

**REPORT TO THE DANCEFLOOR:
JOURNEYS BY EXPERIENCE AND WRITING INTO RAVING
AND ANTHROPOLOGY**

Barry Reeves

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



1998

**Full metadata for this item is available in
St Andrews Research Repository
at:**

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:

<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/9949>

This item is protected by original copyright

**REPORT TO THE DANCEFLOOR:
JOURNEYS BY EXPERIENCE AND
WRITING INTO RAVING AND
ANTHROPOLOGY**

by

BARRY REEVES M.A. Hons.



Thesis presented for the degree of PhD
University of St. Andrews April 1998

Th
D103

DECLARATIONS

I, Barry Reeves, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date: 30.6.98..... signature of candidate:

I was admitted as a research student at St.Andrews University in October 1992 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in October 1993; the higher study for which this is a record carried out in Britain, Goa (India) and the University of St. Andrews between 1992 and 1998.

date: 30.6.98..... signature of candidate:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of St.Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for this degree.

date: 30.6.98..... signature of supervisor:

In submitting this thesis to the University of St.Andrews, I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker.

date: 30.6.98..... signature of candidate:

To Stanley and Mary

THANKS!

I would like to give a big 'thanks!' to many people who have been involved in this work, my life and, especially, my education in one way or another. Thanks to the late Mr. A. Tysen, Doctor P. Armit and Mr. R.Woods for making me believe more in myself during a formative period of my life. Thanks to Dr. Bill Knox for helping me to find a way to engage with university and academia during turbulent times. A very special thanks goes out to Dr. Roy Dilley, my supervisor, who acted as my bridge into anthropology and who has always provided invaluable encouragement and support during my studies. Thanks to Jules who put up with much and with whom I shared many of the experiences in this work. Thanks to Ad and The Backroom Boys for always being there and all that in a really solid way. Thanks to Shane for being my 'Techno Shaman', and Nirmal for being a party-friend during many crazy times as well as 'the wolfman of Vagator'. Thanks to Em, my wife, who I met one full moon night on a small island in Goa and without whom there would be no reasons at all. Thanks to my mum and dad, Stanley and Mary, for all the incredible encouragement and support they have given me over the years, I owe them both more than I can say. And, of course, thanks to all those people around the world, many of them strangers to me still, but with whom I have shared, in passing moments and temporary places, that special buzz. Thank you all, I've had a really good one!

Last but not least, I would also like to thank the late Ladislav Holy, David Riches, Nigel Rapport, Tristan Platt, Joanna Overing, Bambi Ceuppens, Els Lagrou, Juliette O'Keefe, Mils Hills, William Singleton, and all the other members of the Social Anthropology Department at St.Andrews over the years for their encouragement, their friendship, for all their assistance in reading and criticising parts of my work, and, of course, for their help in the constant pursuit of funds. I also wish to thank the department secretaries Pam Lee and Anne Christie for all their patient, warm assistance and support on a vital everyday level. And finally, I wish to acknowledge The University of St.Andrews, Erasmus, The Carnegie Trust, The Richard Gapper Trust, The Russell Trust and The Radcliffe-Brown Trust (R.A.I.) who have all granted me financial assistance at some time during my work. **T h a n k s !**

Abstract

This work is an **ethnography** about **raving**. As such, it is based on the author's actual, inter-subjective and historical experience of that contemporary international social phenomenon in Britain and in Goa (India) during the late 1980s and 1990s. It is written from the position of an involved, participating subject over time. This ethnographic approach and the emphasis placed upon **subjective experience, history and knowledge 'from within'** throughout the work is aimed, critically speaking, at tendencies within contemporary forms of anthropology which favour academic introspection, inter-textuality, textual notions concerning social life and over-interpretation. This **commitment to ethnography** is also used in the final section of the work, within a critical-historical appreciation of the discipline, to argue for a re-statement of Malinowski's radical 'science' of ethnography in the face of a routinisation of 'science' as a legitimating discourse within the discipline during the twentieth century.

Furthermore, the ethnographic approach is also set out, in a way which attempts to make the work relevant not only to practitioners of anthropology, as a way of producing public knowledge and accounts of social life which are very different, ethically and politically, from those produced within other public practices and contexts, such as by the media and government agencies. Representations and accounts produced by such public agencies are situated and questioned in the work through attaching them, as loaded products, to Michel Foucault's political notion of modern '**governmentality**'. Within such a politicised account of representation, the author has used long-established, **humanist** notions surrounding the practice of ethnography, regarding **participation** and **empathy**, in order to produce accounts of **raving as a human social practice**. These humanised and politicised accounts of the phenomenon are offered as a contrast to the predominating public accounts of the practice, produced through distanced and disinterested discourses, which mainly focus upon its ability to animate certain powerful social categories and forms of exclusion, such as 'the criminal' and 'the addict', and socio-political discourses, such as that on 'drugs' and 'the war against drugs'. This contrast, and the opposition and **demand for human tolerance** it expresses, forms part of a wider project within the work which resists **de-humanisation**; that is, the treatment of human beings and their practices in terms of self-serving discourses (monologues) as opposed to the humanising and politicising effects of experience, interaction and empathy/understanding (dialogue).

Within this general framework surrounding **the politics and ethics of representation**, other areas which are explored are **the position/role of the anthropologist and the use of subjectivity within the research process**, the use of **creative writing as a source of humanised ethnographic knowledge** about diverse social worlds, and an exploration into **the possible uses and limits of academic theorisation**.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE WORK

	<u>PAGE</u>
1.1 INTER-CONNECTIONS: A GENEALOGY OF THE PROJECT.	12
1.2 CONNECTION: MY POSITION AND THE POINT OF WRITING.	20
1.3 ENGAGEMENT: RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES, WRITING POSITIONS AND FURTHER DETAILS ABOUT THE PROJECT.	26
- 1.3.1 Positioning.	26
- 1.3.2 Ethnography.	28
- 1.3.3 History and the Subject in Historical Perspective.	32
- 1.3.4 Creative Writing as Ethnography.	39
- 1.3.5 The Sampling Method.	43
- 1.3.6 Criticism.	45

SECTION TWO

ACID HOUSE, ECSTASY AND RAVING.

2.1 EARTHQUAKER: A RAVE.	50
2.2 SOME PERSONAL HISTORY.	57
2.3 'SO THIS IS HOW IT STARTED!': BALEARIC BEGINNINGS, TOURISM, FOOTBALL AND THE EMERGENCE OF ACID HOUSE.	61
- 2.3.1 Acid House Style.	68
- 2.3.2 Acid House Drugs.	69
- 2.3.3 The Structure of Acid House Events.	71
- 2.3.4 The Atmosphere/Behaviour At Acid House Events.	72
2.4 'EVERYTHING STARTS WITH AN E': A HISTORY OF ECSTASY (MDMA), ITS POPULAR USES AND THE FEEL GOOD FACTOR.	74
2.5 A TRIP TO BEDLAM: EXPERIENCING INSIDER DISTINCTIONS AND SOCIAL DIVERSITY WITHIN THE BRITISH RAVE SCENE.	96
2.6 'BREACH THE PEACE': ACID HOUSE, SQUATS, THE FREE PARTY SCENE, TRAVELLERS, CASTLEMORTON AND CLAMPDOWN.	101
2.7 RAVING, RAVING, RAVING: THE LEGAL OUTDOOR SCENE.	119
2.8 'IS THERE ANYBODY OUT THERE?': SOME SOCIAL USES OF	123

THE TERMS 'RAVE/RAVING/RAVER'.	
2.9 IN THE CLUB: RAVING, ECSTASY USE AND THE REVOLUTION IN CLUBBING.	140
2.10 PURE BRILLIANT: A STORY ABOUT CLUBBING.	148
2.11 'GOIN' T'OUTTA SPACE T'FIND ANOTHER RACE': CRIMINAL JUSTICE, ASIAN PARTY SCENES AND THE RAVE DIASPORA.	165

SECTION THREE

GOA AND THE GOA PARTY SCENE.

3.1 INTRODUCTION.	175
3.2 PRE-HISTORY AND GENERAL HISTORICAL OUTLINE.	176
3.3 CONTEMPORARY GOAN HISTORY.	179
3.4 A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC REGION.	188
3.5 THE HIPPIES IN GOA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM.	202
3.6 'HIPPIE TOURISM' IN NORTH GOA.	207
3.7 THE PARTY SCENE: INTRODUCTION	217
3.8 TRAVELLERS, HIPPIES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PARTY SCENE IN GOA.	218
3.9 A DESCRIPTION OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES FOR LIVING IN THE PARTY SCENE AREA DURING THE PERIOD OF FIELDWORK 1994-96.	222
- 3.9.1 Daily Activities And Routines Amongst The Party People.	226
- 3.9.2 The Flea Market.	228
- 3.9.3 Trips.	230
3.10 GOA PARTIES.	230
3.11 GOA BY CORRESPONDENCE: PART ONE (1995).	237
3.12 'TONITE BIG PARTY BABA, REAL BIG PARTY': A STORY ABOUT A GOA PARTY.	245
3.13 GOA BY CORRESPONDENCE: PART TWO (1996).	259
3.14 SELECTED REPRESENTATIONS OF GOA TRANCE PARTIES, OR 'ACID PARTIES', IN THE GOAN AND NATIONAL PRESS (1995-1996).	264

SECTION FOUR

CRITICISM: FOUCAULT AND RAVING.

4.1 INTRODUCTION.	281
4.2 WELCOME TO THE ANALYSIS OF POWER RELATIONS.	283
4.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BODY AND SUBJECTIVITY IN	292

THE CONSTITUTION OF POWER RELATIONS.	
4.4 THE POLITICS OF EVERYDAY LIFE.	302
4.5 RAVING AS A FORM OF NEW OPPOSITION WITHIN MODERN NATION STATES.	310
4.6 PLEASURE AND POWER: AN ACCOUNT OF THE INVENTION OF 'RECREATION' AND THE FUNCTION OF 'LEISURE-POWER'.	330
4.7 RAVING AND THE MODERN REGIME OF 'LEISURE-POWER'.	337
4.8 CRITICAL REFLECTION: A CRITIQUE OF TOTALISATION AND DEHUMANISATION.	348

SECTION FIVE

CONCLUDING SECTION: FROM CRITIQUE OF SCIENCE TO A RE-STATEMENT OF MALINOWSKI'S RADICAL 'SCIENCE'.

5.1 THE PREDOMINANCE OF SCIENCE.	363
5.2 AN EMPTY VESSEL: COMPETING NOTIONS OF 'SCIENCE'.	366
5.3 CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES, CHANGING CONCEPTIONS.	372
5.4 POST-WAR CRITIQUES OF 'SCIENCE' AND 'OBJECTIVISM'.	380
- 5.4.1 Early Critics.	383
- 5.4.2 Later Critics.	389
5.5 WRITING CULTURE: CONNECTIONS, RECEPTION AND RE-APPRAISAL.	398
5.6 HISTORY AND REFLEXIVITY.	410
5.7 POSITIONING: HEART, MARGINALITY AND KNOWLEDGE 'FROM WITHIN'.	417
5.8 IN THE LITERATURE.	428
5.9 IN CONCLUSION.	432
- 5.9.1 Response	435

MAP/PLATES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

TABLE OF MAPS AND PLATES*

Map 1: Map of Goa.

Plate 1: The masses inside the main tent at Earthquaker, 1992. Photograph taken from The Glasgow Herald.

Plate 2: Close up of up-for-it ravers at Earthquaker, 1992. Photograph taken from The Glasgow Herald.

Plate 3: A version of the 'acid house' smiley face.

Plate 4: The structure of 'acid house' events with all participants facing towards the sound system on the dancefloor. Photograph from The Scotsman.

Plate 5: An example of media coverage and representation of ecstasy use - front page of an article in the Reader's Digest.

Plate 6: Another example of media coverage/representation - report on tragic case of Leah Betts reported in the Daily Record.

Plate 7: An example of flyer art - Pure Rave from K.U. Club, Huddersfield.

Plate 8: More flyer art: Euphoria, Edinburgh and Sublime, Dundee.

Plate 9: The party at Castlemorton. Photograph taken from Ecstasy and the Dance Culture by N. Saunders.

Plate 10: Morning at an Exodus Party. Photograph taken from Squall.

Plate 11: The demonstration in London against the Criminal Justice Bill, 1993. Photograph taken from Squall.

Plate 12: Flyer from the legal outdoor scene of 1992 - Fantazia, Castle Donnington.

Plate 13: Flyer from Rezerection, Edinburgh 1992.

Plate 14a: A scenic view of sunset on the North Goan coastline.

Plate 14b: The beach at Baga which extends southwards to Calangute.

Plate 15a: Hindu men and women shopping at Mapusa market.

Plate 15b: Catholic men and women going to church on a feast day.

Plate 16a: Two Hindu relatives pose by a newly constructed structure in which a tulsi plant is housed in front of their family home.

Plate 16b: A typical Hindu Goan house in the ethnographic region in which I stayed and in which 'hippies'/foreigners'/tourists' find rooms.

Plate 17a: A view of the Vagator coastline and, in the foreground, the shorefront of Disco Valley just after the monsoon. The Italian beach can be seen in the distance just before the headland.

Plate 17b: View of Little Chapora beach beneath the Chapora fort during season time with chai huts, beach volleyball court and tourists.

* Maps and plates are situated at the end of the written text for reference.

- Plate 18A:** Sign post warning tourists against 'the menace' of drugs which sits right above the Vagator beaches. Photograph by Riyet.
- Plate 18b:** View of 'Spaghetti Beach', or the Italian beach.
- Plate 19a:** The main street in Chapora village not long after the monsoon 1994.
- Plate 19b:** Local fishermen from Chapora and Vagator gathering in their catch after early morning fishing in their traditional wooden canoes on Big Vagator beach.
- Plate 20:** View of a party in Disco Valley 1995 taken from the seafront with the dancefloor area on *the left (with backdrops) and the chai mats to the right.*
- Plate 21a:** An example of backdrop art painted for a party by Michelle in a cave on one of Vagator's beaches 1995.
- Plate 21b:** 'Hippy'/tourist/'party person'/anthropologist' preparing something to eat outside a typical beach hut on one of the Vagator beaches 1995.
- Plate 22:** Sunrise at a party in Disco Valley 1995. Photograph by Kelly.
- Plate 23a:** Inland party near Chapora-Badem 1995. Note the use of white string which created cheap and effective laser-like effects above the heads of the dancing crowd when *used together with ultra-violet lights fuelled by a generator.*
- Plate 23b:** Motorcycles parked outside an inland party 1995.
- Plate 24a:** 'Ethnic' goods being sold in the non-western area of Anjuna flea market. Photograph by Jules.
- Plate 24b:** Foreigners browsing amongst and selling party clothes and digeridoos in the foreign section of the Anjuna 'flea market'. Photograph by Daniel Newman taken from *Mixmag*, vol. 2, issue no.59.
- Plate 25:** View from above the dancefloor area of a party in Disco Valley 1995. Picture by Kelly.
- Plate 26a:** *Morning time at a trance party in Pushkar, Rajasthan 1995 to celebrate a total eclipse of the sun with international people, colourful dress and backdrops on show.* Photograph by Amit.
- Plate 26b:** Not long after sunrise at a party on the Italian beach 1996 during the imposed ban on 'acid parties'. Photograph by Riyet.
- Plate 27a:** Picture postcard from Goa which celebrates Goa as a location for parties. Postcard by Remo.
- Plate 27b:** Goan postcard which has connection with 'acid house' through the use of the smiley *face logo.* Postcard by Remo.
- Plate 28a:** Goan postcard with touristic/'hippy' image of Goa. Postcard by Remo.
- Plate 28b:** Goan postcard with 'hippy' overtones. Postcard by Remo.
- Plate 29a:** Goan postcard with 'hippy'/natural/'white' overtones.
- Plate 29b:** Goan postcard portraying Goa as an exotic location.

SECTION ONE
INTRODUCTION TO THE WORK

1.1 INTER-CONNECTIONS: A GENEALOGY OF THE PROJECT

"Apparently most of this type of crime [car radio theft] is committed by teenagers to buy drugs. I just hope that my radio raised enough to buy whoever nicked it a few tabs of contaminated ecstasy. And that whatever lowlife brought him into the world managed to drag themselves out of the pub, or away from the telly, long enough to see him in hospital on his ventilator."

Littlejohn¹

"...society trots along before my eyes reproducing to perfection the mechanism of the death struggle: the reduction of a 'person' to a 'nobody' to the position of other."

Helene Cixous²

"...an act has no meaning for an observer unless he knows or infers the thoughts and emotions of the agent."

Sir James Frazer³

As an introduction to my research project, my subject of study and my point of engagement with it, I would say that the origins of this work lay within my own personal, social and historical experience of three characteristics of contemporary social life. The three characteristics have surrounded the practice of raving as I have come across it; first of all, in Scotland in the late eighties and early nineties; then, gradually, further afield within Britain; and ultimately within the context - provided by experience - of a more global perspective. These three inter-related characteristics, which formed the initial co-ordinates within which my research project emerged and has proceeded, were: 1. **Subjectivity** 2. **Representation** 3. **Intolerance**.

The first of these co-ordinates - subjectivity - resulted from my own personal life history, or what some might prefer to call my 'identity'. Raving as a social practice, as we will discover in much greater detail later on, first came to prominence as a social practice, a form of subjectivity, and an aspect of everyday contemporary power relations - surrounding dance, music and 'drug' use - in Conservative Britain during the late eighties and early nineties. As such, raving emerged at a time, and in a social context, which I know not

¹ Daily Mail, Thursday, February 15, 1996.

² Cit. in Young, R. (1992) : 2.

³ Preface by Frazer, J.G. to Malinowski, B. (1922/1987): ix.

simply from public records, books, and other forms of 'secondhand' information, but from the lived experience and position of a subject living through such times.

In 1987 when 'the Second Summer of Love' sounded the arrival of 'acid house' and widespread 'ecstasy' use across Britain, I was seventeen years old. During that now famous summer, I was, in fact, on the other side of the world in Australia on what was called a 'gap year', or 'year out'. However, prior to leaving Britain I had experienced the emergence of 'acid house' while on summer holidays on the popular British holiday location of Mallorca in Spain. On return to my home town of Glasgow, inspired by adventures, experience and confidence I gained while on 'holidays' abroad, I had begun as an eager teenager to attend some of the city centre's 'clubs' more regularly - such as The Sub Club and Joe Paparrazzi's. In these 'clubs' at the time a new 'dance' sound was emerging, which was strongly influenced by the scene happening out on the Isle of Ibiza - another popular British and European holiday resort in the Balearic Isles - during the summer months. In the scene out there in Ibiza, sex and alcohol orientated recreation had been exchanged for a new 'party spirit' which was more 'asexual' and 'fun', and in which dancing and enjoying yourself were given more importance than being 'pissed', 'pulling a bird/bloke', or having a 'punch up'. Popular culture was on the shift.

As I travelled rather clumsily around Australia and into South East Asia for the first time that year, unaware of the events and happenings at home, I carried with me tapes of the new 'house' sound on, what is now, just one of its many trips around the globe. I carried it with me and played it to others when I could, just as any enthusiast or convert would do. As a very particular sound 'house' came to symbolize for me my 'home', my previous identity and an element of difference which I possessed at the time while travelling, and which I used to try and interest others, to form relationships and to animate a new awareness I had of myself that had emerged from being so 'abroad' for the

first time - that 'I' was different. The new sound thus became a symbol not only of 'home', but also of my own sense of difference towards the places and peoples I was coming into contact with, and also of my attempts to negotiate such differences through interaction. I discovered, sometimes with positive effects and at others with more negative ones, that a great deal about myself which I took for granted 'back home', such as my dress sense, dance style and taste in music, which formed a much more collective identity where I came from, in the new contexts I was passing through, however, made me different, sometimes 'exotic', and at others just plain 'weird'. And as music was a very important thing for me, my 'dance music' in particular became a popular symbol for me of this process of becoming aware of differences - differences which especially in Australia were hidden just beneath a veil of apparent similarity and familiarity.

On arrival back in Britain, I quickly re-connected with old friends in Glasgow and got connected with the club scene which was thriving during the 1980s. Within a very short time, as a result of old connections, I found myself going to my first 'acid house party' in the city centre one night⁴. That night I realised that change and difference came not only from travelling and the transportation of the body and its assumed identities, but that such things also took place daily in everyday life and in the most familiar of places. What had seemed so familiar to me before took on a new 'exotic' attraction which emerged from realising the possibilities and excitement of a supposedly 'familiar' social world which had become re-encharmed for me. This world, which I had left behind, all of a sudden seemed full of new experiences, adventures and relationships, and all you had to do was to reach out, grab it and connect. My own personal interest in aspects of social life surrounding the practice of 'raving' began back there in a very simple flash of adolescent realisation.

⁴ See later section 'Some Personal History'.

Such chance and random moments in individuals' life histories have, however, now also become a subject of mainstream socio-political discourse and the object of a variety of powers - media and governmental, in particular - which have transformed the nature and status of such practices, experiences and personal histories [see Plates 5,6]. This phenomenon is also no longer something which can be so simply treated in the terms of specific individuals' practices, or even of those belonging to a particular national location, or culture, for it is now a phenomenon which has popped up around the globe transgressing boundaries established by notions of nationalism, race, politics and culture, and not only in terms of the practice itself, but also in terms of various practices and discourses opposed to its existence. As such then, 'raving' has become a new aspect of contemporary global socio-political life and, therefore, a possible area of social research, while also, as I have described, being a formative and integral part of my own personal/social experience, life history, and a phenomenon which has animated major aspects of my own subjectivity and my inter-subjective experience and knowledge of the world.

The second co-ordinate for my research project surrounded 'representation'. By 'representation' I mean the publicly voiced accounts of and attitudes towards raving and ecstasy use, which have become synonymous both within such representations, and in the heavily media-constructed form of 'public opinion'. I found very little published material, certainly at the beginning of the project, regarding raving, or ecstasy use, which did not set out from wholly negative assumptions surrounding the connection between it as a social practice with 'ecstasy' use, and 'ecstasy' with a whole negative 'governmental' discourse on 'drugs' [see Plates 5, 6]. This discourse on 'drugs' has developed during this century, mainly in the second half of it, and it mimics the punitive American model of 'prohibition', surveillance and law enforcement. As such it demands the existence of a complex, powerful, and

potentially inefficient, and corruptible, state apparatus surrounding the control of substances, and, of course, the lives of the subjects who use them.

The obvious problems - moral, political, practical - with this statist and heavily paternalistic attitude towards 'drug abuse' have now been pointed out over and over again, not only by lefty salad-eaters, communists, and anarchists, but also by 'respectable' judges, doctors, lawyers, and even retired policemen. I do not wish to go further into this debate in too complex a way which might detract from my main purpose, which is not to weigh up raving upon the scales of some abstract notion of 'morality', or to argue that 'drugs' are 'cool'. My aim is rather to describe, evoke and critically discuss raving as a human social practice, which animates many individuals' lives, and which is, therefore, an integral part of current socio-political reality. In many senses, however, this socio-political context produced by the discourse on 'drugs' must be understood as the overall frame in which this work has taken place, and also the basis of many readers' conceptions of, and knowledge about, raving as a social practice. What I do want to do, however, is to make clear my own position of subjectivity with regard to such a discourse of 'prohibition', and to, therefore, show how that discourse in the form of specific representations came to seem as such to me as a human subject - that is, as 'representations' marked by position, politics, power relations, the nature of the publication and its audience - and not as 'true' depictions, or reflections of 'reality'. This was because 'reality', or at least the one that I had known and experienced from my position up to that point, made me disagree with such negative impressions. In this way, my social experience of, and position of subjectivity with regard to the emergence of raving politicised such negative accounts of the practice as an 'issue' - presented almost exclusively in terms of a discourse on 'drugs' - which appeared in the media, attracted a great deal of outside public interest in the phenomenon, and which constructed a hostile socio-political environment in which pressures and restrictions were placed against it. I

quite simply understood the majority of representations to be at best evasive, and at worst simply 'false'.

This characteristic, of what I saw as 'false representation', led me to the third co-ordinate upon which my work has rested, and around which it has been constructed. That third aspect was, and continues to be, the obvious existence of human 'intolerance'. By 'intolerance' I mean to evoke the gap of misunderstanding, fear and power relation which I firmly believed at the time existed between the social phenomenon of raving - which as a result of subjective experience I understood as positive in a variety of senses, although not without its dangers and insecurities, just like most of contemporary social life - and the distanced, patriarchal, and punitive sounding accounts of the practice described as a 'social problem', apparently reflecting a number of 'demises', and which led to demands for 'solutions' in the form of increased institutional control (in terms of judges, the police, politicians, parents, the schools, doctors). Such 'reports' were spread throughout 'society' mostly through the media.

This intolerance towards 'raving' I found existed not only in public reports, the attitudes of state officials, and in media representations in which it came to play the role of 'folk devil' vacated by the 'football hooligan' and the 'lager lout', but also - as a result of the significant connections between media, politics, 'public opinion' and everyday social life in the contemporary world - I also came across it in everyday interactions between human subjects, such as between those of different generations, different local and regional areas, and amongst the members of particular families, such as my own, in which 'raving' and 'ecstasy' came to stand for a difference which was strictly unacceptable and dangerous to one's health. Raving and ecstasy's popular depiction as a 'social problem', as a lethal 'drug' and as an object of a moral crusade - begun this time in the New World and known as 'the war against drugs' - has resulted in human subjects being treated in the light of a variety

of de-humanising categories - such as 'criminal', 'victim', 'problem', 'addict', 'deviant', 'the convicted' and 'prisoner'. This was despite the obvious politics and economics lying behind substance control, the failure of other policies of 'prohibition', and the real nature and politics of some very dubious 'scientific' knowledge, but, in particular, despite the absence (more often than not) of any personal experience and knowledge of 'raving' and 'ecstasy use' as a human practice performed by real individuals; individuals, who like all human subjects, are always resistant, I would say, to the certainties and sureties of any one-dimensional categories. This fact of ignorance has, however, not prevented such representation and categorisation, and continuing calls for greater powers of social control, heavier sentences and punishments, and more extensive state surveillance of individuals' everyday practices and lives.

As such, the arrival of 'acid house', 'ecstasy' and 'raving', not as aspects of particular social practice and forms of subjectivity, but as objects of 'public', socio-political discourse has led not only to increased and transformed rave activity, but also to the construction of a whole new form of 'folk devil' and the emergence of a modern day 'witchhunt' performed by media, 'public opinion' and government. This 'witchhunt', I believe from my particular position of subjectivity, has been marked by the same human ignorance and intolerance of difference which epitomised the Medieval burnings, and so-called 'dark ages', and makes a joke of Whiggish notions of 'progress' and 'civilisation' for those who care to look a little further. As such, 'public' discourse about raving has led to new areas and forms of governmentality and surveillance, new theatres of suspicion and fear amongst people, increased harassment of certain sections of the population, as well as producing busier police stations, courts and prisons, and in general causing a great deal of human pain and misery, as much as it has produced any 'ecstasy'.

Is it not incredibly ironic that contemporary society could produce such an outcome from a social practice and a form of human subjectivity which surrounds practices and discourses predominantly motivated and animated by notions of 'pleasure', 'recreation', 'fun', 'enjoyment' and 'happiness'? And that 'ecstasy' - the state of rapture normally associated more positively with 'religious' experience - has become 'illegal' and a 'problem'?

1.2 CONNECTION: MY POSITION AND THE POINT OF WRITING

Having mapped out the origins, or genealogy, of my project within these coordinates of subjectivity-representation-intolerance, I would now like to try and outline the intention behind undertaking an anthropological investigation into raving as a human social practice. What was the point of writing this work based on a position of engaged subjectivity?

In order to answer this question in a very basic and personal sense, I think, it is necessary for me to make explicit my own position with regard to the subject so as not to deceive the reader into thinking that this is an 'objective', or 'scientific', account of the phenomenon, or what I call 'news from nowhere' - it is not. In line with a torrent of critical thought within anthropology and beyond in the post-war period I would reject such a position of 'neutrality' as untenable, and as inhumane. As Edmund Leach wrote in 1967 with regard to the distanced 'objectivity' of the 'expert':

"...we are part of the system. I keep on repeating this, but it really isn't so easy. For centuries our whole education has been built up around the assumption that we rational human beings [the upper-middle class male, and then female?] stand outside the system and that the human capacity for understanding the processes of nature by taking things apart has no limit. But it has. The runaway world is terrifying because we are gradually becoming aware that simple faith in the limitless powers of human rationality is an illusion." (Leach, E. (1967): 78-9).

Leach continued, by saying that:

"...there cannot be any right policy in the traditional sense because any policy to which values like 'good' or 'bad' could possibly be attached would simply represent the advantage of some particular group of people...What is needed is that you should come to see where you fit in." (Ibid.: 85). In this respect Leach pleaded for us, in the words of E.M.Forster, to "only connect...".

Similar reasoning and critique of notions of 'objectivity' and 'neutrality' led Gerrit Huizer, more than a decade later, to renew the offensive and write that "Officially stating that one's point of view is neutral or apolitical is no longer accepted, and rightly so." (Huizer, G and Mannheim, B.

(1979): 6). Another respected anthropologist, Roger Keesing, also wrote on a similar note that:

"It is being realised that not taking a position, not making a moral commitment, is not neutral: it is making a commitment - to the support and continuation of the system of which one is a part and within which one is working anthropologically...Ultimately amorality is immorality." (Keesing, R. (1976): 537).

In accordance with these anti-scientific notions concerning the political, ethical and moral nature of anthropological practice and knowledge, and their authored calls for a declaration on the behalf of anthropologists regarding their position towards their subjects, and despite the fact that such politicising critiques of 'science' have been quite simply ignored by many practising the trade, who still hide behind the protection offered by a priest-like and 'colonial' notion of detachment and expertise, I feel that I must make my position and the political-ethical context of this work explicit.

My position, which is in some senses the result of my subjectivity, but also the result of my academic research and my adoption of a particular 'humanising' and 'liberalising' tradition within anthropology, is that I have suspended dominant beliefs concerning raving and ecstasy use, and through experience have been persuaded to believe a different, more complex picture based on a more involved appreciation of the phenomenon as a human practice. Firstly, I do not believe that 'raving' as a social practice and 'ravers' as human subjects have been treated fairly by large sections of the population, and especially by those in positions of power, or according to any informed understanding of it as a human practice and them as human subjects, put in terms which reflect its and their humanity. This is as opposed to its and their unelected ability to animate certain functioning social categories, such as 'drug addict' or 'criminal'. As such, as a section of the population and as an area of social life, 'raving' and those subjects who rave, have been silenced, given no, or very little voice, and subjected to distanced, disinterested

treatments by individuals and institutions who, and which, are quite practically and politically 'alien' and opposed to their existence.

Secondly, I also do not believe - unlike many politicians and social reformers it would seem - that it is desirable to base society upon a dialectical model of power in which 'problems' are identified (based solely upon the knowledge of distanced and removed reporters, editors, experts, committees and public bodies) and are made to correspond with 'reforms' surrounding such constructed 'issues', and which lead ultimately to some form of correction. At the centre of such a system lies the existence of a burgeoning state apparatus - involving government, police, medicine, the courts and the prisons. This socio-political model, which has been advocated strongly by the U.S.A. during its post-war years of global political and economic predominance, and in which 'laws' and publicly declared 'norms' exist in the face of realities on the street and in everyday social life, can only produce, I believe, a highly unstable form of society in which up to a third of the population spend most of their lives going in and out of a number of penal and corrective institutions, which are paid for by the taxes of the more 'respectable' members of society.

At the very heart of this American model lies the discourse on 'drugs', the policy and institutions of 'prohibition' which are connected to it and a Kafka-esque castle of bureaucracy and opportunities for corruption involving covert institutions such as the D.E.A. (Drug Enforcement Agency) and the C.I.A. (Central Intelligence Agency). It is my belief that such a system is not only inhumane, because it removes any element of control, never mind freedom, from many peoples' lives within particular nation states, and terrifying because of the powers it gives freely to essentially undemocratic institutions - such as the police and the prisons - but that it is also hypocritical and mystifying because of the existence of innumerable 'controlled', yet highly dangerous, substances within such states which are used on a daily basis, as

well as being quite simply destructive in terms of the oppositional quality it introduces into human, social relationships which it transforms into a farce of secrets and lies.

As such, then, and with this political and ethical position of engagement in mind, I would suggest at least two points upon which this writing is based, and which both surround a notion of a need to 're-humanise' areas of social life, and the subjects they apply to, in order to produce a more stable and humane state of tolerance and understanding. These two points concern a strategy - 're-positioning' - and a moral and political attitude behind such a strategy - 'tolerance'.

The first point regarding the strategy of 're-positioning' is, I think, a common one with respect to a large body of literature in the humanities and the social sciences, and in particular, within the disciplinary history and traditions of anthropology. Essentially, what I mean by the process of 're-positioning' is that a subject - which must always be viewed from a particular position - would, through interaction with that subject, either directly through a human encounter, or, indirectly through a medium of representation, become transformed, or radically altered in one's mind, as a result of appreciating it in ways very different to those previously accepted, and which would make clear the crudeness, flaws, limitations and motivations of those previous positions, or perspectives.

This kind of shift, or transformation, has, as I have suggested, a long, and I believe, healthy history within anthropology where it is a part of a 'liberalising' tradition performed under a variety of labels over time - such as 'science', 'demystification', 'defamiliarisation', 'relativism', 'demythologising', 'critique of ideology' and 'consciousness raising' amongst others. All of these engagements surround a 'liberal' and I think 'populist' concern to transgress and debunk human intolerance of other human beings, the bias which produces such, the prejudice and fear which animate it and the very real

dangers such present for human subjects in their lives around the world. Whether one looks towards Malinowski's championing of the logic and rationale behind supposedly 'primitive' practices - such as 'the Kula' - in opposition to more imperialistic and racist notions of 'primitive economics'; or to Evans-Pritchard's observations concerning the 'scientific' nature of Azande 'witchcraft'; or, to Ruth Benedict's analysis of Japanese culture after the horrors of World War Two; or, to more contemporary accounts of shamanism and other forms of 'indigenous' knowledge, religion and cosmology - such as those offered by Castenada, Stoller, Lizot and Overing - I think it is obvious that the promotion of understanding and tolerance in the face of ignorance, false representation and prejudice is a very neighbourly pursuit within the district of anthropology⁵.

My second point is in many ways what I would hope for as the outcome of this strategy of 're-positioning', and it concerns a state of 'tolerance'. By 'tolerance' I do not mean that the reader will necessarily like what s/he hears, or reads, about 'raving' and about 'ravers', or that s/he will want to become one, or even let their children go to a 'rave'. What I do, however, mean by 'tolerance' is that the reader as a human subject will come - through the process of 're-positioning' with regard to the effects of dominant notions and representations of raving constructed by distanced, centralised, public institutions and their objectivising knowledges - to realise and to sense that beneath such 'reports' and newsworthy 'articles' there exists in the end nothing else but the experience and history of particular human subjectivities, human interaction, and basically, human lives. These are, of course, things which, unlike many 'reports'/'theories'/'facts'/'figures' etc., are truly something the reader as a human subject can understand and appreciate through human empathy and tolerance. I personally believe that

⁵ Castenada, C. (1973), Stoller, P. and Olkes, C. (1987), Lizot, J. (1985) and Overing, J. (1990).

such a 'humanising' process and such a 'liberal' attitude is not only at the heart of the anthropological enterprise, but that it is also a practical and political necessity for us all as human subjects and 'citizens' of nation-states if we are truly going to escape the firm hold of negative dialectics, which we have inherited from modernity in the pernicious forms of religious sectarianism, sexism, racism, class and nationalism, all of which have been the cause of so much human pain, struggle and conflict in this century through the oppositions and hierarchies which they have constructed and applied in everyday life.

Tolerance and pluralism, surely so vital to us all now in our post-modern, multi-cultural, global, consumer-based societies, and which are the only solution through which to disarm the growth of powerful 'security states' based on insecurity, protection and a monopoly of the powers of 'security'/'insurance'/'policing' can only be produced by understanding, and by knowledge which is in some sense or another alternative to that produced daily in the majority of 'articles', 'statistics' and 'reports'. From my point of view such 'knowledge' in the contemporary world needs to humanise subjects and areas of social life in opposition to the claims and knowledge produced by an essentially 'bureaucratic', distanced 'objectivity' and professional expertise, and the numerous modern oppositions which such advocates in theory and practice. In particular, and to use a war-like metaphor, I think, we need to try and find ways to evoke a more complex appreciation of life in the trenches through moving accounts written by those who have been there, rather than stick to the distanced and removed 'reports' of well paid, crusty generals who have spent all their time during the war pushing mute objects about colourful table-tops in a representation of real situations, and whereby real human subjectivity is submerged into the anonymous considerations of 'plans', 'models' and 'strategies'.

1.3 ENGAGEMENT: RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES, WRITING POSITIONS AND FURTHER DETAILS ABOUT THE PROJECT

Now that I have laid before you the initial context and set of co-ordinates in which this work has developed as a critical project, and also highlighted what I consider to be my basic position of engagement, aims and the intentions behind carrying out my research, I now want to describe how I went about connecting the former with the latter in terms of a set of research and writing methodologies. For the present time I will introduce aspects of my methodology beneath the sub-headings of 'positioning'; 'ethnography'; 'history'; 'creative writing'; 'sampling'; and 'criticism'. The reader should note, however, that these aspects concerning my research method and writing positions within this work will be more critically located in terms of the relevant literature and anthropological theory, and reflected upon, in the conclusion to this work following their realisation within the text.

1.3.1 Positioning

In recognition of the critiques of 'science' and the value it has placed upon 'neutrality'/'objectivity' - which have been transforming anthropology as a discipline, at least theoretically, during the post-war period (beginning with critiques of functionalism), and which have led to a growing recognition of the ethical and political nature of anthropological practice and knowledge - I have during my research placed emphasis upon 'position' and 'positioned' experience and knowledge with respect to a particular subject as the basis from which to produce accounts of that subject - in my case of raving. In essence what this means is that I have focussed upon personal experience of the subject over time, in a variety of contexts, but always from a position of inter-subjectivity, as a way of knowing about it and writing about it.

In this respect I have been helped by my personal position of subjectivity with regard to the emergence and development of 'raving' as a social practice, and its place within my own life history (as I explained earlier with reference to 'acid house'). I have also throughout my research always remained in constant contact with my 'field'. This was essentially because that 'field' was not external, removed from, or different to 'me', and it constituted a major part of my own life experience through my personal involvement in a variety of local, national and international 'scenes' and social networks, which have surrounded 'raving' over the last five years. In particular, these have included a period of participation in outdoor 'happy hardcore' events in Scotland and England in the early nineties; attendance at a number of 'free parties' in the London area at the same time; regular visits to popular club events - such as Pure and Slam - in Scotland throughout the nineties; an extended period of monthly trips to Return To The Source in Brixton during 1995-6; and extensive participation in the Luvley-Joy scene in Edinburgh in 1996-7. All of this research was conducted through the traditional anthropological method of 'participant-observation', mainly in the company of people I called, or hoped to call, friends, and in as informal and as unobtrusive a way as possible based on a dialogic ideal I call 'friendship'. My aim was to gain an inter-subjective and integrated feel, or sense, of 'raving' as a social practice within a variety of different social settings. Such an interest necessitated upholding the open-endedness and fluidity of the phenomenon as lived experience as opposed to the impositions and 'nailing-down' act performed by questioning and other interrogative methods.

As well as this 'fieldwork' at home, which was enabled by my position of subjectivity with regard to 'raving' in Britain during the years 1992-97, I also extended this 'anthropology at home', and the people-centered research method and use of subjectivity I had employed there during a number of extended field-trips abroad to Goa, India, where I participated as a subject

during two 'party seasons' - 1994/5, 1995/6 - as well as undertaking more traditional historical and ethnographic research out of 'seasontime' during a six month sojourn in the state in 1994. In Goa I also undertook my research from a position of subjectivity and through participation in the 'scene', and employed informal, inter-subjective methods - such as participation, conversation, co-habitation, relationship - in order to make friends and create a fluid source of positioned ethnographic knowledge.

1.3.2 Ethnography

"It is a very far cry from the famous answer given long ago by a representative authority who, asked, what are the manners and customs of the natives, answered, 'Customs none, manners beastly', to the position of the modern Ethnographer!"

