

# Sun, sea and buckets of alcohol

Exploring debauchery at Koh Pha-ngan's full moon party  
using an interaction ritual perspective



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## **Abstract**

Scholars widely believe that young tourists express increased hedonistic debauchery when visiting nightlife destinations. Debauchery exposes tourists to several severe health risks. Using an interaction ritual perspective and an analysis of user-generated YouTube videos, this research project examines the debauchery of nightlife tourists and the risky implications. The full moon party on Koh Pha-ngan, Thailand is the case that is studied. The findings suggest that a strong interaction ritual takes place during the full moon party, which stimulates partygoers to indulge in potentially risky debauchery. Consuming large quantities of alcohol, dancing on a beach, participating in fire stunts and wearing neon coloured body paint and clothing are the most important activities. Additionally, the findings indicate that the standards of morality shift significantly during the full moon party. A self-reinforcing interaction ritual process appears to stimulate tourists to focus on the nightlife activities, abandon self-restraint, suspend conventional norms and express hedonistic debauchery. Furthermore, this study initiates the belief that a YouTube video analysis is a serviceable research tool for generating a comprehensive insight into tourism interaction behaviour. This study also proposes several interventions that aim to decrease risks in nightlife destinations, while safeguarding the tourism revenues for the host community.

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## 1. Introduction

We're here at the full moon party, I got my face painted and we are ready to do this shit!  
(Christopher Laxamana, 2014)

### 1.1 Nightlife tourism

Research on nightlife tourism has been focused on the motivations of nightlife tourists, their behaviour while travelling and the potential risks that they encounter when visiting a nightlife resort. International nightlife resorts are popular holiday destinations for young tourists (Kamenidou, Mamalis, Kokkinis, & Geranis, 2013). Such resorts facilitate rich nightlife possibilities, including: clubbing, pub crawls, foam parties (Sönmez, Apostolopoulos, Theocharous, & Massengale, 2013), sex clubs (Hesse & Tutenges, 2011) and more. Sönmez et al. (2013, p. 40) describe nightlife destinations as:

“purposefully packaged and aggressively marketed by transnational tour operators to that segment of youth travellers seeking hedonistic playground that offer unrestrained drinking and round-the-clock partying with others of their own age, a host of activities that permit behaviours unconstrained by social norms at home, and music and dancing to offer a release from customs of the civilized social spaces of daily life”

Kavos is one such nightlife resort and is located on the southern tip of the Greek island Corfu. Kavos is particularly popular among young British and their strongest travelling motivations are: experiencing the wild nightlife and clubbing, experiencing the liberate sex life and going “off limits” (Kamenidou et al., 2013, p.103). Scholars widely believe that indulging in these and other hedonistic practices is the driving key for nightlife tourists (i.e. Diken & Lautsen, 2004; Tutenges, 2013; Briggs & Turner, 2012). Nightlife tourists image their destinations as spaces which are “free of moralisers that would condemn the [tourists’] debauchery” (Tutenges, 2013, p. 241). In other words, there are no inhibitions to enjoy the holiday full-on. In summary, the research literature depicts nightlife tourists as thrill-seekers who want to indulge in hedonistic behaviour that does not fit with conventional norms, with the intention to have exciting holiday experiences.

### 1.2 Debauchery and risky behaviour

Debauchery is about giving in to dissolute, licentious and hedonistic behaviour in order to satisfy our senses. Debauchery is defined literally as “extreme indulgence in sensuality” (“Debauchery,” n.d.). The term debauchery plays a large role in nightlife tourism and the interrelation has been discussed in Hesse and Tutenges (2011). The researchers discussed that the tourism industry actively offers packaged debauchery to young tourists to spice up their holidays. Hesse and Tutenges use the term

‘commodified debauchery’ as an amalgamation for licentious activities, including pub crawls, risqué shows, foam parties, immersing in stimulating music, drinking excessively, drinking games and sex with prostitutes. These dissolute forms of behaviour can surely make a young person’s holiday more exciting, after all nightlife holidays are often holidays in which tourists are looking for new and extraordinary experiences. In other words, nightlife resorts facilitate activities that attract thrill seekers. According to Tutenges and Rod (2009), it is in particular these expressions of debauchery that result in the memorable, crazy holiday stories which are being shared among friends for years to come.

However, thrill seeking is in nature not an activity that goes without risks. Accordingly, several studies have indicated that young tourists display increased levels of risky behaviour when visiting international nightlife resorts such as Ios (Mura & Khoo-Lattimore, 2013), Ibiza (Bellis, Hale, Bennett, Chaudry, & Kilfoyle, 2000) and Sunny Beach (Tutenges, 2013). The risk-taking behaviour can take shape in excessive drinking, illicit drug use (Bellis et al., 2000), unprotected sex (Bellis, Hughes, Thomson, & Bennett, 2004) and violence (Calafat et al., 2013). Additionally, researchers state that nightlife resorts embody a context in which alcohol-, drug- and sex-related health problems are likely to take place (Kelly, Hughes, & Bellis, 2014). Immoderate alcohol use can also induce travellers to display other kinds of risky behaviour related to food choice, substance use and unprotected sex (Cabada, Mozo, Patenburg, & Gotuzz, 2011).

When engaging in nightlife tourism, travellers let go of everyday life restraints relating to family and work, which can result in behaviour that is less risk-averse (Ryan & Kinder, 1996). Elias and Dunning (1986) believe that many of these everyday life restraints originate from the young tourists’ upbringing. The scholars argue that children are trained from a very young age to hide their inordinate utterances of excitement. To rephrase it, young individuals are raised to show only limited levels of positive behaviour in order to function properly in our regulated society. Expressions of debauchery are often rejected in the young tourists’ community. Elias and Dunning argue that this inhibited behaviour eventually becomes part of the young individual’s personality. Building on this, Tutenges (2013) claims that the tourism industry actively attempts to “[...] suspend [the tourist’s] in-grown habits of self-control” (p. 235) and thus deliberately motivates tourists to show behaviour that is not in line with the tourists’ ordinary pursuits.

In contrast, Khan et al. (2000) suggest another explanation for the debauchery at nightlife resorts. The scholars argue that substance use in nightlife resorts is merely an extension of one’s ordinary weekend practices and not a temporary suspension of one’s self-control. This would imply that tourists are not showing increased levels of debauchery or risky behaviour but experience their holiday as an extended weekend. However, international nightlife destinations form increased risky environments for binge drinking and substance use, due to tropical climates and differences in terms of strength of substances (Bellis, Hughes, & Lowey, 2002).

### 1.3 Research Objective

International nightlife resorts attract increasing amounts of thrill seekers. These resorts form environments in which young tourists are more likely to incur sexual transmittable diseases, injuries due to intoxication and other implications of the risky behaviour. Scholars believe that these risky environments should be investigated more intensively (Bellis, Hughes, Dillon, Copeland, & Gates, 2007). Calafat and Juan (2004) argue that researchers should aim to generate data that can be utilized to develop serviceable policies to reduce harmful situations in these nightlife resorts. This thesis will contribute to a better understanding of how nightlife tourists interact, express debauchery and what potential risky implications it has. Therefore, the main research question of this thesis is: ***How do groups of nightlife tourists express debauchery and to what extent does this behaviour have risky implications?***

Sub questions in the process of answering the main research question are:

1. *How do groups of nightlife tourists interact?*
2. *How do groups of nightlife tourists express debauchery?*
3. *To what extent does nightlife debauchery have risky implications?*

## 2. Research Approach

### 2.1 Theoretical framework

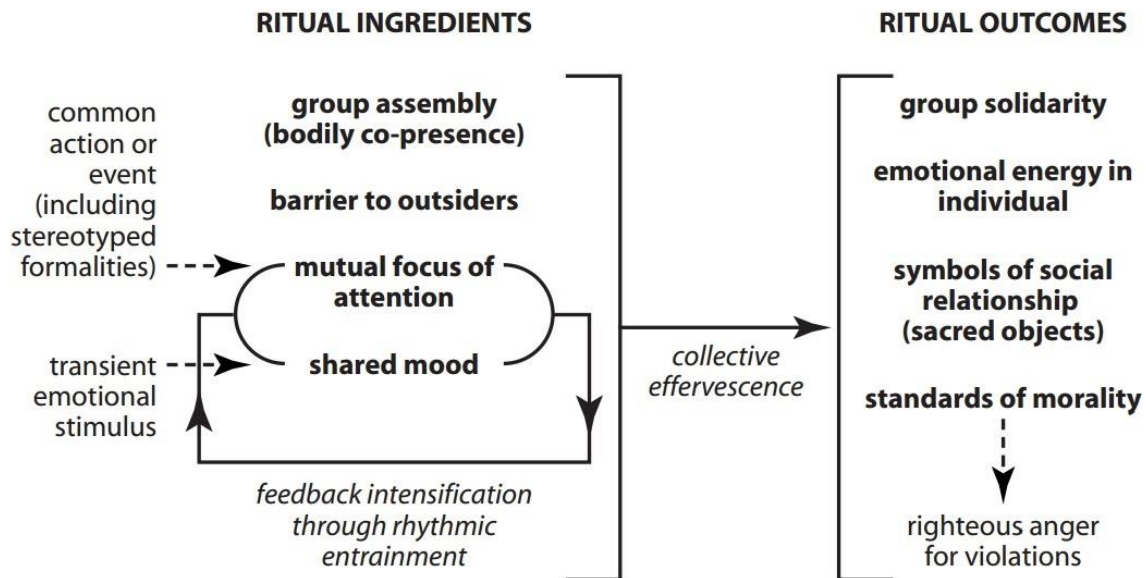
Group interactions can stimulate individuals to display unusual behaviour (Durkheim, 2001). Take for instance a group of seasoned soccer fans in a soccer stadium. This group supports their team collectively. The interaction between the members of the group stirs up the individual's urge to cheer, curse or even fight. Such unusual behaviour is not in line with the conventional norms of the group members' everyday life. In other words, if the group members would start yelling and cursing while doing their daily groceries, such behaviour would be regarded as unacceptable or despicable. In this scenario, the group interaction that takes place in the stadium manufactures a context in which group members are enabled to display (strong) unusual behaviour without being repelled by their peers. The social process that suspends the conventional norms in such group interaction is labelled as collective effervescence (Durkheim, 2001). Collective effervescence is regarded as the driving process of an interaction ritual (Collins, 2004). Interaction rituals have a variety of ingredients and outcomes, which will be discussed below. The presence of the ingredients is necessary for producing a high intensity ritual. Outcomes are the potential implications that the interaction rituals have, e.g. the individual's penchant to show unusual behaviour.

