

Drugs at the campsite: Socio-spatial relations and drug use at music festivals

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Abstract

Music festivals have received relatively little research attention despite being key sites for alcohol and drug use among young people internationally. Research into music festivals and the social contexts of drug use more generally, has tended to focus on social and cultural processes without sufficient regard for the mediating role of space and spatial processes. Adopting a relational approach to space and the social, from Actor-Network Theory and human geography, I examine how socio-spatial relations are generated in campsites at multiple-day music festivals. The data are drawn from ethnographic observations at music festivals around Melbourne, Australia; interviews with 18-23 year olds; and participant-written diaries. Through the analysis, the campsite is revealed as a space in process, the making of which is bound up in how drug use unfolds. Campsite relations mediate the formation of drug knowledge and norms, informal harm reduction practices, access to and exchange of drugs, and rest and recovery following drug use. I propose that greater attendance to socio-spatial relations affords new insights regarding how festival spaces and their social effects are created, and how they give rise to particular drug use practices. These insights also point to how festival harm reduction strategies might be enhanced with the promotion of enabling socio-spatial relations.

Key words

Enabling places; ethnography, music festivals; social context; socio-spatial relations; drug use.

Music festivals are becoming increasingly popular among young people internationally as places for leisure, entertainment and socialising (Martinus, McAlaney, McLaughlin, & Smith, 2010; McCarthy, 2013). Festivals are often highly anticipated events, seen as a break from normal life, and can provide an occasion for alcohol and drug use (Borlagdan, Freeman, Duvnjak, Bywood, & Roche, 2010; Luckman, 2003). Young festival attendees tend to have higher rates of drug use than the general youth population, and accordingly, festivals may provide key sites for targeted prevention and harm reduction activities (Hesse & Tutenges, 2012; Lim, Hellard, Hocking, Spelman, & Aitken, 2010; Martinus, et al., 2010; Wilson, Bryant, Holt, & Treloar, 2010).

In order to develop effective setting-specific approaches to drug use, research must account for how specific contexts are involved in mediating local drug use practices (Dilkes-Frayne, 2014; Duff, 2012). To date, research has not

sufficiently accounted for how spatial, material, temporal and affective dynamics of festivals feature in shaping drug use alongside more commonly recognised social or cultural factors (Dilkes-Frayne, 2014). This is particularly necessary given that numerous characteristics of music festivals differentiate them from more well-researched nightlife settings like nightclubs and bars. Festivals are unique in their size, location and layout; are held at both day- and night-time; and are relatively infrequent (often annual), of long duration and large crowd size.

In this article, I focus on campsite spaces at multiple-day music festivals, and the socio-spatial relations that inform how festival spaces come to mediate drug use practices. Employing notions of relationality and the social from Actor-Network Theory (ANT), and the concept of relational space in human geography, I present socio-spatial relations as the way in which spaces, social processes and drug use are generated relationally in shifting collectives of people, objects, materials, drugs, and climatic features. Drawing on ethnographic research at music festivals around Melbourne, Australia, I demonstrate how campsites are made, and how they mediate drug use, drug knowledge, use norms, informal harm reduction practices, access to and exchange of drugs, and rest and recovery following drug use. I suggest that greater attendance to socio-spatial relations should avail new insights into how festival spaces and their social effects are created, and how they give rise to drug use practices. The findings also point to how festival harm reduction strategies might be enhanced by promoting socio-spatial relations that enable people, drugs and spaces to generate alternatives to harm.

Background

Research on music festivals has commonly focused on the festival experience and people's attraction to it (Gilmore, 2010; Luckman, 2003; St John, 2009), employing notions of the carnivalesque (Bakhtin, 1984); liminality, *communitas*, ritual (Turner, 1987); and neo-tribes (Maffesoli, 1995). Drug use has not been the central concern of festival research, as researchers have argued that it is not a crucial aspect of festival participation (Gilmore, 2010; Tramacchi, 2000). Where drug use has been specifically addressed, studies have tended to survey use prevalence among festival attending populations, rather than examine how drugs are used at the festival itself (Hesse & Tutenges, 2012; Jenkinson, Bowring, Dietze, Hellard, & Lim, 2014; Lim, et al., 2010). Exceptions include survey research identifying alcohol and drug use practices at an outdoor festival in Scotland (Martinus, et al., 2010), a qualitative study of harm reduction practices among attendees at Goa trance parties in Belgium (Van Havere, Tutenges, De Maeyer, Broekaert, & Vanderplasschen, 2015), and research identifying alcohol sponsorship, branding and marketing at festivals in Australia (Borlagdan, et al., 2010). In the accounts they provide, social and cultural aspects of festivals, such as norms, group solidarity and music scenes, are used to explain the drug use evident at festivals.

Recently, research in human geography and alcohol and other drug studies has emphasised the need for greater recognition of the active role of space and place in mediating drug use (Cooper & Tempalski, 2014; Fraser, 2006; Jayne, Valentine, & Holloway, 2008; Malins, Fitzgerald, & Threadgold, 2006; Saldanha, 2007; Vitellone, 2010; Wilton & Moreno, 2012). This work proposes

that space ought to be recognised as a vital constituent of drug use practices, pleasures and experiences, rather than a passive backdrop to human or social forces (Bøhling, 2014; Duff, 2008; Jayne, et al., 2008). Accounting for how contexts are active in generating particular drug use practices requires recognition of the interplay between social, spatial, material, temporal and affective processes (Dilkes-Frayne, 2014; Duff, 2012). There is also a need to demonstrate how spaces are themselves *produced* in these processes (Dilkes-Frayne, 2014).