B. Malinowski⁶

This position of subjectivity with respect to my subject, raving, and the emphasis which I have placed upon a people-centred, 'fieldwork' approach, has led me during my research and in the writing of this work towards a personal commitment to the anthropological tradition of 'ethnography' which was strongly advocated within the Department of Social Anthropology at St.Andrews under the charismatic leadership of Ladislav Holy in which I undertook my research. This commitment to 'fieldwork' centred around a belief in the value of personal experience as a very human source of knowledge about aspects of the social world in opposition to more statistical, universal and 'sociological' approaches. I have come through my engagement with the department at St.Andrews and the literature and history of the discipline to identify the kind of position, experience and knowledge which I thought I could access and offer on 'raving' as a social practice as being 'ethnographic' in this sense.

⁶ Malinowski, B. (1922/1987): 10.

I understand 'ethnography' in its most basic sense as being writing (graphy) about people (ethno), the basis of which emerges from the long established anthropological traditions of immersed 'fieldwork' and 'participant observation' as pioneered by Bronislaw Malinowski within British anthropology and Franz Boas in the United States. Such 'fieldwork' is based around the ideal ('scientific' for Malinowski, 'populist' for me) of 'going where no man has gone before' - or at least where no member of a bookish, dominating and centralised power has been before - into new 'fields' of experience and knowledge. As Ladislav Holy and Milan Stuchlik wrote concerning 'participant-observation, "It conveys the image of research carried out directly among the people one is studying, usually for a considerable length of time, carefully observing and documenting minutiae of their day-to-day life." (Holy, L. and Stuchlik, M. (1983): 5). And as Richard Fardon has written, this 'ethnographic' approach has resulted in "...the argument for our [anthropologist's] privileged status among reporters [which] holds that theory cannot entirely determine ethnographic writing because it cannot determine the ethnographer's experience in the field." (Fardon, R. (1989): 3). It is that distinction between 'theory', which results from reading, philosophical reflection, argument and academic writing surrounding a particular topic, and 'ethnography', which results from actual experience of subjects in their lived context, which lies at the heart of modern anthropology as its most creative and radical resource.

Malinowski's original 'ethnographic' departure was directed against 'armchair theorising' of the Victorian kind epitomised by Frazer, Spencer and Tylor, and against the western, modern, colonial and racist theories of cultural 'evolution' and 'primitivism' which were reproduced therein in 'scientific' guise. Malinowski, on the otherhand, wished to offer 'the native's point of view' in a popularising and liberalising sense, and instead of comparing aspects of socio-cultural life in terms of unequal dichotomies between

'modern' and 'primitive', he wished to demonstrate how such 'primitive' customs, practices and beliefs actually functioned, sometimes in very sophisticated ways, within their 'native' contexts.. Despite the personal and theoretical complexities and weaknesses of Malinowski as an anthropologist and as a human being, I still believe that this ethnographic project is the most challenging and refreshing aspect of anthropology as a discipline, and that it also provides the most obvious means through which to distinguish the discipline from the more bookish and self-contained academic disciplines - such as literary criticism and philosophy - which do not even make attempts to construct real dialogues with anybody except 'colleagues' and 'funding bodies', and which base their knowledge solely upon inter-textuality. The anthropological traditions of 'fieldwork' and 'ethnography', on the other hand, have a more challenging (in terms of personal experience of the world as subject) and potentially populist and radical commitment to the interpersonal realm of face-to-face experience and interaction with living subjects, which has even come to encompass reflections upon the personality, motivations and context of the anthropologist him/herself. This human and dynamic basis is no doubt why anthropology as a discipline has had to ask so many questions of itself, and also the reason behind its many 'crises', because it, in effect, faces up (at least through 'fieldwork') to the politics of knowledge making, especially in terms of human/social affairs.

It is this radical, humanist and potentially democratic tradition which I have attempted to extend during my research and in the writing of this thesis, as opposed to the more bookish and 'high brow' pursuits of many past and present day anthropologists. In this sense I want to support Richard Fardon's statements that "...ethnographic description has remained our capital asset" and that "...it is our best hope of breaking out, however slightly, from our tendency to rework what we already know."(Fardon, R. (1989): 2; 22). To put it in very simple terms, I have done anthropology, first and foremost, as a means

of creating knowledge and talking about the social phenomenon of 'raving', and not as a means to enter into the reflexive and self-contained theories and arguments of academia. To quote, rather ironically, Levi-Strauss, I hoped to escape "the claustrophobic Turkish-bath atmosphere" of bookish philosophical reflection, which I had experienced enough as a student of history, and wished to breathe deeply from the fresh air provided by 'fieldwork', a personal experience of an ethnographic subject and 'knowledge' produced via such a human route (Levi-Strauss, C. (1989): 71).

The reason behind this commitment to ethnography is, of course, explained in some respect by my original perceptions of the biased and prejudiced nature of other distanced 'public' representations regarding raving and ecstasy use, and the socio-political context and system of intolerance in which they functioned, and in which I personally experienced from the position of subject and shared with others the fear and dangers of 'de-humanisation'. Ethnography in this respect, I hope, is a dominant and respected tradition and practice - based around the production of positioned knowledge - through which raving can be re-described from the position of subject as a human practice, so as to eliminate, or temper, the dangers of cold, rational and systematic prejudice. With such an ethnographic task in mind, I think, it would be wrong to create the illusion that I could resolve such political issues and human tensions created by the world in which we live by a simple exposition of 'the truth' as produced by some critical academic discourse, or philosophical treatise based on a knowledge of authored texts - I cannot. I have instead opted for the positioned and humanising approach of ethnography, and its focus upon (non-academic) people. In this respect, I understand both section two concerning 'Acid House, Ecstasy And Raving In Britain' and section three concerning 'Goa And the Goa Party scene' of this thesis to be 'ethnographic' excursions.

1.3.3 History And The Subject In Historical Perspective

In my ethnographic writing I have placed emphasis upon history and historical perspective as a means and framework through which to evoke 'raving' as a form of subjectivity and as a human social practice. History, I believe, offers a means of evoking diverse, but often inter-related aspects of a specific phenomenon, and which allows both writer and reader the luxury of appreciating the phenomenon over time as it alters and transforms itself through the activities and creativity of a variety of human subjects whose interests and lives surround and pervade it. Such an historical perspective, as well as being diverse, also avoids over systematicisation and essentialism (whether sociological, philosophical, or psychological), and therefore, avoids treating the practices and lives of human subjects as either 'objects' (de-humanisation), or as 'natural systems' (functionalism), and maintains the sense that the ethnographic subject is lived, and therefore, open to discourse, change and re-positioning. In following such an approach I am supporting Edmund Leach's contention that we must stop describing social life as if it were a 'watch' - logical, simple, efficient, mechanistic - and view it instead as more of a 'jellyfish' thus reflecting "...the fluidity of real-life experience." (Leach, E. (1967): 77-78).

I believe that this preference for an historical approach reflects my position of subjective involvement with my ethnographic subject, and my appreciation of it from the position of subject. The view of the involved 'insider' is, of course, essentially different to that of an 'outsider' in any social practice. One way in which this difference can be expressed relates, I believe, to history. This is because an insider's perspective is, I believe, essentially historical because of the living and dynamic perspective produced by a position 'from within' social practices, which, as 'lived', are widespread, diverse, on-going and complex. However, the dynamic and living qualities of a

social phenomenon can be lost on an outsider, or an external 'expert', because of the nature of their limited knowledge and experience of the subject, as well as their desire to represent it in a definitive fashion. This distinction between an 'insider' and an 'outsider' perspective, and, in particular, the often lack of an historical appreciation of ethnographic subjects, has produced serious deficiencies in a number of the ways in which anthropologists have predominantly chosen to talk and write about their human subjects.

Anthropologists very rarely talk, even now, about themselves in the same kind of terms and through the application of similar categories and models which they use to talk about, evoke and explain the practices of others - their ethnographic subjects. When this has occurred within the discipline the results have been treated either as 'fun', or as 'radical'⁷. This distinction exists because many of the ways anthropologists have adopted through which to talk about their subjects - 'kinship', 'ritual', 'myth', 'cultural system' - are based not only upon often short periods of fieldwork amongst peoples very different in identity and language from the anthropologist, but also because these peoples, or subjects, are also most often located in very distant and remote locations and, therefore, readers and audiences normally would have very little knowledge of the history, or the politics of such peoples, or possess any relationships with individuals in those areas, through which they might base criticisms of often over-simplified caricatures and 'snapshots' of social life.

These latter kinds of de-historicised anthropology, I would argue, are similar in nature and politics to those I have criticised as 'public' representations of 'raving' - for instance the majority of those in the media - for they are also epitomised by a lack of reflexivity, distance from the subject as a lived, human practice and are supported by authority. They, therefore,

⁷ See Miner, H. (1956) for a thought provoking, but rather trivialised, use of ethnographic description.

also allow for the production of systematic discourse and the application of rigid frameworks, which are essentially removed from the subject (de-humanising), but which serve the interests of the authors and their perceived audiences (self-reifying). Such luxuries cannot be afforded to a researcher who employs a position of subjectivity as a source of ethnographic knowledge, for such simplifications and essences just seem to slip away at every next turn in the contested words of your fellow inter-locutors, and in your own personal doubts and limitations. In this sense the 'native/indigenous ethnographer' - to use one term which has been applied to this kind of scenario - must struggle constantly with the non-objective nature of social life and social things, and it is in this predicament that I found myself turning towards an historical perspective⁸.

I must, however, at this point define more clearly what I understand by 'history' so as not to infuriate, or possibly alienate the critical reader. Clearly in a work focussed upon ethnography and upon a subject such as 'raving', I cannot make any claims to 'traditional' history with its inter-textuality and its detailed literary procedures of cross-referencing and checking. Those 'traditional' historians are fortunate, although they often curse the fact in public, to have had their subjects silenced by mortality and present only in the clues supplied by often random textual fragments. This fact of human life allows them to keep their history on the levels of textual appreciation, criticism and inter-textuality, which when woven together from written 'primary sources' provides the thrust of 'traditional' historical texts.

Modern historians (social and feminist historians in particular), unlike more 'traditional' historians of antiquity, have, however, experienced similar anxieties to those I noted above in terms of my opposition (through history) to

⁸ For anthropological discussion concerning 'native'/indigenous' ethnography/anthropology, see Huizer, G. and Mannheim, B. (1979); Clifford, J. (1986b); and Narayan, K. (1993). Also see concluding section to this thesis on anthropology 'from within'.

functionalist and structuralist dissections and 'snapshots' of social life, and in relation to the textual basis of 'traditional', some would say 'objective', history. These anxieties have been caused by either the absence of any written 'sources' upon the subjects and areas which they are interested in (due to the role of literacy in relations of power, class and gender), or, in terms of more contemporary subjects, by the living nature of their 'data', or 'sources', and the more apparently open and contested nature of histories of such living and on-going subjects. As such, some social historians have delved into the possibility of 'oral history' and the potentially popularising and democratising function such histories could serve by offering 'history' back as a creative and political process to many of those peoples within society whose lives, interests and views have been absent from 'traditional' histories except through their presence as 'statistics', or in anonymous collective bodies such as revolutionary 'masses', or invading 'armies', or, as the objects of written 'policy' and the subjects of 'sentences' and 'punishments'. This latter reality is in very simple terms caused by their lack of literacy and their subjection to power relations surrounding the written word. In this respect oral historians, such as those involved in the History Workshop have tried to release history from the demands of an elitist, centralised, bureaucratic form of discipline based around inter-textuality⁹. Such shifts within history have been understood as 'radical' due to the challenge they pose to a purely textual based discipline and its 'traditional' methods of constructing 'the truth' through a distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' written sources produced, most often, by the privileged few. 'Oral history', on the other hand, potentially opens history up to the diversity and fluidity of daily, socio-political experience and reality which cannot be reduced to certain textual procedures of checking in order to evaluate a positivistic notion of 'the truth'. As such it

⁹ For The History Workshop series, see Samuel, R. (1981) (ed.); Samuel, R., Bloomfield, B. and Boanas, G. (1986) (ed.s); and Thompson, P.R. (1983).

remains essentially marginal to 'traditional' forms of history, despite its human and political possibilities. Its existence, however, suggests that historians' lack of sources and highly textual practices are not merely an accident, or circumstance of history, or a practical fault, but are rather central to the nature and politics of the academic discipline as a whole.

In terms of 'traditional' history, therefore, I can make no claims to having written a history of raving (although my short history of Goa is more 'traditional' in its heavier reliance upon written sources, which, of course, reflects its distance from my own personal experience as I am, afterall, a Scot). This is quite simply because such a history cannot be written in 'traditional' terms because of the necessary means of research (fieldwork, experience, participation) into the subject, and the nature of the subject (living, marginal). However, if this means that I cannot make claims to 'history', then it must be true that 'traditional' history continues to silence those who cannot write, publish and be regarded by the powerful as worthy of posterity. This in turn makes a joke of its practitioners who continue to make claims to 'objectivity' and 'neutrality'. Meanwhile, other social historians, in Borgesian fashion, construct increasingly innovative and complex methods of interpreting what scanty written sources there are available, or are pigeon-holed as 'radical' and left either fighting it out in the margins, or joining the dole queue.

In this respect my history is what many historians would call 'radical history', 'bad history', or 'not history at all' depending upon their persuasion, and what anthropologists used to call 'mythology', or 'ideology', with regard to specific peoples and cultures who were illiterate and whose history (if such a concept could even be applied to them, as many cultural relativists thought it could not) could only be backed up by the voices of those who had lived it, passed it on, reproduced it, and which, therefore, lacked the distanced, cold and rationalising eye of the usually male historian, or anthropologist, whose

information came from texts. Essentially all these above distinctions emanate from a value system which posits written sources and bookish reflection as 'knowledge', and the spoken and lived experiences, practices and sources of 'knowledge' as mere 'hear-say' within a kind of class system of knowledge. This distinction maintains history as a privilege for those who read and write, and who have access to the means of publication, and makes it a history of privilege written by the privileged using sources written by privileged people. It is, therefore, a closed, inter-textual practice and, I suggest, an elitist and distasteful one.

Anthropology, on the other hand, with its people-centered traditions of 'fieldwork' and 'participant-observation', and with its championing of liberalising and democratising forms of discourse surrounding the disclosure of bias and prejudice and the giving of 'voice' to marginalised non-western and western peoples, I believe, should be able to provide the kind of involved and positioned experience and knowledge which could be the basis of a radically de-textualised and anti-elitist form of popular history emerging from the bottom up. This could also be called, to borrow a term from another tradition which has rejected 'traditional' western interpretations of history (Rastafarianism) 'roots history'. Such history would reject any notion of 'objective history' as an illusion created by power, or complicity with power, and replace such a notion with the more political notion that histories are contested constructions which are constructed out of particular experiences and from particular positions which they reflect. Jonathan Friedman is one anthropologist who has developed such a notion of history and who has argued against the existence of an "objective truth-sphere" (Friedman, J. (1992b): 194). Friedman wrote that "History and discourse about the making of history is positional, that is, it is dependent upon where one is located in social reality, within society, and within global process."(Ibid.: 194). The problem facing anthropologists who were interested in local histories would not, therefore, be

how to be 'objective' in the highly textually defined sense which predominates in 'traditional' history, but rather would concern being well positioned with regard to the ethnographic subject. The problem is, however, that despite the existence of traditions which oppose purely textual practices, anthropologists are, rather ironically, often just as removed from their subjects, even 'in the field', through the distancing effects of 'race', 'class', 'culture', 'status' and 'theory', as historians are from theirs by the limits and silence of mortality and power relations. This distance has produced many anthropologies which continue the traditions of Frazer, Spencer and Tylor, and who take refuge in the safer territories of inter-textuality and theorisation, than in the accounts of the details of actual human practice, local histories, subjective experience or political tensions within the inter-subjective realm.

In the case of an anthropologist employing a position of subjectivity as a source of ethnographic knowledge, I would say, however, that this problem of distance, and the comforts it provides in inter-textuality (for both modern historians and many anthropologists), is overcome through a sidestepping of any notion of, or claims to 'objectivity' based on inter-textuality, and a promotion of the political and ethical value of more 'positioned' knowledge, which includes historical perspectives. This strategic shift leaves the way open for a more popular, diverse, de-centralised form of history, or 'ethno-history' - a history whose claims are not towards universal, objective truths or laws, but rather, are focussed around the expression of particular, local and particular social realities from what Malinowski called 'the native's point of view'.

It is this latter kind of 'ethno-history' which I have employed as a research vehicle and as a writing method in many of the ethnographic sections of this work. I hope that by doing so I am suggesting a non-universalist, non-essentialist and anti-hierarchical form of anthropological knowledge, based upon 'position' and 'subjectivity', as the basis from which to

produce an historical narrative, as opposed to other forms with pretensions to professional/theoretical 'distance' and 'objectivity'.

1.3.4 Creative Writing As Ethnography

As well as writing history as a means to evoke and express aspects of the social phenomenon of raving, I have also within my ethnography included a number of sections which are written in the style of a 'story', or as a piece of 'creative writing' (to use a less loaded term). I have written these stories as a hopefully useful and effective means of evoking my ethnographic knowledge for those whose experience does not encompass such practices, relationships and experiences which I try to evoke therein. They are to be read, therefore, as informative, inter-subjectively formed impressions, as opposed to analytical dissections, or 'objective' reflections of actual events and characters. My intention is to fill out my historical outline and narrative with greater details about, and impressions of, how 'raving' is practiced and experienced by subjects, and how this varies over time and according to the specific context in which it takes place.

As regards the status of such stories and the information, or impressions, which they offer as 'knowledge', I would say two things. Firstly, they are based on five years of research as a subject within inter-subjective contexts marked (on the whole, in terms of my personal relationships with other subjects) by openness, dialogue (and I do not mean purely in a strict linguistic sense) and positivity. I have, therefore, had excellent access, both personally, and in my contact and relationships with many others, to a great deal of experience and knowledge of my subject. This experience and knowledge I have tried to incorporate into the stories, so as to produce a realistic and evocative representation of the subject as I have come across it.

Secondly, in the light of the longer divide between 'humanities'/'arts' and 'science', the more contemporary critiques of 'science' and 'objectivism', and the re-appraisals and re-deployment of 'literature' and 'literary devices' within what are still called, despite their age and widespread use, 'experimental' ethnographies, I would like to point out that I feel that a piece of creative writing, if it is based upon experience and aims to evoke a subject, is, at least, of the same status and value as a set of statistics, a table, a graph, or a functional analysis. All of them, after all, can only be 'representations' of people, things, or states of affairs, and none can claim to be a pure reflection of the thing itself as scientists and empiricists have often claimed. It should be remembered from an historical point of view that 'literature', 'art' and 'poetry', like 'philosophy', have in the past, and continue to have for an increasing number of people in the present, a status and role which is more than 'just literature', or 'mere fiction', in the sense of purely imaginative leaps into fantasy land. That 'science' has, on the whole, constructed its authority and knowledge dialectically in opposition to such a weak and passive caricature of 'art', as a kind of narcissistic whim, says more, I think, about the claims of such 'science' than it does about the merits of practices labelled 'art', or 'literature'. Neither 'science', nor history, nor literature can claim to be the only true form of academic alchemy, only power relations, and other historical contingencies, can allow such claims to be made.

In the case of raving and as an 'anthropologist at home', I would also like to point out some advantages of employing such creative writing compared to more statistical, or interrogative, methods and means of representation. Firstly, such creative writing helps, I believe, to add what Paul Stoller has called a stronger "taste of ethnographic things", mainly through the application of personalised narratives which express many of the nuances, sayings, terms and ways of expression particular to my ethnographic

field¹⁰. As well as providing this 'ethnographic' function of evocation through style, the stories (which are practice and experienced based) in terms of content surround practices and experiences, which I believe, are central to an understanding of the phenomenon as a whole. This practice and experience-centred approach, which is well suited in terms of a popular tradition to descriptive, humanised creative writing, resists the traditional interpretive politics of academic 'explanation' in which the voice and practices of the ethnographic subject are often treated as mere 'data', or as 'material', as if they are passive and mute in themselves, and in need of being brought to life through their translation into more academic, centralised, professional, Greek terms and discourses which are said to 'explain' the former subject matter. As an anthropologist working in my own language such a hermeneutic hierarchy seems unnecessary and an imposition merely of one sense upon another. Such ethnographic sensibilities and politics would be disguised by a more statistical, or interrogative, method which would suppress any such human and political details beneath an abstract, selective and de-contextualised curtain of 'fact'.

In this sense of attention to and respect for human details, I also view the creative writing in this work to be not only an ethnographic method and a political point regarding the politics of explanation, but also an important methodological contribution to the on-going 're-humanising' re-appraisals of the roles of aspects of 'the humanities' - 'art', 'literature', 'politics' - within social research and historical writing, whose disciplines have straddled uncomfortably the gap in the second half of the twentieth century between 'art' and 'science'. By doing so, such disciplines have come face-to-face with the difficulties of upholding such a distinction based on a hierarchical opposition between 'fact' and 'fiction'. The process of critique of 'science', whose claims are based on criticising just such a distinction and on producing

¹⁰ See Stoller, P. (1989)

a reappraisal of 'the arts', reinforces a warning Evans-Pritchard gave to those who upheld such a false division back in 1950, when he noted that what anthropologists were really dealing with was not the thing itself (positivism), which could not be captured like a butterfly, but rather was their own "imaginative construct"¹¹. The point was made again over fifteen years later by Edmund Leach when he wrote that:

"...we must get out of the habit...of thinking that reason and imagination are two different kinds of 'thing', that the truth of mathematics relates to one kind of fact and the truth of poetry to something quite different. We are all together in one world and what we are conscious of is one experience...Everyone of us is an artist with words." (Leach, E. (1967): 87-88).

However, despite such authored warnings, and to quote Leach again: "What is really alarming is our immense reluctance to alter our expectations." (Ibid.: 82). This is to the extent that more than two decades after Leach's warning, anthropologists - such as Clifford Geertz, Paul Stoller, James Clifford, Michael Jackson and Nigel Rapport - who have blurred and compared genres - are still treated as radically dissenting voices, or as marginals, or as eccentrics, despite their major publications, professional-institutional roles and the presence of their work on many anthropology courses and reading lists. Notions of 'science', or at least of 'objectivity', or 'critical distance' (one of its latest off-shoots), still pre-dominate, I believe, within the day-to-day world of much academic anthropological research and teaching, perhaps to some extent due to the nature of the institutions in which anthropology departments are located, and the nature and demands of the funding bodies and institutional networks which support them financially. This is despite decades of critique of 'science' and supposedly 'scientific' theories by Marxists, feminists, interpretivists, culturalists, theorists of colonialism and now post-modernists. I hope that the use of 'creative writing' as an ethnographic method and source of ethnographic knowledge, which provides a sense of the

¹¹ See Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1950).

subject - raving - from the position of a human subject, as opposed to more theoretical claims that particular notions of 'art', 'literature', be used as an exclusive model for the discipline as a whole, or, as an excuse for producing 'mere fictions' in some belittling sense, will help to demonstrate the potential value of such 'literary' and 'humanistic' approaches, especially in their popularising and humanising aspects, and contribute to the blurring of the false distinction and modern negative dialectic between 'science' and 'literature' which limits unjustly the ways in which social researchers can access different areas and senses of social reality in a manner which makes a mockery of any ideal of total 'objectivity'.

1.3.5 The Sampling Method

Another method which I have employed in this work in order to evoke and express ethnographic reality is what I will call 'the sampling method'. I have taken the term 'sampling' from my ethnographic subject - raving - where it represents an important and creative musical technique, which is based around a piece of equipment called a 'sampler', and which is used to make much of the music which is played at 'raves'. A 'sampler' can basically record, capture, alter and re-play sounds from the environment taken from a variety of sources. This technique is used through the 'looping' and 'sequencing' of such sounds - which repeats and joins them together - to produce a recognisable linear musical 'track' which can then be appreciated as an integrated whole by listeners and dancers. It is a musical technique which is similar to the 'cut 'n' paste' technique used on computers to create new 'documents', and ultimately, whole written texts. One of the very interesting effects of this sampling technique, and the various syntheses it produces, is that it allows an incredible diversity of sounds, or 'samples', of a variety of sources and natures to co-exist within close proximity, and allows such

original sounds to come together and form something completely new and distinct in itself. In the manner of its production, it is similar to a 'scrapbook', a 'mix tape'/compilation cassette, or a poster collage on a teenager's bedroom wall.

In this work I have employed this 'sampling' method as a textual technique with respect to the terms 'rave/raving/raver', and also when I have presented extracts from the local/national Indian press regarding 'acid parties'. I have done so for several reasons. Firstly, I think that applying such a borrowed technique is another way of integrating ethnographic knowledge within the ultimate representation and provides a way of expressing knowledge about the practices and techniques of particular ethnographic subjects without the need to objectify them through academic discourses. In this sense, it also, I hope, expresses a personal and political preference by me, the author, not to remain purely within a uni-directional process of translation, or interpretation, in which knowledge and experience is always being transformed into academic algebra, and that by reversing this process it expresses a value of de-centralisation in terms of representations of social life.

Secondly, I think such 'pastiche' (as they are known in post-modern parlance) allow the author to present, and the reader a chance to appreciate, the diversity of meanings and positions which surround any particular social phenomenon and area of social life. Such open-ended forms of representation reflect contemporary social theories which place emphasis upon multiple 'webs', 'processes', 'constructions' and 'networks', and employ discourses which express practice, movement, change, processes of construction and deconstruction, and the difference produced by such shifting worlds. As such, I feel that anthropologists, as producers of representations of social life, should endeavour to find ways and means through which to capture the diverse, contested, relative and shifting nature of social things in line with contemporary perceptions of the social world and theoretical perspectives.

This process includes, of course, anthropologists' own representations, which must also be situated as a 'sample' made up of various kinds of 'samples' amongst other possible and competing ones. In the section on the Goa scene I have presented samples from the Goan and Indian national press, which, I think, in themselves demonstrate a political process of discourse formation and its relation to the media, politics and power relations in a way which would not be so evocative of the process itself had I simply constructed a more distanced, analytical narrative with quotes woven into it. This section also, I think, helps to situate my own historical and ethnographic writing (or 'samples') alongside those produced, through one medium or another, in the field. As such, I hope that this situating process will produce for the reader a sense of the subject - whether 'raving' in Britain, or 'the Goa scene' - not as an 'object', but rather as a contested field of socio-political discourse.

1.3.6 Criticism

Finally, I would like to say something concerning the third section of my thesis, which is entitled 'Criticism: Foucault and Raving'. Despite my methodological stance of 'positioning', my attempt to creatively use 'subjectivity' as a source of ethnographic knowledge and as a writing position, and my commitment to ethnography as opposed to more esoteric and abstract claims to 'objective', or 'professional' distance and 'truth', I have included a section in this work labelled 'criticism' in which I re-describe my ethnographic subject within the framework of a critical socio-political theory - Michel Foucault's account of 'power relations' within the modern 'disciplinary society'. Why? Surely, this is a contradiction. After all I have said concerning 'science' and 'objectivism', and my arguments for 'position', 'ethnography', and 'ethno-history'? Surely the distance produced by critical translation is open to the same critiques which I have used to attack the

modern hero of 'science'? Yet, despite this, I have included a lengthy and wordy critical exegesis. Why? I think the answers to these questions lie in several areas, including the location of the criticism within the work, the authorial intention behind its inclusion and the status which I give it within the work as a whole.

First of all, there is the location of the section on 'criticism' as a part of a much larger and diverse work, the majority of which is devoted wholly to trying to communicate a subject - raving - in its detailed ethnographic complexity as both a form of human subjectivity and as a human social practice taking place in different places over time. The section on criticism, unlike the distanced abstractions employed, for instance, in most newspaper articles and public reports, is, therefore, situated within a more engaged attempt to evoke the complexity of the subject in its lived reality as opposed to making short, sharp stabs at it through the application of a specific model, or through the production of 'soundbites'. As far as I am concerned then, this context situates any critical departure within the limits imposed by a more complex appreciation of the ethnographic subject. This location hopefully prevents the ethnographic subject from becoming mere theoretical fodder, and does not convince merely because of the audience's lack of experience and knowledge of it and their willingness to accept, therefore, its presentation in familiar terms, than because it evokes, or fits (as with a pattern), the subject itself.

Secondly, there are my intentions behind including such a section which are two-fold. Firstly, I hope that by doing so I might attract the interest of some outsiders (with respect to the phenomenon) who may engage with it through the more abstract and generalisable terms of a critical framework. This would thus serve my purpose of 'consciousness-raising' (which I outlined earlier), and my hope to produce understanding and tolerance. Secondly, I hope that in re-describing raving within the terms and issues of a general

socio-political theory that I might also be able to produce an account of it as a practice which not only engages with those outwith the phenomenon, but which is also of interest to those with more insider status who have participated within it, experienced it and have practical-historical knowledge of it by connecting particular aspects of their personal and social lives to wider debates and theorising concerning 'society', 'politics' and 'power relations' within modern nation states. In trying to do so I have also tried to select a form of criticism - Foucauldian - which I feel corresponds well with the practices, values and struggles I have come across during my research. Through this 'double addressivity', I hope to try and build the kind of bridge which is necessary in order to achieve the goals of consciousness-building and tolerance which I suggested earlier as motivations behind this project.

My final point regards the status which I afford to such 'criticism' within the work as a whole. I include the section on 'criticism' not with any naive 'empiricist' claims that in doing so I can match, as in a reflection in a mirror, academic 'theory' and the ethnographic 'facts' of the practice I have evoked in a Platonic picture of the thing itself revealed in a form even 'deeper' than its own understanding of itself. In this respect, I can only say that really the 'criticism' is just another way of writing about my subject and another kind of story, just formed in a different way - through reading, reflection and critical application. After all, by calling it a 'story' I do not mean to belittle it in any way, for it is according to cherished stories about 'community', 'man', 'society', 'the market', 'the family', 'the self' and 'culture' that people lead their lives, and also through which power relations are daily imposed by a variety of socio-political institutions. The advantage, however, as I have said, of including such a critical storyline within this work is that it attempts to describe the phenomenon in terms and through issues which apply outwith its own more specific and particular ethnographic context, thus creating a greater possibility for dialogue, understanding and informed

engagement. As a 'story', therefore, it has an important point to make, and that is that even within our own worlds and lives (areas very often left out of anthropologies in favour of more distanced and 'exotic' subjects and locations), which are complex and abstract in many ways, we don't always know as much as we often think we do. This is because we all experience and understand things and other people from particular positions, and are also subject to the positions and interests of those around us - including very powerful institutions, such as the media and national government. None of us are God, although many of us often act as if we were all-seeing and truth-giving in the manner in which we speak about and act towards others within our worlds. This is despite the fact that we swallow on a daily basis 'representations' as if they were 'facts' without questioning their position, or the position of those human subjects about whom we then think we know.

The greater plan of this thesis, in this respect, would be, therefore, in classical anthropological style, to try and get anthropological audiences to suspend their beliefs and to relax the 'de-humanising' bias, prejudice and lack of knowledge which many people currently possess of 'raving' as a result of their absorption of mainstream 'public' forms of discourse; and also to simultaneously evoke for those who might have been 'ravers', or still go 'raving', the human practices and experiences which they are familiar with, to place them further within an historical perspective, and to re-cast them in specific socio-political terms which situates and engages with them in terms of more 'dominant' notions of social life.

SECTION TWO
ACID HOUSE, ECSTASY AND RAVING

2.1 EARTHQUAKER: A RAVE

The year was 1992. The setting a small valley in Ayrshire about three quarter's of an hour from Glasgow. It was a summer's evening, but was raining lightly, and the sky was grey. The rural landscape of rolling green fields in the valley had been temporarily transformed by the presence of two massive, colourful marquees, one much bigger than the other, but both pretty big. To one side of the marquees there were fields full of cars, so many cars, and still through every possible entry into the valley there were trails of headlights still making their way to the party. We join the event, and the story, in the queue in the company of an eager raver and a group of his pals in search of the rave experience.....¹²

We'd sorted out our Ez before we got there. We didn't want any hassle runnin' around for hours tryin' t'score. So we all got them out, an' got them straight down us in the car before we got in the queue. That was a precautionary measure, if y'know what a mean, cause the security on the site looked pretty heavy. There were tons of bouncers all dress't in black ski-jackets. They were the usual heavy looking geezers with customised scars and attitude problems. Fuck knows whose side those big bastards were on, and none of us lot were too keen t'find out at any rate. And anyway, we were all pretty keen to get on with it, and get out of it.

The whole site, which was one massive field, was surrounded by great big, high fences, which went all round the place. A was dead nervous and excited. It felt like we were all doin' somethin' real dodgy, an' like we were bein' watched, or somethin' like that. There were some police cars kickin' about where the cars were parked, which was encouraging folk t'get straight inside. All the people seemed a wee bit edgy standin' around waitin' t'pass through the security searches, and the queues moved pretty slowly because the bouncers were searchin peoples' bodies from head to toe, inside pockets and bags, and even in their shoes.

¹² See Plates 1, 2 and 4 for pictures of the actual event on which this story is based. These will provide visual impressions to add to those provided by the narrative.

There ended up bein' a bit of a scene when we got t'the front cause one of the girls, Sharon, had a bit of puff in her shoe. This real aggro lookin' bouncer gave her a real seein' to with the body search, and gave her a good bit of lip as well in the process. He even threat'nd t'throw her out! But in the end, after a bit of a grope, she got through, but was piss'd off that she'd lost her stash for the night. She moaned about how the bouncers would jus' take her hash an' smoke it themselves, or sell it later t'another punter. What a swiz, eh? Anyway, we were in an' that was all that mattered.

There were tons of folk inside by the time we got in there. Some of them look't like they were buzzin' full on already. Lookin' right up for it! Loads of folk had really dress't up for the occasion. There were masses of girls with dummy tits, pig tails, sports braz, bicycle shorts, an' wee colourful sunglasses on chargin' about the place. In fact, everythin' seem'd t'be in really bright colours an' movin', an' a'm sure it was too quick to be the E before y'get t'wondering about hallucinations, an all that garb'.

A saw guys walkin' about with council waste coats on, y'know the fluoro ones y'see the road diggers wearin' at night. Others were wearin' white, or orange, boiler suits, white gloves, coalmans helmets with the lights on top, an' there were also lots of people blowin' whistles an' horns. There was even a few guys with ice hockey masks on, y'know, the big ones that cover yer whole face, that the goalies wear. They make y'look a bit like Darth Vader, or somekind of trippy, sci-fi stormtrooper type anyway. Great effect on the drugs! In fact, the majority of folk had dress't in ways which would heighten the occasion. They all had their party gear on. A was glad t'have ma best trippy t-shirt on too so as t'blend in with the party spirit of things, if y'know what a mean?

We all decided t'stick togethur, cause the main tent look't so fuckin' big, an' it was already pretty much full lookin'. There was another smaller tent too. It wasn't far from the big one, an' it had loads of folk in it as well. Then there was all these amusementy things, like waltzers an' even a big wheel, an' tons of wee stalls sellin' drinks, fags, an' burgers, an' all sorts of other things for survival and profit purposes. But most of all, there was jus' people circulatin' all over the fuckin' place, with others constantly floodin' in through the entrance.

We hung about like spare parts for a few minutes, then, after a brief confab amongst the team, it was off t'the main tent for us lot. The main arena was one of those massive marque jobs with no sides on it. By the time we'd made our way through the buzy, bustlin' crowd of folk dancin', havin' t'push an keep an eye on the others at the same time, an' finally found a

decent spot on the dance floor where the folk look't friendly enough, and the sound from the pure massive sound system was near paralysing, I was startin' t'feel wired, t'come up. The musik was so fuckin' loud that yer body jus' reacted t'it, like it had a mind all of its own. It felt like the whole atmosphere was full of sound an' rhythm. It was brill-yent, pure fan-tastik! I thought for a while that a was goin' t'pee ma pants cause a was jus' so fuckin' excited.

I'd gubb'd a bit of chewin' gum before in the queue. Suddenly a noticed that a was chewin' at it like a camel on whizz, really grindin' ma jaw. A felt really excited, sort of dazed, or stunn'd, yeah stunn'd. A couldn't get this sample from a Prodigy track outta ma head - 'injected with a poison, injected with a poison'. Fuckin' right a am, a thought t'myself. Then a reconsidered an' screamed it in one of ma mates ears. He smiled back like a beaver. In fact, when any of us caught each other's eye from then on we'd all end up grinin' like mad beavers, an' lookin' like we were out on a mad joggin' sesh, or somethin' like that.

We were really flyin' on those Ez for a while. People jus' look't great dancin' about all over the place, full of energy, an' goin' for it. There was thus one group who were screamin' their heads off not far from where we were dancin'. They were all takin' turns at it, while the others jus' smiled naughtily, or piss't themselves laffin'. Some folk around them got into it too, an' a few of us had a shot. Its amazin' when y'let rip with a screem on an E, its so eazy, it jus' feels great, an' it really gets a good vibe goin', cause loads of folk smile back like they know exactly what y'mean. So it's kind of like a social service, if y'know what a mean. It helps to break the barriers an' get things goin' a bit.

Ecstasy is a great drug, but it's weird cause it's not really possible t'describe it. Even the man, that Russian-California trippy-scientist bloke, who invented it said that, but a tell ya what, y'know when yer on a good one¹³. Y'feel full of energy an' enthooziasm, almost enuff t'make y'feel a wee bit tense at times. Like on the dance floor, it can get a wee bit wobbly, y'know like yer dead disorientated. Sometimes it's a bit mad as well, like nuthin' makes sense. But, see one thing a can tell ya, when yer there on the floor surrounded by yer pals, an' strangers who are gettin' friendlier by the minute, all of ye comin' up, an' startin' t'dance full on, like yer possess'd or somethin', an' all smilin', well, its jus' fuckin' excellent, a tell ya ¹⁴. Y'get smiles offa other folk when yer eyes meet an' theirs are poppin' out their sockets jus' like yours. It's kind of like recognisin' that yer in there with them, all t'gether kind of thing.

¹³ Reference is to Alexander Shulgin who rediscovered MDMA.

¹⁴ 'cumin up' is a phrase used to signify the early stages and intial effects of ecstasy.

Y'dance with people as well, even though it's not like a disco, no dancin' in couples or anythin' like that. Dancers at a rave all face the same way towards the speakers an' the sound when they dance, which is a bit like bein' in a church, or at a football game. But folk dancin' next t'ye have wee shimmies with ye every now an' again, an' smile an' all that, an' people wanderin' about an' passin' by sometimes stop an' have a wee wiggle before they head off again. So it's not like yer off in yer own wee world, or anythin' like that. Its a funny vibe a lot of the time on the dance floor cause of the drugs gettin' swallowed by everyone, y'jus' seem t'like some folk instantly an' vice-versa, an' y'can feel it an' see it in their eyes too. This kind of instant appeal leads to a lot of wee encounters while yer dancin' away. After such wee shimmies and dance floor encounters y'keep bumpin' in t'the people all the time throughout the night, like old pals or somethin', an' get t'meet the folk they're with as well. It's like a tribal thing on the dancefloor, y'know people t'gether doing the same thing over an' over again an' feelin' good about each other 'cause of that. It's dead bondin', like yer all makin' somthin' t'gether, everyone's involved like.

After a wee while, a think it was more like two or three hours of hard dancin, a had t'take a break cause by that time all the crowd seem'd t'be cover'd in hot sweat, absolutely soakin it was! A mean a had never seen so many sweaty people in one place before. There were sweaty bodies rubbin' by ye all the time while y'were dancin', which felt kind of strange on the ekkies. What's more a felt a wee bit funny, not like before, more zoob'd. Ma legs felt like they were somebody else's an' a couldn't focus on anything in particular, a jus' kind of stood there lookin' out t'space. Ground control to Major Tom. An' a felt dead thirsty too with a throat like astroturf.

So a decided t'leave the floor for a bit an' get a drink, an' maybe have a wee bit of a cool down, sit down, if y'know what a mean. A mean a had heard the stories in the papers, an' on the news about Ez makin' people dehydrate an' all that kind of malarkey. But not me, a'll jus get the old water down me instead, a thought t'ma self. Thing was, when a tried t'speak t'ma friends a jus' couldn't get the words out. Really weird it was. They all look't at me as if a was an alien from some other planet askin' them in some daft alien lingo to be taken to their leader. Lucky enuff they all caught on t'thu idea pretty fast, especially after a manag'd to give them a sort of a hand gesture as well, one normally reserved for the pub.