Tutenges (2013) identified collective effervescence as an important element of nightlife tourism. When we regard nightlife tourism as an interaction ritual and collective effervescence as its driving process, the interaction ritual theory becomes a very serviceable theoretical framework for this thesis project. Since an intense interaction ritual can cause individuals to suspend conventional norms, this process might also be at work in nightlife tourism. Using Collins's interaction ritual theory, I am enabled to (1) evaluate the intensity of the (group) interaction ritual in nightlife tourism and (2) elaborate on nightlife tourism debauchery as one of the implications of that interaction ritual.

Additionally, the interaction ritual theory is more applicable to the field of nightlife tourism in comparison to other theories that aim to explore group interactions. To illustrate, Tuckman's stages of group development is focused on the process of developing relationships and overall group dynamics in small groups. Such a perspective will not assist me to evaluate the unusual group interaction that takes place in nightlife resorts and happens on a large-scale.

The interaction ritual theory is a theory within the academic field of micro sociology and is initiated by the American sociologist Erving Goffman. Randall Collins developed the theory further. In this thesis I will utilize Collin's interpretation of the interaction ritual. Collins (2004) argues that we can identify rituals in many group interactions. Collins refers to a ritual as something different than the word is known for in the common language; he argues that rituals play a large role in shaping both





**Figure 1** Interaction ritual model

individual and collective identities. Instead of defining rituals merely as formalities or ceremonies, Collins proposes that rituals can be found practically everywhere (p.15). Rituals occur in all kinds of situations and take form in all sorts of human activity, such as commitment, solidarity and shared symbolism. Collins claims that his interaction ritual theory can be applied to almost all situations, emotions, symbols and so on.

As can be seen in Figure 1.1 (abstracted from Collins, 2014, p. 48), the interaction ritual theory consists of various ritual ingredients (RI) and ritual outcomes (RO). The four ingredients or conditions are bodily co-presence of the group, barriers to outsiders, mutual focus of attention on an object or activity and a shared mood or emotional experience is at play. These four RI's initiate to the process of collective effervescence, a term introduced by Durkheim to exemplify religious rituals.

“Durkheim asserted that the rituals promoting collective effervescence involved the suspension of social norms, allowing new concepts and beliefs to emerge” (Buehler, 2012, p. 71). Additionally, Gane (2011, p. 5) writes that moments of collective effervescence are crucial moments for social development. During such moments, people are bound to the ideals of their social groups; conforming increasingly to the other group members (Shilling & Mellor, 1998). The effects of these moments of collective effervescence are emotional in nature and are therefore not eternal but rather short-lived. Hence, a frequent interaction with other group members is required to maintain the level of increased emotions.

Shilling and Mellor (1998) explain that collective effervescence can steer groups in opposite directions: from dramatic violent revolutions to social solidarity. Moreover, the scale and intensity of

the force of this social phenomenon differ largely from moment to moment. Although, the direction, scale and intensity vary largely, a moment of collective effervescence is always experienced as a rush during which an individual increasingly becomes aware, affected and appreciated with the social group's ideals.

The process of an interaction ritual has four major ritual outcomes/implications, being: group solidarity, emotional energy in the individual, symbols of the social relationship within the group (totems) and standards of morality. Emotional energy refers to a feeling of strength, enthusiasm, confidence, elation and assertiveness. The standards of morality encompass the feeling that it is justifiable to belong to the group, to respect its symbols and to protect the group and its rituals from transgressors.

## **2.2 Case description**

Coastal tourism is one of the fastest growing tourism sectors of Thailand (Jantawan, Nara, & Tsai, 2014). Most of the coastal tourism destinations are located in Southern Thailand. As one of the largest and most popular islands of Thailand, Koh Pha-ngan has a big contribution to the Thai tourism industry (Jantawan et al., 2014). The island of Koh Pha-ngan is located approximately 70 kilometres from the mainland and has a variety of natural, aesthetic landscapes, including a clear ocean, white sand beaches, waterfalls and tropical forests (Phongphanich, Mao, & Yen, 2013). Koh Pha-ngan was considered as a favourite holiday destination of The Thai Royalty in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The island "first emerged in the discourses circulating among international backpacker tourists in the early-mid 1980s" (Malam, 2008, p. 333). According to Malam, the island enjoyed an undiscovered and exotic identity - both socially as geographically - among the first backpacker travellers in this period. Koh Pha-ngan was not easily accessible and not included in the well-known backpacker routes. Moreover, it was a place where tourists could use marijuana and magic mushrooms quite freely and without danger of being arrested by the police (Malam, 2008). The first full moon party in 1988 signified a change in the types of tourists that were attracted to the island. A local Thai hosted a beach party for a group of approximately 50 friends and the party turned out to be a great success. The host decided to continue the events on a regular basis. Neither the host, nor the tourists could have foreseen that this monthly beach party would drastically influence the tourism development of Koh Pha-ngan.

The emergence of the full moon party on Koh Pha-ngan coincided with the development of an international rave party culture (Saldanha, 2007). The international rave scene was characterized by experimental techno music and party drug (ecstasy, amphetamines and cocaine) consumption. An interest among the ravers existed to experience a rave party on exceptional locations. The full moon parties on Goa, India and Koh Pha-ngan in combination with a lack of policing facilitated the desired rave experiences (Westerhausen, 2002). As a result, the full moon parties attracted tourists with a

different intention in comparison to the backpackers in the early 1980s. Along with the ravers came the party drugs and the amount of attendees to the full moon parties increased rapidly (Malam, 2008).

Cohen (2010) argues that a distinct characterisation of backpacker travellers can be made, based primarily on preferred drugs, the frequency of drug use and preferred musical genre. In the relation to Koh Pha-ngan and the full moon parties this characterisation can provide some interesting insights. Before 1988, the backpackers that travelled to Koh Pha-ngan were characterised by a preference for reggae music and hallucinogen drugs such as ‘magic mushrooms’ and LSD. After 1988, an additional type of backpackers was attracted to the island, characterised by a preference for experimental techno music and party drugs. The journalist Gluckman (2000) described these early full moon parties as follows:

When the moon is full, the loonies take over Hat Rin beach, at the south-eastern tip of Ko[h] Pha-ngan [...]. The flood of backpackers has turned Hat Rin’s Full Moon parties into an international raving institution. For a time, Thai officials talked of suppressing the blatant Ecstasy-popping, but nowadays [...] travel agents in Koh[h] Samui advertise day trips to the round-the-clock party.

Although the initial group and the ravers were both staying in Southeast Asia for extended periods of time, they pursued different goals and participated in different activities during their stay on Koh Pha-Ngan. These differing intentions of the backpackers caused a change in the perception of Koh Pha-Ngan, “from marginal paradise to hedonistic party site” (Malam, 2008, p. 336).

Around 1995, Koh Pha-Ngan’s image as a tourism destination shifted again. By that time, Koh Pha-Ngan had been widely adopted in the Thai travel itineraries and enormous amounts of travellers poured in towards the island. This commercialization of the destination coincided with a shift in types of tourists that were attracted to the island. The tourists on the island could no longer be characterized as backpackers that were seeking a mind broadening experience or by a strong preference for rave parties. Instead, Malam (2008) writes that the contemporary tourists on Koh Pha-Ngan are increasingly working class members and university students on a regular holiday. These tourists are not staying in Southeast Asia for several months. According to Malam (2008), it was during this period that the image of Koh Pha-Ngan shifted from a hedonistic party site to “a mainstream party island” (p. 336). The mainstream backpackers had a preference for alcohol and accordingly, alcohol is now the preferred drug of choice on the island, although party drugs are still widely accessible.

“[T]housands of young Australians jump on aeroplanes to fly over here [to Thailand], to let loose and go wild. And most of them are heading to an island [Koh Pha-ngan], to a monster beach party [the full moon party], that happens every time there’s a full moon.” (A Current Affair, 2014)

Tourist arrivals kept rising undisturbed and in 2007, it had reached a number of 327.364, of which 40.332 domestic (Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2007). The number of attendees to the full moon parties kept rising likewise and reached an amount of 30.000 at peak times by 1999 (Malam, 2008). Westerhausen (2002) states that the reputation and popularity of the full moon events originated in new phases of commercial tourism development on Koh Pha-ngan. Today, Koh Pha-ngan fulfils a role as a backpacker mecca, consisting of wide range of backpacker comforts such as bars, internet cafés, restaurants, tattoo shops, tourist agencies and accommodations (Malam, 2004).

The following fragment of the film *Thailand Backpackers: Full Moon Party* (Pendry, 1998) will serve as an illustration of the type of backpackers that travel to Koh Pha-ngan predominantly to experience Koh Pha-ngan as a mainstream party island.

Interviewer: Do you think this is Thailand?

Jim: Oh god no. I don't come here [Koh Pha-ngan] for Thailand, [or] to immerse myself in Thai culture. I came here for two weeks to go to a beach and have a fun time, I suppose. Certainly, on the island of hedonism.

The contemporary full moon party is an all-night beach event and its main full moon festivities are located on Rin Peninsula. To enter the beach area the revellers are obligated to pay an entrance fee of 100 Baht (less than 3 Euro). A wide range of stages, bars, stalls, shops and activities are located in the beach area. The stages on the beach have a considerable sound system and light show. A 'bucket' is a commonly used phrase on Koh Pha-ngan and is a denotation for a bucket filled with liquor mixed with a soft drink (Sylvester, 2015). The buckets are usually sold around 200 Baht and are obtainable in a wide variety of neon colours.

