome of countercultural hip ‘cool’.

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 drinks menu on a visit to Ocean Beach in Ibiza featuring the aforementioned €48,000 bottle of Champagne and a €1,200 bottle of vodka. On this single page price list, alcohol choice itself represents *an experience* rooted in consumer signification. Individuals purchasing a small bottle of Grey Goose vodka for €220 (retailing for approximately £40 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).

Bizarrely, in Ibiza, the same principle applies to water sold in clubs. It's difficult to imagine any other place where €10 for a 200ml bottle of water would be judged as 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, attitudes about alcohol use in Ibiza are complex. 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 seen as a more positive identity marker than drinking alcohol, 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 pisseheads. 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 tabs and ecstasy pills 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 super-club logos, the stamped symbols on drugs can exemplify cultural signs that express brand characteristics. Ecstasy pills, for example, are frequently stamped with the logos of luxury brands such as Rolls-Royce, Rolex (Pidd 2016), and Louis Vuitton (Strudwick 2021). The branding of ecstasy is an important consideration for tourists, as symbolization 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)

For some tourists, branding was a key indicator of quality and was essential as to whether they would use the drug, as shown here:

I only wanted Yellow Smileys [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 Smileys 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:

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

Tim (author): 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 mid-air [gestures with his hands] ... yeah, it's not a nice experience, I'm not gonna do it again

(George, tourist)

While 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 (2012), tourists and 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 2012: 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 shown how changing patterns of late modern consumption can be mapped onto the Disneyized spaces of Ibiza. While theming creates 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, British tourists are not passive victims of aggressive marketing, rather they step willingly into a hedonistic, Disneyized arena to temporarily submerge themselves in a range of experiences that convey facets of identity and lifestyle in a deeply uncertain world.

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7

DISNEYIZED PERFORMATIVE LABOUR

Drug Use and Dealing Amongst Ibiza's Seasonal Workers

How many workers use drugs? All of us! Well, at least 90 per cent.

(Nick, bar worker/drug dealer)

Introduction

Every year hundreds of young, British people travel to European beach resorts to find casual summer labour, swapping the mundane routines of home for a few months of fun and freedom in the sun. Many of these jobs revolve around the events and hospitality industry, including bar staff, door security, dancers, PR staff, café and restaurant staff, and ticket sellers – all roles which could be described as *performative labour* – a pillar of Disneyization that reflects how employment within the experience economy is akin to staged theatrical performance (Bryman 2004; Pine and Gilmore 1999). This chapter focuses on the experiences of a group of British seasonal workers employed in the hedonistic consumer spaces of San Antonio. This social group is important to understanding the systemic nature of the drug scene on the island. Fieldwork revealed they occupy a key role in the tourist drug market, as both mediators and co-creators of Ibiza's hedonistic milieu (see Guerrier and Adib 2003; Hughes, Bellis and Chaudry 2004; Kelly, Hughes and Bellis 2014).

The chapter is structured around three key sections. The first section provides an overview of Bryman's (2004) construction of 'performative labour'. This demonstrates that while 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 conceptualization 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. Consequently,

as with their tourist counterparts, many workers are deeply immersed in patterns of atypical drug use, often over the entire summer season. 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 a distorted perception of risk within the socio-cultural context of the island. As such, this group of young people are exposed to health risks associated with prolonged, regular use of drugs such as ecstasy and ketamine, as well as the multiple risks associated with involvement in the illicit drug trade.

Disneyization and Performative Labour

Disney Corporation places great importance on the role of employees in creating the lifelong memories that guests demand. Offering goods and services is no longer sufficient. People want to buy *experiences*, and only those who perform work that truly engages customers will succeed in the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 100). This emphasis on *performative labour*, a central pillar of Disneyization, is formalized 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 'backstage' arenas to "help create the exhilarating experiences Disney is known for worldwide" (Disney Careers 2022). 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). Such emotional labour has been diffused across the range of contemporary service environments including airline cabin crew, police, hotel staff, call centre workers, retail employees, and prison officers (Bryman 2004: 112; Lennie, Crozier and Sutton 2020; Ward, McMurray and Sutcliffe 2019). In roles such as these, as Pine and Gilmore (1999: 103) argue, "work is theatre".