Leavin' the dancefloor was a diff'rent kettle of fish all t'gether like. It was tuff goin' tryin' t'get past folk without knockin' in t'them too badly anyway 'cause it was so busy, but it was more of a nightmare since the old legs

were now wobblin all over the place. It was a real expedition. An' when we got t'the edge of the marquee a thought it was raining like 'cause there was water pourin' off the sides of the tent like a tropical rain storm. But, y'wouldn't believe it, it was jus' all the water gatherin' from folk sweatin'. Unbelievable! What a weird atmosphere. It felt kind of basic, or primal in that fuckin' tent, a'm tellin' ya.

Outside the marquee there was people sittin' in groups hangin' out t'gether, not talkin' too much. Others were jus' lyin' flat out on the deck starin' up at the stars. Some of the star gazin' posse were gettin' hassle off this medical team that was kickin' up a lot of fuss. It was a real soap opera watchin' that lot on the look out for 'casualties' an' 'junkies' who's done 'overdoses. Sad bastards. But it didn't really bother us lot but, 'cause everything felt a bit strange anyway 'cause the surroundin's had changed so much since we stepp't out of the main tent, especially 'cause the musik wasn't so intense now, an' it kind of felt like somethin' had suck't the atmospheer up an' away, an' weesh'd all the power out of yer legs at the same time. An' it look't so strange outside cause it was all dark an' damp but the perimeter fences were all lit up, an' there were masses of security guards dotted about around the fences with flouro coats on which was a bit weird lookin' after the main tent, an' on the E as well, of course. Anyway it was all jus a wee bit too much, too quick for me, an' as a still didn't feel up t'speakin' a signall'd t'a friend, Stevie, that a was goin' for a piss in the porta-loos an' a headed off in their direction wobblin' a bit as a went an' still catchin' folks' eyes all the time, like a passin' gallery of dilated pupils.

In the bogs it was way too bright an' a felt like ma eyes were goin' t'pop right out there an' then, a tell ya. An' a was a bit para as well. But a caught this older guy's eye, who was standin' next t'us, an' he gave us a really knowin' smile an' said - 'awlrite pal'. He didn't say it too heavy, or too concern'd like t'panic me or anythin', jus' nice an' reasurin' like. 'Aye, awlrite' - I replied, smilin' manically. N'a felt a lot more confident after that wee exchange.

However, when a went in search of ma wee man t'pee it was very weird, am tellin' ya straight. Ma whole body was buzzin' an' a couldn't feel things like normal. A mean a could feel tons, but it wasn't normal at all. So even when a was havin' a piss it felt like a was doin' it down ma pants. So a kept on starin' down at ma trousers like a madman all the time a was doin' it, which felt, by the way, like about two hours. In the end a was dead pleased t'get out of the porta-loos challenge an' find ma friends again, without too much hassle, where I'd left them. A even managed t'mention t'one of them, Brian, about the

pissin' an' he said, tryin' to act dead experienced like, not t'worry cause it was dead normal on an ekkie. I felt reassured.

Everyone was being dead nice t'each other givin' stuff like chewin' gum an' fags, an' touchin' each other loads. One guy, Stevie, was skinnin' up an' most of us thought that was a good idea, although we weren't really sure. One of ma pals said we'd got some 'smacky Ez' an' thought we were all startin' t' mong out ¹⁵. Sounded like a good description t'me anyway of how a was feelin' at the time. Ma eyes felt like they were rollin' around inside of ma head, an' a jus' kept shakin' it t'the musik, if y'know what a mean? Mong, mong, mong. But it didn't really bother any of us, it was still a dead good feelin', we jus' weren't likely t'be talkin' very much, or givin' any speeches within the next few hours, which wasn't the idea anyway. We'd come t'dance, as samples in the tracks comin' out over the sound system kept remindin' us. An' even if the E was a bit mongy, it still made yer body feel fuckin' great.

We sat there for a while smilin' at passers-by an' gettin' some liquid refreshment an' a smoke down us, an' generally felt pretty good about things. A few folk we'd been dancin' with stopp't an' had a wee chat, an' a slug of water. They would ask us if we were havin' a good one an' all that, an' filled us in on their different ekkies, which was pretty pally an' dead nice. But before too long a few of us were startin' t'rush a bit an' it was time t'leave the polite socialisin' an' get t'dancin' again. Somebody suggest'd a wee look at the chill out tent an' off we all went almost in single file like a bunch of daft wee kids on a day out.

In the chill out tent it was dead different. The musik was slower an' softer feelin', an' the atmosphere was realy mellow compared t'the main tent where it was still pumpin'. There were loads of people jus' sittin' down smokin' an' checkin' things out. An' in the middle there was some folk dancin' as well. A liked it 'cause it seem'd easier t'make contact with other folk than in the big tent which was a bit manic. A noticed that some folk were goin' about jus' touchin' peoples' hands an' smilin' at them, or sayin' - 'awllrite'. A thought that was dead nice t'see, 'cause a mean it wasn't so long ago was it, that when y'went t'a club, or a pub, or a football match, that all ye'd see was barnies with nutters an' headcases all kickin' the fuck out of each other. Now a lot of the same folk

¹⁵ The practice of describing some Es by reference to 'smack' or heroin does not so much suggest that pills contained that drug, which is unlikely because heroin is much more valuable streetwise than M.D.M.A. Its use is more descriptive evoking for drug users effects similar to those associated with heroin, effects completely different to those expected as a result of taking an E and the result of 'bad deals'. Various barbituates and morphine based pills available in chemists are more likely substances to be found in cut pills along with less favourable substances.

are here ravin', doin' Ez, dancin', touchin' folk without smashin' their faces in, or killin' them, an' askin' if yer 'awrite'. A mean which would you prefer? People at raves jus' seem t'be gettin' on with things t'gether, not so bother'd anymore whether yer a pape, or a snob, or yer English. A think that's really positive.

Anyway, We ended up back in the big tent for sunrise time. The musik was really gettin' everybody goin'. Lots of screamin' an' huggin' an' stuff, 'cause by this time loads of folk had got t'know each other while they were dancin' an' wanderin' about during the night an' the atmospheer was fuckin' electric an' it was fuckin' excellent in there. Really buzzin'! 'We're jus' one familee' - said a sample on one of the trax coming out of the massive sound system, which seemed now like as if it was alive, an' we could all feel it t'gether. 'Jus' one familee', screamed this girl with a shaved head who stood next t'us on the dancefloor. She had her eyes squeezed tightly closed as if she were concentratin' on somethin fuckin' intense, but with a smile on her face, an' with her arms outstretched an' reachin' out towards the roof of the tent as if she wanted to jus' take off an' surf on all the energy which was flowin' out of the frenzied crowd. What a sight she was, an' things like that were goin' on amongst all the folk stuffed into that marque, who were now all dead gelled t'gether. It was the kind of buzz that can turn ye a bit cosmic like for the evenin', if y'know what a mean.

When the musik stoppt about nine in the mornin' people jus' stood an' screamed an' shouted their heads off 'till they gave us one more song. As the track began to build up an' charge outta the sound system the feelin' in the main tent went crazy. Durin' that song everybody felt so t'gether an' like they all wanted the same thing that it really was an incredible sensation, an' a real massive buzz. Jus' like being on a rollercoaster. A felt dead small an' dead, dead massive all at the same time. Pure fantastic it was!

After the climax of the last track, an' with the buzz of thousands of 'see ya later's' goin' on all over the site, we eventually got t'the car an' managed t'skin up a few joints between us, an' compose ourselves before we started off home. Even then in the car park there was still a really friendly atmospheer with people sayin' goodbyes an' everyone smilin' at each other, or askin' about for spare skins, an' by the looks on some folks' faces possibly a shag if it was goin'.

In the car after we hit the road, we all felt tired, a bit wasted, but dead fulfill't. There wasn't much moanin' anyway, or less it was to do with tired legs an' sore feet. We were all pretty chatty about the way we'd felt on the E, an' we all told stories about people we'd met dancin', or things we'd seen happenin'.

Everyone's stories were told enthusiastically, an' began with the standard formula of - 'Oh! It was fuckin' mental...'. We all nattered away as the windscream wipers kept the beat goin', with feet tappin', an' the odd head still shakin' along. It was a lovely rainy day an' we all felt great.

The atmosphere changed a bit though when the police drove up alongside us jus' outside Glasgow. The bloke in the passenger seat was really starin' at us. We were all freakin' out but tried t'look calm cause we didn't want t'get stopp't an' get any hassle. So it was eyes straight ahead an' hope for the best. After a tense five minutes or so, they jus' pulled away from us an' headed off. Couldn't have been worth the hassle for them either.

The rest was a beautiful drive home through the country, an' we kept on seein' cars with other ravers comin' from the event who we'd exchange knowin' looks an' the odd wave with. Sometimes we could here loud music blarin' out, or whistles gettin' blown by the posse inside. All the comments an' conversations in our motor seemed dead sincere in an almost ridiculous kind of way, with folk who knew each other dead well lettin' loose t'the full like they rarely ever did cause of all life's different strains an' hassles as they pressed against each other in the tightly packed car. That was the E still workin', I suppose.

When we got back t'the house where we were goin' t'chill out, we all got sat on the sofa, or on the floor with plenty of cushions an' blankets. Someone got the ambient chill out sounds on, an' someone else made the sugary teas which tasted great! We sat smokin' togethur for quite a long time. It didn't really feel like a real day at all, it was a sort of drifty, fluffy, seamless sort of a day that seemed dead significant, but which wasn't really goin' anywhere in any productive sense. A felt dead close t'all my mates, even though a didn't say much all day. It was like we'd all done somethin' really special together, somethin' very strong, which had revitalised us all and the bonds between us.

We ended up sittin' quietly watchin' a Sunday movie on the telly. It seem'd really dramatic even though we all knew it was the same old rubbish. Then one by one we all drifted off into a sleepy haze, totally crashed out, but with a look of satisfaction still on our faces after our big night out.

2.2 SOME PERSONAL HISTORY

In the summer of 1988 I arrived back in Britain after a 'year out' travelling around Australia and South-East Asia. Shortly after my return to Glasgow - my

home city - I was taken to an 'acid house party' in a closed off street down by the Clydeside.

Before heading off to Australia a year earlier I had been working in a city centre clothes store during the day and in a busy bar at nights during the weekend. I had also become a regular club goer. As a teenager I had witnessed in my home city, and during summer holidays spent in Spain, the growing popularity of certain forms of Black American music - such as 'soul', 'funk', 'disco', 'hip hop', and finally 'house'.

I had always been very interested in music. When I was about twelve years old I was allowed to miss Latin classes at school and got to go instead to a drum teacher called Mr M.. Mr M. had more lines on his face than I had ever seen before, the smell of coffee, cigarettes and single life constantly on his breath and embedded in his clothes, and we sat in a small cupboard with no air and spoke of 'paradiddles'. I thought it was just great. I also loved dancing from an early age - I associated it strongly with happy occasions, Elvis Presley movies at Christmas, having a good time at parties, and the rush of too many coca-colas. After leaving school with this background of interests and more freedom and spare time I became keen on clubs, dance music, and the scenes and practices which surrounded them as a means through which to become involved with people, and as a way to pass time.

Despite this history, that night at my first 'acid house party', the feelings of alienation caused by my period of absence 'abroad' were heightened by a strong sensation that things were not exactly how I remembered them. Could things have changed so quickly in just one year? Was I simply imagining it, or just experiencing 'culture shock'? No, things had definitely changed I decided.

How had they changed? Well, firstly there was this thing 'acid house' which seemed to stand for both the music and the event. We were going to an 'acid house' night and the music was going to be 'acid house'. Then there was

the location of the event in a street - not in a 'club', or 'function suite', where I had done most of my dancing - with the walls of buildings and the patterns formed by drainpipes as a background.

There was also the numbers involved. On arrival I saw so many people - more than you could squeeze into any club - and most of them were dancing. There also wasn't so much boozing, flirting and shifting about as I remembered. I also noticed that people coming off the dancefloor looked different, more in a state of rapture than chatty and pissed up. I gazed with them at the moving projections up on the sides of the buildings. I particularly remember seeing a horse which looked like an image in a kaleidoscope cantering across a red brick wall. I was a bit lost and confused, but interested. Since I had gone away things had changed and something was definitely going on.

That summer I went to quite a lot of clubs in the city centre. I went out of my way to go to what I heard were 'acid nights', such as Slam. As I said before, I had always enjoyed dancing and welcomed the enthusiastic atmosphere at these events. I also enjoyed the colourful fashions and playfulness of characters on the dancefloor. I soon found myself purchasing a rather loud Sixties-style psychedelic shirt and a brightly coloured waistcoat from Flip, as well as a couple of 'acid house' compilations from a High Street store.

At work in a city centre pub I spent most of my time working in the kitchen during the days talking to a guy called Bruce who seemed like a good connection in a lot of ways, and was into 'acid house'. We talked the work-days away when we could, and I soon discovered that I had entered upon a journey equal in excitement and intensity to any I had imagined or undertaken in the previous year spent abroad.

I remember one night in particular that summer in a small club which was dark and packed full down by the Clydeside. I remember feeling for the

first time like the dancefloor had completely come alive, and that it felt like I was being taken away with all those around me on a journey by the pounding rhythms and bass sounds coming out of the speakers. Smoke machines filled the dancefloor with a mystical smog which eager hands burst through and up into the air. People were dressed up, colourful and friendly, not so 'cool' as I remembered folk being in city clubs in the eighties in Glasgow, and I was very happy to be there.

At the end of the night everyone had to be forced to leave reluctantly by the pushy, noisy bouncers. Outside people mingled around on the street for quite a while. One group of lads got a 'ghetto blaster' out of their motor and started pumping out more 'acid' music. Loads of people gathered around them and started to dance and whoop it up in the middle of the street. Finally, the police came and moved everybody on. The friendly, enthusiastic vibe that fuelled that whole night from the club to the street party which was so different to the alcohol-fuelled, hard, cool atmosphere I remembered in the city centre when I was younger had a strong effect on me, and it still lingers as a lasting memory for me to this day. At a time in my own life when I was looking for direction it seemed like a spark of life and a sign of hope, although for what exactly I was not so sure - enjoyment perhaps?

That October I went to university in St. Andrews. Over the next four years I spent more and more time around that small East coast town pursuing a variety of interests, which included a history degree. Throughout my undergraduate years music remained a very important personal interest for me and music, dancing and drumming were important aspects of my social practices and relationships with others. In my final two years as an undergraduate I became particularly interested in dance music again as a result of a new strong friendship. During those years more and more people had begun to talk about 'raving', 'rave music' and 'ecstasy'. Local parties began

to take a different shape with loud dance music and dancing having a more prominent role than before. I liked it.

After my final examinations - and after being accepted as a postgraduate student in social anthropology due to start the following term - I went with some good friends after months of looking forward to it to my first 'rave'. It was a large outdoor event with around 15,000 people at it out in the countryside. What can I say? The whole experience blew my mind! I just couldn't stop talking about it, or thinking about it. I had never witnessed such an exciting atmosphere, and I found the feelings of openness and togetherness amongst the people at the event truly life changing at the time.

The next morning as 'chill out' headed towards 'crash out' I decided firmly that my anthropology was going to be about 'raving'. At the time nothing could have been so fascinating for me, and it was, after all, all to do with people.

2.3 'SO THIS IS HOW IT STARTED!'^{*} : BALEARIC BEGINNINGS, TOURISM, FOOTBALL AND THE EMERGENCE OF ACID HOUSE.

In the mid 1980s the collision of a variety of social developments led to the emergence of a new international social phenomenon - 'raving'. Firstly, the substance MDMA, or Ecstasy as it has come to be known, began to be more widely available and to be used as a recreational drug first in the U.S. and shortly after in European drug scenes. Secondly, as a result of earlier technological innovations and the greater accessibility of certain sound equipment - such as mixers, synthesisers and samplers - there emerged a new form of dance music called 'acid house' which was born within the black communities of Chicago and New York. Thirdly, at this time 'leisure' and

* This sample is taken from Farley Jackmaster Funk's early 'house' classic 'Love can't turn around'.

'recreation' were becoming major areas of economic development, and modern mass tourism in the form of the package holiday was in its developmental hey-day. This provided the domestic and holiday locations, and an environment of pleasure seeking in which both the new drug and the new sound could be deployed and developed.

Many British people, first encountered the collision and fusion of these three developments on the popular holiday Isle of Ibiza during the mid to late 1980s while working there as Dj.s, or, illegal migrant workers, or while there as tourists or travellers¹⁶. As the new euphoria producing drug came into contact with the repetitive, driving drum and bass patterns of the new 'house' sound during all night party sessions; and as the drug, the sound, and the fusion of both in the event of 'the party' and the act of dancing became animated by the holiday isle's atmosphere of pleasure, escape, and release, a new identity of 'the raver' and a new social practice of 'raving' were born out of the clouds of dust rising from makeshift dancefloors on Ibizan hillsides in the early morning sun and from the hazy, red-eyed afternoon chill-outs on friendly, sunny beaches in the heat of the day and in the cool of the early evening sunsets.

In November 1987 the Shoom club started up in London. The club was promoted by Danny Rampling. Danny had been spending his summers out in Ibiza as a d.j. where he had encountered the development of a new form of music and the arrival of a popular new and exciting drug. The music was a mixture of the new Chicago 'house' and the 'Balearic beats' which were being pioneered by international d.j.s on the holiday isle who had adopted house's innovative mix of records, samples and patterns from drum machines¹⁷. The new drug was MDMA, or ecstasy as it quickly came to be known. It was known as a 'happy' drug that made you want to dance and get on with people.

¹⁶ For a discussion of the Ibiza scene, see Redhead, S. (1993).

¹⁷ The house 'mixing' style extends from a black tradition which came out of Jamaican dub reggae and its 'versions'; see Hebdige, D. (1987) and Jones, S. (1988).

Shoom - like many other clubs which popped up in London and in other British cities over the next couple of years - was an attempt to recreate and recapture the enthusiasm, popularity and creativity of the Ibiza scene at regular events at home. The music, fashions, dance style, and, of course, the new drug were all projected into the atmosphere and environment of London's clubland in the attempt to do just that.

At first the 'acid house' clubs were attended by Ibizan revellers fighting off 'the downer' of being back in a Conservative Britain heading towards yet another cold and rainy winter, and with the reality of very restrictive licensing laws and opportunities for recreation in comparison to the continent to deal with¹⁸. In this context clubs like Shoom offered a familiar environment in which practices, interests, and social relationships/friendships formed on the holiday isle during the summer months could be continued and extended. As such, at the weekends in London, and gradually elsewhere around the country, an unfamiliar new social type began to walk the streets - at first only in limited numbers - who was easily spotted as a result of the bright holiday style clothing - including Hawaiian shirts, Bermuda shorts, bikini tops, coloured sunglasses - they wore, and the adopted 'smiley face' logo which was often painted on plain T-shirts, or whatever else was going.

By the summer of 1988 - known as 'the second summer of love' - 'acid house' had developed into a thriving new scene which had spread into 'underground' warehouse parties and had become a nationwide, and as a result of tourism, a European phenomenon¹⁹. It had also - as it grew in scale and popularity - attracted the attentions and interests of the High Street, the police, the media and the government.

¹⁸Britain still has licensing laws which date from World War One, and which were introduced to guarantee sufficient levels of production for the 'war effort'.

¹⁹ The notion and discourse of 'the underground' will be dealt with in some detail in later sections.

In the Thatcherite political environment, animated by its 'market' discourse, the commercialisation of 'acid house' was swift and massive. As the scene created an enthusiastic 'market' in the cities, many were quick to catch on to it, and to profit from it. The clubs editor of *Time Out* at the time remembers seeing other club promoters at Shoom and knowing "...that they were going to go away and start their own clubs, and that the whole thing was going to be massive." (Stevenson, N. (1996)). Other businesses, such as fashion retailing also caught on quick. Cheap merchandising, such as T-shirts and baseball caps, displaying the smiley face logo were quickly on the market, and the 'casual', sporty look popular with dancers soon began to fill the stores and stalls²⁰. The mainstream music industry was also quick to get their 'scouts' into action and before too long a variety of compilations of the new - and up till this point fairly obscure - 'acid house' were released for mass consumption.

Beginning in October 1988 - following the incredible upsurge in 'acid house' activities that summer - the press joined in the growing interest in the new phenomenon. Initially, *The Sun* called it 'cool and groovy' and had its own 'offer' selling T-shirts with the smiley face logo on them for £5.50 (*The Sun*, 1st Oct. 1988) [See Plate 3]. 'Acid House fans' were viewed as smiley happy people recreating the good old holiday vibe at home. However, within the month the tabloid headlines had changed ever so slightly to the likes of 'Evil Of Ecstasy', 'Ban This Killer Music', 'Acid Alert', '£12 Trip To An Evil Night Of Ecstasy', and 'Acid Raid - Cops Flee 3000 At Party - Pushers Carry On' (*The Sun*, 19th Oct.; *The Post*, 24th Oct.; *The Sun*, 7th Nov.)²¹. In the matter of a month the tabloid discourse on 'acid house parties' had u-turned from 'good clean fun' and 'special offers' to a moral crusade against the 'evil of ecstasy' and an attack on its 'Mr Bigs' who would 'lure' young kids, and girls in particular, into an

²⁰ The 'casual' look first emerged amongst football fans and in their 'firms' in the 1980s.

²¹ See Redhead, S. (1993) (ed.) and Redhead, S. and Melechi, A. (1988) for an academic discussion and information on 'acid house' and the media.

addiction which would only ruin their lives²². Sensational stuff and a sensational u-turn! In under a month participants at 'acid house' events had travelled discursively the road from 'fans' (football, pop) to 'victims' (cults/diseases).

By the end of that year the tabloids had provoked a 'moral panic' amongst some of their readers, and had also deeply engrained certain notions about 'acid house' and 'ecstasy' in the popular media-absorbing mind. In this context many wished to be seen to be responding to the 'public outcry'. The BBC banned acid house from its airwaves making it 'illegal music' and apparently legitimising the scaremongering reports in the press. One of Radio One's most prominent d.j.s at the time, Peter Powell, described acid house as "the closest thing to mass zombiedom".

In the following year a young Mancunian girl called Claire Leighton collapsed and died at the Hacienda club. The Hacienda was notorious not only for its enthusiastic crowd and exciting new music, but also for its alleged immersion in drugs and organised crime. The unfortunate death of this young girl - added to the negative campaign in the tabloids - gave the authorities the excuse they needed to clampdown on the new scene, and in particular on the new drug 'ecstasy' which had become very available and popular by this time.

Criminal 'firms' in cities used the drug as a means of business and income. Members of 'firms' who had been involved in organised football 'violence' during the 1980s had been partly responsible for the discovery and introduction of ecstasy into the country. As laws concerning alcohol drinking and security at football matches had been stiffened as a result of organised violence fans on the continent - where ecstasy was first available - had begun to use MDMA as a stimulant at games because it was easy to conceal or slip in the mouth before entry. This practice became popular at games in Britain also,

²² Kohn, M. (1992) is an interesting discussion of the relationship between discourse on 'drugs' and discourse on 'women' and other marginalised sections of society.

and in the early days of acid house there was even a capsule form of ecstasy which was coloured red and black and called a 'Man. United' which symbolised in a concrete way the connection between football and 'ecstasy'. The connection between 'acid house' and football 'hooligans', or 'casuals', and their 'firms' is mentioned in one in-depth journalistic account of fans activities in those years, in the literature of Irvine Welsh, and by many people I have met during my research who have been involved in both, and who see a similarity between the collective 'buzz' at such events, as well as a continuity in terms of the people and popular culture surrounding them²³.

In Manchester the growing popularity of the new drug and the acid house scene around it signalled danger to the existing authorities. In 1990 the Greater Manchester Police started up 'Operation Clubwatch' which increased surveillance in clubs. This was coupled to new licensing laws which were introduced to increase police powers to close clubs down, and to increase the number of annual hearings at which licenses could be removed leading to the same result. For many clubs involved in the emergent new phenomenon, such as the infamous Hacienda, these governmental strategies signalled a swift end to their business²⁴.

Meanwhile, further south in London in the summers of 1989/90 a thriving free/illegal party scene had developed in the city re-employing derelict warehouses in the city, and filling empty fields and quarries on the outskirts of the city around the circular M 25 motorway. A practice emerged in which 'ravers' - as they were coming to be known - would get information and phone numbers off 'flyers' distributed during the week, or by word of mouth, detailing meeting points at the weekend²⁵. Crowds of folk and convoys of vehicles would gather at these meeting points - which were often in squat areas, or at motorway service stations - at the weekend, and ultimately,

²³ See Buford, B. (n.d.); Welsh, I. (1996).

²⁴ See Redhead, S. (1993) for more information on the Hacienda and 'Madchester'.

²⁵ 'Flyers' are handbills.

sometimes after hours of waiting, or driving about, the location would be revealed. The strategy was to get as many people as possible to the party before the arrival of the police in order to make it very difficult for them to stop it. Most of these parties were carried off in the face of police knowledge and surveillance. Defiance of, or play with, the authorities was part of 'the buzz', and on long summer evenings such goings on provided much better entertainment for many than going to pubs or nightclubs.

This kind of 'free party' scene was not restricted to London by any means²⁶. They occurred all over Britain, but were especially prominent in and around the capital city, in the Midlands and across the north of England. They were organised by a mixture of people, including a new breed of young Thatcherite entrepreneurs²⁷. Most were organised in liaison with, or directly by, local criminal 'firms' who had the manpower and right connections to pull off such events, and who worked as the main highways along which ecstasy travelled into the popular market and down the popular throat. In the context of Thatcherite Britain young entrepreneurs and criminals formed an alliance and created a market which was potentially embarrassing for those in authority who preached about the 'free market', entrepreneurialism, and a get-rich-quick ideology. Such notions were at the heart, afterall, of much acid house activity²⁸.

By 1990 - as a result of the tabloid campaign which continued with occasional scare stories about any accidents or deaths, and with the odd sensational undercover story - 'acid house' parties had become a political issue involving the interests and activities of local and national government and authority. The police carried out surveillance and busts in clubs and at free

²⁶ 'Free party' basically means an event not held in licensed premises. They are not necessarily 'free' in the financial sense as 'contributions', at the very least, will most often be desired by the organisers collected by a bucket being sent around.

²⁷ See Stephenson, J. (1988) on new entrepreneurs.

²⁸ The stereotype of 'the geezer' drug-dealer was/is very popular in rave scenes, and is like a comical caricature of eighties Thatcherite values.

parties. Local authorities also increased the pressures on club owners through new licensing laws. At national level the introduction of the Bright Bill into Parliament led to the Entertainments (increased Penalties) Acts which introduced fines up to £20,000, or six month prison sentences for any public entertainment without a license. In the run up to the passing of the Act there was a 'Freedom To Party' rally in Trafalgar Square which received little considered or interested media coverage despite the very democratic and free market issues involved. The act was passed without any opposition (see Plate 11).

In less than three years the arrival of 'acid house' from Ibiza had led to a massive national popularisation of the scene, its music, fashions, and its chosen drug, as well as - and despite - a vitriolic and extensive offensive against it from the press, the police, and local and national authorities. 'Acid house' had truly become an 'issue' in all possible senses. I would now like to add some ethnographic detail to this historical narrative.

2.3.1 Acid House Style

'Acid house' as a social phenomenon brought together a variety of different influences in its own unique mix of peoples and styles. When 'acid house' made its way back to Britain in 1987-8 it brought its 'big fun' holiday style fashions with it. Styles, however, extended beyond those taken from 'the tourist' and 'the hippy', and included items which were signs of childhood and innocence - such as dummy tits, kaleidoscopes, lolly pops and pig tails. Furthermore, the connection between acid house parties and 'firms' - especially around the thriving 'Madchester' scene up north - introduced and popularised a lot of fashions associated originally in the eighties with football 'casuals' - such as baggy sports T-shirts, tracksuits, ski hats, and big sports shoes. The introduction of 'acid house' into clubland also brought it into contact with

previous genres and styles in the popular history of club and youth culture which offered a variety of resources for new departures in style. For example, 'acid house' clubs, parties and party people - like the music itself - made many associations with sixties 'psychedelia' and 'mod' fashions/art, as well as those of 1970s 'funk' and 'disco'.

Finally, the smiley face logo also served as a great source of 'acid house' fashions and art (see Plate 3). Easy to draw and paint it was used to make cheap but effective party t-shirts and back-drops. After the swift commercialisation of 'acid house', this logo filled many High Street stores and market stalls, and for many it became the 'tribal' symbol and an essential element in any party outfit. Over commercialisation, however, also killed the smiley logo ultimately within a dance scene which has always tried to hold onto notions of being 'underground' in relation to a 'mainstream'/'pop' commercialism and economy.

'Acid house' styles, therefore, reflected in many ways the places and types of people involved in the scene (package holiday 'tourists', working class 'casuals') as well as being a sign of the times (leisure/recreation). In general, the very colourful and casual styles, and their connections to a variety of previous and present sub-cultures and street styles, as well as some of the themes they expressed (sporty, casual, childish, etc.) served to distinguish them from other members of society as any uniform does, and to signal through style the difference between the week and the weekend, work and recreation, the winter and the summer.

2.3.2 Acid House Drugs

When it comes to talking about the drugs involved in the 'acid house' scene there is a bit of an issue which has built up amongst participants, and latterly, in the form of media interpretations and accounts within the music/youth

press. Some claim that the term 'acid house' emerged as a result of the two key elements involved in the scene - i.e. the drug 'acid' and 'house' music. However, others say that this is the result of an error made by the British press who attended drug fuelled events playing music called 'acid house' and - because they knew nothing about ecstasy at the time - presumed people were taking L.S.D. the infamous drug of 1960s psychedelia and hippy counter-culture. The connection, of course, could also be read as less of a mistake and more of a deliberate attempt to associate the new phenomenon with a previous negative media discourse on hippies and 'acid'. To those people who deny the literal connection between 'acid house' and L.S.D., 'acid house' is simply the name given to a genre of dance music inspired by the ground-breaking Chicago-produced 12" record called 'Acid Trax' by Phuture which was characterised by the squelchy, distorted sounds of the Roland TB303 (synthesiser), the effect of which was compared to L.S.D..

However, many people who associate 'acid house' with warehouse parties around London say that L.S.D. was indeed the drug of choice in those days, and that MDMA (ecstasy) was only beginning to make ground into the scene. However, major figures in the scene at the time - such as d.j.s and promoters Paul Oakenfold and Colin Faver - have stated that in 'acid house' clubs - such as Shoom - almost everybody was experimenting with ecstasy.

So in many ways its a matter of who you believe. However, in an attempt to consider why there are so many different views let me point out a few things which might be revealing. First of all, the kind of events considered to be 'acid house' will influence peoples' memories and statements. Illegal warehouse parties, especially in London, have since the sixties always had a strong connection with L.S.D. use. This tradition continues today. Clubs, however, which are usually smaller and involve security etc. are not traditionally considered to be excellent venues for an 'acid trip' - they have, however, long been associated with amphetamine and cocaine use since the

1930s²⁹. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that 'acid house' clubs were more likely to encourage experimentation with ecstasy than with L.S.D.. Anyway, both drugs were available and were being used separately by different participants, and sometimes in unison by the same participants, and the choice may have been influenced by the location and type of event. Ecstasy, however, in the longer run of things became the drug of choice associated with such events.

The arrival of 'ecstasy' and 'acid house' had as new phenomena, of course, to accommodate themselves among previous scenes and their fashions and practices. In terms of drugs this meant that 'ecstasy' joined alcohol, amphetamines, cannabis/marijuana, heroin, cocaine and L.S.D. in British recreational drug preferences. Alcohol in the short term suffered the most as it was viewed as something almost 'alien' to the new scene, possibly in an underground attempt to market the substance MDMA as an alternative to the predominance of alcohol in popular culture which as a market was sewn up in a monopolistic manner by large national breweries by the 1980s. Most other popular drugs, however, were used simultaneously with, or alongside MDMA. Cannabis/marijuana, in particular, became an important partner for ecstasy, and was used for 'chillin' out' and 'comin' down' off the ecstasy in the same way it had been used with L.S.D. trips. Amphetamines were also popular as a means of heightening, or maintaining, the effects of ecstasy at a cheaper price.

2.3.3 The Structure Of Acid House Events

'Acid house' clubs and parties could be distinguished from other social events and forms of recreation not only through the drugs, music and fashions involved and apparent at such events, but also by their set up, or structure.

²⁹ See Kohn, M. (1992) for information on early popular cocaine use.

The environment at 'acid house' events would be dark, and they were often filled with inexpensive 'dry ice' which would mask the dancefloor in smoke and create weird effects from the lighting - often making it confusing to wander about (see Plate 4).

The emphasis of such events was, of course, on dancing and the lay out would try and provide as much dancing space as possible. It would also direct participants towards the sound system - and often the d.j. - which acted as the focus in front of which everyone would stand facing the one way towards it - and not towards each other - so that the dancers could feel the full force of the beat, the vibrations of the bass and the effects - both aural and physical - of the other sounds (see Plate 4). This format broke with the tradition established by the popular seventies and eighties 'discoteques' and 'nightclubs' and drew more upon the format of outdoor events such as football matches and rock concerts (without the heroes), as well as the church.

2.3.4 The Atmosphere/Behaviour At Acid House Events

The final thing which distinguished 'acid house' events from those around them was the atmosphere and the prescribed and accepted forms of behaviour demonstrated by participants at such events. Participants would generally be very 'friendly' and 'open' to strangers, and to smile and be seen to be having a 'good time' was a positive thing. People would often touch each others' hands in passing, or nod and smile at each other. On the dancefloor people were expected to really go for it with very little encouragement to restrain one's movement to any particular set of movements or style. Being 'out of it' and dancing wildly using as much of the body as possible, and even screaming, was seen as a sign of someone having a 'good one', or a 'big night'. This behaviour and the stereotypes which emerged around it - such as the happy, or 'cheesy', raver - contrasted strongly with the rich, designer 'cool' of

1970s/1980s discos and nightclubs, the hard 'machismo' of rock events, and the aggression of punks and racism of latter generations of skinheads³⁰.

Although very open, friendly and wild, people were still expected to be allowed their own space to concentrate just on dancing, if they wanted to, unhindered by others. This security was particularly important for establishing an atmosphere in which females - whose presence was as important as that of males - could feel protected from the traditional lecherous stereotype of the British male.

Often, of course, the atmosphere on the dancefloor and the behaviour of the crowd would depend on the drugs available. Good ecstasy, for example, would produce a 'friendly', 'luvey' atmosphere with a lot of touching, smiling and whooping. Good acid, however, would produce a more 'intense' and 'strong' feel on the dancefloor, and produce more varied and creative dancing. Bad drugs could, obviously, ruin the atmosphere through their adverse effects and the possibility of 'bad times'.

Both on and off the dancefloor there was a greater emphasis upon getting on with, giving to, and helping out strangers than was normal in traditional pubs and clubs - especially in the urban centres. People remained less in their own groups and dancing alone, or in groups, became an accepted norm as opposed to dancing with partners.

Finally, the atmosphere and behaviour of participants at any particular 'acid house' event would depend upon the location and circumstances of the event, and the types of people present at it. An 'acid house' club in the west end of London would differ to a similar club in Manchester, or Glasgow, due to the more general differences in the social make up of people in those particular cities. And an 'acid house' club in the west end would differ to an 'acid house' party in a warehouse, because although many participants went to

³⁰ The connotations of 'cheesy' are difficult to capture, but it is a very popular term associated with raving. My best shot is this: something, or someone, which is unashamedly ridiculous, crass, or plain silly in a positive or negative sense.

both kinds of event, they also varied in terms of the types of people they attracted, and in what numbers they came. The diversity in both peoples, styles, locations and kinds of event involved when using the term 'acid house' demonstrates both the nature of the term as a sign used to signify a very diverse and complex set of social practices carried out by different people in different locations, as well as pointing to the general complexity and widespread popularity of the phenomenon itself at that time and since.

2.4 'EVERYTHING STARTS WITH AN E': A SHORT HISTORY OF ECSTASY, ITS POPULAR USES AND THE FEEL GOOD FACTOR

"It gave me a pleasant lightness of spirit. That's all. No psychedelic effects whatsoever...Just a distinct lightness of mood. And an indication to get busy and do things that needed doing."

(A.Shulgin)³¹.

" **John:** There was just this massive rush of, to me, happiness, because there was a genuine brilliant atmosphere in the club and everybody was basically feeding off each other, where everybody's shouting and screaming and dancing.

Guy: And all of a sudden I got this huge whoosh running through my body and out of it, sort of thing - don't know where it went - a huge energy force almost. And then going mad again just dancing again and going crazy.

John: And this would just build up and the whole crowd would just be like going along with it and becoming more and more frantic until you did actually feel as if you were slightly losing control.

Guy: It hits you and it bombards you and it breaks down any of those barriers between us. The rhythm just grabs hold of you.

³¹ Cit. in Saunders, L. (1993).

John: I actually came away from that thinking: I have just had the best night of my life, and I really thought I have never had a better time. It was just the happiest."³²

"People do ecstasy cause it makes them feel good..and makes them feel good about other people...and that's it...end of story."³³

"Despite prohibition, anti-drugs propaganda and scare-mongering by the media, ecstasy use has progressed from an exclusive Californian elite to a mass dance culture, first in Britain and now worldwide."³⁴

'Ecstasy' is the popular name given to the chemical substance 3,4 Methylene - dioxy - methamphetamine, or more simply, MDMA.

During the late 1950s and 1960s there emerged an international wave of 'psychedelia' - based around California - which grew initially out of the practices of a small group of travellers, artists, scientists, musicians, and other academics who were experimenting with the Mexican hallucinogen peyote. The ideas and practices surrounding this fairly elitist activity developed, however, into a wider social movement due to the prophetic activities of some of its members, and because of the ballooning effects of a major media campaign in which 'flower power' and its drugs (L.S.D., marijuana) were sensationally portrayed as a sign of western moral decay.

Around this time in 1962 a chemist, Alexander Shulgin, who was working in California for Dow Chemicals, and who had been rewarded for his efforts in producing a new insecticide with his own research laboratory, rediscovered a chemical called MDMA which had been patented originally by a German pharmaceutical company called Merck as an appetite depressant prior to the outbreak of World War One³⁵. Between its initial discovery in

³² Cit. in Channel Four production 'Rave New World'.

³³ This quote is from a friend of mine and a 'user' who will remain anonymous.

³⁴ See Saunders, N. (1995): 21.

³⁵ For historical and other information on M.D.M.A. see Eisner, B. (1994) and Saunders, N. (1995) for detailed accounts which are not formed from biased/disinterested positions of mainstream morality or politics.

Germany in the build up to world war, and its rediscovery by Shulgin amidst an emerging wave of psychedelia, MDMA had made a brief re-appearance in history during the 1950s when the U.S. Army - in the pursuit of 'chemical warfare' - tested it as a possible 'agent'.

In his 'Qualitative Comments' Shulgin noted - after 100mg - that he "...was light, happy, but with an underlying conviction that something was about to happen.". He goes on to state that he "...experienced some of the feeling one has after the second martini, that one is discoursing brilliantly and with particularly acute analytical powers.". After a bigger dose - 120mg - he was slightly less restrained and comparative in his comments:

"I feel absolutely clean inside, and there is nothing but pure euphoria. I have never felt so great, or believed this to be possible. The cleanliness, clarity, and marvellous feeling of solid inner strength continued throughout the rest of the day, and evening, and through the next day. I am overcome by the profundity of the experience, and how much more powerful it was than previous experiences, for no apparent reason, other than a continually improving state of being. All the next day I felt like 'a citizen of the Universe' rather than a citizen of the planet, completely disconnecting time and flowing easily from one activity to the next. " (Eisner, B. (1994): xlix).

The very "pleasant sensation" which Shulgin discovered soon began to be used in psychotherapy by people who came - through him mainly - to know about its existence (Ibid.: xlix). In particular, the substance's ability to produce a general and predictable state of well-being amongst those who used it, and its apparent ability to promote empathy and communication in groups led many psychotherapists in the 1970s to view it as an incredibly useful agent for therapy - particularly for problems based around social relations, such as marriage difficulties, etc. It is thought that thousands of patients were administered MDMA prior to its prohibition in 1985 ³⁶.

Due to the effects popularisation had had upon experiments with the potential social and therapeutic uses of L.S.D. - popularisation leading to media scare-mongering, political pressure and ultimately prohibition - the

³⁶ Both Eisner, B. (1994) and Saunders, N. (1995) provide information on the psycho-therapeutic uses of M.D.M.A.

group of therapists and others who used MDMA - both personally and in therapy sessions - tried to keep knowledge of its existence limited to those who needed to know until further experimentation could be carried out. However, in 1976 Alexander Shulgin in collaboration with D.E. Nicholls began to publish reports on his research to California's scientific and intellectual community based on the psychoactivity of MDMA. As knowledge of the new substance and its believed effects and proposed uses began to spread the first early reports of underground batches of the substance in popular circulation emerged.