Depictions of the full moon festivities are extremely controversial, as they range from very positive, e.g. "once in a life-time experience" (Geordie, 2014) to very negative, e.g. "depraved" or even "deadly" (Hunwick, 2014). Since October 2014, all Surat Tani beach parties have been forbidden with the sole exception of the full moon party on Koh Pha-ngan ("Verbod op Thaise Moon Parties," 2014). This proscription has been brought to live by the Thai government with the intention to get a grip on the tourists' safety during the beach parties. United Kingdom Foreign travel advice (n.d.) actively warns tourists for potentially dangerous behaviour on Koh Pha-ngan. The tourists are being alarmed for excessive drinking, drug use and the potential consequences, such as sexual assaults, robberies, injuries, unprovoked fights and even suicides. The media also melodramatically inform about the potential dangers and depict the full moon parties as a place "where thousands of young Aussie's [Australians] routinely but themselves in harm's way" (A Current Affair, 2014).

In 2011, CNN Travel (Dimon, 2011) awarded Koh Pha-ngan's full moon party with the first place in their top 15 '*World's best party destinations*'. In these rankings, the full moon party topped various

famous night life resorts, such as Rio de Janeiro, Burning Man festival, Las Vegas and Ibiza. CNN Travel describes the full moon festivities as:

“Hip travellers from around the world pound back buckets of cheap potent booze, watch fire-eaters, and dance to the beat of throbbing techno. [...], you’re guaranteed to lose your shoes somewhere along the sandy white beaches and – if you consume too much of the locally brewed Sangsom whiskey – you might also lose your mind”.

The fact that Koh Pha-ngan is regarded as one of the best nightlife resorts on the globe, initiates the belief that the full moon party is a particularly interesting case study for this thesis project. Additionally, the full moon party’s infamous (Dimon, 2011) and risky (Hunwick, 2014) image seems to relate to Malam’s (2008) finding that during these parties “things that are ‘out of the ordinary’ can happen” (p. 336). Furthermore, various news reports elaborate that morals do not play a big role on Koh Pha-ngan. In summary, these diverse sources of data seem to suggest that Koh Pha-ngan’s full moon parties constitute a context in which extraordinary tourism-related activities take place. Using the interaction ritual perspective, I aim to elaborate on these extraordinary tourism activities. In order to make this elaboration, I have to evaluate the intensity of the full moon party’s interaction rituals. This evaluation will be based on the presence and shapes of the ritual ingredients (RI’s) and ritual outcomes (RO’s) of Collins’ interaction ritual model (2004, p. 46) during the potential ritual of the full moon party. The research data needed to evaluate the presence of the RI’s and RO’s is gathered by a deductive and inductive analysis of user-generated YouTube videos.

### **2.3 Research tool**

The main research medium of this thesis is a qualitative analysis of videos selected from YouTube. YouTube is a website based video sharing community. The community is based on user generated content, meaning that everyone is enabled to contribute to the video collection. “[YouTube] enables people across the world to experience and engage with attractions and entertainment through sharing video clips” (Lee, Wicks, & Huang, 2009, p. 396). Online consumer-generated media, like YouTube, have become an important information source for internet users, especially when it comes to buying new products and services (Yoo, Lee, Gretzel, & Fesenmaier, 2009). Litvin, Goldsmith and Pan (2008) argue that contemporary trip planners are relying strongly on other tourists’ experiences, shared on consumer-generated media, since tourism products cannot be tested before purchase.

Video-based research is used frequently in the fields of workplace and education studies. Applications and developments in these academic fields are widely discussed in video-based research guidebooks (Heath, Hindmarsh, & Luff, 2010; Knoblauch, Tuma, & Schnette, 2014). Schaefer (2011) states that social scientist increasingly use video as a way to create a more accurate understanding of young people’s experiences (p. 144). However, such video research methods have not been utilized in

tourism studies frequently. Hence, video research is a quite novel research tool in the field of tourism. Furthermore, Schaefer argues that the use of innovative visual research methods can generate a deeper insight into the lives of younger individuals. In this thesis, I aim to create a better understanding of the young tourist's interaction at Koh Pha-ngan's full moon parties and the potential implications that this interaction might have. In view of these interactions, video analysis therefore seems to be a suitable research tool. Using a video analysis research tool, I am able to visually observe the interaction behaviour that is taking place on Koh Pha-ngan.

Goldman, Erickson, Lemke and Derry (2007) propose that a video-based research project with a strong theoretical framework and clear research questions should use a deductive approach while sampling for suitable material. Since a video collection does not exist for the phenomenon that is studied here, I was required to generate my own assemblage of video content. I made a selection of 26 videos in order to generate enough material to answer the research questions. During the video selection procedure I employed several criteria. First, the video is recorded during one of the full moon parties on Koh Pha-ngan. Second, the video is recorded less than ten years ago. This criterion ensures that no obsolete material will be analysed. Third, interaction between the partygoers is visible in the video. Fourth, the video should be minimally edited since edited videos are often used to tell a particular story (Knoblauch et al., 2014).

## **2.4 Preliminary assessment**

The analysis of the video material is deductive in nature. Like in Vergani and Zuev (2011), an analysis framework for the YouTube videos content was generated in order to conduct the analysis. The framework that is utilized in this research project will take the shape of an assessment rubric. The development of this assessment rubric signified the start of the data analysis, since "[...] it is not the analysis itself, but the attempt to understand, that is the starting point of every relatively precise video analysis" (Knoblauch et al., 2014, p. 94).

To develop the indicators for the YouTube video assessment rubric, a preliminary analysis of 4 videos was conducted. Rough transcriptions have been made of several fragments of these 4 videos. As described in the Theoretical Framework section of this thesis, Collins argues that the ritual ingredients result in the process of collective effervescence, which will subsequently result in the ritual outcomes. During the analysis of the rough transcripts, it became clear that the RI's and RO's do not solely occur in a chronological order in the videos recorded at the full moon parties. Several RO's stimulate RI's and consequently these RO's also become RI's. Accordingly, it becomes debatable whether a distinction between the RI's and RO's should be made. To illustrate, the RO *emotional energy in the individual* describes the increased level of emotions experienced by the individual and is partly caused by the RI *shared mood*, which defines the shared emotional experience that the individuals pass through. If the emotional energy in the individual increases and he or she becomes more enthusiastic,

assertive and confident, it becomes likely that this person may feel driven to share these emotions with others and simultaneously stirring up their levels of enthusiasm. Consequently, the crowd's emotional mood increasingly becomes shared, which can again result in an increase of emotional energy in the individual. In this feedback loop, the original RO might actually strengthen the RI. The increased RI can intensify the interaction ritual and the process of collective effervescence.

In case a researcher has the possibility to observe and evaluate an interaction ritual from the very start until the very end, it is more likely that he or she will be able to determine whether the RO's are in reality the result of the RI's. However, the data that is used in this study does not allow for such a determination. Since the videos are recorded during the party, it is safe to assume that the interaction ritual has already initiated at this time. In other words, the user-generated videos document an interaction ritual that is already happening, making it impossible to evaluate whether the RI's are distinctly present. Videos that record the entire span of the full moon parties are not available on YouTube. Because of this, no separation between the RI's and RO's has been made in the assessment rubric. In the assessment rubric there will be no reference to the ritual ingredients and ritual outcomes, but the elements will be collectively labelled as the ritual indicators. Based on the preliminary analysis, a fundamental reformulation of the RI's and RO's was made in order to make the ritual indicators researchable in the interaction ritual that is studied here. Besides a reformulation, several indicators have been fused since these were hard to identify separately in the dataset. The final assessment rubric has been added under *Appendix 1*. In the following section, I will list all the ritual indicators and how these have been created.

## 2.5 Instrument development

The first ritual indicator of the assessment rubric is *group formation*. This indicator is a reformulation and combination of Collins' RI *barriers to outsiders* and RO *group solidarity*. The indicator *group formation* measures two distinct features: barriers between the party crowd and other groups or individuals and solidarity within the party crowd. Solidarity is defined as "the feeling of unity between people who have the same interests, goals, etc." ("Solidarity," n.d.). Thus, solidarity connotes the feeling of harmony and consensus among the group members. Accordingly, group solidarity in relation to the full moon parties can be described as the expression of union in the party crowd because of the common interest to have an exceptional night. Baus and Allen (1996) suggest that solidarity implies social, psychological and physical closeness. During the preliminary assessment, it appeared to be problematic to identify such social and psychological closeness by analysing user-generated YouTube videos. Hence, I have decided to withdraw the general concept of solidarity out of this research instrument and replace it with physical closeness. In view of the interactions of the full moon party attendees, I aim to identify physical intimacy. Examples of expressions of physical intimacy are individuals hugging, kissing, and putting arms around one another.

The second ritual indicator is named *focus of attention* and is a combination of Collins' RI *mutual focus of attention* and RO *symbols of social relationship*. This ritual indicator is formulated with the aim to identify the "common actions and/or events" (Collins, 2014, p. 48) and symbols of relationship on which the party attendees mutually focus. The specific actions and symbols of relationship will be determined during the general assessment, however in the prior assessment *music*, *buckets of alcohol*, *clothing* and *body paint* were discovered as potentials. Furthermore, it is equally important to determine to what extent the focus on these activities and totems is shared within the group.

The third ritual indicator is named *shared emotions* and is a combination of Collins' RI *shared mood* and RO *emotional energy in individual*. Emotional energy is defined by Collins (2004, p. 49) as "a feeling of confidence, elation, strength, enthusiasm and initiative in taking action." According to Collins, indicators of emotional energy are enthusiastic use of voice and facial expressions. These indicators are adopted in the assessment rubric. In relation to the full moon party, the emotions that the partygoers collectively pass through are characterized by happy, excited, energetic and hedonic emotions. These emotions derived from the prior assessment and can be substituted by findings made during the general assessment. Like for the second indicator, it is essential that the emotions are shared within the group and consequently experienced by the individuals.

The fourth and last indicator is called *standards of morality* and is partly based on Collins' RO *standards of morality*. Morality is defined as "beliefs about what is right [...] and what is wrong behaviour." ("Morality," n.d.). Collins argues that the ritual group's standards of morality can differ substantially from the broader society's standards of morality. In other words, the beliefs about what is right and wrong conduct can vary strongly between ritual groups and society. Weenink (2013) describes moral holidays as "an enclave [...] in which people suspend conventional norms and enjoy disturbance, disruption and disorder" (p. 1). So in this sense, 'holiday' in the term moral holiday should not be interpreted too literally, it is about enjoying a break from one's regular standards of morality.