Performative labour places certain aesthetic expectations on those involved (Witz, Warhurst and Nickson 2003). Consequently, people may be filtered on the basis of embodied attributes such as age, height, weight, and perceived attractiveness. Workers' appearance must fit the consumer context, as a component of themed space they need to merge with the branding and project the image of the company or product. Disney takes employee aesthetics seriously with a stringently policed 'Disney Look' that all cast-members must conform to. The appearance of those working both front and backstage is controlled down to the minutiae of acceptable fingernail shape and style of spectacle frame.

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)

Performative labour is therefore a key component of a contemporary tourist industry driven by the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999). The role of seasonal workers within this industry is essential in creating cherished holiday experiences and memories. This is partially achieved through conveying emotion through surface level acting wrapped up in body language, posture, facial expression, and other forms of verbal and non-verbal communication (Bryman 2004; Pine and Gilmore 1999: 113). Goffman (1990) defined this deliberate manipulation 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 be expected to go beyond surface level acting and engage on a deeper emotional level (Bryman 2004; Van Dijk, Smith and Cooper 2011). This is particularly important for experiential tourism, where employees must embody the adventure and excitement of the product they are selling (Beardsworth and Bryman 2001). This embodiment is reflected in the job outline for those seeking work in the nightlife tourism industry – as this example shows:

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 values of the arena they operate within, dropping “their actor’s mask only when they reach the domestic safety of backstage regions” (Edensor 2000: 323). However, for the seasonal workers in Ibiza, the blurred boundary between work and leisure 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). During fieldwork, it rapidly became clear that many of the British workers in Ibiza personified the island’s themed hedonism in a deep level of performance, where they actually experienced the emotion conveyed (Bryman 2004; Van Dijk, Smith and Cooper 2011). As the following sections demonstrate, this puts seasonal workers in a pivotal role within the island’s drug scene.

Performative Labour in Ibiza

Competition for jobs in Ibiza is intense. Hundreds of young people fly in every week looking for work, and there are not enough jobs. The workers who took

part in the research were engaged in performative labour across the gloriously chaotic carnival of San Antonio's night-time economy. Some workers provided interviews, while others allowed me to spend significant periods of time with them throughout different episodes of 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 an indelibly cheerful enticement of passers-by with cut-price alcohol deals. The work demands a determined display of engaging enthusiasm for any chance of success, particularly given the fierce competition for custom in the West End. PR staff work long hours, often all night, and get 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 performative nature of this work is illustrated in an interview with Karen, an experienced worker employed as a PR manager for one of Ibiza's super-clubs.

Tim (author): 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 (author): 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 (author): 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 sexualized nature of the performance, with women especially working in roles

where sexual allure is wrapped up within customer interaction. This was certainly a common feature of seasonal work in Ibiza, with many of the roles occupied by women involving highly sexualized performance.

In hierarchical terms, bar work was seen as a step up from PR, with a degree of kudos attached to the role. The performative aspect of bar work was evident throughout fieldwork. The excerpt below illustrates how the barman transforms the mundane act of buying a round of drinks into a memorable, indelible experience for the customers.

The barman is working alone as it's still early. I watch as he serves a group of eight women on a hen party. His effortless flirtation and theatrical cocktail-making acrobatics 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)

Staff working in such settings often drew 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, 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 home about 8 in the morning.

(Karen, PR Manager)

These excerpts illustrate the symmetry between 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 bars and clubs 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) conceptualization 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 and I'll have some incredible memories. But in more recent times, it's 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)

Kids come out here with big ideas of working the summer. They leave three weeks later with a four grand debt and a ketamine habit

(British barman in his mid-30s)

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 workers in this study were deeply immersed in drug use, and as with previous studies, this was often 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 drugs (Briggs et al. 2011). 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, 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 seven 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)

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 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 make a decision to start dealing. This shift is explored within the final section of this chapter.