A small segment of music festivals research has addressed how their specific spatial characteristics relate to drug use. Festival venues like bushland or desert have been suggested to produce a liminal quality and feelings of being away from normal life, facilitating connections with other people and nature, and enabling different norms and identities to emerge, including those around drug use (Gilmore, 2010; Luckman, 2003; Tramacchi, 2000). More broadly, however, festivals research has tended not to draw connections between how a festival's layout, people's movement around sites, or particular climatic environments, for example, relate to drug use practices specifically.

While it may be assumed that the dance floor is where the action of drug consumption happens, and where its effects take place, much action relevant to consumption, use experience, and potential harms takes place off the dance floor, in spaces such as festival entrances (Demant & Dilkes-Frayne, 2015) or campsites, for example. In seeking to understand how consumption practices and psychoactive effects arise in particular spaces, we need to look at what flows in and out of these spaces, and how people move through and around them, including in analysis what has been prefigured by pre-purchasing, pre-drinking, and movement to and around venues (Dilkes-Frayne, 2014).

In relation to reducing drug-related harm, on-site health care services at music festivals attend to drug- and non-drug-related harms, including illnesses, injuries, environmental (e.g. heat exhaustion) and mental health presentations, at higher incidence rates than other kinds of mass gatherings (Hutton, Ranse, Verdonk, Ullah, & Arbon, 2014). As it is now well recognised that the environments in which drug use takes place are involved in generating the risks and harms that can be associated with drug use (Fitzgerald, 2009; Rhodes, 2009; Tempalski & McQuie, 2009), and as increasing attention is being paid towards setting-based approaches to drug-use prevention and harm reduction (Martinus, et al., 2010; Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy, 2011), the specific characteristics of music festivals warrant further investigation (Hesse & Tutenges, 2012; Lim, et al., 2010). Recent research has suggested that harm reduction must involve mitigating drug-related and environmental risk factors, while also attending to how use environments can be made more "enabling" (Duff, 2010; Moore & Dietze, 2005; Rhodes, 2009). Enabling places or environments are those which provide social, material and affective resources that facilitate the prevention of harm (Duff, 2010), and remove barriers to protective action (Moore & Dietze, 2005). Resources, however, are not "innately enabling", their utility depends on how they are put to use in specific contexts (Duff, 2010, p. 342). Making places that enable the reduction of harm, therefore, requires a close examination of the specific relations in which resources are made available and put into practice. While the focus of this research was not on harm or harm reduction interventions directly, the findings have implications for

how festival-specific harm reduction interventions may be approached, with a view to enabling people, drugs and festival spaces to act towards harm reduction.

Socio-spatial relations and drug use

For attending to how spaces are bound up with social practices, relational thinking in Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and human geography hold particular promise. ANT scholarship now comprises a wide diaspora of approaches, extending into numerous fields (Law, 2009). My primary aim with ANT in this paper is to draw upon the notion of relationality, as articulated by Bruno Latour (2005), to explore how both spaces and the social are generated in relational processes. Latour (2005) argues that rather than treating humans as the sole actors through which sociality is generated, social research ought to move beyond an artificial divide that is often imposed between the human and non-human, to recognise that “the continuity of any course of action will rarely consist of human-to-human connections ... or of object-to-object connections, but will probably zigzag from one to the other” (Latour, 2005, p. 75). The agencies, actions, and characteristics of actors (be they human or non-human) are said to be enacted in relations of mediation: an association formed between things, where something acts on another by transforming it in some way. Through mediation, people and things modify one another, and new possibilities for action and relation are created (Latour, 2005). This does not imply a deterministic or causal relationship; rather, those mediated may be allowed, encouraged, dissuaded or blocked from acting in particular ways (Latour, 2005).

While ANT is best known for its (at times controversial) focus on the non-human aspects of these relations (Sayes, 2014), it is not incompatible with a focus on the human (Dilkes-Frayne, 2014). Far from precluding human aspects from social analysis, ANT insists that we examine how human agencies, capacities, and knowledge, along with organisations and society as a whole, are produced as *effects*, made to be what they are through the action of the heterogeneous collectives in which they are constantly engaged. It is this process of the generation of young people’s actions, knowledge, norms, and drug use in more-than-human relations that I focus on in this paper, with specific attendance to the role of the spatial in this process.

Similarly to ANT, and often drawing on ANT and other relational approaches, human geographers have sought to highlight how spaces are produced in relations between humans and non-humans, suggesting that people and spaces are always woven together (Bosco, 2015; Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2006; Whatmore, 1999). Rather than seeing space as existing prior to its relations with those who inhabit it, or as a container *in which* social processes unfold, space becomes seen as something that is made as relations are formed between a range of entities (Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2006). Spaces are not static or fixed with essential properties or characteristics, but are temporary stabilisations of shifting collectives, continually unfolding (Law, 2002). A space’s character endures for as long as these relations hold together, shifting with changing configurations of objects, materials, people, weather, light, sound, and so on.