If we relate moral holidays to tourism, and more specifically nightlife tourism, it becomes clear that these two concepts do align with one another. Illustrating, Tutenges (2013) argues that the party tourism industry actively aims to help tourists' suspend their in-grown norms in order to create valuable holiday experiences for its customers. In other words, exciting holiday experiences are generated by stimulating tourists to express debauchery. The fourth ritual indicator aims to distinguish forms of debauchery expressed by the full moon party attendees and additionally aims to measure to what extent these expressions deviate from conventional norms. Moreover, the fourth ritual indicator will explore to what extent the debauchery can be labelled as risky behaviour. Lastly, this indicator will evaluate whether the crowd enjoys expressing debauchery. When the attendees seem to



collectively enjoy such unconventional behaviour, standards of morality could have undergone a substantial change.

The first RI from Collins model assumes that multiple individuals need to be 'bodily present' to speak of an interaction ritual. As mentioned in the case description, full moon parties attract large amounts of travellers every month. Therefore, it is pointless to analyse whether multiple individuals are present and accordingly this RI has not been adopted in one of the ritual indicators for the assessment rubric.

## **2.6 Sample design and data collection characteristics**

The initial search strategy that I applied was filling in "Full moon party Koh Phangan" into the search engine of YouTube. I scrolled through the search results, looking for videos that were uploaded by amateurs. The YouTube users that uploaded the videos for promotional purposes (unintentionally) made this purpose clear in the name of the YouTube account or in the title of the video. After selecting a video, I first screened the video for the five criteria that I had formulated prior to the analysis. If the video fitted the criteria, I proceeded to the next step, which was: filling in the rubric. I started by filling in the details of the video: serial number of video, assessment date, title of the video, YouTube account name, upload date and the URL of the YouTube video. Subsequently, I would watch the entire video once for each of the four ritual indicators. This procedure resulted in the fact that I watched all videos or fragments of the videos at least four times. I watched the videos on a large screen while making notes on a smaller tablet. When I was filling in the open questions, I would pause the video. After analysing the videos, the closed questions were digitalised into a spread sheet, which was later analysed by making use of SPSS.

A total of 26 YouTube videos were assessed according to the YouTube video assessment rubric. The videos were uploaded between February 2008 and April 2015. The duration of the videos varied between 2 minutes and 28 seconds and 19 minutes and 26 seconds. The average length of was 7 minutes and 30 seconds. Most videos were uploaded in either High Definition (720p) or Full High Definition (1080p). The lowest quality of analysed videos was 480p.

## **2.7 Recap**

In this chapter I first have introduced the interaction ritual theory as theoretical framework of this study, since it enables me to evaluate the intensity of the interaction ritual and whether nightlife tourists suspend conventional norms due to an intense group interaction. Additionally, I can utilize this framework to determine forms of debauchery and the potential risky implications. Subsequently, I proposed Koh Pha-ngan's full moon festivities as a serviceable case study. Koh Pha-ngan's full moon party is regarded as one of the best nightlife spaces around the globe and various sources have indicated that tourist behaviour is considerably out of the ordinary there. The data that I utilized to investigate the full moon festivities are user-generated YouTube videos. These amateur videos record

the party itself and the interaction behaviour among full moon party attendees. Hence, these recordings allow me to generate insightful data on the full moon party's interaction ritual. To be adopted in the data collection, the videos had to fulfil a number of criteria. Additionally, I elaborated on the preliminary analysis. To generate an executable research instrument, I operationalized Collin's interaction ritual ingredients and outcomes. Lastly, I briefly described the dataset and the process that I employed to find and assess the videos.

### 3. Findings

#### 3.1 Introduction

The findings of ritual indicator 1 *group formation* suggested that the full moon party crowd forms a group which is moderately closed towards outsiders. Physical intimacy among the attendees was also measured to a medium extent. Thus, ritual indicator 1 implied that the full moon party's interaction ritual is of medium intensity. Ritual indicator 2 *focus of attention* demonstrated that the crowd shares an intense focus on activities and symbols of relationship related to the full moon party. Since the components were identified strongly in the dataset, ritual indicator 2 suggested a high intensity interaction ritual. Ritual indicator 3 *shared emotions* demonstrated that the attendees predominantly experience positive emotions when attending a full moon party and that these emotions are generally shared among the crowd. However, ritual indicator 3 also indicated that the crowd does not use their voice in an enthusiastic manner in most of the videos. Since the distinct components of ritual indicator 3 included aspects that advocated for a low and high intensity ritual, I concluded that ritual indicator 3 demonstrates a medium intensity interaction ritual. The components of ritual indicator 4 *standards of morality* suggested that the full moon party attendees display strongly elevated levels of debauchery. Additionally, these expressions of debauchery strongly deviated from conventional norms. Furthermore, the debauchery on Koh Pha-ngan involves potentially severe harmful implications. The last component of the fourth ritual indicator measured that the crowd strongly enjoyed the disorder, disruption and disturbance that allowed for debauchery. Given these points, ritual indicator 4 implied a high intensity ritual.

Since the ritual indicators equally suggested a medium or high intensity ritual, I determined that the full moon party's interaction ritual is of medium-high intensity. In the following section, I will elaborate on how the ritual indicators and their distinct components were translated at the full moon parties. Subsequently, I will discuss several additional findings from the video analysis.

#### 3.2 Ritual indicator 1: group formation

##### *Barriers to outsiders*

Barriers that were identified between the crowd and others were often shaped as barriers between facilitators of the party and the crowd that enjoyed the party. The group of facilitators consisted of: stage builders, bartenders, 'fire dancers', cleaning teams, restaurant employees and stall owners. The party facilitators and attendees focus on different activities and are displaying distinct moods. In some cases this barrier was physically present in the shape of a bar, stall (image 1) or because the party



**Image 1** Barriers between the crowd and others, abstracted from Fitsch Don (2015)

crowd allowed the facilitator space to do his work. A descriptive analysis of the accompanying closed-question elements suggested that in 46,2% this barrier was at least ‘moderately’ present. Barriers to outsiders infer a devoted in-group. A devoted group would repel individuals who belong to the out-group.

### *Physical intimacy*

Physical intimacy was denoted as individuals touching, kissing, hugging putting arms around one another or, in one case, having a moment of intimacy on the beach. In slightly less than half of the videos of the assessed videos, physical contact was at least ‘moderately visible’. Physical intimacy indicates harmony among the interaction ritual group.

**Table 1.** Barriers to outsiders

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Not at all visible	4	15,4
Slightly visible	10	38,5
Moderately visible	9	34,6
Very visible	2	7,7
Extremely visible	1	3,8

**Table 2.** Physical contact

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Not at all visible	2	7,7
Slightly visible	12	46,2
Moderately visible	9	34,6
Very visible	3	11,5

### 3.3 Ritual indicator 2: focus of attention

#### *Ritual activities*

The assessment elements of the second ritual indicator started with listing three activities on which the individuals in the video focussed most often (table 3). In all of the 26 cases, ‘dancing’ was included in these three activities. ‘Drinking alcohol’ was discovered in almost all (92,1%) of the videos. Drinking alcohol was not only identified by literally taking in of liquids but also by purchasing alcohol and holding buckets and bottles containing alcohol. Observing or participating in ‘fire shows’, such as fire breathers, ‘fire dancers’ and limbo dancing under a burning pole was identified in 62,5% of the videos.

**Table 3.** Mutual focus on activities

	<i>Percentage</i>
Dancing	100,0
Drinking alcohol	92,1
Fire shows	62,5
Chatting	38,5
Cheering	3,8
Being on camera	3,8

The accompanying Likert scale aimed to measure the extent to which the interaction ritual group *mutually* focussed on the activities. The options ‘not at all’ or ‘slightly’ were not selected once in the dataset; meaning, that the individuals were either ‘moderately’, ‘very’ or ‘extremely’, mutually focussed on the activities. In 92,2% of the videos the party attendees were either ‘very’ or ‘extremely’, mutually focussed on the identified activities. These figures indicate that the focus on activities was strongly shared among the full moon party attendees, leading to groups that are behaving as one.

**Table 4.** Mutual focus on activities

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Moderately	2	7,7
Very	9	34,6
Extremely	15	57,7

Image 2 shows a group of party attendees dancing collectively on top of an elevated stage. This is a common event on the full moon party; groups of dancing people are scattered all over the beach and are dancing near bars, elevated objects and large stages. This activity seems to unite the party attendees since there is rarely one individual dancing separately from the crowd. The dancing groups display high levels of joy and energy by their bodily movement.

#### *Symbols of relationship*

The most frequently identified symbols of social relationships on which the full moon party attendees focused were buckets and bottles containing alcohol, neon and glow in the dark clothing, attributes and body paint, music, fire shows. Less frequently visible symbols were fire shows, sexual clothing and disco lighting, such as lasers and stroboscopes.

The analysis of the appurtenant Likert scale outcomes suggested that the crowd was either ‘very’ or ‘extremely’, mutually focused on the identified symbols of relationship in 92,3% of the videos. For



**Image 2** Full moon party attendees dancing on a stage, abstracted from Ra3wok (2012)

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**Image 3** Symbols of relationship 'buckets', abstracted from Fitch Don (2015)

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none of the videos the options ‘not at all’ or ‘slightly’ were selected. The finding that these symbols of relationship are extensively shared among the crowd is an indicator that the crowd is strongly like-minded and behaves and focuses as one.

**Table 5.** Mutual focus on symbols of relationship

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Moderately	2	7,7
Very	10	38,5
Extremely	14	53,8

Buckets of alcohol were identified as a symbol of relationship in practically every video. The brightly coloured buckets (image 3) are obtainable at numerous stands on the beach. A single bucket is filled with an entire bottle of liquor and some sort of soft drink. At the time of ordering a bucket, the stall owner opens the bottles and pours them, together with some ice cubes, into the bucket. Several straws are placed in the bucket to increase drinking comfort. The price of the buckets ranges from 150 to 300 Baht. The buckets are carried to the various activities of the beach party. Image 3 depicts a duo drinking from a bucket simultaneously. The sip lasts several seconds and when the duo has decided they have had enough, the male looks up smiling, with a hazy gaze, all while holding a half litre bottle of beer in each of his hands.