From Drug Use 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 are 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 Ella 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)

The intensely 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. She had worked 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 (author): 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 (author): 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.

Kelly's experience reflects wider concerns about young British people working in the bar industry across the major European nightlife resorts. A 2018 report,

commissioned by the Foreign Office, warned that young British people traveling to Majorca were at significant risk of labour exploitation. The report highlighted how those engaged as unofficial PRs were frequently subjected to long hours, low wages, no contracts, and poor accommodation, with some unscrupulous employers even seizing workers' passports (Creegan and Guilbert 2018). The legal economy for Ibiza's seasonal workers is therefore a remarkably unstable, exploitative, and competitive environment, as these excerpts demonstrate:

Tim (author): 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 (author): 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 (author): 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.

On an island where a 250ml bottle of water can easily cost €15 in a club, it is little wonder that many seasonal workers turn to the illegal economy. Many choose to supplement their income by selling drugs, while others abandon the legal economy altogether and rely on dealing as their sole source of income. This is a risk decision made within the Disneyized socio-cultural context, with the obvious 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)

The magnetic pull of the illegal economy in Ibiza was illustrated in this example from fieldwork. I met Nick on several occasions over different weeks on the

island. He was 22, well-educated and from the suburbs 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, he was employed as a barman in a busy venue in San Antonio, working five nights a 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 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 fake pack of Marlboro lights. 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)

Nick's transition to dealer can be contextualized 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 showed that for many of the 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 normalized 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)

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 [super-club] 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 10 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 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 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 show the ambivalent attitudes held by many of the workers I met in Ibiza. This was behaviour that was out of character in comparison to their lives at home; the island distorted their perception of risk and obfuscated the multiple harms that come with involvement in the illegal drug market, at whatever level. This perception was augmented by an apparent *laissez faire* attitude of police and door security at venues within the NTE. I argue that these agents of control are also involved in performative labour in the Disneyized spaces of Ibiza, as they are enacting a *performance of control*. Fieldwork was punctuated with narratives of police corruption, and door security that is at best ambivalent to drug use, and at worst complicit. As these tourists disclosed.

I never even bother hiding it [from security]. I just hold it in my hands. The first night we went to [super-club]. 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)

I stupidly left my handbag on a table outside a café yesterday afternoon. When I came back from the loo, two police have got my bag and they're going through it. I absolutely shit myself because I know there's about 15 pills in there! I run over to them, and they just hand me the bag back and tell me to be more careful. When I checked, I realise they'd taken all my money and the pills! Couldn't believe it, but I was just fucking relieved they didn't arrest me.

(Sarah, tourist)

The performative nature of security is reflected in this fieldnote excerpt.

As I wash my hands next to a Spanish man, he nods and asks if I want pills or coke. I step back into the warm sun and watch the legal and illegal economy merge as bar staff, ticket sellers, and drug dealers float between sunbeds. All this is in view of a starkly out-of-place, militaristic security guard with 'CONTROL' ironically splashed across his shirt in white capital letters.

(Tim Turner, field notes)

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 start University 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 used ketamine several times a 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 (author): 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 doorman 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 (author): So, he sold you your own ket for €20?

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

This performance of control was illustrated in an interview with a British man in his early 30s, working in several venues as a bouncer. In this exchange, 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 know they can make money. They take drugs off kids and sell them on. That's just what they do.

Tim (author): 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. 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 obvious. If I was a dickhead I'd have just walked up and took it off them. I just went up and said, 'mate, do me a favour, just hold it down and don't be so fucking blatant'.

Tim (author): 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 an unrecorded interview in San Antonio, disclosed the following regarding the application of different rules on the island:

Tim (author): How do you distinguish between dealing and possession for ecstasy pills?