MDMA - or 'Adam' as it was popularly known in those early days - did not, however, become a major issue until the mid 1980s. In 1985 the Drug Enforcement Agency using emergency powers had it placed on schedule I - despite being sued by a congregation of psychotherapists, and against the recommendations of the presiding judge and objections from the chairman of a W.H.O. Expert Committee - this scheduling effectively declared that the substance was of no therapeutic value, and also made research into it illegal as well as criminalising the substance in general.

These events were triggered by MDMA's first wave of popular, commercial use as a 'recreational drug'. The location of this first wave was in Dallas, Texas, where it is estimated that a laboratory was in 1983-5 producing 240,000 doses per month. The MDMA was sold in brown bottles labelled as 'sassyfras'. It is believed that MDMA was popular amongst the growing 'yuppie' population who inhabited Dallas's business world. 'Sassyfras' could be bought over the bar and was used presumably in much the same way professionals are known to use cocaine to relax and produce confidence, and to overcome the 'stress' and sense of alienation produced by the competitive, busy lifestyle of single careerists working long office hours. This more widespread, popular use of MDMA brought it to the attention of the Drug Enforcement Agency, and into the 'public eye' through media coverage. Ultimately, it raised the stakes too high, and led to the substance's prohibition

in 1985 despite the efforts of psychotherapists who gave evidence about its well established therapeutic powers and uses.

In response to this prohibition - one in a long line of such prohibitions peculiar to modern societies and their structure of interests - one commentator has written that:

"The D.E.A. was set up to police drug use in America. It receives its funding in relation to the severity and scope of the drug problem. Because it is involved in enforcement of drug laws, the D.E.A.'s members tend to view any drug use (other than alcohol, cigarettes, and coffee) in a negative way. The D.E.A. also has strong economic interest in having widely used drugs made illegal. The more drug criminals there are to hunt and arrest, the more funding the D.E.A. receives, and the larger the organisation becomes. Giving the D.E.A. the power to decide which drugs to criminalise could lead to a constantly expanding police organisation always needing more tax monies." (Eisner, B. (1994): 18).

Whatever the reasons behind its prohibition - after a brief history of use amongst "spiritual seekers, 'yuppies' and psychotherapists" the fact of the matter was that by the end of 1985 a chemical substance discovered in Germany in 1912 had been banned in America, and, as a result, across much of the contemporary world (Eisner, B. (1994): xi).

During the 1980s MDMA had also begun to attract attention in Europe. One of the first places it became available in was Amsterdam in the Netherlands. It was experimented with by people who were habitual users of other drugs, and used in ways, and in contexts defined by previous substances - such as cocaine, amphetamine and L.S.D. - to which it was compared in order to establish its effects. It also began - allegedly - to be used by football fans at matches in the face of bans on alcohol due to clampdowns caused by the issue of 'football hooliganism'.

At this time Amsterdam was the centre for many European-wide drug operations due to its more liberal drug laws, and its easy access to many other European nations. Many connections from all over Europe were travelling to and from the city each week. As in any organised network,

information about new developments and opportunities travelled fast, and this led to a very quick spread of knowledge about and demand for MDMA

Amsterdam during the eighties was also - again due to its liberal drugs laws and notorious 'coffee shops' - a popular destination for many European tourists who wished to sample its local, and not so local, wares. In the case of Britain this meant a thriving tourist trail to and from the Dutch city consisting of weekenders, stag-nighters, and wide eyed inter-railers amongst others, who took literally the offer of the benefits to come from the build up to the proposed New Europe to come in 1992³⁷. This constant trail of tourists also provided in-roads along which knowledge of, demand for, and supply of MDMA could travel.

However, after drifting in and out of history, and different social contexts - as an appetite depressant, a chemical weapon, a therapeutic tool, a 'yuppie' recreational drug, and a stimulant at football matches - MDMA finally took on the role and the name which has brought it most fully into history and into the 'public gaze' on the holiday isle of Ibiza during the mid 1980s. The Balearic isle had since the 1970s been a hang out for a small hippy community of travellers and small-time entrepreneurs. During the late seventies and the eighties Ibiza also became a centre for modern mass tourist development - as I have mentioned above - in the form of the 'package holiday' attracting tourists from many European destinations, but especially from Britain, Germany, The Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries.

The tourist scene was based around the daily pleasures associated with the beach and the evening pleasures provided by Ibiza's notorious nightlife. The proposed aim of 'the tourist' on holiday, armed with hard currency and travellers' cheques, was 'pleasure' and 'recreation'. This market for pleasure created a demand for music and recreational chemical

³⁷ 'Inter-rail' passes allowed young people, predominantly middle-class, to travel around Europe on the train networks, and were very popular in the 1980s.

substances amongst other things. D.j.s and other migrant workers began to travel to Ibiza every summer in order to get involved in the scene there, and make some money in the favourable context of guaranteed and growing numbers of people.

Young British d.j.s like Danny Rampling and Colin Faver travelled to Ibiza looking for places to play music, and to hear the new music being 'played out' by other d.j.s³⁸. In the mid 1980s the mixture of different nationalities on the holiday isle, its fluid atmosphere of fun and pleasure, and new innovations in the world of music led many d.j.s to experiment with mixing. Using two record decks, a mixer and often a drum machine they would mix up a variety of different styles of music from 'Euro-pop' to traditional Spanish flamenco during their sets in bars, clubs and at outdoor parties. This taste for the arts of mixing, sampling and scratching developed out of 1980s American 'hip hop' and 'electro' which had become popular in both Britain and in European holiday resorts during the eighties. By 1985, however, this original 'hip hop' and 'electro' flavour had developed into a new taste for an emerging form of dance music called 'house' which was mainly being pioneered and produced in Chicago and New York. 'House' music - like 'hip hop' and 'electro' - also relied on a mix of records, samples, and technologically superimposed drum and bass lines to produce its musical effect. Originally made by d.j.s for all night warehouse parties in Chicago's black communities, this driving form of dance music proved to be a winner on Ibiza as a soundtrack for its own nightlife. As well as playing the new 'house' sound - d.j.s also began to experiment themselves with mixing, sampling and bringing in 'the beats'. This experimentation produced a style that became known as 'balearic beat'.

Complementing this process of musical experimentation was another form of new experimentation. This experimentation was with a new

³⁸ 'Played out' is a term used popularly by d.j.s.

drug which had arrived from the U.S. via Amsterdam. The chemical was, of course, MDMA, and it became known - because of its pleasant and euphoric effects - as 'ecstasy'. 'Ecstasy' became the popular nighttime drug of choice, and was seen as the perfect partner for the new jumping and pumping dance music - 'house' - because it filled users with energy and produced an enthusiastic, friendly atmosphere, and made people want to dance when used in unison with the music. This mixture of 'ecstasy' and 'house' music first conceived on Ibiza ultimately gave birth to an international social phenomenon called 'raving' - most immediately in the U.K. where many Ibizan revellers came from and returned to, but gradually it became apparent around the globe in nations as widespread as Australia, Japan, South Africa, and the U.S.

However, by the time MDMA had been transformed into 'ecstasy' and coupled with House music it was also internationally banned as a 'dangerous' substance due to the 1985 ruling in the U.S.³⁹. The criminalisation of MDMA brought into play a variety of new factors. Prohibition under 'schedule 1' effectively put an end to any legal experimentation with MDMA at the same time as it was experiencing its first popular waves in Dallas and on Ibiza. Production, therefore, shifted to clandestine smaller operations for personal use, or bigger operations in the hands of organised criminals. Due to the law enforcement pressures on such activities, and the motivation for profit which rules over the latter form of production, this process of criminalisation led to a decline in the general quality and purity of the MDMA which made its way onto the street. Lastly, of course, users on the streets were left themselves to establish the effects and potential uses of the substance, and had to take the risk of being criminalised for doing so. The pursuit of ecstasy thus became a 'criminal' pursuit.

³⁹ Eisner, B. (1994) has full details of the criminalisation process in the U.S.A.

Despite - perhaps for some even because of - the now illicit nature of ecstasy, demand for the new substance grew rapidly during the acid house summers of 1988 and 1989 as the new Ibiza cocktail arrived on British soil and became popularised and commercialised through the acid house 'craze'. However, it is important to make a distinction even at this early stage between MDMA and what came to be sold, and known, as 'ecstasy'. Even by the summer of 1988 many chemical substances and mixtures of substances - other than MDMA, and as well as it - were being sold as 'ecstasy', and presumed by users to be MDMA. This was due to the difficult process of producing pure MDMA in clandestine circumstances, and the introduction of criminal-commercial interests as the substance became both popular and illegal. 'Ecstasy' was often 'cut' (mixed) with other substances - such as amphetamine, or ketamine - which were cheaper to produce/buy and, therefore, more financially rewarding. Mixtures of other substances altogether, but which would have some kind of effect - such as L.S.D. and amphetamine - were sold as 'ecstasy' to profit from the growing demand and lack of knowledge about the substance. Lastly, 'dud' (useless) pills or capsules - such as aspirins and cold remedies - were sold to unknowing punters eager to taste the new promised pleasures of ecstasy, but unaware of any means of telling whether or not what they had been given was in fact MDMA. I mention this because it is crucial to understand that by the time large numbers of people in the U.K. were beginning to use 'ecstasy' it was both illegal and - as a result - open to the rules, interests and quality controls of clandestine activities and economics. This context for ecstasy use meant that 'ecstasy' available on the streets was often as likely to be something other than MDMA, and this included potentially dangerous substances. This 'risk factor', or 'Russian Roulette reality', has existed for most users of ecstasy since they first began taking the substance, and for most people has always been an integral part of the practice and experience of using ecstasy. This problem of 'quality control' for users -

caused by the criminalisation of MDMA and its part in 'the War Against Drugs' - has always existed, therefore, and most users are conscious of the risks and potential dangers which serve as a back-drop behind any ecstasy experience. The risks involved have, however, become more of a problem during certain periods such as during intensive police clamp downs when shortages of ecstasy have developed and the imbalance between demand and supply has led profiteers to take advantage of the situation by selling dodgy 'cut' or 'dud' substances as 'ecstasy'.

Since 1988 ecstasy in the U.K. has become known as the preferred drug of the 'raver' and 'clubber'. A 'rave' - generally speaking - is understood as an event predominantly characterised by the presence of a d.j./d.j.s and a sound system at which a form of dance music - derivative of 'house' - will be played loudly to an audience who have come to dance as their main activity and to take ecstasy or/and perhaps some other substances. This kind of 'rave' event took place originally in legal venues, such as clubs, and also in the form of unlicensed/illegal events in warehouses, or outside on open land. However, between 1988 and 1994 a gradual process of 'governmentality' - involving an 'allied force' of local and national government, press and police - has come down strongly upon the illegal, or 'free party' scene, and forced a lot of such activity into licensed venues and legal events, or into jail.

In its licensed 'club' format 'raving' has become a major, mainstream social practice and culture for many people, and clubs have become growing social institutions. By 1996 an estimated 7 million pills were being sold each year in the U.K. and it is believed that up to 5 million people have tried it, and these estimates are likely to be conservative as real numbers are difficult to determine due to the clandestine nature of such activity and participation (The Guardian, May 21, 1996). Amongst the younger generation (18-25) one survey conducted in Manchester by Prof. Howard Parker discovered that 50% of youths took some kind of illegal 'drug', and Parker wondered about the possible

outcomes of such a shift in social practices and attitudes - such as the criminalisation of 50% of a whole new generation if things are not redressed⁴⁰. One academic, Steve Redhead, writing about 'rave culture' noted that "...drug use amongst young people in Britain, especially ecstasy, is now so widespread that it can no longer be adequately explained by either subcultural theory or traditional notions of deviance."(Redhead, S. (1993): 12). The social use of chemical substances - particularly cannabis, amphetamine, ecstasy, cocaine and L.S.D. - is no longer the stuff of rebels, revolutionaries, Bohemians and criminals, but has rather become a mainstream form of social practice and a phenomenon which transgresses traditional social attitudes, values, barriers and distinctions. The new practices, and the attitudes and values which have developed along with them are now too widespread to be called a 'subculture', and too mainstream to be called 'counter-cultural'. Since the 1950s more and more people from a much wider variety of sections of the population have experimented with, and started to employ, illegal substances in their everyday practices and lives. Involvement with 'controlled substances' inevitably involves experience and a necessary consciousness of 'the authorities' and the motivations of the state structure which attempts to control what is available on the market and in everyday life. This leads to practical questions concerning why certain very harmful substances - such as alcohol and tobacco - are legalised and institutionalised in everyday life even though other potentially more benign substances with reportedly less dangerous effects - such as cannabis and L.S.D. - are illegal, and courts and jails full of 'criminals' who are known as such through their connections with these substances. In terms of social recreation many people since 1988 have moved away from the traditional British 'pub' and clubs with their focus on alcohol and tobacco consumption, and have experimented with other forms of social recreation involving different practices, substances and interests despite the

⁴⁰ See Taylor, D. (1993) for a report based on Howard Parker's work.

existence of very real risks and dangers due to the illegal nature of many of these practices and substances.

Now why has this shift in social practices and 'culture' occurred? Well, there are many possible interpretations depending on one's position. For some - whose interests and position are strongly represented in the tabloid press and 'public' discourse - ecstasy is a 'drug' and is 'illegal', and on such a basis they accept the authority of the prohibitive 'just say no' attitude to 'drugs', which are perceived as a social/personal 'evil', and view this "new generation weaned on drugs", or "the Chemical Generation" as a specific example of a more general social and moral decay/decline in which 'society' is perceived - nostalgically - as having regressed since sometime after the Second World War (The Observer, 26 Sept. 1993). This attitude is based on difference and transforms those who do such things into either 'criminals' (agents of decay), or 'victims' (victims of decay), who are all in need of 'punishment', 'control', 'help' or 'counselling'.

Now the problem with this paternalistic/statist attitude towards ecstasy use as a 'drug problem' is that - as Howard Parker foresaw - this stance becomes more and more difficult to uphold as such practices become more popular and widespread, as they cross social barriers and restrictions, and as they clearly produce some kind of value for the many who do them. The paternalistic stance towards 'drug abuse' transforms people who use certain substances, no matter what else they do in their lives - work, love, care - into 'criminals', or 'victims', and can lead only to even more demands for 'governmental' powers, institutions and actions against them. Parker's study predicts a future society in which a major proportion of the population will be in and out of prisons because of hypocritical drugs laws, and a growing gulf between the law and attitudes expressed in public life and the practices, attitudes and values of a large section of the population. Without a corresponding shift in the law and public attitudes the emerging situation can

only produce a bigger bureaucracy and more costly state with the police, courts, prisons, etc. heavily occupied in their business, and presents the scary thought of a 'society' in an on-going state of 'civil war' with many of its own population.

Another possible interpretation is to see the popularity of 'ecstasy' and 'raving' as a passing 'fad', or 'craze', which is popular predominantly amongst young people who like to rebel but who will ultimately get down to getting on with things in the 'normal' way. This more liberal stance which does not sensationalise the phenomenon, however, ignores the widespread popularity and normality of ecstasy use and raving as a social phenomenon. Raves are predominantly filled with young people (18-30), however, older participants are a common sight, and as the phenomenon continues initial participants, of course, get older. There are plenty of 'old ravers' these days, and in the scene itself many people of different ages have always been involved in the organisation of events, as d.j.s, and in the production/selling of music and drugs. Ten years down the line since Ibiza and the opening of the Shoom club there are a few who have been involved in the scene for quite some time, and many 'careers' have been fashioned out of it and around it⁴¹.

'Ecstasy' use has also spread out from the contexts of raves and clubs - where it first became popularised and newsworthy - into other areas of social life and sections of the population which also challenges the view that it was exclusively the 'rave drug' and a 'youth' phenomenon. As information on ecstasy spread as a result of rave activity, participants' accounts, and media coverage, many people became interested in experimenting with the drug. Sometimes this led people into going to a club, or a rave. However, it also led to people experimenting with the substance in different ways and in alternative

⁴¹ Danny Rampling who started the Schoom club in London after d.j.ing in Ibiza, and who has also worked abroad in places such as Koh Phangan, now has a regular saturday night spot with Radio One. Paul Oakenfold, another old-timer on the U.K. scene and fan of the Goa scene, was the d.j. at the closing ceremony to mark the end of British rule in Hong Kong. Respectability!

contexts. For example - ecstasy is now used in the context of pubs, at private parties, and alone at home by partners. Therefore, due to the widespread popularity of ecstasy use in a variety of contexts, and the mainstream development of the dance scene in the club format, I find it difficult to accept the rather patronizing 'it's just another craze' explanation which seems to trivialise, and play down, the much greater social impact both ecstasy and raving have had upon social life in nations such as Britain and Germany.

The criminal status of 'ecstasy' suggests to some that people - especially the young - who take it might be motivated to do so as a symbol or form of rebellion/deviance, and as some part of a larger generational statement. The criminal status of the substance is clearly of great significance to any experience of it, and may be an aspect of its attraction for some at certain times, and it is true to some extent that as a frowned upon and 'unacceptable' practice it is bound to become laden with value and attract the young and other more marginalised sections of the population as a resource through which to express difference. However, to explain the popularity of 'ecstasy' and 'raving' simply through reference to it being 'naughty' is to both play down the actual effects of the substance and the experience of it, and, I believe, to misunderstand the identity and motivations of users. Users of 'ecstasy' are not all 'deviants', or 'rebels'. Users include doctors, lawyers, students, unemployed people, parents, and even policemen, as well as 'kids' and 'criminals'. This is not your traditional set of 'deviants', and if the figures on ecstasy use already cited are anywhere near the truth the question then arises concerning what 'it' is that 'they' rebel against, or deviate from? If around 50% of 18-25 year olds in some areas use some kind of illegal drug then who or what is the 'norm' and who decided?

Although there are certain contexts and times in which the illegality of the drug/practices/event may produce a lot of excitement and some of its attraction - for instance, at illegal/free parties, in the early days of acid house,

and amongst those experiencing their first contact with the scene - on the whole explaining its existence and attraction through the thrill of 'deviance' distracts from the actual experiences and practices themselves, thus dismissing them in a way as being of any actual consequence. The social diversity of ravers and clubbers and the variety of contexts in which 'ecstasy' is now used challenges any traditional understandings of 'drug use' as a symbol of 'deviance', or 'subculture'. Furthermore, 'ecstasy' use after almost ten years of existence as a popular recreational substance is also much more the 'norm' than many are led to believe by supposedly 'shocking' sensationalised reports in the media. I mean, shocking to whom? Not to those who have been using it in a socially meaningful way for almost a decade. To connect 'drugs' with 'deviance', and then use the supposed thrill of the latter to explain the attraction, even existence of the former is to be both out of touch with social reality and to dismiss, and not take seriously, the positive social experiences and practices which users have developed amongst themselves in the context of raving and other forms of social practice.

All of these interpretations/positions are characterised by distance from actual 'ecstasy' use and those characters who use it in their social practices - although they differ in attitude towards it and them. They all attempt to understand ecstasy use and raving through connections with other notions of 'social decline', or the 'generation gap'. They thus express a lack of interest and distaste for the phenomenon itself by shifting the focus towards other areas of social life and stating that they are 'really' what is at issue. I would now like to offer an alternative explanation/interpretation of this phenomenon from the perspective of people who use the substance and are involved in the practices around it.

People who use 'ecstasy' - in the variety of contexts in which it is used, including 'raving' - do so, I would say, to produce positive social and personal effects, which are inter-connected. All the contexts which it is taken in are

'recreational' and the principle aim is 'pleasure'. This recreational role, and the positive expectations and aims of users, are what attract people into experimenting with ecstasy in the first place. So, basically speaking, people take 'ecstasy' to 'feel good' and - very importantly - to feel good about, and with, others. It is the positive and social aspect of the drug which is taken as its defining, and its most attractive feature.

The positive feelings and social effects of MDMA have been given 'scientific' verification and explanation. One recently published media report on the substance explained that "...usually taken as a pill, MDMA reaches the brain where it releases a flood of 5-HT (serotonin) and dopamine. These are neurotransmitters, chemicals that send messages between brain cells. 5-HT produces most of the mood enhancing effects - the euphoria and "loved up" state of mind - and is involved in temperature and appetite control."(The Guardian, Tuesday May 21, 1996).

However, no matter what the 'scientific' discourse on its effects are, the growth in the popularity of ecstasy use, and the development and institutionalisation of habitual use of the substance in rave/club settings, is based around popular perceptions and expectations of it as a positive social, or 'happy', substance demonstrates that for many people these perceptions/expectations have been supported by their actual experience. It is, of course, the correspondence between perception/expectation and experience which encourages them to do it again, and to continue to do so on a regular basis. But if ecstasy is supposed to produce positive social effects which attract users, and if the numbers of people using it suggests that it obviously lives up to these expectations then the question is how exactly - in what ways - do people who use the substance in their practices understand its effects and view them as 'positive'?

People who I have known who take 'ecstasy' - both regularly and occasionally - talk about it mainly in two different but inter-connected ways

regarding its personal-physical effects and its social effects. Firstly, there is the personal-physical effect of the chemical on the individual who has taken it. The physical effect is commonly known as 'buzzing', or being 'wired', and is most strongly felt during the initial period of 'coming up', but is present during the whole experience. 'Buzzing' is associated with feelings of excitement, energy, slight nervousness, and possibly a hint of anxiety. It's like the sudden appearance of a surging energy, or an urgency, from right inside one's own body which needs to be released. This 'buzzing' feeling is associated - particularly in the early stages - with slight disorientation, a desire to get on with things and be active, and a complete suspension of linear time as things become much more focussed around the immediate here and now. At this stage and throughout the whole experience the user's body becomes very sensitive and all forms of stimulation - physical, aural, visual etc. - become heightened and produce shiver-like sensations which seem to travel through the body - particularly up and down the spine, at the back of the neck, and on the top of the head. These 'rushes' as they are known are a particularly popular aspect of the ecstasy experience, and a particular pill or capsule may be spoken about positively or negatively through its ability to - or not to - produce such 'rushes'⁴².

After 'coming up' and having experienced the most intense 'rushes', the next stage on 'ecstasy' is a kind of plateau after the initial climb. On this plateau the user still has energy and excitement, however, these feelings have moved beyond the initial strong sensations associated with 'coming up', and any anxiety/nervousness should have passed away as the user's body becomes accustomed to having the chemical inside of it, and s/he begins to relax into it and use it. This plateau stage can last for between 2-3 hours, and is normally associated with the more social effects of the substance.

⁴² 'Ecstasy' comes in two forms either as a pill, or as powder in a capsule.

The social effects of 'ecstasy' are widely regarded by users to surround its ability to make people - through its pleasant physical effects - 'feel good' and 'happy' resulting in a positive social atmosphere in which people are enthusiastic, friendly, keen to participate, and open to others. At raves and in clubs where 'ecstasy' is being used, participants expect to smile at, mix and mingle with others whether they know them or not. The environment produced by 'ecstasy' is expected to be fluid and mobile, and this is associated with the substance as one of its effects as much as it is with the social context itself.

So popular expectations of 'ecstasy' are that it will make those who take it 'feel good' physically, and allow them to be more 'open' as a person and more 'friendly' to others. These popularly conceived notions of 'ecstasy' are also common explanations for the attraction of rave events e.g. make you feel good/positive about your self/others. In this sense popular conceptions about the chemical, 'ecstasy', and the social events, raves, are the same. This supports Steve Redhead's observation that "It is clear that ecstasy and rave culture go hand in glove."(Redhead, S. (1993):13).

These popular conceptions are, of course, ideal and general, but they nevertheless work as the popular motivations and goals for 'ecstasy' use and 'raving'. They are the popularly conceived discourse on an ideal night's raving. They are, therefore, very powerful and real as they are the setting for participants' experiences. This discourse, however, must exist in social contexts where ecstasy is used, contexts which are far from accommodating due to its prohibition and illegality as a named 'drug'. The criminalisation, as well as the popularisation of 'ecstasy' has led to a host of possible experiences for those who take it which are far from 'ideal', and introduces a strong 'risk factor' involved in any ecstasy use. These 'risks' involve experiences with dishonesty and profiteering in the form of dodgy drug dealers who sell fake 'dud', or 'cut', pills/capsules as 'ecstasy' which produce unexpected effects.

Sometimes these effects - depending on the make up of the chemical substance actually digested - will just prove disappointing. They can, however, be more dangerous depending on how far the dealer is prepared to go to make a 'quick killing'. These dangers and risks, which reflect the wider conditions of the societies in which they are taken, are recognised by participants in the scene, and 'bad ones' and 'rip-offs' are things which have to be negotiated and dealt with. They are the risks involved in the game.

As well as the potential influence of the chemicals depending upon the nature of 'the deal' - that is, the context of social relations in which it took place e.g. known dealer/stranger - there is also the influence of the environment/context in which the experience occurs. As clubbing, for instance, has become a big business certain profit-making strategies have emerged - such as turning off the water taps (so that people have to buy drinks), or cramming the club - which could radically dictate the nature of an emerging event.

Finally, of course, there is the influence of the individual user both physiologically and in terms of 'mood', and the immediate personal context in which the 'ecstasy' enters into. It seems from some of the 'ecstasy-related' deaths that - as with many substances - certain individuals seem to react very differently to them from most, sometimes tragically different. It is very difficult to say anything very much about why this occurs in the absence of scientific research. However, in terms of the 'mood' of users there is the same relationship between a participant's general mood and the outcome of an event as in any other practice, except a general belief that both ecstasy and the positive atmosphere at a rave can make things seem better.

So these are the limits within which an 'ecstasy' experience must exist for, as a human phenomenon taking place in the social world, discourses about it must exist amongst other popular discourses such as the 'making money' one, or the 'law and order' one which will affect it. But what I am, very

basically, trying to say is that the new trends in drug use and the popularity of raving as a social practice can be easily understood when seen from a position of an involved subject. 'Ecstasy' is a substance which is taken easily in pill, or capsule, form - unlike many previously used illegal substances such as heroin - and is perceived as a 'user friendly' social drug which is taken mostly in a social context animated by positivity. 'Risks' are an acknowledged reality of being a user which must be weighed up by the individual. The fact, however, that 'risks' are involved should not - as some try to make out - point to the insanity of such practices. This is because such risks are taken in the wider context of a society which is epitomised by 'risk' and even has major social institutions based around the idea, e.g. insurance, welfare, business, the stock exchange.

The positive, social discourse on 'ecstasy' and 'raving' has managed to maintain itself for almost a decade now, and in doing so it has had to challenge many preconceptions about 'drugs' in general which were real for many participants who have since taken the substance. These preconceptions were based on the 'just say no!' discourse of prohibition which has existed in the media, education, government discourse and policy in this century, and which has grown into the 'war against drugs' led by the U.S.A. and its D.E.A.⁴³. This discourse warns 'the public' about the 'evils' of 'drug abuse' based on studies of cocaine and heroin addiction - or 'hard drugs' as they have come to be known in a novel liberal distinction. Popular experimentation with ecstasy in the context of raves and clubs has, however, shown this antiseptic discourse to be false as people have come to see 'ecstasy' as a positive thing and to institutionalise it through 'raving' in their everyday lives. The positive discourse which participants have concerning 'ecstasy' use and 'raving', and the popularisation of this discourse and the practice it supports, has created a

⁴³ See Henman, A. Lewis, R. and Malyon, T. (1985) for an informed discussion on the politics of 'the war against drugs'.

distance between those who are involved in such practices and the attitudes, values, laws and interests voiced publicly in the wider social world in which they must exist. This distance can be a dangerous one for people on either side, and I hope that in some way this work will help to breach that distance.

The importance of the 'feel good'/pleasure discourse in the popularisation of 'ecstasy' and 'raving' is demonstrated not only in the way people talk about the physical and social effects of the chemical, and the practices and atmosphere at rave events, but is also reflected in the names given to numerous parties and clubs, in the vocal samples used in much of the music played at them, and in the playful and colourful styles of participants (see Plates 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 26a).

Club and party names - such as, Sunrise, Big Love, Rezerection, Pure, Sublime, Lift, Joy and Luvely amongst others - all play upon the positive connotations of their chosen titles (see Plates 7, 8, 12, 13). These positive connotations are often supported on flyers advertising the events and on backdrops by the use of colourful - often shiny, or fluoro - images and backgrounds (see Plate 21a). The overall effect is to produce positive signs to attract people into coming, and to make an association between those events and pleasure/happiness.

The themes of positivity and pleasure are also communicated through the music played at many events. This was especially so in the early days of 'house' and 'rave' music when vocal samples often referred to 'gettin' higher', 'feelin' so real', 'havin' big fun', 'the good life', and told people to 'report to the dancefloor' and 'enjoy sensation'⁴⁴.

Finally, positive connotations were also played on through the styles worn by participants at ecstasy fuelled events. Dressing colourfully is a practice which has stretched from the initial 'acid house' days right through to contemporary clubbing and free party scenes. Styles based around themes

⁴⁴ These are all samples taken from British rave music from the years 1990-92.

of childhood, innocence and naughtiness have been popular - e.g. pig tails, dummy tits, sailor style t-shirts, clowns' hats and trousers, pirate bandanas, etc.. This is as well as a 'feel good' emphasis upon the casual and comfortable style originally worn by football 'casuals' in the 1980s.

All of these elements - the popular perceptions of the chemical and its effects, the social practices and behaviour at rave events, the names of clubs, vocal samples used in dance trax, and the styles worn by people at events - all come together to produce a massive collage of positivity, happiness, and comfort, a 'feel good' factor, within a wider context of 'risk' and 'insecurity'. Such contextualisation helps us to understand why so many people can encounter and understand ecstasy and raving as positive things of social value in their lives. This 'feel good' discourse is in opposition to other discourses on ecstasy and raving - not produced by participants but by outsiders - which accentuate the negative sides of both the substance and the practice, and which then as a result have to explain - or diagnose - why such obviously negative things are popular - the existence of evil 'Mr Bigs', etc.. Such negative discourses try to produce a distance between the writer/reader and the subject, and try to create a sense of control over the subject by comparing it to some accepted 'common sense' understanding of - for instance - the nature of young people, or the general state of society. However, the 'feel good' discourse does not try and dress these subjects up in other terms, and make them seem essentially different - although still easily understood by reference to some common sense understanding - but rather presents these people in terms they would recognise as people looking for a positive social experience otherwise known as a 'good time', which in contemporary societies which have a host of discourses and practices surrounding notions of 'recreation', 'enjoyment', and 'pleasure' is surely not so difficult to understand?

2.5 A TRIP TO BEDLAM: EXPERIENCING OF INSIDER DISTINCTIONS AND SOCIAL DIVERSITY WITHIN THE BRITISH RAVE SCENE

The first rave I went to with the explicit purpose of 'doing anthropology', as well as just because I was into raving, was an illegal party set up by a group called 'Bedlam' in an abandoned factory on the Isle of Dogs in London in 1992. I had turned up at a squat in Hackney on the Saturday afternoon in search of a guy I'd met in a pub in Edinburgh who had given me the address of a good place to go for 'underground parties'. After negotiating some noisy dogs and suspicious faces I eventually found someone in the busy squat who knew him and discovered that he was going to be away for an unknown period of time.

Wondering what to do, and left sitting in the squat around a table, it soon became apparent that significant things about me made me different to the others who were coming and going. This was reflected in the manner in which they engaged with me. Some of this difference that I, and clearly those around me, sensed was no doubt to do simply with the fact that I was a stranger in a new social context. Coming down from St. Andrews as I had, even though I was wearing my 'ravey gear', I looked a bit conspicuous, a bit other, too new and shiny compared to those around me, and this was to be expected. I was not a squatter.

But something else was involved, which I was unaware of at the time due to my lack of participation in, or knowledge of the rave scene in England, which was - as I was discovering at the time unknowingly - much bigger and socially diverse than in Scotland. On setting off for London I had anticipated people, a scene and an event familiar to that which I had experienced before up North. This was because I thought I was going to a 'rave', and thought that most raves would be reasonably similar, and that 'ravers' would be open to other fellow revellers because of the themes of openness and unity which I had understood to be a major aspect of the scene up

to that point. At the time I was very much in my own eyes a 'raver', and as I understood it that was a positive thing to be identified as in a place where I had been told to turn up for a 'party'. It was with a head packed full of such ideological trimmings concerning the unity and brotherhood of ravers, and a very particular and local view of the rave scene, that I travelled to London. So when questioned by one bloke in the squat with a strong London accent, dreadlocks and army trousers if I was a 'raver', I answered 'Yes'. After all, up until this point I had understood through my particular experience and participation that the social practice of taking ecstasy and dancing in organised social events was 'raving' at 'raves' involving 'ravers'. I proceeded on such assumptions unaware of the possible position this identification could put me in within a different social context in which I failed to sense the complexity involved, and failed to consider the possibility of difference to, and misunderstandings in, my own perceptions of the scene.

However, when there was obviously something slightly inappropriate about me wanting to be seen as a 'raver', I came to realise that this label was understood differently there in the context of a party scene based around London squats. At the time I noticed certain things that pointed to this difference; people looked different to the ones I was used to seeing and being with at Scottish raves. They were more 'hippie', or 'crustie', in appearance with dreadlocks, body piercings and army boots very popular social items⁴⁵. They smoked rollies, drank cider, spoke about acid as well as ecstasy, and told stories about numerous confrontations with the police. There was also a much greater diversity of ages and types than I was used to up

⁴⁵ 'Crustie', or 'crusty', is a popular term used to identify people who are travellers and squatters, and who in their appearance (dreadlocks, body piercings) and lifestyle (on site, squats) express an opposition to mainstream values. The recent media attention given to 'Swampy' has popularised the image of the crustie.

north. And I noticed that people preferred to use the words 'party' and 'partying', instead of 'rave' and 'raving'⁴⁶.

Looking back, I realise that I was completely out of place in the expectations I had of the squat scene, and the 'parties' which occurred around it. I had gone taking an identity and social knowledge I had developed through participation at social events of a legal and commercial nature in the Scottish scene, and had expected it to fit in an entirely different context elsewhere. I had taken my identity and knowledge gained from participation in legal, outdoor, 'happy hardcore' events concerning the social make up of such events, and the appropriate dress and behaviour at such, and had brought it to a scene that - prior to any experience - I had perceived as similar, and as 'raving'⁴⁷. So, there I sat with shaved short hair, a bright red jacket, green jogging pants and sports shoes in a completely different scene where I represented and was identified as a 'raver', and consequently within this new context as 'commercial', as 'mainstream', as a person not so involved in drugs and 'parties' as a way of life, as a form of social and political opposition, and basically as being different and 'other'.

A 'raver' in this different social context had the social connotations of paying a lot of money to get into large popular events, buying often expensive, conformist 'rave' clothes/fashions, being involved in the world of labour, or at best, organised crime to fund such habits, and with an ideology that only stretched as far as a desire to do a couple of Es at the weekend, get off your head and then get back to normal on Monday morning. This stereotype of the 'raver' exists as one side of a distinction which is fully expressed through popularly used terms such as 'mainstream'/'hardcore' and

⁴⁶ A tradition of holding illegal 'parties' surrounding squat areas pre-dates 'raving', and stretches back at least as far as the 1960s. See next section for more details on this tradition.

⁴⁷ 'Happy hardcore' is the name given to a particular scene, type of music, and style which surrounded/surrounds large, legal outdoor rave events. See later sections on raving (2.8, 2.9) for more details on this scene.

'commercial'/'underground' within different raving, or party, scenes. It can, of course, be reversed and I have known 'ravers' who regard the London 'underground' party scene as full of middle-class, ex-sociology students living out their fantasies as arrogant, smelly hippies in bogging squats, and hanging out at exclusive police-ridden events drinking Merrydown cider on acid. The term 'crustie', although used by certain people as a positive term of self-identification, is normally used negatively to evoke such a sense⁴⁸.

This on-going process of distinction and identification was far from abstract in the form of pure ideas, mental processes, or symbolic thought, for as I sat there in the squat, the distinctions and identifications were marked concretely all over my social body, with easily recognisable messages in my clothes, my hair, my words. One guy in particular - who kept on bragging about the thefts he'd managed to pull off in the last few days on the Tube, and about the dangerous addiction to labour and respectability so many people had, as opposed to his own more social and user-friendly addictions - clearly saw the distinction, as well as my discomfort at discovering it, and kept asking whether I had any money for more dope or cider.

However, I hung around, keen for a party, and as the day and then the night progressed in a rapid series of steps - piled into the back of a van, an unused factory entered, sound system set up, back drops hung up, generator started, lights turned on, drug dealing, chatting and dancing begun. Slowly through visible physical/social presence and participation I found that other participants - who had both seen me previously in the squat and since at the party - began to deal with me in a less wary manner as we began to share the social activities and experience of making a party and dancing together within a setting provided by growing drug experience.

⁴⁸ 'Swampy' the road protester has transformed the image of the 'crustie' which is now somewhat more romanticised.

During the night a variety of forms of social exchange and communication, mostly non-linguistic, such as eye contact, smiling, dancing, passing bottles of water, sitting together chilling out, passing joints, etc. all led to a strong feeling that by taking part in the party that initial differences were negotiated and balanced by the social performance, shared experience, and exchanges, which animated the long night. To begin with, my own initial sense of discomfort and difference - which I felt earlier in the squat - was backed up by unfamiliar thumping acid music and dancing, as well as the unfamiliar presence of dogs and very young children on the dancefloor⁴⁹. However, as time passed and dancing and chilling-out got done, I found myself recognising personal and physical characteristics in those around me that I knew in friends at home and in the past. This was obviously a personal strategy for making myself more comfortable, but also was a response to the growing openness of the social atmosphere around me.

Finally, after a long and at times intense night, and feeling a lot more comfortable, I said goodbye to the people I had shared the night with, and I wobbled out of the factory past numerous bodies that littered its dirty, dusty floor at about midday on Sunday. I tried to find some bearings in the dazzling light and confusion provided by the day. I have never forgotten looking up and spotting the flashing light on Canary Wharf. I recognised it from the telly, a typical experience for a Scot in London. It seemed so strange that after a night of exciting and illegal collective experience in an abandoned factory in a social and economic 'problem area' and 'development zone' that I should look up and be confronted by a monument to Thatcherite enthusiasm and incentives in the form of dockland development.

I walked along an unknown street and stood by a bus stop where other people were already waiting. As they started to stare I realised that the extent

⁴⁹ The music played that night was of the 'boing, boing' techno style which was coming out of Holland, Germany and Belgium at the time.

to which I had found myself increasingly accepted at the party was matched in full now by the extent to which the people standing at that bus stop now ignored me, or eyed me with distaste. Many of the on-lookers were, in fact, old and in uniform on their way to the Commemoration Day service being held that day in central London, which was news to me at the time. These people in their bright uniforms and shiny medals proclaimed a very different relationship to the nation state than that felt by many today. I felt unsure about who I should feel compassion for, those who believed and fought for 'noble causes' in a game they never really fully understood, or, people like me and all those others at the party that night who believed and fought for very little beyond themselves, but who were possibly more aware of the tricks and games, the lies and contradictions of the world in which they had to live.

Looking down towards the cracked pavement I noticed that I was now not so shiny. In fact, I was covered in dirt it seemed from sitting crashed out on the floor of the factory, and I smelt from sweating hard on the dancefloor, and I sensed by the occasional glance that my eyes must have been popping out of their sockets. The music could still be heard in the background, and I had been identified as one of those 'ravers' you read about in the press, and if looks could kill.

2.6 'BREACH THE PEACE!': ACID HOUSE, SQUATS, THE FREE PARTY MOVEMENT, TRAVELLERS, CASTLEMORTON AND CLAMPDOWN.

I now want to return in this section to history in order to situate the previous account, and develop a greater awareness of the social complexity and diversity involved in raving as a social and historical phenomenon. So far the arrival and popularisation of recreational ecstasy use and 'acid house' has

* This sample is taken from Spiral Tribe's e.p. of the same name which celebrated the famous party at Castlemorton.

been connected to the development of the Ibiza scene in the context of modern mass tourism and travel, Thatcherite entrepreneurialism and the establishment of 'leisure'/recreation' markets and practices, as well as having connections with football and the activities of organised criminal 'firms'. However, in the wider popular history of raving, these developments paralleled, and collided with a very different social scene which also has a history of contact with the practices which were popularised by 'acid house'. Here I want to focus upon the impact of 'acid house' on another area of the social world - those urban areas and people associated with squatting and the practices and culture surrounding them and the 'New Age traveller' scene with which it is connected.