Combining these notions of sociality and space provides a useful grounding for the analysis of socio-spatial relations, and a conception of how

spaces, social effects, and drug use are enacted together. In the case of drug use, this requires attention to the roles that drugs play both in forming and being affected by these relations. As people engage with and move through various spaces, they and their relations with drugs are enacted in particular ways, potentially bringing about actions such as drug use, and transformations such as psychoactive effects (Dilkes-Frayne, 2014). The effects of drug use thus involve more than a physiological effect of chemical on body; they are generated by relations between multiple actants, which extend beyond the time and space of consumption. Using this approach, I ask how the socio-spatial relations of the campsite are generated, what they generate in turn, and how they are related to drugs and drug use.

Method

The data for this article are drawn from ethnographic research conducted in and around Melbourne, Australia, in music festivals and licensed venues, that examined how these settings shaped illicit drug use by young people. Participant observation was conducted at nightclubs and bars as well as music festivals, which included ninety hours across thirteen days and nights of observation at six single- and multiple-day music festivals between October 2012 and February 2013. In-depth interviews (n=11), participant-written diaries and diary-interviews (n=4) were also undertaken with young people aged between 18 and 23 years. Participants were recruited at university campuses around Melbourne. No recruitment or formal interviews took place at venues or festivals, although informal conversations with festivalgoers were recorded in field notes. All names used here are pseudonyms.

I focus below on data relating to multiple day/night festivals that included on-site camping. Data comprised field notes, participant diaries, interview transcripts, venue maps, photographs, videos, festival brochures and websites, and news media reports. The data covered six camping music festivals playing the music genres of rock and alternative indie rock, electronic dance music, and psychedelic trance (psytrance or Goa trance). The festivals were held primarily on farms, between one and four hours' drive from central Melbourne, and ran for two to six nights. Ticket prices ranged from AUD\$150-\$420, and festivals attracted between 2,500 to 16,000 attendees.

Data were analysed following an iterative approach characteristic of ethnographic research (O'Reilly, 2005), informed by the analytical sensitivities of ANT (Mol, 2010), and research questions regarding the relationship between drug use and space. I use the data here not to present a generalisable characterisation of festivals or campsite spaces, but to highlight the complexity of processes at work in their relations. As Mol (2010) has put it the "point is not to finally, once and for all, catch reality as it really is. Instead, it is to make specific, surprising, so far unspoken events and situations visible, audible and sensible" (p. 255).

Making the campsite space

As maps of many festivals indicate, sites tend to comprise two main areas: the central festival grounds and the surrounding camping area (see Figure 1¹ for an example). The central grounds take up only a small proportion of the total site, and are set up to create a number of spaces—stages, dance floors, backstage areas, markets, workshop areas, food stalls, and art installations. On the other hand, it was clear from my observations that the camping areas were given only minimal structure by festival organisers. Boundaries, roads and emergency exits were cordoned off, temporary toilets and showers were provided, but attendees were expected to make their own campsites using their own materials, within the opportunities and limits of sparsely treed, grassy, dusty or muddy paddocks or fields (see Figure 2).

As a result, setting up the campsite was often the first task on attendees' arrival. Those arriving earliest were responsible for finding a suitable spot and saving space for people yet to arrive. Tensions could run high in the hunt for the best site, after a car journey of between one and four hours, queuing at the festival gate, and negotiating boundaries with other campers. Potential sites were considered for size, slope of the ground, and distance to the music stages or amenities. Being close to the stages could reduce the need for a long "trek" to and from camp, taken on foot numerous times per day, in temperatures ranging from 5-45C (night/day). However, being close to stages, which often run loud music for 24 hours a day, could hinder a restful night's sleep. Similarly, being close to amenities such as toilets may be handy, but odour could also be a campsite vibe-killer.

Once a site was found, materials and objects were scattered around to reserve a territory. According to my observations, campsites were typically laid out around a shared area resembling an outdoor lounge room, built with a combination of gazebo tents, tarpaulins, pieces of fabric, or elaborate built structures such as domes or teepees. Lounges became populated with camping chairs, couches, cushions, hammocks, eskies (ice boxes), tables, hanging decorations, half-eaten meals, eating utensils, bottles of sunscreen, cigarette lighters, rubbish bags, clothing and costumes. This formed a common area for the camping group; people flowed in and out, each time encountering and creating a new collection of people and things.

Tents, cars, camper- and caravans were haphazardly arranged outwards from the lounge. Tents provided only a marginal visual and sound barrier, and minimal protection from what lay outside. Rarely as waterproof as advertised, they could be freezing cold at night and oven-like during the day, with insects

¹ Figure 1 is an approximation I created from a map of a music festival attended during fieldwork. Recognising that maps are inherently static and partial representations of complex spatial processes, the figure's purpose is not to be an objective representation of the spaces of the festival, nor all festivals. It is provided here as a visual aid to give readers an indicative sense of the kinds of layouts, proportions and distances common to the sites visited in the fieldwork for this study. It does not encompass the relations or affects arising in the making of these spaces, nor changes in elevation, climatic features, shifting areas of shade, or the mode of (often walking) transport via which they are traversed.