Another symbol of relationship that deserves elaboration is music. During the analysis I have identified a large number of genres and sub-genres, being: house, old school rave, hip-hop, dub-step, drum and bass, rock and contemporary techno. In several videos I have heard dance-remixes of Queen’s song ‘We Will Rock You’. Whatever the genre of the music is, it is played loudly in every video. The volume seems to stir up the party attendees’ urge to dance. The dancers seem to enjoy this, since they are literally jumping on the beach in the middle of the night. The crowd’s strong mutual focus on the uplifting music translates in a sea of dancing individuals, raising their hands and ‘fist pumping’ when the bass ‘drops’.

### 3.4 Ritual indicator 3: shared emotions

#### *Facial expressions*

The emotions that were most visible in the facial expressions in the videos were labelled as excited, happy, amused, elated, and happily surprised. 97,4% of the mentioned emotions are positive in nature. Most of these emotions were characterized by displaying big smiles (image 4) or by being happily in awe with what happens at the time. Based on these emotions, I argue that the mood of the crowd is predominantly positive when attending the full moon party on Koh Pha-ngan. An analysis of the accompanying Likert scale suggested that in none of

**Table 6.** Facial expressions

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Slightly	2	7,7
Moderately	8	30,8
Very	7	26,9
Extremely	9	34,6



**Image 4** Positive facial expressions, abstracted from Pro Raver (2013)

the videos the listed facial expressions were ‘not at all’ shared among the crowd. In more than half (61,5%) of the videos the facial expressions were either ‘very’ or ‘extremely’ shared among the crowd. For the largest part of the videos, we can argue that the crowd seems to have a strong shared mood. The revellers are thus experiencing comparable emotions, which will again stimulate the intensity of the interaction ritual on Koh Pha-ngan’s full moon party.

#### *Use of voice*

*Use of voice* tended to measure to what extent the partygoers used their voice in an enthusiastic manner. In 11 of the videos there were no original sounds audible. Since a music track was edited over the video, voices were not audible either. Hence these videos form part of ‘not at all’. In the remaining 15 videos, voice was used

**Table 3.** Enthusiastic use of voice

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Not at all	11	42,3
Slightly	2	7,7
Moderately	4	15,4
Very	4	15,4
Extremely	5	19,2

in a either ‘very’ or ‘extremely’ enthusiastic manner in 9 cases. In exactly half of the videos, the revellers do ‘not at all’ or only ‘slightly’ use their voice in an enthusiastic manner. Hence, we can argue that the variable *enthusiastic use of voice* is only inconclusively identified in the dataset.

Attendees used their voice in an enthusiastic manner when other attendees were skipping or failing to skip the burning rope, when an attendee dances very wildly, when the attendees were communicating with others or when the attendees looked right into the lens of the camera. In most cases, the revellers made ‘woooooe’ or ‘yeeey’ sounds with their voice.



### 3.5 Ritual indicator 4: standards of morality

#### *Debauchery*

The first component of ritual indicator 4 focused on listing forms *debauchery* that were expressed by the crowd. I will provide some amalgamations that sum up the individual findings for the largest part: dancing wildly on a beach all night (image 5), consuming alcohol by the ‘bucket load’, consuming mushrooms shakes, dressing up in all kinds of noticeable, neon coloured clothing, body painting, cheering and yelling loudly, dancing wildly and/or sexually on stages and pick nick tables. In a single case, an individual was dancing with his inflatable sex doll.

This licentious behaviour deviated from the conventional norms ‘very’ much or ‘extremely’ in almost all (96,2%) cases as indicated by the accompanying Likert scale. This percentage indicates that the crowd is displaying very unusual behaviour

**Table 8.** Deviation from conventional norms

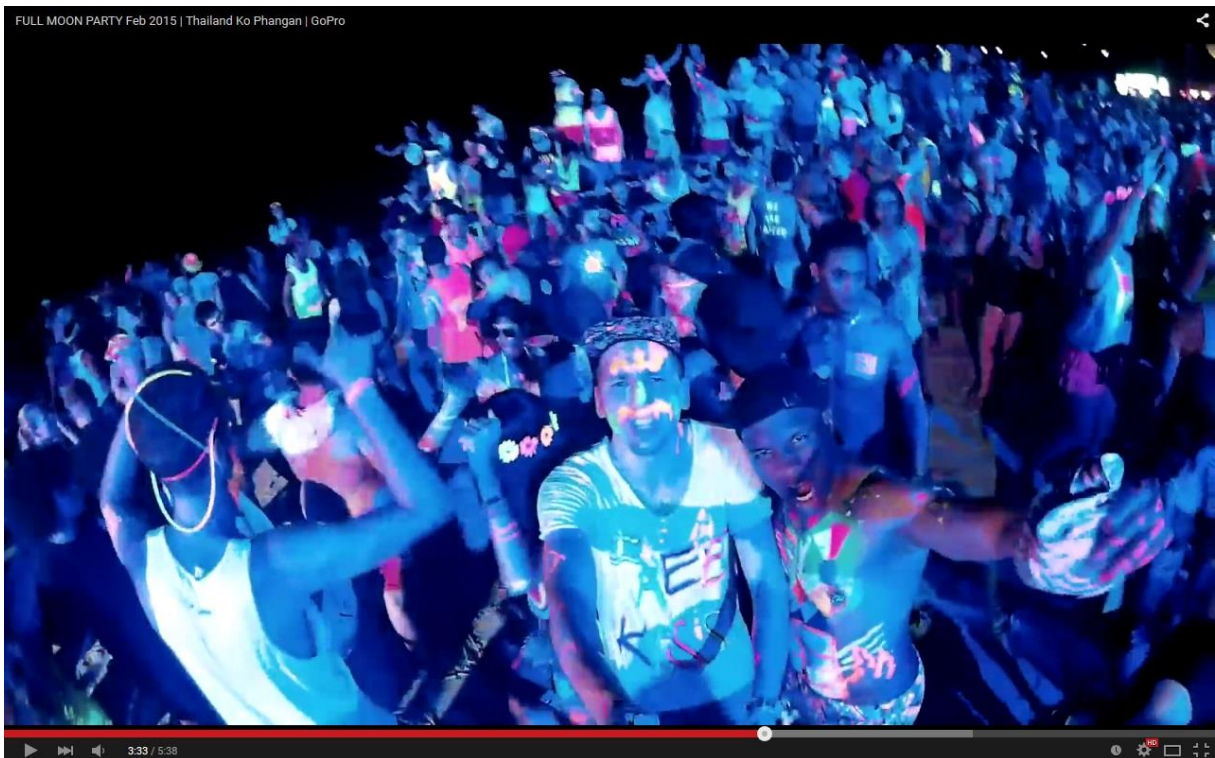
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Moderately	1	3,8
Very	6	23,1
Extremely	19	73,1

when attending the full moon parties. In everyday life this licentious behaviour would be considered inappropriate, concluding that the full moon party is a context in which different kinds of behaviour are displayed and accepted.

Neon coloured and glow in the dark clothing are widely spread on the beach parties (see image 6). Several videos featured shops in which shirts and shorts in these colours were obtainable. Other stalls sold neon coloured and glow in the dark hats, glasses, bracelets, flip-flops and other attributes. It is noteworthy to state that most of the clothing is not covering large parts of the party attendees’ bodies; most of the party attendees are scarcely clothed. It seems that the described clothing is an essential part of the contemporary full moon party experience, since the largest part of the attendees prepare for the party by buying and wearing the clothing. Large black lights are placed all over the beach and light up the brightly coloured clothing. Glow in the dark and neon coloured body paint also appeared to be in demand on Koh Pha-ngan’s full moon parties. Similarly to the clothing, the body paint is obtainable at a wide range of stalls throughout the beach area. There are large sample sings with a collection of body paint possibilities from which the potential customers can choose. The body paint is applied to arms, legs, breasts and faces.



**Image 5** Full moon party attendees dancing wildly after sunrise, abstract from Oliv Yeh (2015)



**Image 6** Neon coloured clothing and body paint, abstracted from Denys Lablonskyi (2015)

*Risky debauchery*

Risky debauchery deserves specific attention since this is the party attendees' conduct that involved significant risks. Following is a selection of risky behaviour that was listed frequently in the assessment rubrics: skipping a burning rope (see image 7), limbo dancing passed a burning stick, swimming in the dark during the full moon party, being clearly intoxicated, being clearly intoxicated near the sea, walking barefooted within a sea of trash, dancing on overcrowded stages and sleeping on the beach during the full moon party. Less frequently identified risky behaviour: drinking mushroom shakes and inhaling balloons of 'laughing gas'. The expressions of debauchery were identified as either 'moderately', 'very' or 'extremely' risky behaviour in all cases. The options 'very' and 'extremely' were selected for 84,6% videos. To conclude, the full moon party attendees intensively engage in behaviour that puts them at risk.

**Table 9.** Risky behaviour

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Moderately	4	15,4
Very	9	34,6
Extremely	13	50,0

Skipping a burning rope (see image 7) is an activity that was visible in most of the videos. The participating tourists are encouraged to jump over an approximately 10 meter long, burning rope. The rope is swung by Thai locals who are standing on small platforms to have an elevated position. The activity is usually surrounded by a large crowd, which cheers and records the activity. In most cases a single reveller jumps into 'action' first, but after a few jumps other bold individuals join him. In some

**Image 7** 'Skipping a burning rope' abstracted from Fletcher Farrar (2015)

cases up to 5 people are jumping the rope simultaneously. The more individuals join, the more likely it becomes that the group will fail soon. When one (or several) of the participants has a bad timing, the activity fails and the burning rope hits the participants. Starting with the first swing of the rope, the speed of swinging is ever increased. The ultimate goal of the activity is to extinguish the rope by swinging and jumping very fast. In this dataset I have not seen participants reach this goal once. On the contrary, in all observed cases this activity fails. Since practically all party attendees wear clothing that does not cover their legs, arms, necks and faces, the activity often results in skin burns. In one video from the dataset, the burning rope activity was explicitly discussed by one of the attendees (Christopher Laxamana, 2014).