Since the 1960s in certain 'run down' areas of London, such as Hackney (which had been bombed in the war), communities of squatters arose. Breaking into empty properties, squatters would repair and furnish them enough to live in, and had - until the Criminal Justice Act 1994 - certain squatter's rights concerning unused property. Communities of squatters living together in large properties, and in areas where there were many squats, created their own styles and a distinctive set of collective values and practices that suited their environment, and which, in particular, expressed their marginality from mainstream modern economic society through their appearance, practices and behaviour. Squatters created a value system which claimed to invert mainstream society's individualism, materialism and respect for authority, and placed emphasis on the power of collectivity, creativity and defiance. This way of life became known as 'the underground'. The notion of 'the underground' - the network of social relationships of all sorts between groups of marginal people which allowed them and their lifestyles to exist in spite of, and often in the face of, the material and political pressures of modern governmental society and its interests and value system - empowered

squatters and their marginal lifestyle by creating positive, collective value through its symbolic, practical and political negation of 'mainstream society'.

The squat areas became a home for difference within the city. Due to the 'undesirability' of the property, and the resulting lack of cosmopolitan and suburban identities and attitudes, there emerged a mixed population made up of all sorts of societal marginals forced into the peripheries of 'society' due to material pressures, or, who wished for the invisibility such areas could afford from the attentions of the local and national authorities due to their past identities, or, perhaps, the nature of their business practices, and some who were simply there by choice. Due to their self-conscious marginality, the squat areas and squatters became identified as centres of alternative and illegal lifestyles and practices. In the 1960s squat-land was immersed in hippy psychedelia and its L.S.D. and marijuana. Later in the 1970s it moved into Rasta and Punk as other means through which to express and live difference. In the late 1980s raving arrived. This living immersion in difference made the squat scene an influential resource for a parallel development in popular culture which has come to be known as 'youth culture', and which also sets out as its target the construction of language, styles, values and behaviour different from that perceived to be the 'dominant culture' as expressed by the older generation⁵⁰. This connection between the 'counter-culture' of the squats and 'youth culture' has created a situation in which 'the underground' has become a kind of exotic place due to the apparent authenticity of its culture - authenticated through its resistance to the established authority of 'the mainstream'. It is different and collective, and 'youth culture' wants so badly to be different and collective. This has made the squat lifestyle an object of romance and a source of rebellion for many, which has both fuelled its community through increasing its numbers, and has also created a market for

⁵⁰ For a theory of 'subculture', see Hebdige, D. (1993), and for more ethnographic and detailed accounts see Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. (1991); Jones, S. (1988); and Marshall, G. (1994).

its styles and practices in which some squatters, as agents of such things, have found ways to profit from them in passing.

In this social and historical context a tradition amongst squatters of getting sound systems together and holding illegal 'parties', often in abandoned properties - such as warehouses - emerged. These parties were a focus for the underground scene where people could meet, exchange information, and do business together in the very social context of 'having a good time'. They were also public events which would attract outsiders interested in experiencing the otherside of things, in particular, the trade in illegal substances. These 'punters' served as a market and as a source of cash flowing from mainstream society into the underground network feeding their lifestyle, and was based on a growing trend since the 1960s in which desire for drug experience has radically increased within different sections of society. To insiders and outsiders, these events signalled both the defiance of 'the underground' with respect to 'mainstream society' with its laws and authorities, and at the same time expressed its continuing relationship (economic, social, political-ideological) with sections of it (e.g. with middle-class and working-class 'youth' as participants, with forces/practices of governmentality, with 'the public' through the media), and they became symbolic of 'the underground' as a whole.

A relatively small, semi-nomadic, fluid, evasive, and (with respect to the practice of government) 'invisible' community of individuals, who depended a lot upon their mystique of difference and outsiders' lack of knowledge, squatters remained mostly insignificant to 'mainstream society', its governmental agencies, and the 'gaze' of its interests, as long as their numbers were relatively few, their practices fairly discreet and their properties and land undesirable. The exception to this rule of disassociation, of course, was in economic exchanges (work, theft, business). Squatters lived in the heart of the city, and like other urban subjects were reliant upon the exchange of cash and

consumer goods, and this maintained a relationship between them and other members of society.

In the 1980s the relationship between squatter 'counter-culture' and 'youth culture' continued with the arrival of the new drug, ecstasy, and the new form of dance music 'acid house'. As ecstasy started to make its way into the U.K. in the mid 1980s it quickly made in-roads into the underground and its scene. The arrival of the new drug meant a new social and economic resource for squat parties. The arrival of the 'acid house' scene in London clubland in 1987 connected ecstasy use with 'house' music, all night dancing and illegal parties. The 'acid house' scene which was attracting middle class youth into its West End clubs with its mixture of drugs, new music and all night dancing, and tempting 'firms' of football hooligans and young Thatcherite entrepreneurs into organising 'parties' where they could make money from selling the new drug, had, of course, striking cultural resemblances with the squatter tradition of parties. However, the new entrepreneurs and their clubs and parties differed from those held by squatters. They were guided more by the 'get-rich-quick' market economics of Thatcherism than by a desire for 'counter-culture'. They set up events with profit more in mind, and aimed their events at a much bigger section of the population. In doing so they were assisted by media coverage and the identification of 'acid house' by many young Thatcherite entrepreneurs as a major youth 'market' in which profit could be made through promotion and merchandising.

As a result of this swift, widespread media coverage and commercial exploitation of 'acid house' as a market, and the speed at which it was performed, knowledge of the scene, willing participants, strong opponents and uninterested cynics quickly emerged. In this sense, the wider environment of Thatcherism with its young entrepreneurs and their 'markets' led to the identification of 'acid house' as a resource for sale in the markets of 'youth culture', and, in doing so, led to the very quick and widespread

popularisation of a 'craze' associated with illegal substances, the business operations of criminal firms, and the traditions and practices of the London 'underground'⁵¹. Therefore, 'acid house' as a social phenomenon came to epitomise the two conflicting sides of Thatcher's conservatism, that is, a commitment to a free 'laissez-faire' economic society of markets ruled by supply and demand, and a strict moral conservatism of 'just say no!' towards issues such as drug use. Organisers of 'acid house' events were smart entrepreneurs who had commodities to sell and there was plenty of demand. However, its immersion in the publicly acclaimed moral and social 'evil' of 'drugs', and its strong connections with criminal 'firms', 'underground' lifestyles and their 'black economies' made it simply unacceptable to the political mainstream. This led to a vicious attack upon the 'evils' of 'acid house' and its 'Mr Bigs' in the media, and the construction of a 'public outcry' for the authorities to do something about this 'menace to society'.

The popularisation of 'acid house', which in the summer of 1988 was happening in major cities all over the U.K. from London to Manchester to Glasgow, was the result of a host of different practices. In the development of 'acid house' the activities of underground criminal networks, the media, the government, High Street merchandising, and word of mouth amongst participants about the exciting new form of dance music, the positive effects of ecstasy as a recreational social drug, and the collective, friendly, and open atmosphere at parties were all significant. This popularisation meant that there was by 1988-89 a much bigger population of willing illegal party-goers than ever before, and a growing market for illegal parties and substances. Squatters who got into ecstasy and the new dance music, and who transformed their parties into 'raves' created a new connection with a wider phenomenon which incorporated clubs and warehouse parties. This opportunity offered

⁵¹ See Dillely, R. (1992) (ed.) for anthropological debates surrounding the notion of 'the market' and its place as a powerful socio-political metaphor.

squatters and their 'sound systems' a way of making cash by attracting participants in the 'acid house' scene who were looking for a 'party'. They did this by distributing flyers in public places announcing events with contact phone numbers from which the location would ultimately be revealed on the night⁵².

As a result of these developments in the late 1980s, illegal parties set up by sound systems working out of squats and organised by squatters came to be known as 'techno parties', or 'raves'. Parties organised by sound systems, such as Spiral Tribe or Bedlam, were attended not only by the traditional 'crusty' squatter and traveller types who inhabited squatland, but by urban clubbers and members of working class 'firms'. A process of fusion and exchange emerged at these events between what had traditionally been understood to be very distinct, even mutually hostile, elements of British society blurring the traditional distinctions of working-class/middle class, criminal/legal, counter-cultural/suburban due to their apparent ability to co-exist and tolerate each other's difference in the context of 'raves' and while they were 'raving'. Difference gathered together and mixed through ecstasy, dance music and dance, and the relations surrounding such interests and practices.

The connection between squatters' 'parties' and the 'acid house' phenomenon was made easy enough on the surface through the shared interest in drugs, 'underground' music and dancing. These connections have led to a process of 'creolisation' in which the styles, practices and language associated with certain social identities - the Squatter, the Crustie, the Casual, the Clubber - have been exchanged and appropriated in new configurations⁵³. For example, the 'casual' style popular amongst football hooligans, and the 'crustie' style of squatters have since those early days become more widespread styles and fashions in 'youth culture' in general and particularly in 'club

⁵² This was the strategy used by popular squat based movements such as Spiral Tribe and Bedlam in the late eighties and early nineties.

⁵³ For academic discussion concerning 'creolisation' see Hannerz, U. (1996).

culture'. They have even made their way into designer and popular High Street fashions). However, fusions were balanced by a continued sense of difference and whispered distaste for others, their identities, their styles and practices. At times temporary co-existence at parties was more of a calculated, practical, even cynical tolerance for the sake of its potential rewards, rather than a fluid or cohesive mix. As the popularity of Underground parties increased there was also a growing scepticism and fear of what was to come which mingled in with the feelings of ecstasy which animated these new social spaces.

This connection between the squatter scene and the 'acid house' phenomenon drew another marginal section of British society and its practices into the wider dance scene, as well as bringing it to the attention of the media, police and government. This scene which is connected to the squat areas and communities was that of 'the travellers' as they had come to be known, and their summer tradition of holding and attending 'free festivals'.

The traveller's lifestyle developed out of the nomadic, marginal practices of the Gypsies who have long been in evidence in British and European society⁵⁴. The Gypsies had a nomadic, transient lifestyle based around the moveability of their homes and their participation in peripheral economic practices. This lifestyle and the internal cohesion and secrecy of the Gypsy community has made them historically the object of 'Gorgio' (mainstream, settled society) contempt, and a romantic symbol of resistance to, and rejection of modern society. The romanticisation of Gypsies, and 'nomads' in general, exists as a whole romantic tradition in mainstream western literature, poetry, film, travel writing and anthropology. A popularly available image of the exotic 'gypsy' wandering beneath the stars, living day to day with only simple pleasures and comforts, but with the sparkle of a more feral and collective existence constantly shining in his, or her, eyes exists as a

⁵⁴ For an anthropological account of gypsies in Britain, see Okely, J. (1983).

caricature and a stereotype amongst those who occupy the more settled, domesticated space of contemporary inner cities and suburbia.

This image struck a firm note in the late 1950s and 1960s with first the 'beatnik', and then the 'hippy' social movements, which placed value upon movement, being 'on the road' and the freedom and knowledge it offered in comparison to a more dominant settled/domestic lifestyle. Assisted by popular literature, film, and advertising imagery, a generation of young Americans, as well as the youth of many nations influenced by that nation's economic power and cultural influence, began to long more for the unfamiliar sights, peoples and adventures of 'Oz', than the security of knowing 'there's no place like home'. Media coverage of, and marketing strategies based on, the hippy movement spread ideas, practices and styles based around such a longing with a speed and to an extent that expressed the cultural possibilities created by new global technologies, companies, networks and strategies⁵⁵.

In Britain during the 1960s and since, many have opted for an alternative lifestyle 'on the road' in the pursuit of modern/western ideals, such as 'happiness' and 'freedom', and a more 'hippy' lifestyle inspired by this Kerouacian legacy. In the summer months travellers would travel mainly around the South of England and in Wales attending traditional, local summer fairs and free festivals where they would make their business selling craft goods, or through busking and performing. Like the urban warehouse parties, these events would serve as both gathering points for the travelling community and as a market and source of income for them due to the outsiders who would come to them with their settler's cash. At these events which are continuations of a popular European tradition of the carnival, or the fair, it

⁵⁵ For academic discussions of 'globalism', see Robertson, R. (1992) and Hannerz, U. (1996).

was traditional that playing music and dancing would be a big part of the day's events⁵⁶.

In the cold winter months travellers would either head for the continent and more pleasant climates, or, would set up in more permanent residence in caravan 'sites', or in housing provided by local councils. The alternative for many, however, was to find refuge in urban squats where they could hold up and try to make some cash in the meantime by becoming involved in the urban squat scene. This counter-cultural connection between travellers, urban squats, and youth culture had in the 1960s and 1970s attracted media, police and governmental interests, attentions and pressures. Many older travellers resented these attentions and those who brought them into play, and they worried about the threat they posed to their lifestyle as a whole if they led to governmental reaction and clampdowns. However, the demise of the 'hippy' movement, the swift burn-out of the 'punk' movement, and the creation of more sensational media subjects for reporting such as the 'lager louts' and 'football hooliganism' in the 1980s turned attentions and pressures away from squatters and travellers for a while. This changed with the arrival and popularisation of 'acid house' and 'free parties'. As Lowe and Shaw have recorded:

"In the summer of 1991, the old hippie festivals began to mutate into venues for rave music...Festival raves grew out of the warehouse parties and illegal raves of the late eighties."(Lowe, R. and Shaw, W. (1993): 166).

Sound systems such as Spiral Tribe and Bedlam who had been holding 'free parties' in London packed their sound systems, music and people into old vans and headed off on the free festival circuit where they were able to park, set up and pump out their new music. The collective 'free party' spirit of the sound systems seemed to those involved to connect them with the longer tradition of travellers' festivals as a kind of contemporary evolution. Shared

⁵⁶ For some details on the tradition of 'carnival' see Burke, P. (1978) and Bakhtin, M. (1968).

interests in an alternative lifestyle to that available in the mainstream seemed to connect the emerging energy of the 'free party' movement and its collectives with the travellers' scene. However, the blend was not so straightforward because, as Lowe and Shaw again pointed out:

"Many travellers still view the ravers with suspicion. They hate the noise, and many hate the new synthetic drugs like ecstasy and the flashy dealers who sell them. But most of all they hate the attention raves bring."(Ibid.:166).

The new breed of festival-goers were different to many of those who more traditionally attended. They were more urban, more into technology, lots of people, and ecstasy, and they were less deeply connected to holistic philosophies and practices, and also less independent of mainstream society. More crucially, however, they were louder than before, often more confrontational when it came to dealing with the authorities, and with their sound systems, new drug and 'techno' music they attracted a whole new crowd of festival-goers who went to 'acid house' events. In doing so they also attracted new attention from the media and the authorities who were already concerned about developments to do with 'acid house' in the cities which were already an 'issue'.

The new connections being made through the spread of ecstasy use and raving meant that young working class youth who had come into contact with ecstasy at football matches, or at 'acid house' warehouse parties, and middle-class youth who had encountered it as part of their generational rebellion and 'youth culture' found themselves able to associate their experiences and practices with 'free festivals'. The 'free' side of things was also particularly attractive to the urban person not used to getting in for free to anything (even illegal warehouse parties could cost up to £20 to get in).

In the early 1990s as a result of these new connections, a strange and diverse assembly took place at rave events which challenged many of the traditional social distinctions in British society. In a society traditionally

understood by both insiders and outsiders to be deeply divided by class, regional, religious, gender and generational distinctions there occurred rave events at which working-class youth, middle-class youth, entrepreneurs, criminals, travellers and squatters of both genders and many ages all attended. Very few social institutions and social practices in the U.K. in the past, and now, can claim to cross such boundaries of difference. Yet such difference could come to a party, tolerate each other, exchange things, do the same drugs, and sit and dance in the same place.

I do not wish to make this social occurrence appear to be the beginnings of some sort of social 'Utopia' for there is no doubt that difference, distrust and tensions remained. However, for anyone who attended these kind of events the reality of this social process of mixing, and the exciting and diverse environment it produced, cannot be denied. The reality of this process can, in fact, be read indirectly, I believe, through the extent and severity of the reaction of the authorities in the build up to the Criminal Justice Act 1994. One participant who was a witness to this process has commented that "Going into the nineties the establishment view of raves was of a growing and officially uncontrollable phenomenon." (Carey, J. (1994): 51). And it needs to be pointed out that this phenomenon was not so marginal anymore either due to the different sections of society who were responding to it. West Midlands police intelligence reported that 1220 'rave parties' with up to 15,000 people at one single event occurred between April 1990 and the same month two years later (Jordan, T. (1995): 129). While John Major, the Conservative party leader and prime minister, was promising his electorate a more mobile, 'classless' and 'free' Britain, many members of more marginalised 'parties' were creating local and national networks of social relations which crossed traditional social boundaries, and were realising, if only during transient events, such a political ideal through raving.

In the summer of 1992 this "growing and officially uncontrollable cultural phenomenon" peaked during a single, spontaneous event amidst growing popularity, increased media coverage and increased surveillance (Carey, J. (1994): 51). Everybody who was present at the free festival at Castlemorton Common that year, and most other people who were involved in the party or rave scene at that time and even since have a story to tell about what happened during those days. Castlemorton has become a legendary event, a watershed in the occasional oral and sometimes written histories offered on Goan chai mats, or in underground fanzines, or in Australian communes, or while hanging out in smokey beach bars on remote Thai islands. Some say that 30,000 were there at Castlemorton, and that official reports tried to play down the real numbers involved. Other observers, and more 'official' reports say that it was more in the region of 20,000. Whatever, we can take it that there were a lot of folk there. Some say it went on for a full eight days, twenty-four hours a day. Others say it lasted only five. Whatever, for a party - by any standards - it lasted for quite some time. Some say it was the greatest event in their lives and in the history of British counter-culture and popular protest. Others say it signalled the beginning of the end of alternatives in Conservative Britain provoking a massive social clampdown and the emergence of a police state. Others say it was just a good excuse to get 'out of your head' and be 'wasted' for a few days. On national radio the spokesman for the police called it simply "a breach of the peace..a serious breach of the peace."

Whatever the exact details of those few days may have been, looking back, it was of massive significance to the future of raving, the 'free party' movement, and the lifestyle of the New Age travellers. It is worth, therefore, recounting some information in another version of the story gathered together from the many fragments I have encountered myself (see Plate 9).

The police who had been carrying out surveillance on the approaching Avon Free Festival, and a string of festivals which occurred in the build up to it, moved in to stop it from happening. The police seem to have known, like those who headed towards it in convoys that it was "...going to be one of the biggest things England had seen for a long time." (Lowe, R. and Shaw, W. (1993): 171). However, not put off by the intervention of the police, and aware of the numbers coming to the festival, an alternative site was found at Castlemorton Common where some sound systems set up, and before the police could respond the people were there, with others arriving all the time, the music was pumping out and the party and the dancing had begun.

For days the police, who had surrounded the party, could do nothing but stand and watch as it continued day and night. In the face of such a large non-violent gathering there was nothing very much they could do. The media were there in numbers to witness this modern day 'gathering of the tribes' and some locals drove by to see the funny people for themselves. As word of the big party spread more turned up and the party just carried on relentlessly. At some stage the authorities must have wondered where it was all heading. Armed intervention? Against what? A party!

However, the party at Castlemorton did eventually come to a halt as people became fatigued and some tempers a little short. As numbers diminished the police moved into action arresting 13 members of Spiral Tribe as the 'ring leaders', confiscating their vehicles and sound system. After keeping them in cells overnight they were taken to court and released on bail. However, without their vehicles, which were also their homes, and their sound system, which was their livelihood, they had nothing. Those arrested and a group of sympathisers, therefore, camped for almost 2 weeks on the doorstep of the police station, and received some gifts from some of the local community, as well as attention from the media.

The members of Spiral Tribe were finally acquitted months later. In the meantime they had taken on a kind of cult status due to the media coverage which extended as far as a photograph and short written piece on the group in a national Sunday magazine and a free pull out poster in a popular youth magazine. Spiral Tribe released their own record about the event called 'Breach The Peace!' which used samples from the radio news broadcasts concerning the event. They also produced their own range of merchandise which bore their 'tribal' logo on it.

So, legally and commercially speaking, it seemed as if things had not turned out too bad for Spiral Tribe in the aftermath of the party at Castlemorton Common. Perhaps the most they suffered was, in terms of respect and reputation, was from accusations of attracting too much media attention and bringing confrontation with the authorities to a head, and of 'selling out' commercially in the process. Mark, one of those arrested, has said that he knows that:

"...some of our [Spiral Tribe's] critics accuse us of bringing it on top and allowing the government to bring in legislation that they wouldn't have bothered with beforehand, but this is a catalyst. There are great injustices and great wrongs and we are standing up and being counted..Our attitude is, 'make some fucking noise'."(Lowe, R. and Shaw, W. (1993): 169).

Writing now, with the benefit of hindsight, in a Britain in which the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 is law, and taking into account the changes which have occurred since in the rave, free party, festival and club scenes it seems difficult to disagree with his critics⁵⁷.

However, the media - especially the tabloid press - was already well along the road towards constructing a negative discourse about 'raves, raving, and ravers' and 'New Age Travellers' even before the party kicked off on Castlemorton Common. These subjects were presented as a 'public nuisance' which posed a threat to respectable, clean, healthy, hard working, property

⁵⁷ More details will be given on the C.J.A. in a later section (2.9). See also Green, T.H. (1995) and Morrison, S.A. (1997) for some consideration of its powers and effects.

owning Brits and their dear children. Furthermore, as can be seen by the sequence of events running up to Castlemorton, the police had already developed by this time strategies of surveillance and intervention for dealing with the 'problem' of 'raves'⁵⁸. Therefore, it would not be fair, or accurate, to put the blame for what was to come on Spiral Tribe alone, or, even to view the whole event as **the** event after which everything changed due to a massive governmental response and clampdown. Negative attitudes from the media, hostile public opinion, and police surveillance and busts had always been a part of things to do with 'counter culture', 'youth culture', and anything which could be associated with the discourse on 'drugs'. However, to use Mark's terms it was in some sense a "catalyst" and it did bring it "on top" (Lowe, R. and Shaw, W. (1993): 169). In doing so, it enabled a process of clampdown and the introduction of major criminal legislation directed towards those sections of the population involved, their practices and lifestyles affecting their lives in an unprecedentedly harsh manner.

That party on Castlemorton Common in 1992 where people gathered as travellers, party people, ravers, etc., in the company of the local authorities and the media, and danced, ate, slept, chatted, sold/exchanged things, took drugs, etc. was apparently symbolic of something very dark, evil and awful to those with the authority to ultimately affect it, and to try and ensure that such an event would never occur in that same way or on that scale again.

In the two years after Castlemorton, leading up to the introduction of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, the dance scene was strongly affected and shaped by an increased process of 'governmentality' involving parliament, the police, the media, the courts and educational bodies⁵⁹. This

⁵⁸ See Redhead, S. (1993); Jordan, T. (1995); and Carey, J. (1994) for details on developing surveillance strategies.

⁵⁹ The Foucauldian notion of 'governmentality' will be discussed in much greater detail in section three of this work. See Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (ed.s) (1991).

process took the form of a two-pronged approach of clampdown, on the one hand, and apparent liberalisation, on the other.

There was, during this period, a more systematic clampdown by local police, and police 'rave units' on the unlicensed/illegal scene⁶⁰. Even by 1992 - as the example of police surveillance and intervention at the Avon Free Festival demonstrates - the police were well aware of the growing popularity of illegal 'raves', and in certain areas of the country the police already had quite a few years experience of such events, and had developed strategies for surveillance, control and intervention.

At the same time as the clampdown on rave activity was building up and taking place, there was a simultaneous clampdown on drug dealers and drug possession. Many small time operations, dealers and users were busted, and harsh sentences were often dealt out to serve as examples to others of how seriously the law was about stamping out this new 'drug craze'. This hard line by the government, police and the courts was supported by a lot of sensationalist, negative media reporting concerning incidents between ravers and the police, and high profile coverage of any unfortunate accidents or deaths connected with the rave scene and ecstasy use⁶¹. The tabloid press's view on ecstasy has always been that it is a 'drug', and therefore, 'bad for you'; it is 'illegal', and therefore, any involvement with it means that you are a 'criminal' and a 'menace to society'; and basically, it is 'wrong', and those who do it are either 'evil', or 'victims'. As 'raves' are about ecstasy use that, therefore means also, that they are 'evil', full of 'crims' and gullible 'kids', and harmful to 'society'.

This highly moralistic tabloid discourse based around a patriarchal idea of the importance of physical and social 'health' entered an already

⁶⁰ Jordan, T. (1995) mentions the existence of these police 'rave units'. Also see Carey, J. (1994) for a very detailed insider's account of an extended period of tension between the Exodus sound system and the local/national authorities in Luton.

⁶¹ For a classic example of negative media reporting regarding raving, see Moller, D. (1993).

conservative social terrain and political environment in which the policy coming from the state since the 1950s concerning 'drugs' was to treat them as an 'evil' (in one form, or another e.g. personal/social) and to consider 'prohibition' the only reasonable strategy for dealing with them. This approach came to its peak in the 1980s with the British government funded campaign against heroin which included posters in which drug users were depicted as sick individuals suffering from a disease. This discourse of 'just say no' towards 'hard drugs' set the terrain for public discussion of the new drug ecstasy (although very different to heroin or cocaine, particularly with respect to addiction) and the new phenomenon associated with it, 'raving'⁶². This made it very difficult for any public figures, or any others, to voice more balanced, or even worse, positive discourses about the drug and raving without risking public ridicule and condemnation in the hands of the tabloids and the media in general. This danger meant that there was very little opposition to the civil war being fought in Britain over recreational ecstasy use, and what some called 'the right to party', and this paved the way for the C.J.A.. In this context the future for both ecstasy and raving looked bleak.

The immediate results of the increased governmental activity were a great number of open confrontations, arrests, court cases and prison sentences all over the country and all paid for by the tax paying public who - informed by the media - wished to see an end to this 'menace'. More long term results were a general reduction in free party, or illegal rave activity in the face of frequent busts, arrests, and heavy penalties; a shortage of ecstasy in general; a rise in the price of ecstasy; and an increase in the amount of poor quality ecstasy on sale as demand outstripped supply. In the even longer term the direction and nature of the dance scene in general shifted as a result.

⁶² For considered discussions of the differences between M.D.M.A. and other 'drugs' see Eisner, B. (1994) and Saunders, N. (1995).

2.7 RAVING, RAVING, RAVING: THE LEGAL OUTDOOR SCENE

As 'free'/illegal dance events became increasingly difficult to pull off in the face of pressure from the authorities, there was a turn by promoters, d.j.s, and participants towards legal, licensed events. These had a much greater chance of actually going off and of not being closed down after just a few hours, although they were not always guaranteed either as licences could always be revoked and events closed down on the night. However, as one commentator has said "...licensed raves were of course more acceptable to the government, providing as they did a pull-the-plug control for local authorities, as well as siphoning back to the authorities some of the considerable amounts of cash generated at raves." (Carey, J. (1994): 51). Legal events could take place in fields in the countryside ('free party' style), in large indoor venues (as with rock/pop concerts), or on a smaller scale in traditional club/discoteque venues.

Licences for legal 'raves' (although they were not counted officially as 'raves' if they had licences!) were given to large one off events such as the 'Big Love' held by Universe, or monthly events, such as those held at The Sanctuary in Milton Keynes, or Rezerection outside Edinburgh. These well advertised events attracted thousands with massive d.j. line ups, and with crowds varying from 5,000 to 30,000 (see Plates 1, 12, 13). However, increasingly as 'public' pressure in the form of the press and press-informed 'public opinion' started to have its effect, the conditions under which licences were granted became more stringent, costly to promoters and, therefore, participants, and simultaneously more rewarding for the local authorities. To hold a legal outdoor event became a matter of a massive security presence, perimeter fences, health and safety checks, the provision of emergency services and drug counsellors, and co-operation with the police. This was added to the costs of hiring the land, tents, sound equipment, d.j.s, and the odd

backhander here and there. The costs of such events became massive, as did the cost of tickets which were up to £30 each, which with ecstasy at around £10-15, an eighth of an ounce of marijuana/hashish about the same, and all added to the cost of water and transport as well, meant that 'raving' became a very costly thing to do.

The escalating cost of holding legal 'raves' resulted in many events and promoters going bust, and put many others off by the overly commercial nature of such events. Many British dance organisations such as Universe who had been holding outdoor raves throughout the early 1990s decided to move their operations abroad to the continent where at that time in countries such as Holland and Germany public opinion concerning 'raves' was more relaxed, events more commercially viable, and where there were plenty of keen enthusiasts for ecstasy and 'techno' music.

In Britain legal outdoor dance events were not banned altogether. However, in many ways this was not necessary because they were stopped gradually by the strong pressures and harsh restrictions imposed on them by the local authorities and the police, by the massive costs such restrictions imposed and by hostile public opinion. In the meantime, those events which did happen had to seek big time commercial investment in order to pull them off, and this involved getting people interested in the scene from a purely profit motivated point of view. As well as the increasing prices, this affected the atmosphere at such events which were often blatantly commercial, and often more like fairgrounds than raves of old. Many made comparisons with the over commercialisation of the 'hippy' movement, and as 'rave music' entered into the popular charts as yet another form of 'pop music' music journalists proclaimed, 'Rave is dead!' killed by over commercialisation⁶³.

⁶³ The 'rave is dead' debate was carried out within music papers such as Melody Maker and N.M.E..

As raving became a big money business new experiences and stories emerged concerning 'rip offs' and 'sell outs'. The amount of money involved in holding a large legal event tempted many into trickster profiteering tactics like placing top name d.j.s in the line up for the event on advertising flyers to increase ticket sales, who would then mysteriously not materialise on the night due to this or that unavoidable hiccup. Otherwise they could simply raise the prices of drinks, food etc. inside the venue to exorbitant rates. The most cunning plan I ever heard of was about one group who apparently advertised an event with a line up of top name d.j.s without ever booking them, sold thousands of tickets before the night at a decent price, and then on the night conspired to have the event closed down claiming there was nothing they could do, and ran off with the profits leaving few traces of their identity behind.

Finally, the quality of the drugs available at such events could also be very dodgy. Searches were stringent and drugs made their way into events through arrangements behind the scenes⁶⁴. Dealers often worked in groups which made them intimidating and difficult to confront, and were difficult to find again in the large crowds. This made participants easy targets for dodgy 'cut', or 'fake', pills or capsules. The opportunity to make a 'quick killing' at raves attracted many profiteers to the party. After all, for a local 'firm' with the right connections a rave presented an opportunity to buy 1,000 ecstasy pills for as little as £3 each which could then easily be sold at an all night rave for £15 each leading to an overnight profit of £12,000 minus bribes and the pushers' cut. This big, often cynical business grew up, rather ironically, around events with names like the 'Big Love' and 'Sunrise' which continued to appeal to a kind of 'hippy' innocence, and counter-cultural spirit and unity.

⁶⁴ On site workers and the 'security' stewards were common paths along which drugs would make their way into events prior to any searches.

One way to avoid mounting costs, over commercialisation, and attempt to keep some semblance of the underground ethics in the scene alive was to hold events in large indoor venues which were already licensed for 'entertainment'. These events tried to recreate the outdoor rave experience by having different stages, markets, chill out areas and performers. This strategy worked for a long time for the Rezerrection crew who held monthly events at Ingilston in Scotland (see Plate 13). These indoor events ultimately became the home of one scene - the 'happy hardcore' scene - within the wider, growing dance scene as it grew and mutated.

Elsewhere many promoters and punters were looking towards legal club venues as a home for the new music, practices and experiences which had emerged as a result of 'acid house', illegal 'parties' and outdoor raving. As the shift towards 'clubs' and 'clubbing' took place the terms 'rave/raving/raver' began to be used, and understood in different ways because of the wider changes that were taking place (e.g. clampdown, negative media coverage), and the internal need to distinguish between a growing number of scenes, peoples and places connected in a variety of senses through being involved in networks revolving around 'dance music' and ecstasy use as their principal social and recreational activity. In the next section I will look at the different shades of meaning and possible uses of the terms 'rave/raving/raver' which emerged and try to draw out some of the context in which they were transformed.

2.8 'IS THERE ANYBODY OUT THERE?'^{*} : SOME OF THE SOCIAL USES OF THE TERMS 'RAVE/RAVING/RAVER'.

In this section I want to draw out some of the complexities involved in using the terms 'rave, raving, raver'. These terms have been used by different people in different contexts for different effects over time. To use these terms is, therefore, - as with any terms - to enter into the field of possible and previous uses and meanings which often produce quite different, even wholly contradictory, understandings of what they as terms refer to. In order to draw out some of the various possible uses and meanings of the terms, I want to construct a piece of writing which uses quotations, or fragments, in much the same way as 'samples' are used in dance music - e.g. as originally distinct elements mixed into an on-going track. I have chosen this form of text in order to try and uphold the simultaneous existence of a variety of different uses and meanings, which although different are also inter-connected, and over which it is impossible to govern any as **the** correct usage, or meaning. In this sense I wish to create an idea of 'raving' as an object of social discourse and as an active (political) social term. I also want to use the different contexts and uses of the terms as a way to introduce further aspects of the history and social relations which have existed around them.

1. "rave...another name for acid house."^{6 5}

In this sample from a contemporary dictionary 'rave' is stated to be another name for, that is the same thing as, 'acid house'. Presumably they are considered to be the same thing because they both refer to dance events of a legal and illegal nature which share a similar form of dance music, and which

^{*} This sample is taken from The Bassheads track of the same title which was an early 'rave' classic.

⁶⁵ From the Collins Concise English Dictionary.

involve similar social practices - in particular, the use of chemical substances and dancing.

However, why the two names? The change in terminology from calling dance events 'acid house parties' to them being known popularly as 'raves' reflects historical developments and changes inside the dance scene which ultimately challenge the general view of them as being the same thing. As we have seen above 'acid house' as a term stood for a particular style of dance music, dance scenes in Ibiza and the U.K., L.S.D. use, particular fashions/themes/logo, a process of commercialisation, and an object of media and governmental discourse during the years 1987-1990. By 1990 it could be said that as a term 'acid house' had become loaded with different meanings and uses, which reflected its rather meteoric and controversial entry into global society.

It is around 1990 that 'rave/raving/raver' emerged in Britain as more popular terms for describing practices and events which developed out of the 'acid house' scene, but which had also changed in many ways reflecting this shift in terminology. In the original 'acid house' years, the name of the scene and a lot of the music played at the events referred it to Chicago and the home and origins of 'house' music, and also to L.S.D. use. The terms 'rave/raving/raver', however, came to signify a phenomenon which had truly come of age after the transportation of 'house' music and 'ecstasy' to Britain via 'acid house'. The coming together of three elements - 'house', dancing and 'ecstasy' - had produced a popular and growing social movement in Britain involving d.j.s, promoters, producers, record labels, record shops and dancers from many sections of British society. The scene - as I have described - spread quickly into both traditional club venues and also led to thriving nationwide free/illegal party scenes by 1989.

However, at the time when 'acid house' was fading as a meaningful, or useful, term in the face of commercialisation and

social/political pressures, three major developments were occurring which came to epitomise the shift towards the terms 'rave', 'raving' and 'ravers'. These involved transformations in the nature/form of events to which people were going, the numbers involved in such events and the music which fuelled them.

Firstly, as a result of governmental clampdowns on the unlicensed/illegal scene there was a move in 1990, which lasted until 1993, amongst promoters towards putting on large, outdoor, licensed events which involved attracting major financial backing. Often these promoters had emerged out of the free and pay illegal dance scene, but who faced with increasing pressures, penalties and surveillance had turned towards legal events which were mostly outdoor and which played upon the popularity and media notoriety of illegal events to attract participants. These events were dressed up as 'the ultimate dance experience' and as a logical progression from the illegal 'acid house' scene, which in many cases had been stamped out anyway. These years, therefore, became the years remembered for large, outdoor, legal gatherings such as Raintance, Energy, Dreamscape, Universe, Amnesia, Fantazia and Rezerection.

Another development and defining feature of this time was the growth in the numbers involved at such events, which was partly due to the sensationalised media coverage surrounding 'acid house' during the previous years. By 1990 there were 'acid house'/'house' clubs and parties in most major British cities. Sunrise events around London organised by Tony Colston-Hayter - which were £15 per ticket - were recording average attendances by July 1989 of 6,000 people ⁶⁶. However, these significant numbers were put in the shade by 1992 when numbers at legal 'raves' were varying between 5,000 and 25,000 at a single event [see Plate 12].

⁶⁶ See Redhead, S. (1993) and Jordan, T. (1995) for figures on this early period.

It wasn't just the numbers that were changing, however, the music was changing too. Since the arrival of Chicago 'house' and 'acid house' music many young musicians, d.j.s and producers took to the new musical innovations and mixing styles demonstrated on 'house' tracks - such as the use of drum patterns from drum machines placed on top of original tracks, 'sampling', and the arts of 'mixing' and 'scratching' - and had begun to produce both imitations of the Chicago sound and to develop their own new sounds and styles. The development of dance music in Britain was given a great boost by the emergence of the nationwide legal dance events, which could last anything up to 24 hours, and which incorporated more than one stage, as well as many smaller tents too which would all be filled with smaller sound systems. These events obviously created a great demand for dance music and d.j.s to play it - a demand which simply couldn't be filled by American imports alone. This situation led many people into getting involved with d.j.-ing and music production, and to start up small record labels producing cheap 'white labels' which were sold in a host of new small specialist record shops, or given directly to d.j.s, ultimately finding their way onto turntables at parties and in clubs⁶⁷. The result was a variety of new musical departures in the U.K. - such as 'progressive house' and 'breakbeat techno' - which signalled a shift towards a more U.K.-oriented scene aimed at specific kinds of dance events, which were popularly known by those attending and promoting them by this time as 'raves'⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ A white label is a promotional copy of a record which is made in relatively limited numbers at low cost in order to supply less 'mainstream' scenes through specialist record shops and dealers. As 'promos' they have very little information on the record and waste no expense on artwork, thus the name 'white label' for most have only white stickers in the centre of the record to cut costs.

⁶⁸ The 'breakbeat' sound was pioneered by British record labels such as 'Shut Up and Dance', 'Jumpin' an' Pumpin'" and 'XL', by acts such as the now internationally famous The Prodigy and Altern 8, and by d.j.s such as 'Evil' Eddie Richards, Carl Cox, Fabio and Grooverider. 'Breakbeat' supplied the soundtrack for the main arenas at most of the bigger events, and for many people who attended them 'breakbeat' was - and for some still is - known as 'rave music'

So the popular shift towards calling dance events involving ecstasy use 'raves' instead of 'acid house parties' maps a whole history of changes and developments both within the scene itself, and as a result of its engagements with wider society in the form of social, political and commercial pressures instigated, principally, by the media and government. To say that 'rave' is just another word for 'acid house party' is thus to leave this history silent.

2. "People into hardcore like doing Es and getting a really good vibe doing, whereas the club scene is more...sophisticated. It's all designer beers and trying to pull birds. There's not that heavy buzz of spiritual togetherness that you get at a rave...".⁶⁹

This sample is taken from an interview with The Prodigy who were leading pioneers of 'hardcore', or 'breakbeat techno', in the early 1990s working out of their home base in Essex where there were many legal and illegal 'raves' at that time. In 1992 Liam Howlett, as a principle member of The Prodigy, was at the heart of the rave scene, and his use of the word 'rave' in this sample demonstrates one of its popular meanings. That insider's meaning was to understand a 'rave' in positive opposition to a negative idea about 'clubs' which were "...sophisticated" and all about "...designer beers and trying to pull birds.". In this sense then Liam - like many others who have used/use the term - used 'rave' to express a difference to and shift away from nightclubs, and from certain practices associated with them - e.g. drinking, flirting - with the general idea that this was a positive change producing a "...heavy buzz...". A rave, therefore, in this sense is **not** a club.

3. "The drug [ecstasy] has its own culture and its own music - powerful and insistent, hurtling at up to 160 beats a minute. On the dance floor gyrating figures, dripping with sweat, work themselves into a state of hypnotic oblivion known as 'getting cabbaged'.

Nowhere is the atmosphere more frenetic than at the mass gatherings known as dance, rave, warehouse or pay parties, held in marquees pitched in fields, or in empty factories and warehouses."⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Quotation is from an interview with The Prodigy (Melody Maker, Oct. 3, 1992).

⁷⁰ Moller, D. (1993): 45.