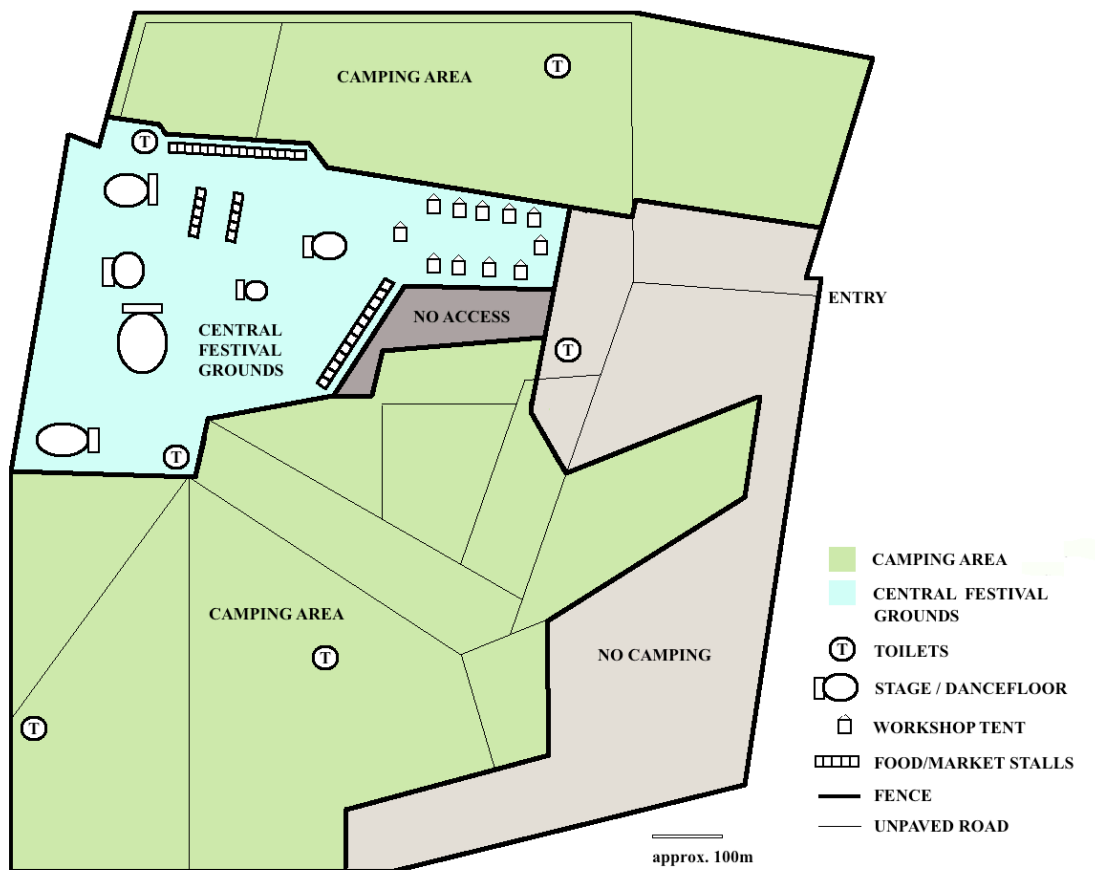


Fig. 1. Example of a camping festival layout.



Fig. 2. Example of campsite area (photo credit: Ella Dilkes-Frayne).

and spiders commonly finding ways in. Even so, they provided one of the few places for relative privacy, as Julian (participant) noted: “away from prying eyes, where you finally feel like you're out of the public.” They also enabled storage of personal effects and a space for smaller gatherings, sleep, sex, drug consumption, and changing clothes.

After days, weeks or months of preparation and a long car journey, assembling lounges and tents could lead to a tired sense of achievement. With a campsite and home base coming into existence, the time came for attendees to make peace with their neighbours, put their feet up and wait for the music to begin. Additional people arrived intermittently and the barren campsite was filled. The hissing sound of cans of beer being opened and the smell of marijuana smoke often became apparent. Two participants described this time: “you just sit around a big table and just talk, and various people would come in and out” (Kara); “[we get] to know the people we are camping with, everyone in good moods, excited for the week ahead” (Julian, diary). People began to relax into the vibe of the festival, talking in excited anticipation of the days and nights to come. According to one attendee, “this is the calm before the storm” (Field notes).

Making the camping group

Sitting at the campsite in the early hours of the festival, it was evident that loose and shifting groups were forming among people sharing campsites. These groups were comprised of friends and friends-of-friends, often including a core group of regular attendees, as Julian noted:

I was camping with a group of about 20-25, about 5 of which I had met previously, plus my girlfriend and a good friend (Julian, diary).

We were quite a mixed-matched group, you know, groups within groups within the larger whole (Julian, interview).

The arrangement of chairs, cushions or couches in a circle enabled everyone to be included in large group conversations or meet others around them. The porous set-up of the space also allowed people from neighbouring campsites to wander through, borrow a mallet or a tent peg, and stop for a chat. As Kara shows below, the familiarity people gained with those around them could lead to feelings of solidarity, even when groups were fluid, and a sense that people were “looking out” for one another:

People kind of just come from different campsites and just come over and just like, “hi!” [...] It was really relaxed and everyone was sort of, you had that feeling that everyone was looking out for each other [...] people would come and borrow something from heaps of campsites down and they'd make sure they'd come back and return it. It was a really nice community-type atmosphere (Kara, interview).