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 (author): Okay. And is that the same rules on the mainland?

Police Officer: [smiling] No, no. It's different. There, maybe 5 is a problem.

The Officer also told me that his daily priority 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, it is the process of Disneyized hybrid consumption – where the line between legal and illegal substances has become virtually indistinct – people like Sam and Nick redefine their threshold of acceptable risk in relation to drug dealing. Ultimately however, they run a gauntlet of serious legal sanctions and the multiple harms that accompany involvement in the drug trade, as powerful organized crime groups exploit their shifting perceptions of risk (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 the hybrid consumption of club drugs. Measham and Shiner (2009: 504) argue that such differential normalization 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 most 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 illustrated significant changes in drug-related behaviour amongst British seasonal workers, and the potential harm associated with these changes is very real. There is a clear escalation in drug use amongst those already using similar drugs in the UK, while 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 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 healthcare and criminal justice procedures (Bellis et al. 2003, 2009; 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 organized 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.

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8

THE DISNEYIZATION OF DRUG USE

From Ibiza to Festivals

Introduction

Previous chapters have outlined how four pillars of Disneyization can be used to help us understand atypical patterns of illegal drug use and dealing in the spectacular party spaces of Ibiza. The aim of this chapter is to pull these findings together, around three main aims. Firstly, I emphasize how the lens of cultural criminology generates an understanding of atypical drug use from the ground up and through the eyes of those involved. This contrasts to mainstream criminological research, which frequently overlooks the views and experiences of those involved and frames drug use as essentially pathological. Secondly, I push the research findings beyond the parameters of Ibiza to show how the Disneyization framework can be employed to help make sense of the atypical patterns of drug use that occur within music festivals. Given the exponential growth in festival attendance, this is an increasingly important issue to consider. The chapter concludes with a consideration of harm, health, and well-being linked to drug use within Disneyized play spaces. It is argued that harm reduction initiatives must acknowledge the temporal risk distortion that can occur in nightlife tourist resorts, music festivals, and other play spaces that interweave drug use as part of the experience.

Understanding Drug Use 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 job 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 offers similar narratives by overlooking the heterogeneous nature of the tourist group and problematizing them with the language of pathology and deviance. This reflects 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 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 civilize 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 portrayed in simplistic 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. Ethnographic fieldwork 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 taking a gap year, some worked in skilled manual roles, some were in professions such as teaching and law. These were neither the ‘Loutish Brits’ represented in *The Sun*, nor the passive victims of aggressive marketing duped into partying. 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 to create what Measham (2004: 344) calls ‘head space’ – a 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. 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 several 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 atomization 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 socializing 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 every day at home. The best thing about being here has been meeting these [points to two friends made whilst in Ibiza]

(Matt, tourist)

However, connection with friends is only one aspect of the wider experience. Many of the tourists and workers gave vivid accounts of moments where the synergy between dancing, the music, and the drugs made them feel deeply connected to *themselves* and to the crowd – an “oceanic experience” 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 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 prioritizing the voice of participants and engaging with the social context. While survey research in this area has been an invaluable source of information about the patterns and extent of drug use within tourist spaces, ethnography 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 2005). Cultural criminology therefore complements 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. 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, a sentiment captured here, in the words of 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 while dancing)

The Disneyization of Drug Use: Atypical Intoxication in Music Festivals

Having asserted the need for an ideological shift in the study of drug use, this section examines how the framework of Disneyization developed during fieldwork in Ibiza can be applied to understand drug use in other secondary worlds, from controlled licensed events to unregulated wild zones. To demonstrate this application, this section explains how the Disneyization framework can be employed to explain atypical patterns of drug use within music festivals.