This sample is taken from an article printed in Readers Digest called 'A Deadly Kind Of Ecstasy' (see Plate 5). The article focussed on the emergence of popular ecstasy use and the dangers it presented to children's health and to families around the country. The thrust of the article was on reporting 'experts' and 'professionals' - doctors, policemen, etc. - views on ecstasy and giving details on several 'ecstasy related' deaths describing in intimate details the ordeals which families had gone through.

In this context the word 'rave' served as just one in many terms which stood for the 'culture' and 'music' based around the drug ecstasy, which is the main subject of the piece, and which is viewed as 'deadly' by the author. In this discourse there is no need to distinguish between terms, events, periods, or styles, or to give too much information at all about what is being discussed. The message is negative, sweeping and general, and it concerns ecstasy use. The events, the social practices, relationships and music which are related to it are viewed as simply its 'culture' in a causal sense, and therefore, complicit in its 'evil' effects.

'Rave' in this sample is part of an outsider's generalising discourse the purpose of which is to create a general, negative impression of anything related to ecstasy use. The bit on 'getting cabbaged' is clearly included to ridicule and belittle this 'culture' produced by drugs.

4. "Since the mid-nineteen eighties thousands of people have been meeting to dance for hours to a music that is fast, loud and sounds like a machine's delight, while at the same time using drugs, soft drinks, Kit Kats and Vicks Vaporub, but rarely alcohol, as stimulants. In these vast celebrations, usually called raves, participants gradually lose subjective belief in their self and merge into a collective body, whose nature is best captured by Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the Body Without Organs."⁷¹

This sample from an academic article on 'raving' also - like the Readers Digest - blurs over any insider distinctions between 'acid house party', 'rave', 'free

⁷¹ Jordan, T. (1995): 125.

party' and 'club', and creates a general sense of continuity between people, events, practices and periods based on the shared elements of dancing, music, and drugs/stimulants. This generalising use of the term 'raves' -, unlike its use in the Readers Digest - is not done to produce an object which can then be condemned as 'evil', but is rather an attempt to generalise a heterogeneous set of practices, events, musical genres and popular terms into a discursive object which suits - "...is best captured by..." - a social theory written by a French philosopher and a psychoanalyst (*Ibid.*).

In this academic article 'raving' is used as a phenomenon which animates and corresponds with an academic social theory, and which brings up aspects of that theory for greater consideration. In this process any complexities, struggles, or history concerning the terms 'rave/raving/raver' are subdued, unknown and hidden beneath a surface of apparent continuity and convenient compatibility. However, in doing so - in making 'raving' fit into social theories - the academic to an extent creates an object 'raving' and legitimises it to a wider audience as a subject of interest by transforming and translating it into such an object for theoretical discussion by dressing it up in a different language - in this case Deleuze and Guattari's idea of a kind of essential creative 'revolutionary' urge within human nature and society⁷².

Again this sample is an example of an outsider's discourse manufacturing a generalised object while ignoring a host of historical/social differences and connotations, and political struggles in order to produce an authoritative and convincing statement in the terms of the audience being aimed at.

5. 'Rave New World.'⁷³

This sample is drawn from the title of a Channel 4 documentary. The programme was first shown in Britain in 1994. It has since been repeated. It

⁷² See Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1984).

⁷³ From Channel Four production Rave New World.

was the first serious attempt by the media to engage with the wider social phenomenon surrounding ecstasy use which became - partly as a result of this programme - known as "rave culture". This 'culture' was not presented as just the effects of the ecstasy, but was rather a "...mixture of music, drugs and technology"(Rave New World).

In the programme the word 'rave' was used to signify a variety of different events and practices involving drugs, music and art, which were inspired by new technology, and when taken as a whole were said to be resulting in a thriving new 'culture'. The term 'rave' was thus used generally, but in the context of a documentary which went into a variety of aspects to do with this general phenomenon, which included accounts by musicians and ravers about the music, the events and ecstasy. A large part of the programme was still devoted to the issue of ecstasy as a 'drug' and as a potentially lethal concoction, and to numerous commentaries by a host of 'professionals' who were distanced from the phenomenon itself. However, in general, it communicated an understanding of 'raving' as a more widespread and complex phenomenon, and it gave a more balanced view than had been demonstrated by media reports in the past. This shift in attitude in the media - ironically at a time when many participants viewed it as having been stamped out and pushed into the clubs - was best epitomised by the use of the term 'rave culture' which seemed to give participants, events, practices etc. a status and legitimation previously denied to them during a time when 'culture' was a particularly popular and sought after commodity.

6. "Rave now has an out dated connotation. However, there is no other convenient word to mean event where people dance and use ecstasy, so rave is still used in this book."⁷⁴

This sample is from the year after the Channel Four documentary on raving was broadcast, when Nicolas Saunders was re-issuing his book of personal

⁷⁴ Saunders, N. (1995): foreword.

research into 'ecstasy' which originally appeared as a self-published work entitled 'E for Ecstasy' in 1993. The book, however, was reworked due to both its popularity, uniqueness, and also to take advantage of the huge market surrounding ecstasy created by its use at a variety of dance scenes in Britain and abroad.

On its re-issue the book was renamed 'Ecstasy And The Dance Culture' - not 'Ecstasy And Raving'. This sample from Saunders' foreword suggests that he did so not only to make claim to the legitimizing qualities of the term 'culture', but also because his research and personal experience was extensive enough for him to become aware that 'rave/raving/raver' as terms were socially and historically specific terms, and that by 1995 they possessed very particular connotations and restrictions. In the quotation Saunders recognises that the dance scene involving ecstasy use had by then stretched into territories and people's practices in which such terms were not used. Saunders thus demonstrates a sensitivity to his subject, and a more insider awareness of it than others in the media and academia who have often simply ignored the tensions and complexities inherent within its history, and which live in the terms which refer to it due to their lack of knowledge or concern.

However, Saunders - as an author whose focus was clearly to write a user's guide to ecstasy use covering both its benefits as well as its dangers - opted to use the term 'rave' in a general sense to express events "...where people dance and use ecstasy." (Saunders, N. (1995): foreword). This definition suits his project and his wider aim to give a more informed account of the widespread phenomenon of ecstasy use in a variety of social contexts - including 'raves', or the 'rave experience' as he calls it - which would be both useful to users and to those who know nothing about it. However, in doing so and with such aims he at least recognised that his object 'rave' was in a sense a socially active and contested term, and, in a sense, an inadequate construction with outdated connotations.

7. "...Ravers must understand now before it's too late, that the threat to the Hanger is a threat to the entire scene. All relatively petty differences within the scene should now be forgotten and every effort should be made by all you posse people to be in Ayr for Unity."⁷⁵

This sample is taken from an advertisement for a protest dance event against the closure of a large club venue in the west of Scotland - called Hanger 13 - following three tragic deaths which were ecstasy related in 1995. The deaths received widespread newspaper and television coverage involving participation by politicians and other local and national officials. This protest event was specifically called a 'rave' and directed at 'ravers', although 'the clubscene' was also mentioned elsewhere in the advertisement. I think the use of these terms in this specific context is interesting for a couple of reasons.

First of all, it is important to note that the magazine M8 in which it appeared and its audience are the heart of what has come to be known as the Scottish 'happy hardcore' scene. This scene - which is more popular amongst working-class youth as opposed to urban middle-class clubbers - has historically been based around a small number of larger club venues (such as The Fubar in Stirling and Hanger 13 near Ayr) and a large monthly event called Rezerrection held in an exhibition centre outside of Edinburgh. As a scene it has always been distinct from the mainstream urban clubscene in terms of the nature and location of events, the identity of participants, and fashions and music⁷⁶.

⁷⁵ M8, March 1995, issue No. 72.

⁷⁶ Hardcore 'Raves', such as Earthquaker and Rezerrection, had a stronger similarity to the 'mass'-ive feel at football matches than with the more exclusive environments of urban clubland at that time. Scottish raves attracted many football 'casuals' who brought their casual styles and collective 'firm' mentality with them in the form of 'posses'. Raves and being a 'raver' meant travelling to the event in cars, or on buses, as local 'posses', dressing up in the right 'gear', and involved meeting up with the same group of folk, and other posses, again and again at events which were marked by an exciting atmosphere of collective crowd euphoria.

The distinction between 'the rave scene' and 'the clubscene' was very much upheld by the use of the terms 'rave/raving/raver' - as well as others like 'posse'. While many people by 1995 who took ecstasy at dance events understood such a practice through the terms 'club/clubbing/clubber', M8 magazine and venues like Hanger 13 were still catering to people and a distinct scene which held onto the terms 'rave/raving/raver' in a positive sense in order to distinguish their practices, music etc. from what was going on in clubs. Basically, a Rezerrection was not a 'club', it was a 'rave', and if you went to Rezerrections and got into it you were a 'raver' not a 'clubber'.

However, it is interesting that this sample mentions "...petty differences within the scene.." and earlier on also mentioned "the clubscene". This suggests that 'ravers' are not only being understood in terms of a traditional distinction between 'raves' and 'clubs' (as with sample 2) but also in a more general sense as well - e.g. to stand for people into dance events, dance music, dancing and ecstasy including both 'clubs' **and** 'raves'. In this specific context patching over the different uses, meanings and connotations of the terms 'rave/raving/raver' and possible alternatives to them, such as 'club/clubbing/clubber', is part of a call for 'unity' in the face of a powerful attempt by outsiders - local authorities, the police, politicians, the press - to clampdown on the wider scene as a result of the deaths at Hanger 13. In this case the issue of ecstasy use created a need for 'unity' amongst scenes which were thought of as very different by many of those who took part in them. In this sense then both the particular meaning of 'ravers' standing for participants in the 'happy hardcore' scene and the general sense of 'ravers' as people interested in the dance scene in general and in ecstasy use are both deployed simultaneously.

8. "Our Mums and Dads went down the pub or to the dancehall to jive...or whatever...we go out raving...that's our thing...it's what we do...really its all the same thing really isn't it...I mean what's all the fuss about?"⁷⁷

In this sample 'raving' is again used in a general way but this time by an insider to express a generational difference. In this way the particular uses and meanings of the term are covered over in an attempt to make a more general and comparative statement about 'raving' as a social practice. "Our Mums and Dads" did things that epitomised their generation - such as 'rock 'n' roll' - this is our generation and we go raving.

So for the purpose of making a simple comparative understanding of 'raving' it is generalised and made to correspond with practices in the past which were also viewed as 'rebellious', 'dangerous' and somewhat 'evil' by some - especially the older generation - but which have become more understood and accepted, growing eventually into major and popular social institutions. This comparison suggests that this too will ultimately be the case for raving and ecstasy given time.

9. "You British are the original 'ravers'...you invented it with your acid house...yes?"⁷⁸

This sample demonstrates one other possible use, meaning and connotation for the terms 'rave/raving/raver'. Despite the international roots of 'house' music and MDMA, 'raving' as a term and as a practice is known by many people internationally who have adopted it as something which not only developed in Britain, but also something which has characteristics which are peculiarly 'British'. Although the terms 'party' and 'party people' are most commonly used in international party scenes - such as Goa - people know and can use the terms 'rave/raving/raver' to both describe the events, practices and people in

⁷⁷ This is a quotation from an informant whom I knew called Andrew From Brixton.

⁷⁸ This is a quotation from an informant I knew called Hans from Holland while I was in Goa.

general, and also as a way to both label and understand British people, and their characters and behaviour who are involved in those scenes.

This general understanding that Britain is the home of 'raving' has led to a thriving new tourist trade in which continental European and international 'ravers' come to Britain to go to famous clubs like The Ministry Of Sound and festivals like Glastonbury in order to experience the original flavour of the British scene, and to try out the new innovations, such as 'jungle' or 'speed garage' music happening in Britain's clubs. In some countries - like South Africa, the U.S. and Australia - scenes have also grown up - often inspired by British travellers and immigrants - in which the whole emphasis is upon capturing the music, styles and 'lived up' atmosphere of early British raving⁷⁹. The irony of this tourist trade and new form of cultural exchange is that at the same time as it has developed many of these rave/club tourists have been passing British people by on the skyways heading out to South Africa, San Francisco, Goa or Thailand in search of a greater freedom to party, and opportunity to pursue their recreational preferences and practices.

However, the now international terms of 'rave/raving/raver', and the association of these terms with dance events, dance music and ecstasy use definitely has a 'British' national connotation⁸⁰. This is something which has emerged over the last 8 years as the phenomenon itself has spread and as people began to travel to Britain to sample its wares.

11. " POWERS IN RELATION TO RAVES

Powers to remove persons attending or preparing for a rave.

63. - (1) This section applies to a gathering on land in the open air of 100 or more persons (whether or not trespassers) at which amplified music is played during the night (with or without intermissions) and is such as, by reason of its loudness and duration and the time at which it is played, is

⁷⁹ Here I am referring, in particular, to scenes around Capetown, San Francisco and Sydney which I have had reports on from friends who have taken part in scenes there which are epitomised by such British nostalgia.

⁸⁰ The caricature of the British up-for-it 'raver' is very common in the international Goa scene.

likely to cause serious distress to the inhabitants of the locality..."music" includes sounds wholly or predominantly characterised by the emission of repetitive beats..."⁸¹

There are many interesting things about this governmental sample. Firstly, nowhere in this legislation about 'raves' is ecstasy, or drug use, mentioned at all, because in the eyes of the law they were already illegal and didn't need to be dealt with. But because of this a 'rave' is simply "a gathering" of people at which music is being played "on land" which is "likely to cause serious distress to the inhabitants of the locality". This is the most general definition of a 'rave' that I have ever come across. The part on 'music' is an attempt to be slightly more particular about what is involved when it specifies "...sounds wholly or predominantly characterised by the emission of a succession of repetitive beats...", which although more than a bit unfair, at least gets somewhat closer to the phenomenon against which these laws will be used.

In this understanding of a 'rave' a wedding celebration of 100 people in someone's back garden with 'rock'n'roll' music playing loudly and people drinking alcohol could be classified as a 'rave'. Whereas a club in which d.j.s play dance music and where people come to dance and use a variety of substances is not a 'rave' because its not in the open air, and crucially because it is licensed. Later on in the act it goes on to say that "a gathering" of 100 persons on land in the open air at night at which loud amplified music is played is not always a 'rave'. It is, in fact, only a 'rave' if it doesn't have an 'entertainment licence'. So in the end the C.J.A. defines a 'rave' through its failure to have a licence. In this sense licensed outdoor events during the years 1990-93 - known as the 'hardcore' rave scene - were not 'raves'. Free warehouse parties are not covered in the act at all as they already come under 'breaking and entering'.

⁸¹ Section on 'raves' from Criminal Justice Act 1994.

Other more particular defining features of a 'rave' can also be read into the other sub-headings of Part V of the C.J.A. on 'Public Order: Collective Trespass or Nuisance on Land' from which this extract is drawn. These include 'Powers to remove trespassers on land', 'Disruptive trespassers', 'Trespassory assemblies', 'squatters', and 'Powers to remove unauthorised campers'. A 'rave' in the terms of the C.J.A. is understood in a very general sense as an unlicensed breach of public order, and a threat to very particular notions of appropriate land use, property rights, and 'the community'.

Concluding Remarks

In my work I have chosen to use the terms 'rave/raving/raver' when necessary despite the many complexities, shades of meaning, and historical and social connotations which are packed into these terms. It is partly because they are so 'full' that I use them, for as the previous account demonstrates, they are a great source for drawing out many aspects of, and struggles surrounding, the phenomenon during its relatively short history of existence.

I also use the terms very much because of my own position and history of involvement. Although I had some contact and experience of Chicago 'house' and 'acid house' as a teenager, my greater involvement and interest dates from around 1991-92 at a time when 'rave/raving/raver' were more widespread and general terms evoking ecstasy use, dance music and dance events. They were, therefore, the terms through which I - like many others - made sense of what I was doing. My own initial interest was developed by going to 'happy hardcore' events in Scotland and England where again the terms applied⁸². I - again like many others I have met - carried these terms with me when I started to go to clubs where ecstasy was being used and dance

⁸² These events include Earthquaker and Rezerection in Scotland, and Universe events in England.

music played, in order to distinguish them and their atmosphere from other types of club where alcohol was drunk, or other forms of music played, and from other forms of recreation - e.g. going to the pub. 'Clubs/clubbing/clubber' were always terms which did not fit comfortably with me for they seemed to stress continuity with the longer tradition of clubs, and I saw 'rave clubs' as being very different to what went before. Unlike 'club', 'rave' expressed difference and something new - the difference provoked by the arrival of ecstasy, 'house' music and dancing as a major social activity.

When I first went to a free/illegal party in London in 1992 I came across a new distinction which I was not aware of at the time⁸³. This distinction was between a 'party' and a 'rave', and 'party people' and 'ravers'. Amongst the squatters and 'crusties' who I visited at that time 'rave/raving/raver' were commercial, legal and basically not 'hardcore' terms at all compared to their own 'free party' scene and practices. I came across this opposition again out in Goa where in a similar way people seemed to use the terms 'party' and 'party people' to distinguish between what they were doing and what had gone on in Britain during the years 1990-92, which again had connotations of being a commercial 'sell out' to 'the mainstream'. I heard the terms 'rave/raving/raver' in Goa used mainly by non-British folk, or by British people in a nostalgic, or comic sense.

Other terms have emerged since 'rave/raving/raver' went out of fashion the most popular being 'club/clubbing/clubber'. This change in terminology reflects the success of governmental pressures against the illegal and legal outdoor/warehouse scenes, and the push towards legal, licensed club venues which are less visible, more controllable and pay taxes to the right people thus supporting the existing system. The 'dance scene' is something which the music press sometimes refer to as it is general and evokes the music

⁸³ See section 2.5 for a personal account of experiencing these insider distinctions.

and dance events without the media-created 'druggy', subversive connotations attached to 'rave/raving/raver'. 'Dance culture' and 'rave culture' are two others which have emerged. The first is used by Nicolas Saunders in his successful book 'Ecstasy and the Dance Culture'. The second appeared in the 'Rave New World' documentary on Channel 4. Both terms are now used by participants and in the music press. The use of the word 'culture' is often to produce a sense of legitimation which such a 'high brow' term suggests. Thus, its appearance in media discourse with a more liberal attitude towards the phenomenon in question.

In general, I find the terms 'club/clubbing/clubber' inadequate for the variety of events, practices, people and forms of music which I wish to talk about here. Then there is the term 'dance' which I understand in its contemporary meaning as evoking the changes which have occurred in international music based around the popularisation of Caribbean and Black American forms of music, and the focus on dancing as the main way of appreciating the music. However, I find 'dance' too general as it does not have any specific connections, or connotations, linking it with contemporary practices which fuse dancing and the appreciation of music together with the use of certain substances.

Finally, I appreciate as someone who has been involved with anthropology the effect of the 'culture' word, but find it as a term to be loaded with its own connotations and uses, which I feel shifts the focus away from the phenomenon itself which already has plenty of terms being used to describe it. Therefore, - along with Nicolas Saunders - I have chosen to go along with 'rave/raving/raver' simply because "there is no other convenient word[s] to mean event where people dance and use Ecstasy" (Saunders, N. (1995): foreword). However, in this section I have, at least, tried to map out some of the territory and politics of use and of meaning within which these terms have

lived, worked and passed their sell by date for many people whose lives and social practices have animated them.

2.9 IN THE CLUB: RAVING, ECSTASY USE AND THE REVOLUTION IN CLUBBING

The big winner in the popular dance explosion and the civil war-like scenario over 'the right to party' was in the long run the clubs. 'Acid house' clubs which emerged in the late eighties differed from other clubs that were in existence. This was essentially due to the type of music played at them ('house'); the focus upon a d.j. mixing records (as opposed to live bands, or a speaking d.j. for instance); on dancing as the main social activity (as opposed to socialising/drinking); the way people danced (not in couples, but all facing the same direction towards the sound system/d.j.); the styles/fashions on show; the main drug being used (ecstasy), and as a result, the 'atmosphere' in such clubs (excited/euphoric as opposed to 'cool' or 'hard'); as well as the arrangements inside the clubs (e.g. back-drops, chill out rooms).

Club venues - which had been popularised in the 1950s and 1960s, but which were part of a much longer tradition - were available and always looking for new forms of business to pull in the 'punters'⁸⁴. For many living in cities, who wished to try the new drug, ecstasy, and who had heard reports of 'raves' and 'raving', they presented a more accessible side of the growing dance/rave scene compared with free parties or festivals. Many club owners caught on to the growing media coverage of and public fascination with 'acid house' and 'raving' and realised that it offered a new lease of life to the club scene and the opportunity to make a lot of cash in the process. As a result it was not long before many club owners were holding 'acid house', or 'house'

⁸⁴ See Kohn, M. (1992) and Hebdige, D. (1993) for some historical details concerning urban clubs and popular culture.

nights, during the week, or even turning the whole focus of their operation over to attracting people who were looking to taste the rave experience. This process involved club owners making deals with groups of people and d.j.s who had knowledge of the scene and, in particular, its music, and who wanted to put on nights at clubs for a split of the profits. Often these people were either people who had been working abroad in Ibiza or elsewhere, who had seen the new dance scene developing, and who had translated some of that experience/knowledge back into their domestic scenes through developing club concepts; or/and, they were people who had been involved in the 'free party' scene but who were looking for a more regular, legitimate scene and source of income, especially during periods of clampdown.

The shift into the 'acid house'/'rave' format in clubs involved many changes, not only to music policy and set up, but also to the ways in which profits were made by the clubs and their owners. In terms of music policy and set up this would normally be entrusted to the people actually organising the club night itself as opposed to the owners/management. The music would have to be the new dance music, of course. In the late eighties when music based around drum and bass patterns, and made out of sounds predominantly from synthesisers and samplers was a relatively new concept, and still in a state of emergence, most people called any such music 'acid house', or 'house'.

By the 1990s, as the new dance sound became increasingly popular in Europe where - as I have described in sections above - it had become associated with the popular use of ecstasy, as more of that music began to be made there as well as in the U.S., and as more clubs employed it as their weekend soundtrack, a process of specialisation emerged in which different forms/types of the new dance sound were marked out and defined. D.j.s, club nights and clubs became associated and consciously associated themselves with particular brands of dance music so as to pin-point the crowd they were trying to attract. Thus, there emerged 'house' clubs, 'progressive house' clubs,

'techno' clubs, 'breakbeat' clubs etc, etc.. For outsiders and novices it was all usually shoved under the umbrella terms of 'house', or 'rave' music.

However, as people became more involved in the scene, developed a greater understanding of the music, and developed tastes/preferences, and as the dance scene grew much bigger and more diverse, it became much more important for people to differentiate between clubs, nights, d.j.s and styles of music. The type of music a club played was often represented by the name of the club; 'Luv'd Up!', for instance would trigger 'house' to those in the know, '303' a 'techno' club, and 'Urban Flava' a jungle night. The art work on flyers could also be a key to the kind of music, atmosphere, and people going to it. Different clubs and different styles of music came to represent smaller scenes within the wider dance scene which had their own fashions, attitudes, dance styles and practices. This process of 'tribalisation' of the dance scene in club events due to smaller venues, exclusive door policies and commercial competition is one of the major outcomes of the shift towards legal licensed venues. As opposed to the free party, or the festival, which seemed to promote, even rely upon, the fusion of different elements for its survival, the clubscene seemed to rely more on specialisation, institutionalising differences in its organised events.

The changes in terms of set up inside the clubs would normally involve removing as many spare tables and chairs as possible to create a bigger dancing area. This was because 'acid house' and 'ecstasy' had introduced dancing as the main social activity for both females and males at such events - a popular cultural shift towards what some have called 'danceability'. Other transformations might have involved marking out a separate area (sometimes a separate room, at others just an adjacent area marked off by its different layout, lighting and music) for 'chilling out' from dancing. Dancing was what doing 'ecstasy' and 'raving' were all about, and things had to be adjusted from the more drinking, sitting, flirting, fighting and occasionally dancing days

of the 1970s and 1980s discoteques and nightclubs in order to accommodate the new phenomenon. The interior of clubs would often be transformed on the night by simply hanging 'back-drops' - art designs traditionally painted on white bed sheets, usually using fluorescent paints - on the walls around the dancefloor and in the chill out area (see Plate 21a). These colourful works of art - which often reflected the 'yuppie'/corporate fascination with the logo - were an innovation borrowed from 1960s psychedelia and its 'happenings', and were to serve the same visually stimulating, drug enhancing purpose. They also often disguised the run down state of some clubs. Finally, on the dancefloor itself there was a turn towards more effective use of lighting equipment again to stimulate dancers and enhance the experience of dancing. Ultra-violet lights and stroboscopic lights were particularly effective at altering the appearance and atmosphere of a club space. In these ways then - a fluoro back drop here, a chill out area there, fewer tables here, more lighting there, etc. - clubs were transformed into places where those who came could feel a difference when added to the concoction of dance music and ecstasy. That difference was 'raving'.

For club owners there were other, more important changes that needed to be made. These changes concerned the ways in which they made their profits. Traditionally, clubs made most of their profits mainly through the sale of alcohol. Money was also made from membership and entry fees. The set up and organisation of clubs was, therefore, aimed at creating an environment in which the legal drug, alcohol, could be consumed and enjoyed by customers to the profit of the establishment. This situation meant that by the 1980s clubs and their alcohol sales were established as important consumer outposts for the very powerful breweries and the socio-political interests surrounding them. Sales of alcohol were also a major source of government taxation. As such, clubs were already involved in a network of interests that involved local authorities, national government and big business. This network relied upon

the legal status of alcohol and the importance of alcohol in British society as the most widespread and socially sanctioned stimulant. While a hardline approach to 'drugs' by the government, media and other social institutions has long been the accepted norm, this attitude has had to stand somewhat uncomfortably next to widespread, legal, and very socially accepted consumption of alcohol by all classes, genders and generations in Britain. Clubs were just one of many social institutions which relied on this institutionalised aspect of popular British culture and legalised addiction for their business.

However, the popularisation of 'ecstasy' as a recreational drug and of 'raving' as the socially preferred context/activity in which to do it challenged this network of interests as well as the form of culture it depended upon for its existence. Why? Because increasingly people came to clubs wanting to be able to take 'ecstasy' and dance all night. This meant less, if any, drinking of alcohol. Instead there would be queues of people in the toilets waiting to get at the water taps to refresh themselves after hours of dancing and sweating, and more soft drink sales. This has led to a transformation in the use of toilet areas in clubs, which have become a particular experience and even an area of interaction, and in water/soft drink sales. Alcohol sales suffered not only because people were too busy dancing, but also because initially 'ecstasy' and 'raving' were put forward as healthy alternatives to alcohol, pubs and 'meat market' discotheques, and were seen as a shift away from the culture/attitudes/practices it allegedly supported (e.g. violent, macho, male dominated, sexist, lecherous). From quite early on in the history of the popular recreational use of ecstasy it was also said that the two, alcohol and ecstasy, didn't mix well and could be dangerous. The usual explanation offered was to do with the dangerous mix of overheating and dehydration caused by dancing and the further dehydration typical of alcohol use. However, whatever the practicality of this distinction its main function was to separate those who

wished to do 'ecstasy' and to 'rave' from those who wished to stick with the pleasures, pains and culture of alcohol instead.

The problem posed by the new forms of activity and consumption preferences as far as club owners were concerned was how to make profits within the new changing environment in the face of a major swing away from their main source of profit, alcohol. After all, that was what they were in it for in the end. This led to a host of new strategies that got to grips with the change in culture that was going on. There was a shift towards bottled water and soft drinks which could be sold to thirsty dancers. This led to the creation of whole new markets for some businesses. It didn't take soft drink manufacturers long to catch on to the new trend and they have now even adopted names, logos and artwork which create associations with the rave scene, in particular drawing upon images and styles from flyer art. Making entrance fees more expensive and packing clubs full of punters to increase profits at the door were other ways of balancing out the loss from alcohol sales too. Some owners also took to more insipid acts of profiteering, such as turning the cold water taps off in the toilets, or turning up the heating in already hot, sweaty atmospheres to increase the bar sales and their profits.

Raving has made its way firmly into the clubscene of every British city in the 1990s and, in doing so, has altered for many people the reasons why they go to them, their expectations of what they want to find inside of them, and their practices therein, as well as transforming the internal structure and strategies of clubs themselves. Going to a club for many in the 1990s is about doing 'ecstasy' and being able to dance to dance music. This transformation has been massive and sweeping and is now the norm, rather than a marginal practice. Clubs, as a result of practices which originally developed in the very different illegal context of warehouses, quarries and fields, have found themselves at the legal forefront of a major social change in British popular social life which has both transformed them, increased their business

stratospherically, and led to an increase in the number of clubs and clubbers in each city. Going to a club to do 'ecstasy' and dance has become the major recreational social activity for many people between the ages of 18-25 at the weekend in Britain today. Clubs are, therefore, very important social institutions for many too. Clubbing has become a major form of social interaction up there with house parties, going to the pub, eating out, watching/playing sport etc..

The revolution in clubbing has led to a new phenomenon, the 'super clubs'. These 'super clubs', such as London's Ministry of Sound and Liverpool's Cream have arisen to unprecedented heights in the 1990s. They have become major commercial enterprises and social institutions with 1000s of regular members packing the dancefloors with club fashions and dancing to the sounds of big name d.j.s. Mainstream d.j.s, such as L.T.J. Bukem, Sasha and Paul Oakenfold, receive large fees for playing their sets (anything up to and over £1000 for a short set of an hour or two), and they release mix c.d.s, through deals with major music corporations such as Sony, which sell in the major High Street music stores. The clubs have developed their own commercial strategies through manufacturing merchandising in which icons of the rave generation - t-shirts, hooded tops, ski hats and record bags - are sold with the club's logo on them. People actually pay to advertise their allegiance to a club, and to be related to it in a kind of self-imposed, self-financed corporate allegiance.

So, rather ironically, the 'free party' scene around the late 1980s and early 1990s, which was in many senses a radical recreational shift out of licensed premises to create an alternative social space to those offered in pubs and clubs and alternative styles and fashions to those available in High Street stores, has in the longer run led to a massive popularisation of clubs, clubbing and the fashions associated with them through the translation of the rave experience into those establishments and into the popular and

commercial practices which take place around and inside of them. This move into legal venues and step towards normalisation and commercialisation has been experienced and received by different people in different ways depending on their positions. Some see clubs as being essentially different to free parties, or raves, due to the different politics involved in the events⁸⁵. A 'free party' is more politicized than a club because it involves trespassing, breaking into properties, avoids the demands of the mainstream economy and social structure, and does so in the face of the law. For many - understandably - this makes these kind of parties a completely different affair, with a different atmosphere and agenda to clubs, clubbing and clubland, which are quite literally in the centre of things, feeding money directly into the mainstream economy, property owners, local authorities, big business, and government. For others the move into clubs and clubbing has been a natural positive progression for the dance scene in which those creative new experiences and practices developed out with the system at illegal parties, and abroad, have been assimilated back into and become a part of the system and have begun to change its structure and the attitudes and values which upheld it.

In the following section I have tried to write a story about clubbing which complements the opening part of this section which attempted to evoke and capture the experience of a 'rave' event. In this regard my narrative focus and content has shifted in a way which reflects the wider social, historical and political shifts which - as I have attempted to document - surrounded and took effect upon such kinds of events and the experience they offered during this historical period. The story is based on people I have known and know, and I feel it evokes the kind of typical practices, relationships and experiences which became, and are, possible in clubs as a

⁸⁵ See sections 2.5 and 2.9 for examples of this distinction between 'clubs' and 'raves'.

result of the changes in popular culture which have taken place since the arrival of 'acid house' and 'raving'.

2.10 PURE BRILLIANT: A STORY ABOUT CLUBBING.

BRIAN

It was the summer of 1992 and Brian had only been in Edinburgh for about a month. He had fixed up a temporary place to stay with two people he knew from college. They had all just finished their courses, and all of them were dealing with that so-what-am-I-going-to-do-now thing.

Brian had got himself a job at nights in a bar in the city centre. An old mate of his from home was the manager of the bar and that had made it easier getting a job. He had bumped into him by chance one Sunday evening when he and one of his new flat mates were out on a bit of a 'bevvv session'. The bar was open late until 3a.m., and that meant a very nocturnal lifestyle for those who worked in it. Most of the people working there were students, ex-students, or young people 'in between jobs'. They were all a bit younger than Brian even though he was only in his mid twenties. There was a group of staff and regular customers who all hung around the bar during and after hours, and went to clubs together on nights off. Brian got on well enough with them, and working in the bar had given him a good opportunity to meet a load of new people in a city where he was very much a stranger. After months of studying and final exams, Brian didn't fancy too much time sitting at home taking it easy, he wanted to get out, mix with people and do things.

In his final year at college Brian had tried ecstasy for the first time at a party out in the countryside. The party was in what seemed to be an old castle with dungeons, towers, and all the right accessories. There were a lot of people there that night, and there was one room in which people were playing rave music and dancing.

Brian split a capsule of ecstasy that had been given to him weeks earlier, and which he had been saving, with a mate of his called Ally. That night they both had a stormer. A relatively short while after taking the ecstasy they had both come up and felt unusually excited, happy and hyperactive. They danced together in 'the rave room' - as it was called for the night - moving at great speed, and they ended up laughing their heads off as they stared at each other's manic expressions and deep eyes. They had a good laugh with a lot of other people in the room who were dancing, and they had

felt a bit like little kids all playful and cheeky. Brian had had to sit down and take it easy at one stage because his heart was pounding so fast, but any panic soon passed, and then it was back to the dancing.

Later on in the evening they made their way gently up some stairs. There was all this weird hippy stuff painted on the walls from over the years, which they checked out for a wee while, before looking for more company and entertainment. They ended up in a room full of people who were tripping on acid and were all just sitting about. Everyone greeted them in a friendly way, and they had a bit of a smoke and a chat with them. It had seemed so easy to talk and mix with those people even though they were mostly complete strangers. The party ended in a dreamy haze with a sunrise outside that seemed so calm and positive.

After that night Brian was determined that after he got finished up at college he was going to get into raving a bit more and try a few more Es. It was like his carrot on a string at the end of his finals, the reward for a lot of hard work, and he couldn't wait to get it down him.

DAVIE

Davie had come to Edinburgh a few years before to study at college. He had started raving at the weekends with mates from home who he knew previously, and with a few folk he met at college who he thought were alright. Most of them were male.

On a Friday afternoon they would all meet in a bar in the city centre which was warm, dark, played loud music, and where drugs were available if you knew the right people. After hours of drinking lager and whiskies, chatting about the week gone by, and having the odd sly smoke outside, they would all head off to their favourite club, Pure.

Pure had got this reputation for really going off on a Friday night. A mixture of good, loud techno played by solid regulars and top guest d.j.s, and a crowd of no-nonsense, up-for-it dancers, all set within an atmosphere of drug experience - especially the new drug ecstasy - made Pure what it was - a kicking, popular club with many regular members, and a thriving enterprise.

As Davie and his mates dealt with student life away from home, and the financial realities of Conservative cuts, often living in dank accommodation full of random, crap furniture, and with frequent shortages of money and motivation, their Friday nights together all E-ed up gave them something to look forward to. Pure on a Friday was somewhere they could all go and be together. What went on there was about them, whatever was going on for them at the time, and their friendship.

Every Friday they would end up there after a week of debating whether they were going or not, and talking at various times about d.j.s who were playing, or top tunes from the previous week. They would go along, queue if they had to, mix a bit, do their Es, and dance 'till the lights came on signalling the end of the night.

After the club they would sometimes go back to chill out parties. If you hung around for long enough outside the club you always heard about something somewhere. These parties could be good and bad. People would hang out checking each other out and mixing sometimes. The lingering effects of the ecstasy meant that there could be a really sound atmosphere at these parties, and always guaranteed a lot of smoking and joints getting passed around. Sometimes folk wouldn't talk too much, but would just sit there enjoying chilling out to the music with the comfort of being with others. They lasted sometimes into the middle of the next day when people would step out into the daylight and the traffic, making hastily for corner shops and the security of their homes, or a pub.

A lot of the time, however, the boys would just go back to Eddie's place. Eddie was one of their mates. He had a big lounge with a few sofas in it and a good stereo. It was pure luxury compared to some of the others' accommodation. Eddie's place was 'chill out city'. For the boys, it also meant that they hadn't met anyone, or managed to score if they ended up at Eddie's gaff. But that wasn't so bad anyway, and pretty normal really because it wasn't so easy to come onto girls when you were at a rave club. Not really the place unless you had one of those cosmic E-related connections with someone on the dancefloor, and they could be messy anyhow, because you never know what it's going to be like later on on the come down.

So if as usual all the boys gathered together at the end of Pure looking red in the face, sweaty, alert, and a wee bit stunned, they would get it together and set off to Eddie's once the man had been located. They would walk back through the city centre chatting about the night, the people, the girls, the pills and things that had happened to them inside, and occasionally laughing at drunk people in massive queues for take away pizzas, snogging in doorways, or fighting in the middle of the streets. At this time they would all feel very removed from drunken people - who always looked kind of stupid at that time of night - and the pubby alcohol buzz, although it was very familiar to them. E was different and that was that.

Once back at Eddie's they would hassle him for dry clothes to replace their soaking wet ones, and someone would get the tea on. It was like a big operation to get everything ready so that everyone could just relax and chill

out. If they were really out of it, they wouldn't bother about wet clothes, changing and all that, which could often end with a nasty case of flu at the start of the week, but then what can you say? If you're out of it, you're out of it, and there's no time for major dilemmas.

The lounge at Eddie's was a big old room with large windows which looked out from the 3rd floor onto the grass of the Meadows with the old town and the castle for a view. There were always old cups of tea, cans, half-drunk bottles of juice, ripped fag packets and empty packets of skins everywhere. In a corner there was a good quality stereo which with its 'Hi-tec' appearance seemed to contrast with its surroundings. Lying next to it were a pile of cassettes and empty C.D. boxes. Most of them were Techno or chill out.

In this setting Davie and his mates would gather after Pure and chat about whatever - any old shit as long as it passed the time and made them laugh. Afterall, they were mates. Everyone would take turns at skinning up and the joints would be passed around relentlessly - that was, of course, if there was money and hash available, but they always managed to scrape something up between them. Sometimes that would necessitate a thorough examination of Eddie's shaggy rug which sat by the old coffee table in the middle of the room, and which, when desperate, was a well renowned source of crumbs and bigger pieces of hash, depending on who had been around that week.

By 10 or 11 O'clock - sometimes later - most folk would have drifted off to sleep, others gone home and the odd few would still be smoking, still feeling effects from their ecstasy, and keeping themselves busy chatting, playing video games or watching the moving pictures on the telly.

In the afternoon after a bit of sleep Davie and a few of the boys would meet up for something to eat - normally a fry up breakfast in some cheap cafe - and then would go to the pub. On big days they would go to the pub, the football, and then the pub.

BRIAN AND DAVIE

Brian and Davie met for the first time at Brian's flat one night. Brian's flatmate Stevie, who he liked a lot, asked a girl called Lucy, who they both knew from college, to come round with her new boyfriend one night for a drink. The boyfriend was Davie.

Before they came round that night Lucy had kept saying to Stevie that she thought that Brian and Davie would get on really well. She said they had a lot in common. As it turned out they did.

On the night when they came round for a drink Brian and Davie hit it off and got talking about music, d.j.s, clubs, and drugs. They sat

smoking and chatting away, and the others could feel the enthusiasm building up between them as they heard them get excited about this track and that feeling. They ended up being a bit anti-social to the other two and some other folk who turned up, but nobody seemed to mind. They were getting on so well.

Davie spoke a lot about a club called Pure on Friday nights and nights that he and his pals had had there. He spoke with glee about 'mad nights' and being 'fucked outta his head'. Brian responded positively to all his stories enjoying the facial expressions that went with them. Davie ended up suggesting that Brian came out one Friday, meet his mates, and have a rave.

On the Friday night of the following week Brian and Davie met in a bar in the city centre. They had a few pints and then decided to get down to the club early to avoid queuing and drinking too much. They marched excitedly up from the dark depths of the Cowgate and its busy bars, and across the Tollgate where loud drunken groups of folk shouted at passing taxis and cursed them as they flew by them. They walked over the bridge hardly noticing the panoramic view of the city at night, made their way through the busy traffic, and finally turned down into the road which led down beneath the Calton Hill, and beneath the abandoned classical style home of the Scottish Parliament, heading down towards the back end of the glass roofed Waverly railway station. This was where the club was.