The spatial layout of campsite areas, and the movement of materials and people through them, could thus facilitate a sense of community that permeated people’s festival experience. This could make them open and amenable to other festival attendees, setting up the friendly vibe celebrated at many festivals, and

which has been shown to be important for informal harm reduction (Van Havere, et al., 2015).

Group bonding was often also facilitated by sharing particular drugs:

- Ella: What kind of things would be shared? [...]
 Julian: I guess generally it was weed and alcohol and cigarettes [...]
 Basically things that aren't too expensive are shared.

Alcohol, tobacco and marijuana (either in 'joints' for smoking or baked goods like hash cookies) were relatively cheap, widely accepted and consumed. These were often shared at the campsite with the expectation of reciprocity, to demonstrate a sense of good will. This process of group bonding through shared drug consumption, however, could be alienating for those who did not partake, and could make people feel out of place at the campsite. As a non-drinker, Julian, for example, felt that he was viewed with suspicion by those who expected shared alcohol use:

Back in our camping group, people are starting to drink quite heavily and are getting rather merry. Not drinking [alcohol myself] and feeling rather tired I struggle to gain the motivation for small talk with strangers. I worry about the social isolation of not drinking; it is just such an excellent icebreaker. It's not only the intoxication; it's about having something in your hand (Julian, diary).

In a later interview, he clarified:

Telling someone you're not drinking, I could have told them that I was half antelope and it would have been less of a surprise. [...] Most people were just quite taken aback, like "how are you not drinking??" It's so ingrained in that kind of environment. The concept of not drinking-, you're instantly seen differently I guess (Julian, interview).

Here, the importance of 'having something in your hand' emphasises the materiality of the drugs shared, and the necessity of *visible* consumption and the reciprocal transfer of these drugs between people that was expected in the shared space. By not participating in this material transfer, feelings of discomfort and alienation were generated in Julian. In order to socialise with the unfamiliar people who surrounded him, Julian instead felt required to participate in the shared merriment of the campsite by substituting marijuana for alcohol. Marijuana was generally accepted among festival attendees, and could be taken similarly to alcohol—at low doses for long periods—giving him something to 'be social with':

Having something that you could be social with [like marijuana] was also really important [...] people were getting up and having a beer an hour after they woke up kind of thing, and you can't do that with a lot harder drugs, you'd just kill yourself in two days, you know. So having something that you can constantly re-dose was quite important (Julian, interview).

In these often subtle ways, the open and communal nature of the campsite's material arrangement, and the collection therein of people unfamiliar to one another, encouraged the consumption of alcohol, tobacco and/or marijuana to contribute to the stability of the newly forming group. These drugs could be shared easily by handing them to people at the campsite, and their use did not necessarily require being hidden because of their general social acceptability. They were also cheap and could be re-dosed regularly. The drugs thus performed as an 'icebreaker', facilitating social connection in the campsite not just because of their psychoactive abilities, but also because they enabled one to feel connected to, rather than alienated from, the campsite group. Through these processes, the campsite became a space for socialising, sharing, talking and looking out for one another, engendering particular norms around drug use and community.

'Talk' about drugs

Becoming a social space, the campsite enabled people to sit and talk, and quite frequently, I observed, the topic turned to drugs. With the 'mix-matched' make-up of the camping group, and the porous space allowing frequent visitors, those sitting at the campsite often had varied experiences with drugs. This enabled people to exchange personal experiences of drug use, learn about drugs they hadn't tried, and discuss different methods of use, as my field notes indicate:

There was a discussion of the different methods of smoking DMT (N,N-dimethyltryptamine) to get different effects, different strengths, and to lessen the burning in the throat that they said is associated with smoking it (Field notes).

People also discussed how drugs were made (such as where 'acid' 'came from'), and speculated on the possible effects of less commonly used drugs (e.g. Kronic, a synthetic cannabinoid). Similarly, the campsite was a space for people to share strategies for managing use across multiple days without 'peaking too early' and/or 'burning out' before the festival was finished (a common experience for those attending a camping festival for the first time).

It was evident during observations and from interviewees' accounts that access to a wide variety of drugs (as seen below) and a tendency towards sharing made festivals an opportunity for trying drugs that attendees had not taken before. It appeared that key to this was also having access to the advice of people who had personal experience with the various drugs on offer. For people with little experience with particular drugs, the campsite provided a space for group discussions and collective decisions regarding such consumption:

The group discussed another attendee who had never had 'acid' before. He was offered the opportunity to have some later and the group got together to decide whether and how he should do it. There were varying opinions on dose—some said to have a high dose or it's not worth it, others said to have a low dose to ease him in (Field notes).

The campsite provided a space to collect various drugs alongside people with varied experience of consuming them. It was also, as established above, a site

which could bring about feelings of comfort with and trust of others around them. This gathering could then enable decisions about drug use to be made collectively, which was particularly important where being ‘on the same level’ as one’s friends in relation to drug consumption was highly valued for generating a shared sense of experience. Decisions about use timing, and which drugs would be taken on which days, were made following “very lengthy discussion of the pros and cons” (Julian, interview) of various options. In this way, drug use decisions were often made at the campsite and then implemented later, having effects in other festival spaces, such as dance floors, where psychoactive effects were experienced.