Attendee: [...] there was a jump rope that was on fire. [Skipping the burning rope] seemed like a great idea at the time. People got burnt! And it is stupid, it is a stupid idea. I'll admit that. I did it in Koh Pha-ngan and I got the firing [burning] jump rope to the back.

### *Enjoying the debauchery*

The crowd displays to enjoy the debauchery at the full moon parties, partly by engaging enthusiastically in the activities that were also labelled as debauchery, e.g.: dancing on the beach at night and dressing up for the party. Another method of displaying enjoyment was the high quantities of spectators at several activities. Fire stunts would usually attract large numbers of spectators that would stand around the centre of action in thick circles. The attendees would use their voice in an enthusiastic manner when other attendees were jumping or failing to jump the burning rope. The attendees strongly displayed enjoyment regarding the debauchery in 73,1% of the video. The options 'not at all' and 'slightly' were not selected in the dataset. These findings suggest that a severe shift in morality has occurred.

**Table 10.** Disorder, disruption and disturbance

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Moderately	7	26,9
Very	15	57,7
Extremely	4	15,4

### **3.5 Additional findings**

As has been noted, it appears that the full moon party crowd are strongly drawn towards participation in dangerous behaviour. Moreover, security employees seem to be completely absent at Koh Pha-ngan's full moon parties. In none of the 26 videos, I have discovered security guards patrolling or observing the beach area. Revellers who are climbing on dangerous objects, swimming in the sea or displaying other forms of harmful behaviour are not discouraged by any of the full moon party employees.

The full moon party on Koh Pha-ngan seems to attract reasonably young revellers. Especially the participants in the most recent videos, ranging from approximately 2012 to 2015, seem to be younger.

The largest share of the attendees is in their early twenties. It seems that the full moon party on Koh Pha-ngan may have become a juvenile event. In one video, this finding was verbally discussed by two attendees (Christopher Laxamana, 2014):

Attendee 1: I'd say the median age of, uh, that party [referring to the full moon party] was probably twenty.

Attendee 2: It was an amazing party and an amazing shit show, at the same time.

Attendee 1: I felt so old. (Both laughing)

Another finding is that substance use is not obviously visible in the dataset. 'Laughing gas' and 'mushroom shakes' were identified infrequently. Other sorts of hallucinogens or party drugs were not discovered in the dataset at all.

### **3.6 Recap**

The interaction ritual on Koh Pha-ngan's full moon party is of medium-high intensity. The focus of this study is mainly directed on one specific implication of such an intense interaction ritual, namely debauchery. The findings suggest that the revellers indulge in various kinds of debauchery while attending a full moon party. Many of these hedonistic practices can potentially result in harmful situations. Moreover, the debauchery appears to deviate strongly from conventional norms. In other words, such conduct would be strongly disapproved in the context of the tourists' hometown. However, the party attendees seem to enjoy the disorder, disturbance and disruption during the full moon festivities. Since the debauchery is not rejected by the attendees, the licentious behaviour conforms to the norms of the crowd. In other words, the revellers on Koh Pha-ngan seem to create a context in which other ideas about good and wrong conduct arise. Standards of morality have shifted significantly.

## 4. Discussion

### 4.1 Introduction

The full moon party interaction ritual on Koh Pha-ngan appears to be of medium-high intensity. This finding implies that the driving process of the interaction ritual, collective effervescence, is also experienced to a considerable extent by the party attendees. Collective effervescence can stimulate attendees to suspend conventional norms while being increasingly bound to the norms of their social group (Shilling & Mellor, 1998). This process can stimulate the members of the crowd to display debauchery. Having distinguished how each of the ritual indicators was represented separately, I will now interrelate these findings in order to elaborate on the debauchery and the potential harmful implications of this behaviour. Simultaneously, I will use research literature to reflect on these findings. Subsequently, I will explore how I can utilize my findings to understand the mechanism that drives the debauchery. Lastly, I will discuss the limitations of my findings.

### 4.2 Debauchery and risky behaviour

I have highlighted that alcohol containing buckets and bottles were an essential symbol of social relationships during Koh Pha-ngan's full moon parties. Correspondingly, drinking alcohol was indicated to be the second most important activity on which the revellers focussed. Additionally, consuming alcohol by the 'bucket-load' was considered to be an expression of debauchery. Bellis et al. (2002) have listed several reasons that make binge drinking in an exotic, foreign setting substantially dangerous. Firstly, exotic climates accelerate dehydration and disorientation. Secondly, foreign alcohol and substances might differ in strength. Thirdly, inhibitions that normally mitigate debauchery, e.g. work and family duties, are not present; hence tourists tend to take in higher doses. Additionally, United Kingdom Foreign travel advice (n.d.) discourages tourists to engage in excessive alcohol consumption, especially on Koh Pha-ngan's full moon party. The governmental websites warns its inhabitants for the implications of alcohol consumption: being less alert, less in control and less aware of one's environment. Such states of diminished awareness can facilitate robbery, assaults, drugging, rapes, injuries and accidents. Despite these risks, the party crowd enthusiastically indulges in binge drinking. The buckets, containing a bottle of liquor and a variant of a soft drink, are everywhere. According to TV program A Current Affair (2014), the objective of drinking buckets is to "get as drunk as you can, as quickly as you can". One interview with a reveller illustrates this objective clearly:

Interviewer: Everyone seems to be off their head ("to not be in control of your behaviour because of the effects of alcohol or drugs" ("Be off your head," n.d.)).

Attendee: I think that's, like, the whole point. (Smiling to the interviewer)

It is against the Thai law to sell alcohol to individuals that are already considered drunk. A business that does sell alcohol to an already intoxicated individual, risks a maximum fine of 20.000 baht (500 euro) and a one-year jail sentence (“Drunk student charged with,” 2015). Despite the potential legal punishments, these laws do not seem to be taken very seriously by Koh Pha-ngan’s alcohol providers. In like manner, Tutenges (2009) discovered disobedience when analysing the alcohol distribution in Sunny Beach’s nightlife facilities. The numerous buckets stalls on Koh Pha-ngan use any promotion possibility available, such as yelling, dancing and waving signs with texts as ‘pick me’ or ‘love you long time’, to be noticed by the revellers. The only objective of these techniques is to sell as much buckets as possible. While doing this, there appears to be no consideration regarding the level of intoxication of the buyer, which can result in high blood alcohol levels for the revellers. Like in Sunny Beach (Tutenges, 2013), alcohol seems to lower the inner inhibitions and therefore removes further constraints to engage in other forms of hedonistic behaviour.

Another significant activity of the full moon party’s interaction ritual was ‘dancing’. Dancing is evidently related to the symbol of social relationship ‘music’. The soundtrack of the full moon parties is characterized by electronic music with a continuous heavy bass line. Tutenges (2013) argues that this genre of music makes the revellers loosen up, feel excited and move their bodies. In itself, dancing cannot generally be seen as strong debauchery or risky behaviour. However, increased energetic dancing can result in dehydration and hyperthermia (Bellis et al., 2002). The risk of obtaining such illnesses increases in the tropical environment of nightlife resorts. Moreover, the alcohol consumption accelerates the process of dehydration.

Calafat and Juan (2004) have identified shattered glass on the dance floor as a potential risk for tourists’ health when visiting nightlife facilities abroad. In view of the full moon beach party, I have encountered that the beaches are covered with waste, including glass bottles. Although glass bottles will not likely break on the sandy beaches, the revellers also dance on stages and platforms and there are other hard objects on which glass bottles can break. Many revellers stroll around barefooted or with light footwear, such as flip-flops, which will not protect their feet from getting injured by broken glass or other sharp objects. Consequently, many tourists cut themselves with broken glass that litters the beach (Sylvester, 2015).

An additional risk, to which the dancing crowd is exposed, is explored by Tutenges (2009) in the nightlife resort Sunny Beach. Tutenges writes that tourists intensely enjoy dancing on top of furniture and other objects that physically place them above others. In general, dancing on top of objects is also not necessarily risky for the revellers. However, when these objects are unsteady or overcrowded and the dancers are intoxicated, these objects might pose a serious threat. Likewise, the crowd of full moon party has shown to be fond of dancing on stages, bars and other elevated objects. The revellers are jumping on the stages, while holding a bucket in one hand and fist pumping with the other. As some of

the stages are seemingly overcrowded, the dancers might fall off, on top of other unsuspecting dancers.

Tutenges (2013) elaborates that due to the interplay with the electronic, heavy bass music, the dancing revellers “are removed from the composure and moderation of everyday life and are transported into more unrestrained festive states” (p. 241). In other words, if this music genre is played in the appropriate context, it can form a direct stimulant for collective effervescence, making people display other forms of debauchery.

A variety of fire stunts are displayed all over the beach. There are two sorts of fire stunts. First, there are so-called ‘fire ballet’ shows, in which only Thai men display their skills with burning objects. Some of these men are aggressively rotating, throwing and dancing with burning sticks. It is an impressive spectacle. In contrast to the first sort, the second sort involves the party crowd. Examples of these activities are: fire breathing, jumping through a burning hoop, skipping a burning rope and running over a ‘burning’ ladder. The three last activities are based on coordination, timing and in some cases pure luck. If four people participate in a stunt and one fails, all are at risk to get burnt. Soberly engaging in stunts that involve ignited kerosene already seems hazardous. Coordination and timing are heavily influenced by consumption of alcohol. Participating in such stunts under the influence of alcohol is considerably dangerous. Consequently, plenty of tourists become burn victims during the full moon party (Mcgloin, 2014; Sylvester, 2015). However, these spectacular fire stunts attract a lot of spectators and new participants present themselves every several seconds.