Until a major period of growth around the new millennium, music festivals were small-scale, niche interest, relatively scarce events. However, a 70% market increase occurred between 2003 and 2007 with tens of thousands of people attending festivals on an annual basis (Mintel 2013). While the covid-19 pandemic clearly had a catastrophic impact on all live music events, there has been a resurgence in the number of festivals taking place across the globe in 2022. In the UK, this has seen the return of well-established multi-day festivals such as Glastonbury, Reading and Leeds, Kendall Calling, Boomtown, Isle of Wight Festival, WOMAD, Creamfields, Latitude, and Download. In the pre-pandemic market report on festivals, Mintel (2019) estimated the industry to be worth £2.6 billion a year, with 25% of the adult population having attended a festival in the previous year, and 61% stating that festivals were more important than holidays. As an exemplar, *Glastonbury* 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 over half a century old, the festival has grown from a capacity of 1,500 to over 180,000, with people travelling from all over the world to enjoy a bewildering array of music and entertainment over five, carnivalesque days. For many attendees, alcohol and illicit drug use is an integral part of festival escapism, and much like holidays, they are constructed as a highly anticipated hiatus from the mundane routines of everyday life (Dilkes-Frayne 2015; Mintel 2019). Indeed, those wanting a reminder of the number of days, hours, minutes, and seconds remaining until the next Glastonbury festival can even follow the countdown on the 'Glastometer'.

Much like the evidence base relating to drug use amongst tourists in Ibiza, festival research is dominated by surveys, outlining patterns of drug use amongst attendees (Hesse and Tutenges 2008; Jenkinson et al. 2014; Lim, Hellard and Hocking 2008). For example, Hesse, Tutenges, and Schlieve (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, while others re-engage in drug use after periods of abstinence. 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; Lim, Hellard and Hocking 2008). In research spanning six years at UK festivals, Measham (2022) found up to a third of festival goers report taking an illegal drug. The unregulated nature of the market creates multiple levels of risk, including those linked to variable dosages, adulterants and fillers, and dangerous combinations of poly-drug use, including the use of illegal substances with alcohol. Festivals are therefore sites of atypical drug use that can magnify potential harms, including drug-related fatalities linked to high strength ecstasy pills/MDMA or dangerous poly-drug use (Busby 2021; Measham 2019).

Whilst survey research is invaluable in outlining the parameters of the ‘problem’, the descriptive nature of the 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 framework proposed here offers a lens that overcomes this under-theorization, 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 theorized in the context of Ibiza. The *Tomorrowland* festival, for example, is a major European EDM festival staged in Belgium, with the 2022 event billed as “a fascinating story to be written during three weekends of love and unity” (Tomorrowland 2022). 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 in recent years (Measham 2019, 2022). 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 merchandizing – is also applicable to music festivals (Borlagdan et al. 2010). As with participants in Ibiza, 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 festival brand affiliation ties in with the issue of distinction previously discussed in relation to Ibiza, 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).

Much 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 as 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. While 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. While drug use is an integral part of the festival experience for anything up to a third of attendees (Measham 2019, 2022), official marketing of such events promotes explicit messages of intolerance to fulfil 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 2022)

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, police made only 13 drug-related arrests at the 2019 festival (Mills 2019) representing just 0.007% of festival attendees – a miniscule figure given that research indicates around one-third of attendees will use an illegal substance over the course of some festivals (Measham 2019, 2022). 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 a UK festival. 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 drug detection dogs patrolled the queue of attendees, while 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 were hardly 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 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.

Theming, merchandizing, and performative labour – the first three pillars of Disneyization – are therefore clearly applicable to 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 is interwoven within festival space, and this includes the trading and consumption of illegal substances. Furthermore, as in Ibiza, I argue 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, before being 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 represents 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 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, groundbreaking live art and performance, epic-scale subversive artworks and multifarious music programming unify to inspire and engulf its audiences” (Glastonbury Festival 2016). The wrap-around atmosphere within Shangri La has marked similarities with Ibiza. 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 therefore argue that immersive atmosphere represents a *fifth pillar* of Disneyization. This research therefore builds upon Bryman’s original conceptualization in 2004. Such atmospheres saturate Disneyized space in profoundly sensual ways and can completely transform the affective experience of those present (Edensor and Sumartojo 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 Disneyization framework can be employed to help understand atypical patterns of drug use within the bounded play space of festivals. This is important as it suggests researchers need to place a greater recognition on 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 ‘class A’ substances amongst many of those attending. Furthermore, as a form of

hybrid consumption, this collapses in on legal intoxicants and is both normalized 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). As film director, Julien Temple stated in relation to Glastonbury's after-hours party zones.