While dance floor spaces were generally used for dancing rather than talking, coming back to the campsite involved a movement to a space that tended to be more quiet and focused around re-collection and talking. This movement of people from campsite to dance floor and back enabled people to share their reflections on what they had witnessed in other festival spaces. This process was involved in the generation and maintenance of particular norms around drug use, relating to un/acceptable behaviour, and cautionary tales of what was perceived to be overuse or misuse:

It was a common topic of conversation, stories about people who were on drugs or very intoxicated. [...] One of the attendees told the group [sitting at camp] about a man they'd seen on one of the dance floors who was obviously very ‘high’, sunburnt, covered from head to toe in dust, dancing extremely enthusiastically and rubbing his body against the ground and nearby poles. The story was told in a way that was disapproving and shocked by the man's behaviour, a caution of what can happen with too much drug use—behaviour perceived as crazy and embarrassing (Field notes).

People brought their observations of behaviour in other festival spaces back to the campsite space for collective discussion. Both approving and disapproving attitudes were expressed towards various styles of drug use. From my observations, even at festivals where extensive poly-drug use was relatively common, there was tendency to collectively maintain the norm that ‘messy’ or ‘destructive’ drug use was frowned upon and socially sanctioned, even if people’s definitions of this varied. The talk facilitated at campsites served to reinforce the social norms and expectations around drug use at the festival, with particular reference to the feelings of those assembled at the campsite.

Finally, the campsite space, and the group bonds and good neighbourly relations that sustained it, facilitated information about police activities spreading quickly through the festival site by word-of-mouth:

Earlier a camping neighbour who was sitting with us in our camping area said he had gone into town and seen a lot of cops [police] on the way back in. He said he heard talk of them coming into the festival and searching tents with dogs. Other attendees responded by saying that this searching won’t happen everywhere, they will go to some areas, fill their quota (of arrests?) and then leave (Field notes).

Hence, the spatial and social organisation of the campsite and the transitory flow of people with diverse drug use experience, produced talk facilitating the transfer of experiential knowledge, collective decision-making, behavioural norms and understanding of police activities.

Drug exchange at campsites

For the most part, attendees who planned to use particular drugs attempted to source these drugs prior to the festival. This enabled people to buy from known and trusted sellers, to test or research particular drugs before use, and to buy at cheaper prices or in bulk, which were often not possible when buying at the festival site. Sometimes, however, particular drugs were difficult to source beforehand. Julian, who had been unable to buy marijuana before a festival, was able to relatively easily find marijuana by walking around to nearby campsites or 'spreading the word' through visiting neighbours and friends:

[My friend] runs into an acquaintance while we are wandering around the campsites and asks to spread the word that we are after green [marijuana] and can trade for a range of different substances or cash. After a while, having heard we were looking, another acquaintance of [my friend] finds us and wants to trade [marijuana] for MDMA (Julian, diary).

I observed the same being done with other drugs including LSD, MDMA, and nitrous oxide. Those looking to sell drugs also walked around campsites asking if people were interested in buying:

Within about ten minutes [of setting up camp] people would come and offer you things. Like this lady came and she was like 'I have coke, I have DMT, I have ketamine, I have ecstasy, I have speed' and she just like opened her bag and just had like a bag full of stuff (Kara, interview).

This experience was shared by Liam at a different festival:

I'd had a bit to drink and I'd had one MD[MA] pill and I was quite hazy and a guy came around and knocked on the door of my tent and said "hey man, do you want any MD or mushrooms?" (Liam, interview).

While drugs were bought and sold in other areas of the festival site, the exchange of drugs (buying, trading or selling) was facilitated at campsites by their open and porous layout, the acceptability of people approaching other campsites, and the relative privacy campsites provided for negotiating deals and trades. However, buying at festivals was also associated with buying drugs from unknown sellers, without the ability to test drugs beforehand or hear accounts from friends who had previously taken the same batch, restricting common informal harm reduction techniques at the point of drug acquisition.

Drug use at campsites

Drugs were consumed in spaces all around the festival site. The use that took place at campsites tended to be related to the particular socio-spatial relations

the campsite afforded, or was incidental to the times that people found themselves there. On 'big' days that started early, drug use could be part of the day's preparations at camp. For example, drugs such as LSD or MDMA that tended to have longer-lasting rather than immediate effects, might be taken at the campsite after breakfast and tooth brushing, before venturing into the festival grounds. Drugs whose effects were more immediate and shorter-lasting, such as inhalants like amyl nitrite and nitrous oxide, were more commonly used on dance floors because they were seen to be suited to the sensory stimulation such spaces afforded, often combined to enhance the psychoactive effects of LSD or MDMA. It was also observed that people returned to camp during the day to take drugs that were stored there, or to take advantage of the relative privacy offered by campsites or tents to have a line of cocaine or a marijuana bong without attracting unwanted attention. Nitrous oxide (NOS) was also used at campsites in groups, particularly at festivals where the central festival grounds were designated as 'NOS free zones' (usually to control NOS canister litter).