They were both keen to get on with it, and they were pleased to see a relatively small queue outside the door. The bouncers standing either side of it were big and tough looking. They were all dressed in black with big jackets on. 'No messin'!' looked like the message as they checked out the people who approached.

Davie had a membership card so it wasn't any bother getting past the bouncers. They headed down the steep stairs and paid £5 each to a girl with long curly hair who smiled at them as she took their money. They squeezed past a large bouncer and entered the downstairs bar and chill out area.

Downstairs was already pretty busy although it was still early. It was pretty dark with wall hangings on the walls which were illuminated by an ultra-violet light. People sat around the edges in groups talking and having a drink. Others mingled and some were already asking around about Es.

Brian and Davie walked straight through, passed the toilets, up the very narrow and steep staircase, and at the top turned left into the main dancefloor which was quite narrow and very dark with black looking walls and a low ceiling. The lay-out seemed to focus towards the far

end of the room where the speakers, lights and a small stage stood. The music was loud, and in the quite tight space it seemed to boom out and fill the whole place. A warmth from the bass sounds filled the air and the sharp acoustic kicks of the drums set the scene for the dancing to come. It was a very deep and physical sound in the main room.

By now it was almost midnight, and quite a lot of people were already dancing. You could tell that some of them were already starting to come up on their drugs by the way they looked and the energy coming off them as they started to get into the dancing. Some were already beginning to sweat, and some had that wired look developing in their eyes.

Keen to score and get on the dancefloor, Brian and Davie started to ask around about pills. Brian decided to look for someone who already looked pretty out of it and ask them. Afterall, they obviously knew something. His first attempt was successful. Bull's eye!

- Aye...how many d'you want? said a stocky wee sweaty bloke with shaved short hair.

- Jus the two, Brian replied directly.

-Awrite then..I'll see what a can do..wait here the now anyway right.

- Nae bother, Brian replied as he started to fumble about in his pockets looking for money while trying to look discreet, but, of course, not managing to at all.

In the meantime Davie had met a few mates and brought them over to where Brian was standing. Everyone said 'hello' and smiled.

- Got us sorted, said Brian to Davie.

- Good one...What are they?

- Don't know yet...I'm still waiting to get them, Brian replied. Davie responded with a nod.

They all started to dance around a bit getting ready, and they checked out the folk who were arriving all the time now. The main room seemed to be filling up very fast all of a sudden. Soon the bloke who went to get the Es popped up again as if from nowhere.

- Awrite mate, he said as he casually stuck out his hand in Brian's direction. His hand was clenched, and as Brian met it with the palm of one of his own hands he felt two large capsules drop into it. He closed in around them very carefully. In his other hand was the money which he passed like-wise into the bloke's free hand. Sorted.

Brian smiled at the bloke as he took a quick glance at the cash. He nodded at Brian, and then shot a quick glance at Davie who was watching them performing the exchange. Davie fired a friendly knowing

glance back, as if to say everything was cool, and then the bloke turned back to face Brian.

- If you want anymore mate jus' ask us, awrite?
- Excellent...cheers mate, said Brian with a big smile.
- See y'later.

Brian felt pretty chuffed at getting sorted out so easily. Sometimes it could be a real nightmare if you couldn't sort it out before getting to a club. In a club you had to take what was going, wait about for dealers to arrive and then find them. That could all take ages and sometimes it just didn't happen. He was also glad because he wanted to do something for Davie.

- Take this. Brian whispered in Davie's ear as he grabbed his hand and gently slipped a capsule into it.
- It's pretty big isn't it? said Davie rolling it about in his hand. Brian nodded, then they both smiled and swallowed them whole.
- Off we go then, Brian said like a great explorer about to embark on a serious adventure.
- Here we go, said Davie sticking to a more familiar football style.

Swallowing the Es together seemed to instantly create a kind of bond between them. It felt like the two of them had departed on a journey, or an adventure, together, and they looked forward to it eagerly as they moved onto the dancefloor and quickly made some space for themselves by a pillar towards the front.

The ecstasy hadn't begun to take effect yet, but just the act of scoring, the ritual of swallowing them, and the general anticipation and excitement gave both of them an exhilarating sensation. This gave them new leases of energy as they started to work into the beats and rhythm on the dancefloor. At this stage they still felt conscious of their movements and the distance between their own bodies and other people's bodies around them. It was still early. It felt good dancing, but there was so much more still to come.

After a while, as they danced next to each other, they began to come up on the ecstasy. They felt their legs become lighter and more responsive to the demands of the beat. The atmosphere on the dancefloor became more intense, and it seemed to be bursting and building with energy which was streaming out of the dancing bodies. Everything seemed to have got faster and quite a bit more intense. People were moving everywhere they looked, dancing about as people moved onto, and around, the dancefloor weaving patterns through the growing crowd and looking for a suitable space, or familiar faces. On the edges people looked on, or chatted to new arrivals by the bar.

Brian and Davie were just starting to really rush on the ecstasy. It seemed as if their bodies could all of a sudden move so easily, and it felt like their feet weren't even touching the floor anymore - they were flying on those capsules.

The music was 'techno' with strong, hard percussive rhythms, which were making people stamp their feet on the floor to the bass drum and snap their upper bodies to the whipping sound of the hi-hats. Warm basslines and trancey melodies brought people's arms and heads into the dance and created more movement around, and shuffling on, the dancefloor.

At times the beats would break off and the music would move into calm, dreamy passages. During these passages dancers had a little time to take in what was going on for them and around them on the floor. The sudden break from the beat was dramatic and was like having all direction removed. Brian and Davie both felt a bit stunned at the first break, eager as they were coming up on those Es. Davie wobbled about a bit. Then they caught each other's eye and laughed. Both of them knew they were getting wired, and that the ecstasy was going to be strong. They could feel it inside of them.

Davie had a bottle of water in his pocket which he had bought at the bar. He pulled it out and took a big swig from it. As Brian watched he realised that he was already sweating quite heavily. He checked out the beads of sweat on Davie's forehead, and he noticed that his hair was looking moist and slick. He drew in a deep breath and felt it travel all around his body.

Davie offered Brian the water with a sincere look and a wee hand gesture. He looked pretty wired with heavily dilated and enthusiastic pupils which looked dark and deep. He seemed to be shining. Brian smiled a bit manically and accepted the gift. As he drank he realised that he couldn't focus his eyes on anything, or anyone, for very long without his vision blurring. He also felt a bit itchy and excitable, and any changes in the sound made his eager body respond.

They both enjoyed the chance to have a wee look around at the people. When you're dancing you can check people out and make eye contact, but everybody's pretty busy getting into it. But in the breakdowns there's an opportunity to get a wee cheeky smile, a touch, or a chat in before things go off again. It all helps get the atmosphere going on the dancefloor making people more comfortable in their surroundings.

Brian saw this blonde girl next to him. She looked lovely, he thought. She had short bleached blonde hair, and she had black cycling shorts, a sports bra and trainers on. She looked pretty out of it, a bit serious, a

little impatient, strong, and bursting with energy. She was covered in sweat already, and her eyes were dark and deep like she had tons of eye-liner on.

Brian nudged the girl in the arm, which made her jump a bit. Then as she looked at him a little startled he offered her the water smiling casually as he did it. Her body relaxed, she let out a wee smile, and then accepted the water. She leant backwards as she tipped the bottle and drew on it. She wiped her mouth with her wrist, and then she passed the bottle back to Brian. As he took the bottle their eyes met just for a brief second and they both smiled, shrugged their shoulders, and she made a facial expression which said 'Phew!'. After a quick mutual nod of their heads as thanks, they turned away from each other again.

Brian liked girls a lot, but he appreciated that raving wasn't about pulling, and thought it was important to give people space on the dancefloor, and not be too keen or lechy. Afterall, everyone came to enjoy themselves, their drugs, and their dancing, and the last thing that anybody needed, especially girls, was folk coming on strong to them and making them feel uncomfortable. So Brian always tried just to be friendly to girls, but this didn't mean he didn't fancy them, it just wasn't a disco, or a pub, and he was glad about that. But sex was still involved, it was just more latent, not the main show if you like. In fact, Brian thought that the atmosphere at raves and rave clubs was sexy precisely because of the unspoken rules against leching and chatting up people, and the freedom and protection this gave to people. He reckoned this safe environment allowed people to come more out of themselves amongst strangers who were no longer perceived as a kind of sexual threat. He thought that kind of atmosphere could only be healthy. So he tried to play it cool, but the difficult thing was that ecstasy made people look so great.

When Brian turned around, looked at Davie and passed him the water bottle he caught his eyes. Davie was moving his eyebrows up and down, smiling mischievously, and had his head tilted to one side. Everything about his look and his gestures said 'She's nice, eh?'. Brian smiled and looked away because he knew he'd been caught on the prowl.

A bloke standing next to Davie who had a shaved head, no top on, a skinny pale body, and was wearing black boots and army trousers, tapped him on the shoulder, raised his eyebrows expectantly and looked at the bottle. Davie shrugged his shoulders, nodded his head and, with a little smile, passed him the water as well. As the bloke took the water in one hand he raised the finger of the other as if to say 'I know'. Then he dug into one of the deep pockets of his army trousers and reappeared with a bottle of poppers like a cheeky magician. He offered it up to Davie, who towered like a rake above

him, and raised his eyebrows to form a question. Davie brought his hand to his chin to express contemplation, then nodded his head quickly as if to say 'why not?', and smiling roguishly he clutched at the bottle and took it from the other bloke's hand.

Brian had been watching this whole exchange very intently as it occurred all in a matter of seconds. As Davie took the bottle in his hand and began to unscrew the top, he moved impulsively towards him and nudged him as if to say 'me too!'. As they touched, even only very briefly, electric shock-like sensations travelled through both of their bodies. Davie turned and nodded to him understanding immediately what it was that he wanted. Then he brought the small bottle up to just beneath his right nostril, as his index finger on his left hand closed down on his left nostril to enhance his sniffing power. He closed his eyes concentrating on the act and inhaled the strong chemical fumes which were leaking out of the bottle, and which were also catching the attention of many around him. 1-2-3 up the right nostril, then a quick change of hands, and the same up the left one, and then he was done.

Davie looked inquiringly at the owner of the poppers, who was now standing holding his water bottle and watching him closely, and made to offer the poppers to Brian. The bloke nodded approval in a dismissive way, so Davie handed it over to Brian after placing the top back on. Brian accepted it gratefully, nodding at their new found friend, and he pulled likewise on the wee brown bottle. Davie smiled and stuck his hand out towards the stranger. They shook hands and then he gave Davie back his water bottle just as his ears went red hot, his vision became very quickly blurred and began to tunnel, and as his legs gave way at the knees. Davie felt his environment close in on him and distort, and he experienced a strong gravity pull which sent him way off balance and plunging forward. For a few seconds there was nobody at the helm of the good ship Davie, in fact, Davie wasn't even sure where the controls were. He stumbled dramatically forward as the rush from the poppers took control of him. Fortunately, the other bloke, who'd given him them in the first place, caught him just in time. Davie looked disorientated and a bit distant, but he tried to pretend that everything was just fine. The other bloke had his act together, however, and just smiled at him, and those around him, and steadied Davie on his feet by giving him some support, making sure he was o.k. before letting him go.

Brian who had been watching as the drama unfolded moved over to see if Davie was alright. But just as he got to him his own head blew off with all whistles blowing, and he felt this incredible surge of energy

shifting through his body and heading for his brain, and just at that very moment the drums and the bass kicked back in as the breakdown came to an end and 'BOOM' everyone - including the now recovered Davie - exploded into movement as the dancing took off again. Brian stretched his hands out in the air as the rush passed through him, closing eyes for just a few seconds, and feeling the energy coming off the dancefloor.

Davie, Brian, the blonde girl and the guy with the poppers broke into their steps with bodies cracking, bouncing up and down, arms in the air, feet stamping, and occasionally they brushed against each other as they did so. The energy from the breakdown, the build up, the poppers, and all the people starting to dance at the same time made Brian and Davie feel light and dizzy, and it seemed as if the roof had just blown off the building. In many ways standing there on the dancefloor it had. For quite a while after that the group of new friends on the dancefloor danced with and around each other smiling and urging each other on to go further, and to take it as high as it could go. The poppers made its way round a few more times, and the blonde girl made to introduce the lads to a few of her friends who turned up on the dancefloor. The lads nodded and smiled.

After a real good dance, and as both Brian and Davie began to stop regularly for rest due to the growing intensity of the heat and the physical demands of dancing, Davie shouted the word 'smoke' in Brian's ear, and he pointed towards the exit downstairs. Brian nodded with approval and a little relief, and he gestured to Davie to lead the way.

They made their way slowly through a maze of arms and faces which were all facing towards them as they headed from the front to the back of the room to where the exit was. As they passed through the crowd concentrating hard, they passed by a quick succession of faces, expressions, styles and movements. It was best to concentrate on the spaces which opened up in order to avoid knocking into people. However, every now and again they would catch a hold of somebody's eye, or a smile, or see someone dancing in a way they found interesting and they would hesitate and take things in. It was like stepping into a zone, which you then had to escape somehow. All the passing faces and different expressions were accentuated by the changing light patterns and colours, and occasionally the distorted effect of the stroboscope. The place was full of energy now, and as they moved through the crowd brushing past the quick moving, wired bodies of the dancers, they could feel sensations from the twinges coming from the ecstasy which was buzzing throughout their bodies.

On the stairway they felt a wee bit stunned and insecure. The sudden narrowness of the space, the bright bare lights, the sight of bouncers, and the hustle and bustle of people moving in two directions up and down the small staircase made them both feel a wee bit challenged. On the way down they both clung eagerly to the side and negotiated the stairs in a cautious one by one manner.

At the bottom Davie turned round and looked at Brian and they both heaved a sigh of relief and then laughed. Then they moved off along the corridor past the busy toilets, which were full of sweaty people drinking water from the taps and talking round the sinks, and finally into the downstairs chill out room.

They found a space to sit down on the floor against a wall which had a fluorescent back-drop hanging on it. They placed their bums on a cold, wettish feeling floor, but they weren't bothered about seating arrangements or accommodation problems by this time, and they just tucked their knees up and felt fine. It was good to have a rest. They didn't talk too much except essentials to do with fags and water.

They looked around a bit as they sat there on the floor of the busy room. It was dark except for the fluorescent back-drops and the dim lights by the bar in the far corner. People were sitting all around the walls talking, drinking, smoking, and occasionally just looking about. A few folk were dancing to the music which was drifty and dreamy. Their movements were so much slower and more gentle than those happening upstairs in the main room.

As Brian and Davie sat there pulling hard on their cigarettes, which had become soggy from the sweat on their hands and faces, the whole room seemed kind of calm, open and positive. Neither of them were afraid to look people in the eye, and they smiled at strangers as they passed by them. One guy who Davie had seen on the dancefloor came up and asked him for a fag. Davie smiled away and without the slightest resistance offered him one of his.

- Take them! he said laughing and passing him the packet.

This girl that Davie knew came up to the two of them as they sat there and said 'hello'. She crouched down in front of them and spoke fast and chirpily about doing this and that, and this and that happening here and there, or, something to do with him or her, this lot and that lot - that at least was how it seemed to Davie and Brian who found concentrating and keeping up a little tough. She was like a social queen, full of energy and confidence as she spoke, and with facial expressions and fantastic hand

movements which drew a picture of the ups and downs, and the chills and thrills of her evening so far. As she spoke her eyes darted from Davie to Brian, to Davie to Brian, to the people passing by and back to Davie, and so on, as she chit-chattered away.

After an initial feeling of being overpowered by this verbal attack Brian and Davie had started to adjust and get into her enthusiasm. This was just what they needed, and neither of them felt like talking too much. But she...she was a star. However, after a while the girl saw a friend, jumped up, waved goodbye while pulling a silly face, turned, and then rushed off in another direction. Davie looked at Brian and raised his eyebrows.

- Nice girl.

- Yup, replied Brian.

- Back upstairs then?

- ...Awrite then.

As they went slowly up the stairs the music became louder and louder, and the thick and heavy buzz of the atmosphere coming from the dancefloor became stronger and stronger. In the corridor and on the stairs they passed by sweaty, smiley people with serious looking eyes in search of water and friends heading off in the other direction.

As Brian and Davie passed through the exit onto the back of the dancefloor they felt a rush of excitement, and they quickly remembered about the ecstasy inside of them. They stopped for a second and looked at each other, then at the dancefloor, which now looked wired and wild, full of twisting, girating bodies and bizarre looking faces, then Davie gently touched Brian on the arm and squeezed him. They both smiled and headed into the crowd.

They passed the rest of the night dancing near the front. A few people down there started to whoop and scream as the night came to its peak with the pulse of the music driving them crazy. Everything on the dancefloor was moving, incredibly alive like a living organism, and Davie and Brian found their place in the heart of it.

Davie's tall and skinny body moved steadily, undramatically, but relentlessly to the stronger sounds and rhythms. He was solid on the floor and friendly to those around him. Meanwhile Brian's smaller stockier figure moved more frantically from side to side with more of a shuffle in his step.

As they danced they shared their fags and water with their new mates on the dancefloor, and they accepted their gifts in return. They all

communicated through facial expressions, touch, and the occasional shout in the earhole.

By the time the lights came on signalling the last track it was full power on the floor with maximum energy that you could feel bursting out of the moving bodies, see in the smiling faces and hear in the whoops and screams. And then suddenly the music stopped, and instantly the bouncers - like stormtroopers - appeared shouting to people to 'move outside please'. It was over.

Brian and Davie like many around them were stunned. They could have gone on for hours, but it was over. They sat down in front of the stage still feeling excited and exhilarated. A cigarette was called for, and they both drew heavily on them once they managed to get them lit.

This small girl in a silver shirt with short brown hair, a shiny face, and those ecstasy eyes came up and looked at Brian pleadingly as she pretended to smoke a cigarette with her hand. He laughed and said 'sure' as he pulled out his pack and gave her one along with his lighter.

- Cheers, she said as if she really meant it.

A few of Davie's mates from earlier came up to them and were dead friendly. They all headed for the queue for the cloakroom which was full of wired people hanging about in a rather fidgety manner.

After everyone gathered together outside. Most of them were shivering because their T-shirts, trousers and hair were soaking wet as a result of dancefloor activity. The cool early morning air made their damp clothes stick to their skin, which sent shivers through their bodies. Chain smoking, and the odd rub or slap on the back from a mate, seemed to aid the process of survival, and all the time familiar friendly faces from the dancefloor were passing by saying 'cheers', or giving cheeky wee smiles as they headed off.

As no solid rumours about after parties appeared, and as everyone started to get cold and began thinking about warmth, sofas, joints, and cups of hot tea, the crowd outside the club slowly began to disperse in different directions until only the very keen, or very out of it, remained outside waiting for something or other to happen.

Davie had wandered off for a bit, and Brian re-introduced himself to Davie's two mates who he'd met briefly at the beginning of the night. They introduced themselves as Frankie and Jabs.

Frankie was medium height and very pale with unwashed, curly ginger hair, a very expressive face and a chatty manner. His old green Converse boots, baggy trousers, and loud t-shirt print exhibited him as the

playful, cheeky, friendly character he was. He looked as if he wasn't that interested in anything that didn't make him laugh.

Jabs was thinner and quieter than Frankie with very short dark hair and facial stubble. His complexion was a bit green, and his clothes were worn and dark. He had a friendly, child-like smile, which he would allow occasionally to break his normally sullen expression. Brian imagined him to be the kind of character who visited Paris just to leave flowers and graffiti on Jim Morrison's grave. He was an *homme fatale* if such a thing existed.

Davie re-appeared striding confidently and gathered them all around him.

- Listen...listen...Eddie's over there.
- Aye...a seen him earlier, said Frankie.
- Well...he's goin back to his gaff...d'you fancy it?
- Aye...why not, said Frankie again, who was obviously feeling pretty chatty. Everyone else nodded in agreement.
- Awrite with that Brian, said Davie just checking.
- No probs, he replied smiling but looking keen to move on somewhere, anywhere in fact.

Early Saturday morning Edinburgh was dark, chilly and massive. A small group of blokes toddled their way up steps, across bridges, and through the streets, which were not paved with gold, but were paved with fast food litter and vomit. Every now and again a police patrol car would crawl by slowly on the prowl for 'anti-social behaviour'.

Brian and Davie slowed up a wee bit behind the rest of them and talked a bit. They talked about the ecstasy, the size of it, how it came on, the different stages they'd had on it, and how they felt right then. They also spoke about some of the characters they'd seen dancing, how fucked they were, the way they danced, what they had on, etc., etc.. They spoke easily and fluidly about any old shit, and basically had a laugh. This helped to pass the time, and also allowed them to ignore the cold.

Although their bodies were now quite tired they could still feel the ecstasy, and both of them looked wide-eyed as they spoke, like they'd just come out of a cinema which was showing Star Wars during the afternoon. They could also feel a strong connection which had developed between them over the course of the night. Together they made a map of their night as they wandered through the dark city streets.

After sometime they reached Eddie's place which was across the Meadows. They struggled up the stairs to the 3rd floor, and then all of them herded slowly, one by one, into a large sitting room. Brian walked over

to the large window and looked out across the Meadows. It was starting to get light outside. The sky was light grey and the grass in the foreground seemed to be turning a bluish grey.

Eddie's place was a real mess. Three blokes lived there, and none of them were domestic types. The sitting room was full of fall-out and left-overs from a variety of previous chill outs, quiet nights in and t.v. dinners. But it was undeniably dry and warm, had a couple of inviting looking sofas, and someone was already mentioning tea. So everybody was very happy with their new accomodation.

Davie went off to help this other bloke Stevie who was a mate of Eddie's to make the teas. Brian got settled on the sofa at the far end nearest to the window. He armed himself with all the necessary skinning up materials - fags, skins, dope, roach and lighter. Then he pulled the busy coffee table in front of the sofa towards him and gently brushed clear a space on its heavily occupied territory. Then he grabbed a spare music magazine, which was lying on the floor next to him, and placed it on the table as a working surface. Finally, he placed all the necessary materials carefully in front of him. All the time he had been doing this he subconsciously rubbed the back of his head and neck in between movements which made his still alert body tingle all over. As he slowly licked the sticky bit of a skin, he looked up and around the room which had bare, creamy walls with patterns made by the marks of old blue-tak, a faded blue carpet and brown sofas. Top quality rented accommodation it was.

Jabs who he'd met outside the club had come in and slumped in a comfortable looking old armchair with his eyes firmly closed as if he was concentrating on a movie that was being shown exclusively on the inside of his eyelids. Above his dark thin eyebrows there were deep lines of concentration marked across his pale forehead which contrasted with his young looking face.

Then Frankie stormed into the room laughing his head off loudly, and Jabs slowly opened his eyes just enough to have a quick check that whatever the source of amusement was, that it wasn't anything coming his way. Then he closed them again.

- Fuckin' party animal...eh?, said Frankie looking at Brian, and then at Jabs accusingly. Brian just smiled back at him.

Frankie's eyes were still popping out of his head, and by the way he buzzed around the room and searched clumsily for a tape on the floor, it seemed like he was still strongly feeling the effects of his drugs. Brian watched as he debated the pros and cons of various tapes, which inevitably

ended up with him lobbing them over his shoulder, and then continuing to scramble amongst the heap in front of him like a kid in a sandpit.

However, the sweet smell of the hash as he burnt it and began to crumble it into the tobacco brought his attention back to what he was doing. Soon the smoke was pouring into his lungs, and after a few seconds it came funneling back out into the middle of the room above the old coffee table as he exhaled. He felt a soothing relief throughout his body. The smoke lingered around the room in layers brought to life by the rays of early morning sunlight which had begun to break through the windows, and it moved spiraling slowly upwards accompanied by the sounds of the early morning traffic outside.

Frankie finally put some chill out music on. It was full of bubbly, dreamy sounds, and soft, friendly beats, and it seemed to fill the room, making it seem less bare. Then Davie and Stevie came in with sweet teas pumped up with sugar, followed by Eddie who had changed into a warm, dry tracksuit, and was carrying a bag of grass. Everyone got sat down and began to get comfortable. Joints were rolled with concentration, passed on, and accepted with appreciative looks, and the bodies, which had been exhilarated, wired, and fast moving in the hustle and bustle of the club, started to become more relaxed, comfortable and saggy as the smoke and the warm tea eased its way into things and into them.

Frankie and Eddie quizzed Brian about himself, and asked Davie where they'd met. The conversation rolled along without any particular haste or direction. They all spoke for awhile about the club and the music, the people and the different Es they'd tried. Time passed by easily and enjoyably as they came down off the ecstasy. The smoothness of the come down meant that the Es were good as well as the company.

Jabs was the first to crash out in the old armchair. He pulled his knees up under his sharp chin, and stuck his head into the side of the chair pressing his face against it. His young looking face looked serious but calm as he drifted off into his slumbers.

The others sat around for a good few hours and listened to tunes, which still sounded great. They gently eased themselves towards a state of total physical exhaustion, and by the time Brian and Davie decided to split only Frankie was still going, and he looked as if he would be for awhile yet.

Brian got very slowly to his feet, then he went over to Frankie and put out his hand. Frankie met it with his own and they shook hands.

- Thanks, said Brian.

- Nae bother...you're awrite pal...see you again sometime, Frankie responded.

- Aye...no doubt...see y'later anyway...cheers!
- See y'later then Frankie...I'll give y'a phone, said Davie being less demonstrative, and they all had a quick laugh at all the others crashed out around the room before the two of them headed off out the door, and made their ways down the stairs. They stepped out of the block of flats and stopped for a minute to take in the fresh air. The road in front of them was now busy with Saturday traffic.
- Let's do it, said Davie rather heroically trying to summon up the will power to make it across the city centre which he knew would be busy with Saturday shoppers on a massive consumer rush. They were on a mission.

Once they had negotiated the lights and traffic on the busy road they walked across the Meadows, and even managed to get into an out for a brisk Saturday morning stroll kind of stride. They chatted a bit about the day's football in store, how little they planned to do, and how much they needed to crash out.

They finally parted outside the Playhouse realising that they were headed in different directions.

- Cheers mate...thanks a lot, said Brian sounding like he meant it.
- Aye let's do it again sometime..eh? Davie replied cheerfully.
- Why not...I'll give y'a phone then.
- Aye...do that...see y'then.
- Aye...take it easy.

2.11 'GOIN' T'OUTTA SPACE T'FIND ANOTHER RACE': CRIMINALISATION, ASIAN PARTY SCENES AND THE RAVE DIASPORA

The question I want to put forward now is: Is this story concerning the popular shift towards 'clubbing' as a dominant social practice due to processes of commercialisation and normalisation, and connected to a simultaneous drive towards governmental clampdown on and control/elimination of less acceptable forms of practice - such as 'free parties' - the only story which has ultimately emerged out of 'acid house' and 'raving' as social phenomena? The answer: Well, not quite. You see - to return to the history again - I want to look at what else happened further afield at the same time as clubbing experienced

its great boom as a result of the popular/'mainstream' pursuit of ecstasy, and to investigate other forms of response to the governmental intervention into more illegal and illicit forms of practice in European states, such as Britain.

As police powers and pressure increased, as the quality of ecstasy declined, as 'raving' became something more to do with the licensed and the legal, the fashionable and the consumerable, and as the dangers (personal, social, political) of participating increased, many people sought refuge abroad. New territories were sought out in which the pursuit could be continued away from the increasing governmental interventions, pressures, restrictions, and commercial developments at home. This led to the emergence of foreign party scenes in the 1990s where British party people joined forces with other nationalities in attempts to create alternative destinations and scenes with a greater freedom to follow their own course.

The importance of one foreign party scene, Ibiza, in the emergence of 'acid house' has already been mentioned. In the 1990s two other popular party scenes emerged in Thailand and India. These scenes offered winter destinations for European party people. The numbers heading for the island of Koh Phangan in Thailand and Goa in India, which had both been developing during the 1980s as tourist destinations out of hippy/traveller roots, grew stratospherically in the early 1990s as a result of the increasingly hostile political environment in European states towards the free party/illegal style of raving. Tourist destinations in general, and in Asia in particular, have built a lot of their attraction around offering asylum and escape from many western social mores and laws. The desire to travel has thus long been associated with an experience of difference which is not simply cultural, or historical, but which is rather an experience of the other side of social morality. In tourist talk this escape and its fulfillment is most often called the quest for 'fun', 'pleasure' or 'enjoyment'.

Tourism in Asia, which is aimed principally at Europeans and also sometimes at domestic tourists, has a long association not only with offering the attractions of an alternative culture, a different climate and environment (represented through images connected with European fantasies about 'Paradise'), but also with the attractions of the flesh and the pursuit of alternative experience (social, personal, sexual). For Europeans, Asian destinations have long been connected not only to images of colourful peoples, quaint cultures, palm trees, deserted beaches and luscious fruits, but also to the practices of prostitution, drug consumption, homosexuality and paedophilia which have been made available in such locations in exchange for hard European currency. In a way then, there has been a massive on-going exchange called 'tourism', or 'travel', between Europe and Asia in which tourists/travellers have exchanged money for encounters with and experiences of difference, and local people in tourist areas have had to entertain both this desire and this difference - often in direct contradiction of their own values, beliefs and laws - in exchange for the apparent benefits foreign money brings to them and their lives.

In this developmental scenario Asian governments desiring of 'modernisation' and wishing to attract foreign currency have pursued 'the tourist' and tourism as a source of foreign currency. This form of 'economic development', which is known as a 'soft path' to 'modernisation', needed relatively small investments because tourists were attracted by nature, culture, history and recreation⁸⁶. As a result of such perceived advantages even government organised tourism and tourist campaigns in Asia have promoted tourism using images and discourses which entertain European

⁸⁶ The notion of tourism as the 'soft path' to economic development is mentioned within the major anthropological work on the subject, Smith, V.L. (1989) (ed.).

fantasies and images of 'the exotic East' and of 'paradise' in order to secure such a 'soft path'⁸⁷.

In many Asian countries in which tourism has developed it has done so in a series of waves⁸⁸. In many destinations the first wave occurred during colonisation and colonialism in which countries, such as India, were occupied and became fixed locations in Europeans' imaginations as a result. After the period of Independence popular travel in Asia was pioneered by hippies and travellers who since the 1950s have headed towards Asia as the source of a temporary or more permanent adventure, alternative experience and alternative lifestyles to that available in 'the west'. This stage of tourism occurred without the need for any massive internal development of the industry as 'travellers' were willing to travel on local buses, eat local food, and sleep in local accommodation - that was what they had come to do, and was part of their desire for difference and cultural authenticity. Also the more remote a place was, and its lack of services etc. was not a problem for the traveller either, for again that was the point.

In these early days of Asian tourism, Europeans who were travelling often met and exchanged information about places, things to do and see, and possible business ventures to fund their travels. This led to the establishment of a circuit in many countries around which travellers would move, as well as locations on that circuit which started to be able to rely on the presence of certain, growing numbers of Europeans every year. In this second wave local people in these locations found it possible to invest money in developing the means they had to make profit out of this foreign presence in their villages at certain times of the year. This investment altered the make up of local Asian economies as tourism gradually became a more financially rewarding pursuit

⁸⁷ For a local example relevant to this work see the debate over touristic representations of Goa in *Goa Today*, August 1987.

⁸⁸ For some examples of attempts to produce 'sociological' patterns with regard to tourist development see Smith, V.L. (1989) (ed.) and Wood, R.E. (1993).

with more chance of providing the sorts of luxury 'modern' goods and lifestyle that many were starting to imagine as a result of 'modernisation' processes, television, and contact with a growing number of Europeans. As 'long haul' tourism and travel became increasingly popular in the 1980s, and as the number of foreigners in Asia grew, small hotels and restaurants emerged in these areas as well as the beginnings of outside and national investment in the form of larger hotels. This third wave of development would normally involve a greater effect upon the local community and environment, and a greater involvement on the part of the state and big business with changes being made to the local infrastructure, etc.⁸⁹.

During the second wave of this process of tourist development, and in the early days of the third, some of these locations have provided temporary homes for party scenes and party people. Urged on by the need for foreign investment and foreign currency, and by the desires for 'modernisation' and 'development', certain locations became havens from conventional moralities and laws in exchange for hard cash and other foreign commodities. In the pursuit of such ends, local moralities and values have come to tolerate the existence of others, and their often strange behaviour, and to develop strategies for interaction. Local and national authorities have also had to become more liberal and forgetful, and often a kind of 'apartheid' has arisen in which there are different morals, standards and laws which apply to 'the foreigner' and to 'the local'. However, such arrangements are never cast in stone, and a variety of factors can alter the state of affairs and bring it to a permanent, or temporary, end as we will see later in the case of Goa.

However, in the interim, party scenes have been allowed to grow and flourish, and lifestyles based around spending up to six months of the year in Asia and six months in Europe, and based around the business possibilities that

⁸⁹ This pattern of growth reflects those discussed by Woods, R.E. (1993) in terms of South-East Asia in general.

such continental shifting offers have emerged. This phenomenon, although undoubtedly part of a conscious economic drive by the growing travel and tourism business within Europe, was also a response to the social conditions, political environment, and the increasingly repressive governmentality at 'home' which was slowly spreading across Europe with respect to certain lifestyles and practices surrounding 'ecstasy' use and 'raving'. These foreign destinations offered winter escapes where such practices could be continued and developed in local contexts, and where business could be made around the initial journey, around the scenes themselves, and on return to Europe in the summer months⁹⁰. Only temporary residence in Europe every year gave those involved mobility which allowed them to evade the clutches of the agents of governmentality - the taxman, the policeman, the courts, etc. - and to maintain an agency which allowed them to preserve aspects of their lifestyle which they valued, around which they earned their living, and which was increasingly becoming the object of wider societal desires and practices which were transforming it - for some beyond all recognition - and removing the control from their hands, placing it instead into the hands of property owners and more mainstream commercial interests, officials and their restrictions, laws, correct procedures, etc..

In a way then, foreign party scenes - such as Koh Phangan and Goa - have provided, as part of a bigger socio-political and economic deal, territories and an hospitable environment in which a lot of the original participants, original practices and original ideals of the more radical 'free party' movement of the late eighties and early nineties could continue to exist in the face of pressures at home and increased clampdowns. As such, they served as havens from increasingly hostile environments at home, and also emerged as

⁹⁰ Almost all Asian countries have lucrative 'black markets' in western consumer goods, which travellers can exploit on arrival. On return to Europe smuggling is one obvious, illicit form of business. However, there are also plenty of more legitimate businesses surrounding the transportation of Asian crafts, clothing and jewellery.

important sources of energy which could be pumped back into the scene at home as new styles, music and practices emerged from the scenes developing abroad⁹¹. The second part of this work will concentrate exclusively on describing such a scene - the one in Goa, India - over a three year period so as to create a clearer picture and understanding of what goes on there, the peoples involved, and its connections with raving as a wider social phenomenon.

Meanwhile, at 'home' in the U.K., other strategies have evolved in order to deal with increasing governmental intervention, and the new 'Criminal Justice' legislation concerning 'raves', 'trespassory assemblies', 'camping', etc.⁹² Some 'free party' sound systems - such as Bedlam - began around 1993 to spend long sojourns on the European continent travelling to countries like Portugal and the Czech Republic where there was no knowledge or discourse yet about 'raves', or any understanding of it as a 'problem', and where there was a more open tolerance of it. Many local people enjoyed the antics of the funny young people in their weird costumes, and with their sound system and 'techno' music, and enjoyed the opportunity to watch them and dance. One sound system, Desert Storm, based around Glasgow, drove as part of an Aid convoy all the way to Sarajevo during the civil war in former Yugoslavia holding parties for unity all the way. Some promoters who had organised a lot of the original outdoor legal events in the early nineties, such as Universe, but who had had enough of the governmental opposition and hostility to their operations, also moved their outfits across to the continent. They travelled to countries like Holland and Germany, where the authorities had taken a more open, legal and commercial approach to 'raves' as a strategy for combining

⁹¹ Scenes abroad, such as Ibiza, Koh Phangan and Goa, have all led to the introduction of new clubs, fashions and practices back into scenes 'at home' in Europe, and sometimes further afield. A few examples would be 'ethnic' hats and waistcoats which became popular with those who travelled to Thailand, and smoking chillums (clay pipes) after being in India.

⁹² See end of section 2.9 for details on the C.J.A. 1994.

any potential dangers such practices presented with the potential profits and wider economic benefits they offered national economies in need of new markets and revitalisation.

In the U.K. the build up to and effects of the new 'Criminal Justice' legislation - which singled out 'raves' as a specific issue in need of 'public' control in the act itself - were twofold. Firstly, the new laws and police and local authority powers concerning 'travellers', 'ravers' and 'squatters' hit hard at the heart of the 'free party' movement and the 'festi-rave' scene, and radically increased the tools available for repressing it. Secondly, however, the harsh nature of the sweeping legislation outraged many people, not only 'ravers' and other 'anarchists', but other members of the 'respectable' general public who felt it went too far in criminalising 'having a good time', and who were concerned about the abuse it signalled on civil liberties and the powers it gave to the authorities. These fears connected 'raving' as an issue to a host of other social changes enacted in Conservative Britain since 1979 in which the losers have been values and practices based around notions of collectivity, assembly and popular protest, and the growing fear of the possible emergence of a Police State. In this way the proposed legislation effectively politicised 'raving' and brought it into contact with wider social issues and groups.

As the legislation made its way through parliament, a movement began to protest against it which based itself around holding illegal parties and club nights in order to raise money for campaigns and protests which would give information on the nature of the legislation. Records and C.D.s were also released, the proceeds from which were used to raise consciousness about the changes being proposed. These protests and campaigns came to a head in a massive public demonstration in the city of London on 24th July in which 60,000 people took part (see Plate 11)⁹³. Only the Miner's strike and the 'Poll

⁹³ For discussion of C.J.A. see Collin, M. (1995).

Tax' demonstrations matched this in terms of popular protest during the period of Conservative rule between 1979-1997.

Despite this politicisation of the rave scene, and its connection to wider socio-political issues concerning 'liberty', the Criminal Justice Act was made law in 1994. The act deemed an open air event involving 10, or more persons - who do not have to be trespassing, so it could be in your own back garden - involved in dancing to music during the night without a licence, a 'rave', and made those persons guilty of a criminal offence. It also gave sweeping powers to the police to deal with such events which involved entering premises without warrants, confiscation of property and immediate arrest. Eleven people in someone's back garden at night listening to the theme from 'Jaws' is now a criminal offence!

In the meantime, however, raving - despite its attachment to 'the war against drugs' - has continued in Britain in both the 'safe' form of the club/clubbing, and through its politicisation as a form of marginal rebellion and social protest⁹⁴. How long both forms will survive in the face of governmental pressures is impossible to tell, although it will be suggested later in this work that 'oppositional' practices and events such as raving and raves are necessary for the practice of modern 'government'. For now, however, at this stage in the story we will move on to look in much greater ethnographic detail at one development arising out of this historical process which regards the shift towards foreign party scenes. In this respect I wish to present ethnographically information regarding the rise of Goa as a popular destination for ravers, and its role in the nineties as a party place.

⁹⁴ Raves are used by protest movements, such as Reclaim The Streets, as a form of civil disobedience in order to raise consciousness of particular social, political and environmental problems such as pollution. See also Green, T.H. (1995) for an account of 'free party' activity in the U.K. after the C.J.A..

SECTION THREE

GOA AND THE GOA PARTY SCENE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this second section of the thesis I will focus on the party scene in Goa, India. I want to try and create a diverse understanding of the scene by approaching it from a variety of writing positions which reflect the diverse experiences and relationships I have had with Goa, Goan people, and the party scene itself as tourist, anthropologist, and as participant/'party person'.

First of all, in order to create a wider context in which to view the more contemporary phenomenon, I will give the reader a brief historical account of Goa based on a mixture of historical research and ethnographic observation. Then I will look - using the same methods - more specifically at the development of tourism and the arrival of 'the hippies'. This will provide the more specific historical background to the party scene which has grown stratospherically since the popularisation of ecstasy and raving took place in Britain and other countries since the mid 1980s.

Following the sections upon history and background, I will move in closer to the party scene itself, ethnographically speaking, and try to evoke it for the reader through a mixture of descriptive ethnographic writing, extracts from personal letters and postcards, newspaper clippings, and creative writings, which have emerged out of my period of fieldwork in Goa, which stretched over a two year period⁹⁵. My aim is to draw the reader into a diverse experience and appreciation of the Goan party scene in its local socio-historical context, and in particular from the perspective of a participating human subject. I also hope that the diversity of styles and written sources will create a field of diverse impressions from which the reader can draw his, or her, own conclusions. They will also provide the basis from which I will make my own critical excursions in the third section of this work.