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)

Drugs and Risk Distortion in Disneyized Space

It is 2pm and a male tourist lies prostrate on the pavement of the West End, intoxicated to the point of inertia, through a potent combination of alcohol and drugs. Those around him pay scant attention. Tourists drink, chat, or just walk on by, while the bikini-clad PR in the foreground stands ambivalently just a few feet away, clearly having seen it all a hundred times before. This scene conveys both the differential normalization of hyper-intoxication in the space of the West End, and the relative ambivalence to risk and harm amongst the actors present.

The research findings therefore have implications for promoting the health and well-being of those within the Disneyized spaces of Ibiza, music festivals, and similar secondary worlds. 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 normalized 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 be likened to the experience of riding a rollercoaster. The thrill of the latter is founded on a gulf between reality and perception. When we ride a rollercoaster, we experience an exhilarating sense of danger, but know that we will emerge from the experience unscathed (unless we are *very* unlucky). Without an underlying sense of safety, people would be far less likely to 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 described his use of ecstasy in Ibiza:

I thought I was having a heart attack. It was brilliant.

(Essex Boy 4, tourist)

In relation to the tourists in this study, the hybrid consumption of drugs on the island instilled this same sense of safety, while nevertheless enabling them to play out fantasies of an edgy, countercultural lifestyle. 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, interviewees 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)

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)

People at home, have got to go home. They might be living with parents. People act differently when they're on holiday. They're like different people. I also think because it's so hugely accepted here, they think it's easy to get away with it. At home the law is tighter, and people are more worried about it.

(Alex, tourist)

Disneyized space therefore creates a sense of ambivalence 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, a feeling that is also common within the boundaries of Disney parks. As Koenig (2006: 179) states, many Disney visitors act recklessly because they think, "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 normalization of club drugs within Disneyized space, as these interviewees show.

A lot of the people that we help have taken either ecstasy or ketamine. They're the major ones that we deal with. If we're dealing with someone on ecstasy, often they've had too much of it, or they're not used to it and the effects. Pills can be very strong here. Often people will be extremely unresponsive. We might take them to the medical centre or call an ambulance. The lack of response, the rolling eyes, also it's the panic. Sometimes it's the first time they've taken it, or it's just much stronger than they're used to back home.

(Robert, worker for Ibiza-based harm reduction charity)

There are always people in really bad ways. When I finished work last night, there was a guy totally off his face, covered in vomit, on the street, in the recovery position, ambulance there. And this is like 1am in the morning. There are people who don't realise how strong the pills are, and people who try and be the big man – 'yeah I'm gonna take 15 pills rah rah rah'. It's just stupid.

(Ella, ticket seller)

Gamma et al. (2005: 390) argue that one of the strongest behavioural determinants of drug use is witnessing immediate adverse effects. However, as this excerpt from fieldwork shows, even when drug-related harm was witnessed first-hand, the illusion of safety was only momentarily breached.

A small commotion becomes evident in front of us. A British woman in her early 20s has collapsed. She looks terrible, dead even. Her eyes have rolled back into her head and her mouth hangs open. Two men hold her under the shoulders and literally drag her off the dance floor. The crowd, that had encircled her in shocked concern, closes up again and she's gone. Immediately, everyone turns back to the DJ and starts to dance. Clearly, nothing is more important than enjoying this moment, not even the medical emergency of a young woman who was dancing with the rest of us a few of minutes ago.