Swimming is generally not an expression of debauchery or a risky activity. However, some party attendees are tempted to take a swim in the ocean at night. With powerful currents, the revellers are at risks of being drawn into the ocean. In such a scenario it is not likely that the partygoer will be found quickly since, the sea is very dark and his voice is probably inaudible due to the loud music. Lakadamyali and Dogân (2008) have researched 32 cases of drowning in a Turkish tourism region. The researchers discovered that 11 of the 32 victims had a history of alcohol consumption prior to the drowning. Being intoxicated contributes to a decreased coordination and orientation, which increases the risk of drowning.

### **4.3 Group interaction as the driver of debauchery**

The widespread neon coloured and glow in the dark costumes signify that something unusual is happening on Koh Pha-ngan. In the eyes of the tourists, the expressions of debauchery are only possible here and now. Malam describes this setting as “a carnivalesque space where transgressions of social mores is the norm” (2004, p. 457). Malam argues that infringing conventional norms is considered as normal or good conduct when attending a full moon party. Koh Pha-ngan and the full moon party seem to facilitate the space and time for a “moral holiday” (Weenink, 2013). During a



moral holiday, a group of people suspends conventional norms and joyfully indulges in behaviour that is considered repugnant outside of this context. Weenink argues that moral holidays are often focused on repugnant behaviour and writes that excessive drinking is an oft-recurring expression of such behaviour. If we regard Koh Pha-ngan as a moral holiday 'destination', the crowd regards infringing conventional norms as rewarding oneself with entertainment; the debauchery is perceived as amusing.

Although Weenink focuses on recreational violence among groups of young thrill seekers, one feature of the emotional grounding of violent moral holidays is specifically relevant for the analysis of debauchery on Koh Pha-ngan. Weenink argues that the members of the violent groups are completely absorbed in the collective action while abandoning one's self-restraint towards the unconventional behaviour and increasingly leaning toward the social constraints of the violent group. You should note that this line of reasoning does not deviate far from the process of collective effervescence. In view of the full moon party, I have identified that the attendees share a strong focus on the activities dancing, drinking alcohol and participating and observing fire shows. Since the focus on these activities was identified to be strong at the full moon party, the revellers can be completely absorbed in the collective activities of the group. Hence, the revellers abandon their individual inhibitions toward the debauchery and simultaneously intend to meet the norms of the general crowd. As indicated before, the crowd's norm is to infringe daily life morals. In other words, the full moon party interaction ritual puts into motion a process by which the revellers are stimulated to focus on the ritual activities and symbols, abandon their self-restraint, let go of conventional norms, and collectively express debauchery. These events tend to happen in the chronological order that is provided above. It is important to note that this interaction ritual process can have a self-reinforcing effect: collectively expressing debauchery intensifies the shared focus on ritual activities and symbols. With this reinforcing feedback loop in mind, we can grasp why conventional norms are so rigorously infringed at Koh Pha-Ngan's full moon party. In summary, the interaction ritual theory appears to provide an insightful theoretical framework for analysing debauchery in nightlife tourism.

The idea that debauchery is stirred up by a reinforcing interaction ritual contradicts the belief that tourism debauchery is merely an extension of one's 'ordinary' weekend amusements (Khan et al., 2000). Carr (2002) states that tourists do tend to behave in a more hedonistic manner during their travels, but comparable to Khan et al., Carr determines that such increased holiday debauchery should be regarded as a prolongation of the tourists' normal leisure behaviour, rather than separate from it. Although it is likely that the nightlife tourists on Koh Pha-ngan also engage in nightlife in their home countries, I have identified several important symbols and activities that advocate that the full moon party is not merely an extension of one's normal weekend practices. The tourists' strongly shared focus on the full moon party symbols, such as drinking alcohol from buckets, wearing neon coloured body paint and engaging in fire stunts, puts the event apart from ordinary nightlife practices. Some expressions of debauchery on Koh Pha-ngan are simply not imaginable in a daily life context. The full

moon party attendees collectively abandon conventional norms, resulting in severe health risks, many of which would not occur during an 'ordinary' night at the village pub. Therefore, the full moon party must be regarded and addressed separately from conventional nightlife behaviour. To illustrate the exceptionality of the full moon party, I have included a short interview with a full moon party attendee (A Current Affair, 2014):

Interviewer: Have you ever been to a party like this before?

Attendee: Of course not! [The] full moon party is one in a million. This is ridiculous!

Additionally, Khan et al. argue that nightlife tourists enjoy pursuing holiday amusements in groups of friends they already know. This finding should substantiate the belief that nightlife tourism should be regarded as part of the ordinary lifestyle of the tourists. However, the results of this thesis suggest that in particular the shared focus among the entire crowd facilitates a context in which the tourists can let go of their conventional (group) norms and self-restraint. Correspondingly, Collins (1975) believes that larger groups experience higher levels of collective effervescence. Hence, larger group interactions can imply more rigorous implications. In view of the full moon party, these implications are the expressions of debauchery. In summary, it is not solely the interaction among small groups of friends that aids tourists to pursue hedonistic holiday amusements, but more importantly the fact that the tourists are part of a larger crowd that is so devoted to infringe conventional norms. Although the tourists may like to share the amusements with their friends, it should be noted that crowd cannot be seen separately from the debauchery. It is the whole crowd that facilitates the extraordinary hedonistic context. Large-scale and strong interaction rituals do not occur during one's normal nightlife experiences with just a group of friends. Therefore, it seems improbable that full moon party debauchery is merely an effect of a small group of friends that is prolonging their ordinary weekend behaviour.

#### **4.4 Trend: from a hedonistic rave space to a mainstream party island**

Malam (2008) argued that Koh Pha-ngan's image has shifted several times since it has been adopted in backpacker travel itineraries for the first time. The latest shift has been one towards that of "a mainstream party island" (p. 336). The musical genre of the first full moon party was characterized by experimental rave music. Although there is a large variety within techno music, the music that was played during these first parties can be put together under the label of 'old school' rave. This sub-genre is still played in some of the videos that were evaluated for this study. However, old school rave only represents a very small portion of the music that is being played at the stages and bars. An increasing amount of more 'mainstream' genres, such as house, hip-hop, dub-step, drum and bass, rock and contemporary techno, finds its way through the massive speakers. It seems that the preferred music genre of the full moon party crowd has become increasingly multidimensional and simultaneously increasingly mainstream.

Alcohol seems to be the superiorly preferred drug at the contemporary full moon party. Hallucinogens were very rarely identified and party drugs not at all. In essence, we may conclude that either substance use is not popular among the full moon party attendees, or that the attendees dislike or avoid filming these substances and their users. After all, what happens on the social media stays on the social media. Cohen (2010) explained that a characterisation of backpackers can be made, based primarily on preferred drugs, the frequency of drug use and preferred musical genre. Excessive alcohol consumption seems to be preferred drug and frequency in the current situation. Concurrent with a mainstream choice of music, Koh Pha-ngan indeed appears to have become a mainstream party island, attracting mainstream backpackers.

#### **4.5 Memorable holiday stories**

According to Tutenges and Rod (2009), a groups of friends that partake in excessive drinking, frequently generate memorable and crazy drinking stories that will be shared for years to come. Drinking stories often include “individuals who break things, fall to the ground, sleep in inappropriate places, vomit, and get smeared with dirt, ashes and beer” (Tutenges & Rod, 2009, p. 365). Tutenges and Rod argue that telling drinking stories are a popular way to present oneself, can be told to entertain, can help one cope with a tragic event and can serve as an exploration of taboos and societal boundaries.

Whereas drinking stories are centred on the notion of intoxication, stories containing holiday debauchery are focussed on the licentious behaviour that is being displayed while being away from home. In the same fashion, holiday stories can have comparable functions as drinking stories. Generally speaking, tourism debauchery can be a creator of rich and entertaining stories. So, do full moon party attendees intentionally show debauchery in order to generate rich and entertaining holiday stories? Presumably not. However, Briggs and Turner (2012) argue that in particular these debauchery experiences generate exciting and memorable holidays for young tourists. Telling and reproducing full moon party experiences may highlight the crowd’s unconventional behaviour. During one of the videos in the dataset, a reveller looked into the camera while holding a bucket and said: “Do you remember that time we ordered a bucket, full of an entire bottle of booze?” (Christopher Laxamana, 2014). When this question is repeated in a future setting, it might unchain a series of debauchery stories, that encourages the individuals to continue their search for effervescence.

#### **4.6 Limitations**

Collins argues that basically every interaction can be seen as a ritual, but also poses the questions: “if everything is a ritual, what isn’t?” (2004, p. 15). In my opinion, Collins does not answer this rhetorical question appropriately in his book *Interaction Ritual Chains*. Additionally, Baehr (2005) states that Collins fails to elaborate on rituals that do include all ritual ingredients. Therefore, it might be difficult

to determine in which situations an interaction ritual is interesting to explore. However, Collins (2004) writes that there are areas of human life where interaction ritual processes are weak or even non-existent. Collins furthermore argues that in contexts where ritual ingredients are strong, ritual outcomes also tend to be strong, and in these contexts rituals have interesting implications. For this study I utilized an assessment rubric that is composed of indicators of both ritual ingredients and -outcomes. I grouped these indicators together, since data that covered the entire span of the full moon party was not available. The rubric was designed so that the indicators could be graded on a scale from 1 to 5. According to the evaluation of these rubrics, the interaction ritual at Koh Pha-ngan's full moon parties was proven to be of medium-high intensity.

User generated YouTube videos have formed the main data source for this thesis project. A deductive as well as an inductive analysis of the videos resulted in a comprehensive insight into the interaction ritual that is at play during Koh Pha-ngan's full moon parties. However, Knoblauch et al. (2014) have made a statement that would diminish the value of such user generated media:

[...] when [video] material used was not produced by the researchers themselves but instead comes from other contexts (for example, from internet video clips) [...], these usually are recordings for which the camera was used deliberately to produce a certain visual impression. (p. 49)

Knoblauch and colleagues argue that the user generated video material is often focussed on the user's preferred choice of taste, art and beauty. In other words, the user films what he or she is focussing on "guided by aesthetic criteria" (p. 49). Another characteristic of these data sources is that they often have been post-processed, meaning that after the data collection someone would cut and montage the material. Hence, the videos should not be considered as raw but as staged data. A regular video analysis method would not fit the staged data as someone has already interpreted and altered it by montaging. However, video data "provide[s] special access to the self-representations of the actors, because the images that are produced by the individuals being observed reflect a truly excellent kind of condensation of their own world" (p. 51). To put it differently, such videos are particularly suitable to show the actors (or others) how they ascribe meaning to the world around them. In particular this feature of user-generated videos has enabled me to share a comprehensive overview of nightlife tourists' interaction behaviour. Such visual insights are very novel in the nightlife tourism literature.