As mentioned earlier, alcohol, tobacco and marijuana were often used during times of group bonding, which continued throughout the festival. As Julian noted, smoking marijuana with a group at the end of a night could also bring a group 'back together':

It [smoking weed] gives you a chance to kind of recap things of the night between the group and feeling like you've all come back together and landed. Yeah, a bit of a grounding (Julian, interview).

Here the specific characteristics of particular spaces were linked to where particular drugs were consumed, based also on the duration and type of psychoactive effects attendees expected from various drugs. Drugs were used at campsites where they suited the activities happening there (relaxing, talking or preparing for the day), the relative privacy (for private use or with small groups of friends), or because some drugs were stored there during the day.

Enabling rest and recovery

The main festival grounds often offered little shade or shelter from the elements. Although some stage areas were in large tents or partially covered with shade cloths, this cover was minimal. The campsite became an important place for shelter during long days and nights of walking and dancing in an environment posing serious risks of dehydration and exhaustion from heat and sun exposure. The days and nights of the festival were punctuated by journeys to and from the campsite in order to replenish supplies, find lost friends, change clothes, or rest. However, the relative distance of campsites from the central festival grounds could inform how tiring this 'trek' or 'journey' was in the (often blistering) sunshine.

The festival grounds could also at times be over-stimulating, making the tent a space of respite:

At a festival there's so many other people and I get this intense social anxiety when I take that [magic mushrooms] where I feel like I don't know how to act normally and I don't know what's going on, and I don't know what's real and what isn't real, and I get-, start to doubt everything.

So if I'm with someone I end up just having to go into the tent and just have my boyfriend there who was basically trying to calm me down and letting me know that everything was fine (Kara, interview).

The tent enabled Kara to withdraw from a festival space that provoked her anxiety, and to be in private with her boyfriend whose company she found calming. The campsite, therefore, acted as a space for friends to nurse and keep an eye on one another if someone was feeling ill or experiencing unpleasant effects from drug use or exposure.

Many attendees either stayed up late into the night, into the morning, or barely slept at all. The materiality of tents and location of campsites offered mixed opportunities for sleep, a crucial aspect of rest and recovery at festivals:

[I] mainly tried to get sleep at night but, 'cause [...] the sun was directly on like the campsite during the day, so it would be fine up 'til about 10am, then it would get *so* hot in the tent [...] I'd be exhausted during the day and really wanted to be able to sleep, but there was no way I could because the tent was probably 45 degrees [Celsius] [...] whatever sleep you got over the night period was the sleep that you were going to get (Kara, interview).

Even night-time sleep could be difficult:

That psytrance stage wasn't that far away from where we [were camped], well it was far enough, but there was music on 24/7, so it was really difficult. So obviously if you'd been taking things [drugs], you do need to sleep, it's really important to get enough sleep so that you recover enough to then go then next day (Kara, interview).

A number of participants noted how lack of sleep, as an effect of the space or drug use, could have significant impacts on their ability to recover from the previous day's activities, which could have a compounding effect over multiple days/nights. For some, good earplugs were an essential piece of festival equipment for this reason. For others, smoking marijuana before bed helped to facilitate sleep by mitigating the effects of the hard ground, cold night-time temperatures, pumping music, and residual stimulating drug effects:

It's [marijuana] just very helpful in the day-to-day life of camping. You know, you never have to worry about how thin your mattress is, you sleep better [...] it's a godsend in comedowns basically. Trying to get to sleep after a night with MDMA without weed is not something I really want to experience too often (Julian, interview).

Morning at the campsite became a time to recuperate and prepare for the day/night ahead. During observations, people tended to perch in a camping chair, eat breakfast, drink water or electrolytes, and try to generate some energy and freshness out of the 'scatteredness' of those around them:

This morning everyone in the campsite seems to be recovering from

something. Taking it easy, eating some food, sitting in the shade. [...] just sitting around the campsite, everyone was pretty scattered, but friends of various attendees dropped past to have a chat. It was a chilled out vibe, communal; it was the first time in a while that everyone had been together (Field notes).

After breakfast and a rough clean with dampened cloth wipes (or for some, a real shower if facilities allowed), people prepared to do it all again, in some cases taking it easy at the campsite through the day to prepare for a particularly big night:

[My girlfriend and I] couldn't do much but lie in the sun and smoke bong. We even had an afternoon nap and got up around 7[pm]. It was after all new year's eve (Julian, diary).

The campsite, in its proximity/distance from the main festival grounds; its material provision of shade, shelter and relative privacy; and the climatic features of the rural summer festival environment, thus both facilitated and impeded rest and recovery. It provided a crucial space for recuperation that enabled attendees to manage and enjoy multiple days of drug use and dancing in harsh environmental conditions, but did so in a way that never quite afforded a full measure of refreshment and recovery.

Dismantling the campsite

After between two and six days and nights of dancing, drug use, sun exposure, caked in dust or mud, the time came for festival attendees to pack up camp and return to the 'real' world, where the serious recovery would begin. Campsites were dismantled piece by piece as people packed up to leave. Friends old and new shook hands or shared hugs, and they and the now-weathered materials they had brought with them made the journey home.