(Tim Turner, field notes)

On a similar note, tourists appeared remarkably ambivalent about an ecstasy-related fatality that occurred during one period of fieldwork, as these excerpts illustrate:

I mean we read the paper about the lass dying [in a super-club], 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)

I think you've got more chance of being struck by lightning twice than dying from pills.

(Geordie male, 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 normalization 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 and music festivals. To contextualize 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 several 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 woman 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 she needs to get a paramedic, she refuses because she's worried about the repercussions.

(Tim Turner, field notes)

Key recommendations regarding the health of those who use recreational drugs emanate from the findings of this research. It is recommended that innovative drug checking services such as *The Loop* are routinely employed within Disneyized party zones such as nightlife resorts, city centres, and music festivals. This UK-based, not-for-profit organization checks substances within festivals, clubs, and city centres 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. 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. For example, at a 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 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)

Such harm reduction 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 (Weidermann, 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 well-being 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 that we seek to understand, but so often only condemn and pathologize.

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9

CONCLUSION

Every summer, thousands of young people temporarily abandon the mundane routines of everyday life for adventures in the magical, spectacular realms of nightlife tourist resorts and music festivals. These surreal, secondary worlds offer both untold pleasures and hidden dangers, as the restrictive parameters of normal life blur and collapse. Within these subversive spaces, social relations between strangers are transformed, notions of time and space are stretched, and regular patterns of drug use can be rapidly altered by distortions of risk. Many of those undertaking such adventures will return home with epic tales of youthful excess, drugs, alcohol, music, atmosphere, friendship, chance encounters, spontaneity, and moments of laugh-out-loud comedy. However, for a few, the journey into these secondary worlds will end in harm because just as pleasure is accentuated in these spaces, so too is risk. Every year, young people will be embroiled into legal or medical emergencies on summer adventures in European nightlife resorts, and to witness the steady procession of drug casualties at a music festival, just hang around the welfare tent for a while. And sometimes, tragically, young people leave home for these secondary worlds, as I did in the vignette that opens this book, but don't make it home. Cut short in the prime of life because they decided to take a substance that felt safe within the immersive, normalized context of the party zone.

In 2009, Fiona Measham and Mike Shiner (2009) conceptualized the 'differentiated normalization' of drug use, arguing how decisions to take substances are rooted in a deeply complex interplay between 'situated choice' and 'structured action'. Individuals, they argued, negotiate the meaning of drug use, based on the opportunities and constrictions of the structural milieu in which they operate. This is important because drug 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, argue that tourists in Ibiza are siphoned ‘pied-piper’ like into ‘dangerous forms of excessive consumption’ by hyper-aggressive commercial forces on the island. While there is undoubtedly some truth in this, this research moves away from notions of ‘the exploited tourist’ to show how post-modern consumers actively chase the highly valued experience of Disneyized, spectacular events – and for many these brief breaks from normal life are enhanced by the atypical use of substances such as MDMA and ketamine. This complex relationship between structure and agency shifts the narrative away from simplistic causal explanations that focus on the deviant, pathological individual. Instead, decisions about drug taking emanate from a deeply complex interplay between agency, structure, pleasure, culture, consumer processes, and social context. This is important because it means that corporations who create spectacular Disneyized experiences that they *know* are infused with illegal drugs have a moral responsibility to make those events as safe as possible. One recommendation in this respect is that front-of house drug checking services should *routinely* be incorporated into party zones that create atypical drug use. This has already been a successful feature of several UK festivals over the last few years, with *The Loop* enabling festival goers to check the content of illegal substances. This is a vital, potentially life-saving service. Not only can checking substances help identify dangerous adulterants, high-strength ecstasy pills, and high-purity MDMA – it also creates the opportunity for conversations about harm reduction, with young people who may never have discussed it before (Measham 2019).