The full moon party videos that were selected for the analysis of this thesis project were explicitly recorded by amateurs. These amateurs were attendees to the full moon party and therefore formed a part of the crowd. The recorder was, in this sense, also the object of study. Since I was interested in the behaviour, interactions and focus of the crowd, the focus of the attendee's camera was also insightful for my analysis. Hence, evaluating what the focus of the video was, as well as what the focus of the revellers *in* the video was, contributed to the value of this research method.

In this research project I have tried to understand the revellers' mood by the emotions they expressed in their facial expressions. A largest part of the facial expressions was positive in nature and this would imply a predominant positive mood among the crowd. Smiles are believed to be a common expression of happiness in the contemporary dominant social norms. However, smiles can also be used to hide negative emotions (Abel, 2002). A mismatch between real experienced emotions and expressed emotions is possible. Contemporary social norms read that it is almost obligatory to smile on a photo and since mismatches between real and expressed emotions are possible, we can question whether all smiles in pictures are real or performed. Boulton (2007) stated: "[...] regardless of our internal emotional state, the photographic ritual [...] affords us the opportunity to externally exaggerate the internal mood we wish to convey to others (p. 761)". Kotchemidova (2005) even argued that, "no matter how bored we are at a social gathering, we always smile for the picture" (p. 21). Although the data format for this thesis project existed from videos instead of photos, attendees can still stage their emotions for the camera. Hence, we could regard the findings relating to the positive mood as less conclusive. However, the camera can also be seen as part of the full moon party's interaction ritual. The full moon party attendees seemed to be excited when they noticed a camera. The revellers enthusiastically showed their neon coloured body paint, drank from their buckets or danced wildly for the camera. Altogether, it appears that the attendees enjoy eternalizing their expressions of debauchery on video recordings. Therefore, it is probable that the positive emotions in these videos are sincere, rather than staged.

## 5. Conclusion

This study was set out to explore how groups of nightlife tourists interact, how they express debauchery and what the potential risky implications of the debauchery are. To investigate these phenomena, I have first explored the existing literature on nightlife tourism and its potential risks. In the research approach, I introduced Collin's (2004) interaction ritual theory as the theoretical framework of this study. Koh Pha-ngan's full moon party was selected as a suitable case for this research project. Subsequently, I produced a video analysis instrument to evaluate user-generated YouTube videos. The analysis instrument consisted of several components that would inductively measure the extent to which the ritual indicators were present in the video database and deductively evaluate how these ritual indicators were represented in the video database.

The findings of the video analysis suggested that an interaction ritual is at play at Koh Pha-ngan's full moon party. The intensity of the interaction ritual at the full moon festivities is medium-high. The driving process of the interaction ritual, collective effervescence, generates a variety of implications, one of which is the attendees' penchant for debauchery and risky behaviour. The hedonistic debauchery is an aspect of major essence for the full moon party's interaction ritual. The findings of this study make several contributions to the current literature. First, this study substantiates the belief that nightlife tourists engage in hedonistic debauchery while being on holiday (Diken & Lautsen, 2004; Tutenges, 2013; Briggs & Turner, 2012), which potentially results in harmful situations (Bellis et al., 2000; Mura & Khoo-Lattimore, 2013). Second, through a combination of a user-generated video analysis and the full moon party case study, this study has added a visual elaboration of several expressions of nightlife tourism debauchery and their potential risks to the nightlife tourism literature. Third, this study has contributed to the idea that an interaction rituals perspective (Collins, 2004) can provide a comprehensive insight into the behaviour of nightlife tourists. In view of nightlife tourism, the interaction ritual can initiate a self-reinforcing process by which tourists are stimulated to focus on the ritual activities and symbols, abandon their self-restraint, let go of conventional norms, and collectively express debauchery. It is plausible that this self-reinforcing process stimulates the nightlife tourists to fundamentally abandon their conventional inhibitions. Fourth, this study corroborates the idea that attending Koh Pha-ngan's full moon party has increasingly become a mainstream affair (Malam, 2008).

However, the findings of this study do not only provide academic insights. This study may serve as useful information for policymaking regarding nightlife tourism. As has been noted, nightlife resorts are often considered as contexts in which a wide range of debauchery and risky activities is permitted. Nonetheless, night life resorts often lack proper supervision. In the already risky environment of the nightlife resort, it is an evident solution to increase supervision. However, this solution might impair one of the core values of nightlife destinations and their interaction rituals, namely: the lawlessness. Strict supervision of security staff and police may alter the practice so rigorously, that it will repel

hedonistic tourists. When the involved actors, e.g. event organizers and bar owners, aim to increase the safety of the revellers, they should carefully consider their interventions in order to safeguard the income of the nightlife tourism industry, as many local entrepreneurs are dependent on this. I have listed several interventions. Firstly, inform tourists of potential risks of engaging in excessive alcohol and substance use such as vulnerability to sexual assaults and violent robberies instead of only the legal implications. Secondly, inform tourists of the dangers that are involved with participating in risky behaviour, such as dancing on bars when intoxicated or in the case of Koh Pha-ngan: participating in dangerous stunts that involve fire. Thirdly, hire coastguard employees who can patrol the beaches at night. And lastly, employ a cleaning crew that will clear the beaches from (sharp) litter.

The findings of this study can also be employed for a third purpose. The analysis of user-generated YouTube videos was an experimental research tool by nature. Despite some considerable limitations, the findings of this study indicated that a YouTube video analysis can provide an insightful understanding of young people's interaction behaviour. In particular for research projects with limited resources, user-generated video analysis can form a serviceable research method to understand how the individual *behind* the camera and the individuals *in* the video ascribe meaning to the element of interest. In comparison to other qualitative research methods, e.g. interviews, a YouTube video analysis can contribute to a stronger visual understanding of how the phenomenon of interest is perceived by its performers.

To conclude, tourism debauchery forms a strong contributor to the risky environment during the full moon parties on Koh Pha-ngan. However, tourism debauchery should not be regarded as just a compilation of reckless acts; it has a set of profound stimulators that root from our regulated, contemporary society. The nightlife tourists pursue effervescence as it enables them to express behaviour that the tourists deem impossible in their daily life contexts. Although engaging in debauchery may imply some serious risks, it is precisely the debauchery that attracts the thrill seekers to the full moon party and other nightlife destinations in the first place.

### **5.1 Future research**

In this study, the interaction ritual has aided me strongly to identify the implications of young people's active quest for effervescence. Since moments of collective effervescence often imply unconventional behaviour, it would be interesting to explore these moments. The general nightlife industry, e.g. clubbing, concerts, festivals and bars, would be an evident field to continue the investigation of interaction rituals. Examples of other tourism related fields are: après ski and tubing in Viang Vieng, Laos. However, there are also entirely different fields that can be investigated with the interaction ritual perspective, such as extreme sports, funerals or fraternity hazing.

The focus of this study is predominantly on the revellers and the manner in which they interact. However, the facilitators of the full moon festivities play an essential role in the creation of the interaction ritual. Future research could aim to understand the behaviour of stall owners, disc jockeys and fire stunt practitioners in order to investigate how they actively and successfully manufacture collective effervescence.

The user-generated YouTube video analysis contributed to a comprehensive visual understanding of the nightlife tourists' behaviour and the risks they encounter. A YouTube video analysis can be applied to other fields with the aim of understanding interaction behaviour, e.g. pep rallies before sporting events, football hooliganism, recreational violence and cabaret performances.



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**Appendix 1**

YouTube Video Assessment Rubric

Serial no. of video
Date of the assessment (day/month/year)
Title of the video
Producer of the video
Upload date of video (day/month/year)
URL of the video

**1<sup>st</sup> Ritual Indicator – Group formation**

1. What kind of **barriers** can we identify between the crowd and other groups/individuals?
2. How is group **physical intimacy** characterized among the determined groups?

*For the following statements, circle the number which is most appropriate.*

	<i>Not at all visible</i>	<i>Slightly visible</i>	<i>Moderately visible</i>	<i>Very visible</i>	<i>Extremely visible</i>
How visible are the barriers between the crowd and other groups/individuals?	1	2	3	4	5
How visible is group physical intimacy among the determined groups?	1	2	3	4	5

**2<sup>nd</sup> Ritual Indicator – mutual focus of attention on ritual’s activities and totems**

1. Distinguish the three **activities** on which the individuals in the crowd focusses most frequently.
2. Determine what **symbols** of social relationship are identifiable among the crowd.

	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Moderately</i>	<i>Very</i>	<i>Extremely</i>
To what extent does the crowd <b>mutually</b> focus on the activities?	1	2	3	4	5
To what extent does the crowd <b>mutually</b> focus on the totems?	1	2	3	4	5

**3<sup>th</sup> Ritual indicator – shared emotions**

1. Label the three **emotions** that are most visible in the facial expressions of the crowd.

	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Moderately</i>	<i>Very</i>	<i>Extremely</i>
To what extent are these emotions <b>shared</b> among the crowd?	1	2	3	4	5
To what extent do the partygoers use their voice in an enthusiastic manner?	1	2	3	4	5

**4<sup>th</sup> Ritual indicator – moral holiday**

1. Distinguish the expressions of **debauchery** shown by the crowd.

2. Describe the displayed **risky** behaviour, if present.

	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Moderately</i>	<i>Very</i>	<i>Extremely</i>
To what extent does the debauchery deviate from the conventional norms?	1	2	3	4	5
Does the crowd seem to enjoy the disorder, disruption and disturbance?	1	2	3	4	5
To what extent can the debauchery be labelled as risky behaviour?	1	2	3	4	5

**Additional remarks:**