Discussion

Undoubtedly, the dynamics of how various drugs, populations and sites come together are highly specific to particular festivals, as are their music styles, cultural histories and current approaches to harm reduction. My aim here has not been to definitively characterise the effects of campsite spaces on drug use; rather, it has been to demonstrate that accounting for how socio-spatial relations form, unfold and dissolve, can assist in understanding how particular spaces are made, and how they give rise to or hinder particular drug use practices and effects. For the campsites in this study, important spatial aspects included their location at the festival site, their material composition and layout, their porous boundaries, and the privacy and shelter they provided relative to other festival spaces. These spatial features were involved in how groups formed and gave campsites a communal feel, where sharing drugs, stories and experiences was common, generating collective knowledge, norms and decision-making processes. The flow of people (friends, neighbours, buyers, sellers) and drugs through campsites was facilitated by their open layout, and mediated people's access to and exchange of a wide variety of drugs, and contact with people with

varied personal experiences of consumption. The relative privacy of campsites and tents afforded a space for such exchanges and bonding, as well as shelter from the elements, and a place to rest and recover, to reduce risks of dehydration and exhaustion, as well as generate energy for another day/night. The focus on campsite spaces demonstrates that various spaces are involved in mediating drug use, not only those in which drug consumption and psychoactive effects occur. It also highlights the importance of examining how socio-spatial relations change over time—during day and night, and across the days of the festival—and the implications of these changes for drug use and harm.

While the examination of harm reduction was not the central aim of this research, the findings indicate the necessity of exploring how socio-spatial relations may be involved in both the generation and mitigation of harm at festivals. The findings lend support to previous research that has emphasised the need to look beyond individualistic modes of behaviour change, to setting-specific approaches that enable people, drugs and spaces to act in generating alternatives to harm (Duff, 2010; Moore & Dietze, 2005; Rhodes, 2009). Attending to the mutual generation of space by both attendees and organisers, alongside materials, objects, drugs and local environmental features, could provide innovative ideas for setting-specific interventions. In particular, it was evident that both formal services (e.g. provision of water, emergency services, and peer support) and informal harm reduction practices (e.g. sharing drug knowledge, managing use over multiple days, drinking water, rest) do take place at festivals, and these need to be supported by strengthening the socio-spatial relations that enable them to be further developed and maintained. Providing various social, material and affective resources at festivals (see Duff, 2010), while attending to how their spatiality and temporality informs how they are put into practice and take effect, is crucial to prevent harms such as dehydration, exhaustion, mental health issues, and injuries, as well as hospitalisations and deaths that occur at festivals.

In particular, examining people's movement around festival sites at different times of the festival, and the relative distance between areas traversed on foot, could provide insights into the impact of a festival's spatial layout on the harmful mediations wrought by the climatic and topological features of festival sites. The provision of water, shade and chill out areas is very important (Hines, 2000; NEWIP, n. d.), and greater consideration may be given to their location in festival sites. Each need to be provided both away from the central festival grounds to facilitate escape from overstimulation, where peer support workers can provide assistance to those having difficult experiences (Karpetas, 2003), *as well as* adjacent to dance floor and entertainment spaces, to increase utilisation by those not wanting to become isolated or lost from dancing friends, or to miss the music acts they came to see because of their need for water, shade and rest. Similarly, to enable patrons to make campsite spaces that facilitate rather than impede rest and recovery, it may be considered whether festivals could provide some materials to assist attendees to make shady campsites with adequate water, or provide guidelines or suggestions prior to the festival regarding things to bring to enable a safe and enjoyable festival experience. The location and sprawl of campsite areas relative to entertainment areas, as well as scheduled quiet or reduced-volume hours overnight to encourage night-time rest, may also be considered.

It was evident that drugs are often purchased or shared on site, and attendees at rural music festivals in Australia currently have limited on-site access to drug-related information beyond their peers. As internet, mobile phone reception, and electric power outlets are usually unavailable, the provision of off-line drug databases or information that do not rely on people's use of apps or mobile devices may be required. Peer support harm reduction teams currently provide crucial information to festival attendees both at booths and by roving volunteers, and these services need to be extended to increase their uptake, particularly within their current peer-based model that appears well-respected by festival attendees. Drug checking or 'pill testing' accompanied by brief consultations is provided at many festivals in the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, Spain, France, the United Kingdom and the United States (DanceSafe, 2015; Hungerbuehler, Buecheli, & Schaub, 2011; Ventura, et al., 2013), and the present research provides support for drug checking to be piloted in the Australian context (see also Ritter, 2014). While these services are often located in visible and quiet spots near the entrance or chill-out area, or at peer support booths near medical services (Ventura, et al., 2013), the present research indicates that service utilisation may be increase if booths are also located in the privacy of campsite areas, easily accessible on foot and near to where drugs are often exchanged. Roving volunteers could also provide information about these services or informal demonstrations to groups at their campsites, in the early times of the festival when people are relaxing together and considering their intended drug use. It is also necessary to consider the implications of police searches and sniffer-dog operations at festivals, and how police activity can generate problematic effects on drug use practices (see also Demant & Dilkes-Frayne, 2015). Bearing in mind the spatial basis of the aforementioned interventions and how people engage with the socio-spatial relations they each afford may increase their uptake by festival attendees, and is crucial for developing festivals as sites that enable people, spaces and drugs to come together in ways that reduce drug- and environment-related harms.

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