The research outlined in this book has contributed to our understanding of differentiated normalization by foregrounding the experience, opinions, attitudes, and behaviour of those involved and crucially, contextualized this with an in-situ analysis of the space in which atypical drug use occurs. The refraction of this issue through the four pillars of Disneyization – theming, hybrid consumption, branding and merchandize, and performative labour – helps us to understand the complex relationship between drug use, identity, lifestyle, the experience economy, and spectacular, immersive events in Disneyized space. While each of these pillars has been considered in separate chapters, they are deeply enmeshed and cannot be extricated in terms of individual influence on drug use within secondary worlds. Rather they are four interconnected, overlapping concepts that theorize both the space in which drug use occurs and the choices that people make within it. As such the findings of this study neither pathologize the setting of Ibiza – as a secondary world par excellence – 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).

What Next? Future Directions for Research

For those interested in developing our understanding of drug use in Disneyized, secondary worlds, I outline five areas of research that offer potentially rich avenues of enquiry. Firstly, it would be valuable to engage in a longitudinal analysis of individuals and small social groups to explore how adventures in nightlife resorts and festivals are planned, anticipated, experienced, and subsequently reflected on after the return home. How do the experiences like those described in this research impact on people in the longer term? Do they shape behaviour back in the 'real' world? How are such experiences remembered and what meanings do they hold for people?

Secondly, the study set out to explore the nature and meaning of illicit drugs associated with EDM, principally ecstasy, MDMA crystal, ketamine, and cocaine. It was the criminological lens of the research that informed this focus on illegal substances. While alcohol consumption was endemic across participants, the nature, meaning, and role that this plays in relation to drug use were not analysed in any depth and were not at the fore of participant narratives. However, it is acknowledged that processes of decriminalization across international borders as well as the proliferation of new psychoactive substances have blurred the distinction between legal and illegal substance use. 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 illegal drugs was limited within the findings. Developing our understanding of situated choice and structured action regarding desistance is therefore a valuable 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.

Fourthly, the Disneyization framework is offered as a lens to analyse atypical drug use in other secondary world settings – whether it be beach parties in Goa, stag tours in Amsterdam, or teenage, post-exam blow-outs in the English coastal town of Newquay. On a smaller scale, the in-between spaces of hotels and international airports are also worthy of further research, to help understand the complex relationship between space, disconnection, and atypical patterns of intoxication. The framework of Disneyization offers researchers a fresh analytical lens on these liminal travel spaces.

Finally, it is proposed that seasonal workers in nightlife resorts represent an important area of future research. This study revealed the extent to which this social group are deeply enmeshed within the drug scene of Ibiza. Not only do they consume high levels of illegal drugs over a more prolonged period than their

tourist counterparts, but many also make the transition to drug dealing. While this study has gone some way to illustrate the experience of this group, further research can add depth to our understanding. For example, why do some workers opt to engage in drug dealing, while others desist? To what extent are such workers at risk of exploitation and violence within both the legal *and* illegal economy of nightlife resorts? How do seasonal workers perceive the risks associated with dealing within Disneyized space? How do they adapt to life in the UK after the hedonistic rigors of their time in party zones like Ibiza?

This research has provided an innovative framework for the analysis of drug use within secondary worlds and opened many potential areas of future investigation. These include research directions 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. I recall a first tentative discussion of the project with my line manager; as soon as I mentioned Ibiza, he showed me the door with a dismissive expletive! Friends, meanwhile, looked on my research with either a sense of bemused admiration that I had ‘duped the system’ or with feigned annoyance at the ‘waste of tax-payers’ money’. These views seem to resonate with a reluctance amongst academics to acknowledge pleasure in their work with people who use illicit drugs. In a bid to retain credibility, drug researchers 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.

While reactions to the research were therefore frustrating at times, the significance of the findings demonstrates that such views were 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 the innovative and meaningful framework of Disneyization as a means of

understanding atypical drug use within a range of magical, upside-down, secondary worlds.

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