⁹⁵ Between April 1994 and April 1996 I passed over half of my time in Goa during three separate field trips.

My self-proclaimed aim in this section is, therefore, as I understand it, ethnographic. By 'ethnographic' I mean that the writing and reproductions are drawn from the research and personal experience of the author, and that they are an attempt to transport the reader to another place, and to draw them into another social world - in this case that of the party scene in Goa.

3.2 PRE-HISTORY AND HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Long ago, the territory which is now known as 'Goa' was received from the sea by Parashurama, the 6th incarnation of Vishnu. Parashurama had come to the territory seeking a place in which to perform penance for killing King Sahararjuna (he of a thousand arms), and for massacring the whole kshatriya caste in revenge for the murder of his father Sage Jandagni. The territory was reclaimed from the sea after Parashurama fired an arrow out into the Arabian Ocean in order to mark out the boundaries of his place of penance. It is said that Parashurama was accompanied by Saraswat Brahmins who were to assist in him in the performance of penance, and who settled permanently in Goa establishing it as a community and as a place of religious worship which attracted many admiring visitors.

It is also recorded that Shiva and Parvati, whose relationship was volatile and often hostile, occasionally left their abode in the Himalayas during the cold winter months and settled for some time in the more pleasant environment of Goa⁹⁶.

While I sit here gazing at one chronology of 'Former Rulers' of Goa one thing in particular becomes clear to me, and that is, that the territory of Goa, and the peoples who have dwelt within that territory over time, has, and have, encountered many different historical forces and desires

⁹⁶ For some Goan pre-history, see Mascarenhas, A. (n.d.) and Singh, K.S. (n.d.).

(see Fish Curry and Rice: A Citizens' Report on the Goan Environment). These forces and desires have affected the place and the people in many ways - some leaving enduring marks and expressions on the surface of Goan life, others disappearing quickly into the shadows of obscurity. Over time this diverse history has come to constitute the peculiar and particular collective experience which is Goa and Goan people. This local history has, however, always been connected as a player to much wider, global historical forces, which have affected and shaped it, and which have in turn been affected and shaped by the existence of Goa.

Goa as a territory has featured in Sanskrit, Greek and Arabic writings and is recorded under many names, such as, Gomant, Gopakattana, Nekanidon, Tricadiba Insula, Sindabur, Chintabor (Ibid.). Since 1000 A.D. the territory has been home to the Kadamba dynasty, the Hindu Vijayanagara, the Muslim Adil Shah, the Catholic Portuguese Empire, and the secular Indian Union. The surface of Goan history has clearly seen many different historical currents passing over it, and sometimes clashing on its shores, and has been the site of many political, economic and religious projections and plans as a result.

Partly an outcome of these diverse currents and conquests, and also a motivation for conquest in the first place, was the diversity of peoples, connections, and exchanges in the territory which resulted from Goa's role - under various rulers - as an important sea port and trading post. First for Arab, and then for European peoples, Goa was 'a gateway to the Orient', an access point to all the gems, spices and fruits which that part of the world has been associated with for many a trader, conqueror and visitor. This role as a trading centre produced a climate in which encounter, contact and exchange between indigenous people and different outsiders - such as the early traders and merchants from China, Sumatra, and the Arab territories, and later, during the period of European colonial expansion and domination, the Portuguese Empire - was the basis of its external importance, and

ultimately, its internal existence and survival. With such a diversity of historical contacts, in many ways, Goa constitutes in its own local history and culture a microcosmic representation of a more global history concerning the different peoples and empires which have struggled to control Asia, its resources, and its trade with the rest of the world.

Goa and its peoples throughout history, therefore, have come into contact with many peoples. This contact has come in a variety of forms as traders, travellers, conquerors, or liberators. It is the unfolding account of these historical encounters and experiences which both constitutes the uniqueness of Goa as a place and Goans as the people who live in that place, and which connects it and them historically with other peoples, places, and periods of history around the world. It is a history which is carved in the stone of its architecture, which is dug into the contours of its land, which lives in the languages which are spoken by its people, and is expressed through their various dresses, beliefs, customs and practices. It is a history which exists as part of a living tradition, that of Goa, and, of course, it is, like any other place, a very peculiar configuration.

It is this living tradition which one sees on first arrival in Goa. Whether it is from the seat of a Yamaha, or an Enfield motorcycle, or, from the window of a taxi, or a tourist bus, as one passes by the paddy fields and beneath the shade of the coconut trees, while moving through small villages with colourful bungalows and seated balconies out front, and with either the 'Tulsi' plant (Hindu), or the white cross (Catholic), standing in front as a symbol of that family's faith [see Plate 16a]. The red ruins of Portuguese forts rest above on hillsides overlooking the river mouths, and scattered everywhere are white chapels and churches which shine in the hot sun, and which are matched in every place by the equally present and impressive temples and shrines to Hindu gods.

On the roads and paths it is normal to see Mediterranean style dresses walking next to saris, and lungis next to flannels⁹⁷ [see Plates 15a, 15b]. Nuns shop at the local market stalls as sadhus wander around the village begging and blessing those who will accept them⁹⁸. Flash new white taxi cars, with Caribbean sounding tunes blaring out, speed by solid looking wooden carts drawn by grey and shiny water buffalos with their long and twisty horns as the old men who steer them curse at, and sometimes ignore, the speed of change with a puff on a biddhi and a distasteful spit⁹⁹. In this sense Goan history lives in the present, it breathes in its ruins, in the differences both religious and social between its people, and it tells the story of a place and a people which have emerged from, and live, in a long and continuing history of contact, exchange and experience of the world and peoples beyond its own territory.

3.3 CONTEMPORARY GOAN HISTORY

In 1961 Goa - along with Daman and Diu - became the last territory to be claimed from European colonial rule by the Indian Union. Goa had been under the control of the Portuguese since 1510 when Vasco da Gama ousted the Muslim Adil Shah of Bijapur. As the armed forces of the Indian Union marched into Goan territory on the 19th of December 1961 signalling its 'liberation' from European colonialism, they also brought with them a host of new problems, interests, struggles and powers, which epitomised modern India with its colonial legacy, and aims of achieving a modern secular state and 'economic development'¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁷ Saris and lungis are traditional Hindu Indian dress for women and men respectively.

⁹⁸ A sadhu is a Hindu holy man.

⁹⁹ A biddhi is an Indian cigarette made out of a single tobacco leaf, which is very cheap and very popular with poor men especially.

¹⁰⁰ This historical path emerged following independence from colonialism, the assassination of Ghandi and due to the political will of Nehru.

Unlike many European powers who governed over parts of what has become since Modern India - especially the British - the Portuguese did not expend too much time, energy or money on massive development programmes within their Indian colonial territories. The Catholic church and religious orders - such as the Society of Jesus - undertook a variety of building and educational projects - the most impressive in Goa being the construction of Old Goa which was built as a religious centre, or 'the Rome in the Orient'. However, there were no major infrastructural developments such as those undertaken by the British in other areas of, and across, the Indian subcontinent. This is partly explained by the relatively swift demise in wealth, influence and power of the Portuguese empire in European and global terms, and also by a seemingly conscious attempt by the Portuguese authorities to maintain Goa as a kind of bucolic, biblical 'Paradise' in the East, which differed from their own colonial policies and regimes elsewhere in other parts of the world - for instance, Angola¹⁰¹.

Whatever the explanations are behind it, it is safe to say that in 1961 as modernity- in the form of the Indian military - marched into Goa, and into the lives of Goans, it brought with it forces, desires, identities, struggles, and in general a strong wind of change which up to that point had been absent in the territory. One Goan - Norman Dantes - has written that:

"Industrialisation or development has not been a major preoccupation of ordinary Goans for two historical reasons. Till 1961, Goa was under Portuguese colonial rule. Portugal itself was comparatively unindustrialised compared to the other nations of Europe. Secondly, Portugal saw to it that Goa had consumer goods without having to undergo the rigours associated with industries producing such goods." (Fish Curry and Rice: 56).

In this sense it could be said that Goa been preserved from modernity, somewhat ironically, due to the nature of her colonial master.

¹⁰¹ See Boxer, C.R. (1963) and (1980) for a detailed and comparative account of the Portuguese colonial empire.

Under Portuguese colonial rule, and despite evidence of some inquisitorial-like institutions and practices, it would appear that Hindus and Hinduism was tolerated in Goa in the long term. As a result, the Goa which came under the rule of the Indian state in 1961 consisted of a mixed community made up predominantly of Catholics and Hindus¹⁰². These Catholics and Hindus, despite many differences and distinctions, shared many workplaces, language, cultural forms and practices, and co-habited in the same villages. The mixed nature of the Goan population which had existed under Portuguese rule - possibly in the face of a shared experience of colonial power - created the basis for the first political and social challenge for Goa and Goans following Liberation. The challenge concerned the political future of Goa, which led to arguments and divisions over the culture, language and history of Goans. In order to understand this struggle, and the effect it has had upon social and political relations within Goa, it is first necessary to draw out some of the immediate events and circumstances in the post-Liberation period¹⁰³.

First of all, in the period immediately following Liberation, Goa - together with Daman and Diu which were also captured from the Portuguese - was ruled by an appointed Lieutenant Governor who was aided by a 'consultative council'. The governor was appointed by, and all decisions were approved by, the central government in Delhi. In 1964 the first popular elections for a common legislative assembly of 30 headed by a chief minister took place. This assembly, however, had 'advisory powers' only, and all decisions still lay with the government in Delhi. In some ways then, it would

¹⁰² Other sections of the Goan population are made up by a small number of Muslims, and by people who are called 'tribals' who some Goan intellectuals regard as the 'indigenous' people of Goa.

¹⁰³ My knowledge of modern Goan history is based mainly upon information gathered from a mixture of written sources - in particular the detailed work by Newman, R.S. (n.d.), Ifeka, C. (1985), De Souza, T. (1991), and a regular reading of Goan newspapers/journals (English) - and from conversations and relationships I had with Goans in the field. In the latter respect I acknowledge a great debt to Mr. De Souza, Tito, Raj, Mr. Naik, Julie, Fr. Nacimiento, Fr. Charles, Fr. Matthew, and Fr. Willy amongst many others who spoke with me about Goa.

be wrong to imagine that 'Liberation' from Portuguese colonial rule brought with it the freedom from external constraint and happiness which is often associated with that term. In fact, it could be argued that in the immediate period following Liberation, Goans found themselves even less able to influence the external forces which governed over their lives, and that the nature of those forces - modern, industrial, 'developing' - posed a greater threat to their traditional ways of living than that posed in the past under colonial domination.

In this context, the first major issue and struggle to arise from, and bring into focus, the new set of political conditions concerned Goa's political future and cultural status within the Indian Union. Following Liberation many Hindus believed that it was 'natural' for Goa to become a part of the state territory of Maharashtra. This was due to what were to them obvious religious, cultural and historical connections between Hindus in Goa and Indians in the neighbouring state to the North. This desire for union with Maharashtra, and the forces behind it, came together after Liberation under the political banner of the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party.

Catholics in Goa - many of whom had been functionaries in the Portuguese colonial administration, held positions within the church, and were land owners - felt, however, very threatened by this pro-Maharashtra movement. Goan Catholics feared becoming a very small religious minority within a large Maharashtran state with a massive Hindu majority. These Christians - many of whom were very socially influential within Goa, and educated due to their more favourable position of religious affinity with respect to the Portuguese authorities - formed a political vision of a united and distinct Goa maintaining the boundaries created by the Portuguese since 1510, and upholding the idea that Goa was a particular place in itself with its own peculiar path of social development, and forms of social life, which differed from those in Maharashtra. In this respect they were also increasingly

supported in the early years of Liberation by some non-Christians as floods of migrant Indian labour began to pour into the territory as a result of new 'development' projects, and as their presence began to have an effect upon living and working conditions, creating a more hostile understanding of what being part of India would actually mean for many Goans. These forces which were more suspicious of handing over control of Goa to external Indian forces came together to form and be represented by the United Goan Party.

Goa's entry into modern India, and the removal of the shared experience and presence of the Portuguese colonial authorities, led in the immediate years following Liberation to increasing tension between the Hindu and Catholic communities which became expressed in the political divide between the M.G.P. and the U.G.P., and in a wave of popular protests. This political divide represented a growing awareness of difference amongst Goans, which resulted from the removal of Portuguese rule, and the arrival of modern India. These new divisions and tensions surrounding the future path for Goa led in 1967 to the staging of a popular vote concerning the issue of statehood. The result recorded that 53% of Goans were in favour of independent statehood and opposed to union with Maharashtra.

In the aftermath of the opinion poll a new arena of social tension and another wave of popular protest emerged concerning the status of Konkani - the language spoken daily by the majority of Goans. This struggle was directly related to the debate over the political future of Goa, and the possibility of union with Maharashtra. Basically speaking, the division was over whether or not Konkani was considered to be a distinct language of its own, or, whether it was simply a dialect of Marathi - the majority language of Maharashtra. The debate over the status of Konkani in one sense reflected the wider concern over the relationship (cultural, historical, spiritual and linguistic) between Goa and Maharashtra, and future relationships between the two now that Goa had become a part of India.

Finally, 20 years after the first opinion poll concerning statehood, and after a period of tension between sections of the Goan community involving an accentuation of the differences between peoples who had long co-existed, on 30th May 1987 Goa became an independent state territory, and she was separated from Daman and Diu. Konkani was also recognised as the 'official' language in the new state which was the 25th in the Union. And finally, in 1989 the first popular elections to its new 40 member assembly took place.

As these struggles and tensions appeared on the surface of Goan society over statehood and language - reflecting real differences amongst Goans, and a deeper struggle for power and control within the new post-colonial territory - entry into modern India, meanwhile, manifested itself in the less open to discussion arena of 'economic development'. As one commentator has put it, "Freedom from colonial rule meant only one thing: go in for development..." (Fish Curry and Rice: 3). Iron ore mining, which had been begun under the Portuguese and which lay in the hands of a few powerful Goan families, was increased in scale in the hinterland due to Japanese investment. New extractive technology was used to increase output in order to feed Japan's post-war economic boom. Goa also attracted some interest and investment from multi-national companies who set up business there; Ciba-Geigy began producing toxic pesticides, and Birlas and U.S. Steel set up Zuari Agro Chemicals producing chemical fertilizers. Both later became the focus for popular environmental protests over the destructive impact of their activities upon the Goan environment, including accusations of contamination of the water, paddy fields and fishing waters¹⁰⁴.

As 'modernisation' fever spread through Goa many Goans moved to the larger towns of Panjim, Mapusa and Margao where major construction of offices, houses, apartments, roads and bridges began. Urbanisation and

¹⁰⁴ See Fish Curry and Rice for a detailed account of environmental issues and protest in Goa.

construction attracted not only an educated middle-class 'nouveau riche', but also many poor Indian migrants from neighbouring states, as well as poor Goans from rural areas, in search of work. The presence of growing numbers of poor Indian migrant labour, as well as the new work and living conditions which were emerging under the new regime, created new social tensions and problems beneath the concrete surface of 'development'.

Goa, however, has avoided major urbanisation and industrialisation, and many of the social developments and problems related to those processes as they have unfolded in first Europe, and later the majority of the rest of the world. The reason Goa has avoided these processes and those problems is because since Liberation it has opted for another form of 'development', and another path towards 'modernisation', and that is one which revolves around tourism.

Goa was identified as a suitable place for tourist development for several reasons. As a relatively 'under developed' territory with much of its natural beauty still preserved under the Portuguese - who maintained a local subsistence economy based around small scale traditional fishing, coconut and paddy cultivation - Goa possessed many of the 'scenic' qualities which defined a tourist area. Most importantly in terms of tourism it possessed long sandy beaches and coconut trees added to a hot climate for much of the year. Secondly, as a Portuguese colonial territory within India, Goa had come under the influence of an empire, culture, traditions and practices very different to much of the rest of India. This different cultural presence, which exists visibly in physical and cultural forms upon the landscape of Goan society, made Goa 'exotic' for both other Indians and foreigners alike. Goa's history and difference from the rest of India made it a possible 'attraction'. One particular attraction which resulted from Goa's history of interaction with the Portuguese was the local production and consumption of alcohol in the form of

feni, port wine and beer¹⁰⁵. Finally, the development of tourism within Goa also reflected a wider, general policy by the Indian government to use tourism to boost the national economy¹⁰⁶.

For both the national and state governments tourism as an industry was an attractive project with regard to pursuing 'development' and 'modernisation'. Tourism as an international phenomenon, and as a social activity in modern nation states, experienced incredible growth from the 1960s onwards. It required - when compared to other industries - very little investment depending as it did on nature, culture (often understood purely in terms of 'non-western') and history to attract business. In a new independent nation state as large and diverse as India, tourism provided a domestic market as well as a foreign one. Domestic state run tourism provided a valuable source of government revenue, as well as serving a social and political function by connecting peoples and parts of India in a new relationship, which it was thought might help produce a sense of nationality often absent in strongly sectarian parts of the Union. Foreign tourism, on the other hand, provided a means of attracting valuable 'hard' currency and outside investment into the nation.

In the 1960s Goa became a part of modern India, and an emerging tourist spot, amidst new struggles and social tensions. Beaches, tavernas and places of religious, cultural and historical interest, which had always served Goans in their daily lives, and during holidays, became the centre of a major business initiative and modernisation programme which has had a major effect upon the recent history of Goa¹⁰⁷. Tourism has become Goa's most important industry employing many Goans, and offering a new

¹⁰⁵ Feni is a white spirit distilled in Goa using traditional methods from coconut or cashew.

¹⁰⁶ This reflects a pan-Asia policy towards tourism. See King, V.T., Hitchcock, M. and Parnwell, M.J.G. (1993).

¹⁰⁷ Taverna is Portuguese for a public bar, and is still the term used in Goa.

form of subsistence within a global market which now feeds the Goan economy. Tourism produced government enthusiasm for and support of tourist development in the state, as well as tempting local, national, and multi-national interests into investing in it. Tourism also led to land 'development' and redeployment involving a variety of struggles, increased construction work which has brought many poor Indian migrant workers into the state, and finally, has led to a growing army of domestic and foreign tourists each year¹⁰⁸.

In 'season time', between October/November and April/May, tourism has radically altered the nature and experience of daily life in much of Goa for the people who live and work there. Some Goans view tourism as a 'slow path' compared to industrialisation, and which still manages to maintain much of its traditional flavour as a result¹⁰⁹. Others feel that in catering to the needs of the tourist, Goa and Goans have been forced into giving up much of their traditional way of life, and basically compelled to sell their soul in a game of short term gain and greed in which the winners will not be the majority of Goans, or Goa¹¹⁰.

In the next section I will look in more detail at the specific way in which tourism in Goa has developed and takes place as a contemporary practice. This description is based on fieldwork I did in Goa during a number of visits there over a 2-year period between 1994 and 1996.

¹⁰⁸ See section on tourism in 'Fish Curry and Rice' and "Tourism: the Coming Invasion.", in Goa Today, Aug. 1987.

¹⁰⁹ See De Souza, T. (1991)

¹¹⁰ This would seem to be the point of view of the Goa Foundation - who produced Fish Curry and Rice - based on an environmentalist/social justice approach to tourism. The 'J.G.F.' (Goan Vigilant's Army), which have an advert in Fish Curry and Rice, represent a more radical opposition in terms of economic and cultural imperialism. The leader of the J.G.F., Roland Martins, avoided talking to me while I was in Goa, despite many attempts to meet him, presumably because I was a 'hippy' and an 'imperialist'.

3.4 A GENERAL ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE REGION

In April 1994 I arrived in India for the first time with a friend during one of the hottest and driest months of the year. We headed straight for Goa from Bombay where the unfamiliarity of the incredible heat, the seamless flows of traffic, and the massive population out on the streets made our initial arrival as strangers a bit hectic. In the previous year I had heard several stories about 'raves' and a 'rave scene' out in some place on the west coast of India, that I had never heard of, called Goa. I also came across one article in a newspaper written by a journalist, Alix Sharkey, who wrote about the party scene in Goa¹¹¹. The article was short but vivid, with a description of the local context, the 'tribal' experience and the 'hippy' types in Goa at an all-night 'party'.

Beyond chance encounters with people who gave me snippets of information about the 'raves' in Goa, the article by Alix Sharkey, and the section on 'Goa' in the Lonely Planet guide to India, I knew nothing of Goa, or of India for that matter, before my arrival. The Lonely Planet Guide said of one spot whose name meant nothing to me at the time - Anjuna - that "The only way to find out is to stay here for a while and make some friends. Full moon is a particularly good time to be here."(Lonely Planet Guide (to India): 843). In the anthropological tradition of fieldwork and 'participant observation' this was exactly what I had in mind. As Malinowski wrote in his manifesto for a modern anthropology, the only "...proper conditions for ethnographic work...consist mainly in...remaining in as close contact with the natives as possible, which really can only be achieved by camping right in their villages."(Malinowski, B. (1987): 6)

Over the next two years I spent over half my time in Goa during three periods of fieldwork. My first and longest stay took place at the end of the tourist season (April-May) and lasted through the monsoon when there were

¹¹¹ See Sharkey, A. (1993).

no tourists, and very few foreigners at all, in the region where I stayed. I used this period to try and become familiar with local people, particular families, and their daily ways of life, outside of 'season time'¹¹². This period created a background and contrast to 'season time' which was the main focus of my interests connected with my more long term research into 'raving'. My other two stays in Goa were during the tourist season (October-April) when Goa was packed full of a variety of different types of tourists, when 'parties' were being held, and when its locals were very busy making ends meet.

On my arrival in India I was informed by a middle-aged, middle-class Bombay man with a moustache that Goa - where his wife came from - was 'beautiful', and he filled me in on '..those wondereful full moon parties which foreigners hold down there in Anjuna'. He claimed to have attended some 'full moon parties' in a bonding kind of way, and spoke enthusiastically about the foreigners, and about the 'good time'. So it was true, I thought. After all, this guy was no 'freak', and he said it was happening too¹¹³. On the journey from Bombay to Goa I thought about arriving in the party scene area, seeing and meeting the people there, and going to my first party under a full moon. What would it be like? Who were they? What were they all doing down there in Goa holding raves under the full moon?

After arriving in Goa, I headed for the capital, Panjim, which is set on the side of the Mandovi river, and which is full of the strong flavour of Portuguese colonialism. I have never forgotten the strong sensation - particularly after arriving first in a very British-influenced Bombay - I had of Goa on arrival as being more like I always imagined Mexico would be. Panjim was full of small streets with balconies above. It was something like the

¹¹² In particular, I owe any insight to the Alfonso, Lobo and Parab families with whom I spent so much of my time, and to Raj and Ashok who very kindly took the time to talk to me in their language Konkani, and who jokingly called me Goenkar (Goan) in recognition of my attempts to talk back.

¹¹³ 'Freak' is an alternative term used to describe 'hippies'. See Odzer, C. (1995) for a fascinating auto-biographical account by a self-confessed 'freak'.

set of a 'western' movie. Women in bright and shiny looking Spanish style dresses moved about the streets [see Plate 15b]. Men in cotton flannels with flip flops, or leather shoes, and with white cotton shirts unbuttoned at the neck, longish hair at the back and moustaches strolled around the narrow streets past small, smokey tavernas. I waited in vain to be called 'gringo' in the street as rickshaws put-putted past reminding me that I was in Asia.

After a short stay in the capital city we headed for the northern coastal belt around the Anjuna area. Our first visit up north only reinforced the initial Hispanic impression I got in Panjim. The Bardez region in which the party scene is located is one of Goa's predominantly Christian/Catholic areas. It is populated by many Goans who wear European style dress, and have white crosses outside their bungalow houses opposite their balcaos¹¹⁴. There are white chapels dotted around everywhere, and larger churches and seminaries placed on top of prominent hillocks of red laterite rock which stand up in the landscape. So strong was this Hispanic impression that I started to remember and dream during the first few days up north about things from my family holidays when I was a teenager on the Spanish isle of Mallorca. I hadn't thought about those times for such a long time, and yet all of a sudden they seemed to have come alive for me again, and I crossed the distance in my thoughts and dreams between India and the Mediterranean, and between my current role as an anthropologist and holidays in the sun as a child.

In retrospect - from a position now in which I know the region much better - I would also say that the strong Hispanic impression which I, and many other foreigners, have had on first arrival in Goa was also very much to do with a process of selection. This selection comes from the surprise of being in India, which is mostly understood by Europeans as going

¹¹⁴ Balcao is the Portuguese term used to describe a small sitting area outside of the front door of Goan houses.

to be very different to their world, and discovering on arrival familiar signs sticking out in the light of day, while at the same time new signs of difference seemed less apparent, but became more so over time. Initially, the result is that more familiar (colonial/European) aspects of the physical and social landscape seem to grab one's attention. It is an unusual feeling, and one which must happen to many travellers and tourists when faced with the legacy of colonialism.

Except for a period of one month when I stayed near Panjim the capital, I spent all of my time in Goa - except short stays and visits to many other parts - based on the northern coastal belt around the stretch between Calangute and Arambol [see Plate 14a]. In this area tourism was clearly a main focus of activity for local people, and there were a variety of different forms of tourism and types of tourist. It was also where the 'parties' were held in the years I was there. This stretch of coast, which has received international renown for its beautiful beaches, is the site of 5-star development, has smaller hotels and guesthouses which cater for 'charters' and package holiday tourists, and is also the main destination for 'back-packer' travellers. It is also a home for many more long term 'hippies' who are residing more permanently in India¹¹⁵.

These different forms of tourism and types of tourist are not neatly distinguished in terms of areas in the northern belt itself, nor even in terms of practices, which in many cases overlap. It is, for instance, possible for a 'back-packer' to rent a small room in a local house only a short distance from a 5-star development in a place such as Calangute, and there are resorts in the Vagator area which is also at the heart of the 'hippy' scene. However, on the whole there is a general pattern and gradual shift away from 5-star developments and package holiday makers as one moves north along the

¹¹⁵ 'Hippy'/'hippie' is the general term used for all foreigners in Goa, although it does have more specific connotations these days in comparison to 'tourist' and 'customer' in that it signifies a long term, low budget foreigner with greater local knowledge and independence.

beaches between Calangute and Arambol. Tourist development, however - which mainly sticks to the coast - is also moving in a northerly direction, so this general distinction is always being challenged by new tourist projects in what were previously more remote (from tourism that is) northern areas.

It should also be understood that the northern coastal belt is not the only location for tourism in Goa, which is a major industry and employer in the state. As a state Goa is in general less industrialised and urbanised than much of the Indian Union, and has come to depend to a large extent on tourism since liberation. Other areas of Goa cater for a substantial domestic tourist trade, and there are also many places where 5-star developments have been constructed¹¹⁶. Panjim the capital, and its local beach Miramar - which have road access to nearby Old Goa, the pride of the Portuguese Empire in Asia, and site of many cathedrals and monasteries, and also to the Ponda area where there are many Hindu temples - is the centre for a great deal of domestic state run tourism. In the south of Goa, on the other hand, since liberation in 1961 many powerful interests and families in the state - some connected to iron ore mining - joined forces with national and international interests to create 5-star resorts on the southern coast to attract 'luxury tourists'. Such developments have literally 'popped up' since the 1970s on beaches such as Majorda in the south of Goa.

There is also Colva beach in the south which is situated within close reach from the busy town of Margao, which is the principal town of the southern district. Colva serves as a recreational destination for people living in Margao at the weekends and on holidays. In this sense it serves the same recreational function as Miramar does for many of the people of Panjim. However, many wealthier families also have houses in Colva, usually traditional family homes, which have been abandoned because of the desire to live and work in the towns. For some people living in the towns the family

¹¹⁶ For a highly critical study of 5-star developments in Goa, see Fish Curry and Rice.

home is a perfect retreat in the holidays, or even a business opportunity if rented out to tourists in the season. Colva has also been the site of much foreign tourist development also in the form of 5-star hotels, smaller hostels, and rooms available to travellers in local houses. This development has coincided with the rise of a good number of restaurants, shops, and other common tourist facilities.

Further south of Colva, this tourist business has spread to Benaulim where there are already numerous resorts, and well established beach spots, despite the very quiet nature of the village and its more remote location. Even further south of Goa, by Chauri near the border with Karnataka, Palolem beach is now only in the last few years witnessing a large increase in the numbers of domestic and foreign tourists coming to walk on its sands, see its beautiful island at the northern head of the beach, eat its local seafood, and wander on the beach where in the mornings fishermen make smokey fires from discarded coconuts to keep them warm in the chilly morning air. Visitors also stay in local houses, or in one of the white canvas tents inside the new resort which have fans inside of them. Alternatively, they simply sleep on the beach alongside the fishing boats and nets.

Finally, even in the hinterland of Goa - which is more renowned for its iron ore mining and agriculture than for tourism - there is also some tourist activity and business. Tourism in this area is mainly of a domestic kind organised by state run tourist companies which bring buses from all over India to Goa each day during seasontime packed full of people in search of the tourist experience. These tours avoid expensive 'foreign' restaurants and bars, and often go to completely different locations, or attractions, thus creating a variety of different markets for the tourism industry and the government which is heavily involved and invested in it¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁷ During my first visit to Goa the then head of state, Wilfred De Souza, had originally been the Minister for Tourism, which demonstrates the political power such a position presents. It is comparable to the British Chancellor of the Exchequer.

State run tours fly around a variety of sights stopping at state run restaurants where meals are provided, and provide local dormitory, or tent, accommodation in especially constructed (by the state) tourist camps. Places like the beautiful Mayem lake near Bicholim, and Bondla Wildlife Sanctuary in the Goan hinterland feature on this state organised tourist trail as well as the more traditional attractions of beaches, churches, temples, and markets, which they share with foreigners and wealthier domestic tourists.

During my stays in Goa I tried to learn something of the other areas in which tourism took place, and other forms of tourism to those which existed in the area where I spent most of my time. This was in order to build up a wider impression of the role and place of tourism as a whole within the state and for Goan people in general. In many ways this task was made easier by two things. Firstly, there was the size of Goa which in all has a coast 105 km long and is 65 km wide. Such dimensions with the faithful assistance of a rented Yamaha motorcycle enabled me to travel extensively around the state comparing the people, places and practices in a variety of locations in which tourist business was/is carried out. Secondly, it must be understood that in Goa - especially when it comes to tourism - different things tend to co-exist in relatively close proximity to each other, and often feed off each other as well. In the case of tourism it is possible in some places to pay \$95 per night in a hotel and £1 per night just up the road for a room in a local house, or to 'sleep rough' on the beach. A bus will take you for 3 rupees on a journey which a motorcycle taxi will take you on for 30 rupees, and a tourist taxi for 80 rupees.

Then, there is the travellers', or 'hippy', 'flea market', which is at the heart of the party scene as a source of income, and a major gathering point for information and contacts, but which is also an attraction for 5-star, package holiday, and domestic tourists who are told that if they go on a Wednesday to Anjuna they will be able to see the remnants of 'the hippies' who used to 'plague' Goa's golden sands in the old days, as well as the many 'ethnic goods'

on sale there [see Plates 24a, 24b]. The Vagator beaches and the Chapora fort, which are at the heart of the party scene, are also popular 'sights', or attractions, for tourists in general. On the former beaches - which during the hot days serve as the main gathering points for people out in Goa for the party scene - Indian tourists, particularly the men and boys, aware of Goa's media-produced renown as a home to foreign 'hippies' and their hedonistic ways, and encouraged by tourist guides wishing to feed their enthusiasm, wander up and down the beaches checking 'the hippies' out, and trying to get photographs to take home with them of these strange people¹¹⁸. 'The hippies' are as such one of Goa's major tourist attractions attracting both foreigners and Indians to come and see them for themselves. This demonstrates how tourism in Goa involves distinct peoples, forms, activities and locations, which are nevertheless inter-connected in many ways.

For my research I picked the area around the Vagator beaches and the small fishing village of Chapora in the north of Goa as the site for most of my stays in the state [see Plates 17a, 17b, 19a]. This was because I soon learned after arrival that this area and its neighbour - Anjuna - were the centre of the party scene and home to the beaches and bars around which it existed. This part of the northern coastal belt is accessible by tarmac roads which veer off of the main state highway which connects the state's three major towns - Mapusa, Panjim and Margao - as well as connecting Goa to the neighbouring states of Karnataka and Maharashtra. Local buses, rickshaws, motorcycle taxis and tourist taxis all supply a means of transportation to the popular beaches and villages in this area. The roads are small, not always well kept - with pot-holes and overhead wires the main problems - and are frequently the subject of local grievances particularly during the Monsoon when there are no tourists to please, and the heavy rains and winds reek havoc on road surfaces

¹¹⁸ 'The hippies' have been a popular media subject in India. Caricatures of normally drugged up, sexually activated hedonists have prevailed, and been rooted in the popular mind, thus making those identified as such rather 'exotic' and 'other'.

and telegraph poles. Whatever the condition of these roads, however, they serve each year as the busy routes along which an ever increasing number of tourists flock to visit the beaches and villages around them.

The northern taluka of Bardez - in which the tourist destinations of Calangute, Baga, Anjuna, Vagator and Chapora are all situated - has historically had long and close relations with the Portuguese rulers during colonial times compared with some other parts of the state¹¹⁹. These other parts were either conquered at a later date, or had little attraction for the colonisers due to a lack of strategical positioning, resources or population. This history of contact with the Portuguese colonisers is very visible in the form of innumerable white crosses, chapels, churches and ruined forts, which mark the countryside at crossroads, stand by the side of paddy fields, sit above on hill tops, and are found in the heart of the villages. The influence and presence of the Portuguese is also built into the character of the local architecture - such as the houses with their balcaos - in the dress and appearance of Goan Catholics who are in a noticeable majority in this region, and in the names of local families which are written on the signs of stores and on motorcycles - names such as Lobo, Fernandez and Da Silva. Some say that it is because of this obvious Portuguese influence that Goa, and Goans, have a flavour which is attractive to Europeans. Presumably because it is slightly more familiar than other more Hindu, or Muslim, parts of India. This kind of argument connects a colonial legacy with modern tourism in an attempt to produce some sense of continuity between the two. This 'European' image of Goa and Goans is epitomised for some by its beer and feni (spirit), which exists as a result of the Portuguese colonial legacy, and which also for a long time marked it off from other states in India where alcohol was either prohibited, or still frowned upon. The beer in Goa has been an attraction with 'European' and now 'modern' connotations for both foreigners and Indians, and symbolises aspects

¹¹⁹ A taluka is an administrative district/region.

of its historical relationships with the Portuguese, with tourists, and with other Indians. Such a 'European' depiction, however, covers over the hostility directed at colonial rule by many Goans - both Hindu and Catholic - and the actions of 'freedom fighters' who pushed for her liberation in the build up to 1961.

The legacy of colonialism and Christianity is also used in many cases to explain other features and aspects of Goan tourism. One such example is the common practice in which travellers stay with local families in rented rooms often right inside their own homes and share their personal space. Many travellers report that such familiarity and intimacy is unachievable in other parts of India where difference and distinction are more highlighted¹²⁰. In this respect, I also noticed during my stays in Goa that, in general, Goan Catholics seem more open to such arrangements, and have done very well - economically - out of tourism compared to many of their Hindu neighbours in the same areas. In many cases Goan Catholics tend to be more socially influential, more educated, and with a greater ability to speak English than Hindus, and at least in Bardez seem to own more land and property. The reasons for this cannot simply be explained by some kind of pleasant affinity between colonialism and modern tourism, but should rather be seen in a much larger historical context in which colonial power relations between the colonisers and the colonised have produced social and economic inequalities which have remained in existence beyond Liberation¹²¹.

In the Indian national media and in the advertising promotions of Goa, the Christian-Portuguese aspects of Goa and its people have often been emphasised in order to construct an image of it as an unusual and distinctive place to visit. Goa, however, is a mixture of peoples, religions and

¹²⁰ This point is noted in the Lonely Planet Guide, and is commonly supported by foreign travellers within India.

¹²¹ Goan Catholics were, of course, more likely to own land and hold administrative positions under the Portuguese.

cultures - a map of its past glories, struggles, trade, etc. - which co-exist relatively peacefully in daily life, despite the fact that some clearly do a lot better than others, and that tensions and potential conflicts exist there between people as much as in most places and have their distinctive ways of being aired. Only a 1/3 of Goans are actually Catholic, the rest being predominantly Hindu. Even in the northern coastal belt between Calangute and Vagator - which is strongly Christian - there are many Hindu families and temples which are just about as equally visible as the Christian elements, and which are on the whole mixed up with them in scattered settlements and small villages. Hindus are marked out by their appearance - especially women who wear brightly coloured saris - the colours of their houses, the tulsi plants outside of them (which serve a similar social and religious function to the white crosses outside of Christian dwellings), through their religious practices, and finally, their names - such as Shirodkar, Kamat and Pratap [see Plates 15a, 16a, 16b].

The Goan government, the tourist industry, Catholic intellectuals and the press have all since Liberation made a lot of capital out of promoting an image of Goa which stresses its colonial Portuguese legacy, and often depicts Hispanic-looking Goan characters as 'friendly natives', and Goa as a 'friendly place' where differences are ignored or negotiated for the sake of a harmonious, 'natural' social existence, which also happens to make it a 'very nice' tourist destination¹²² [see Plates 28a, 28b, 29a, 29b]. This idyllic existence for many Goans - especially Catholics - is proudly caricatured by the Portuguese word sucegad which roughly translated means 'laidback'. Goenkar sucegad is a popular image of Goans and Goan life, which is used meaningfully by many Catholics to represent their identity, their 'Goaness', and their state. This image with its highly colonial connotations - e.g. lazy - has become a

¹²² See Ifeka, C. (1985) for a discussion of 'Goa Dourada' and colonial images of a pristine Goa and their legacy.

popular aspect of interaction between Goan Catholics and foreigners over tourism, and also amongst those keen to promote it abroad.

This image of Goenkar sucegad and of peaceful co-existence has led to a variety of writings in the press on aspects of 'Goan culture' which express unity and exchange between Catholics and Hindus. Popular festivals - such as the Siolim Zatra - have been widely covered in the media, and are beginning to be studied by foreign anthropologists with emphasis on the fusions of different religious traditions, and the 'syncretic' nature of such cultural forms. The political function of such narratives on co-existence are clear with respect to those who wish to keep Goa distinct and separate from Maharashtra and its Hindu majority.

In the promotion of a distinct identity, and the image of a state of peaceful, separate co-existence, the dominant language of Goa - Konkani - has been made into a symbol of a more general 'Konkani culture' - a syncretic, popular, living tradition shared by both Hindu and Christian Goan alike¹²³. Konkani as a language is spoken by both Hindus and Christians in the state and thus serves as a possible focus for unification. However, many Hindus - especially in the Northern regions - speak a dialect close to Marathi, and there are many regional variations in dialect as well. Many Catholics - especially in the upper-middle classes - often speak in English in the workplace and sometimes even in the home. Konkani, however, has become a powerful means through which to express Goan identity and unity as such things have emerged as issues due to the post-Liberation experiences of joining the Indian Union and its modern state, of 'development', the advent of urbanisation and industrialisation, and the arrival of migrant labour and tourism.

¹²³ See Newman, R.S. (n.d.) and Ifeka (1985) for discussions on this shared tradition of 'Goa Indica'.

As far as I could tell while in Goa - on a grassroots everyday level - this ideal image of Goan peaceful co-existence is both observable and spoken about proudly by a variety of local people. However, it would be simply wrong to say that there were not many human tensions which existed, which could arise during times of stress and pressure, and which often found expression through obvious religious and cultural differences between neighbours. Nor could I deny that much of the everyday relations between people took place within a context of incessant gossip about each other's idiosyncracies and differences - that would be to treat Goans as less than human. As it was there was always plenty of gossip about 'dirty Hindus' and 'dirty Christians', and about who you can trust and who will stab you in the back. Difference is, therefore, as significant in Goan social life as it is anywhere, but is balanced by a popular image of a shared 'Goaness' based on everyday practices and life.

I would also say, however, that the differences I encountered between Hindus and Christians around the area of Calangute to Vagator were not only differences of religion and culture, but were also marked by an economic distinction in which the Catholics seem to have come off best in terms of the ownership of land, property and wealth, and in terms of social status, power and influence. Perhaps this is part of a colonial legacy which lives on into the present? It is difficult to say without more concrete historical investigation. There are nonetheless rich and respected Hindus and Hindu families, and very poor and unrespected Catholic ones.

The peoples who have inhabited the northern coastal belt of Goa have lived a lifestyle which one group of Goan environmentalists have epitomised through the image of the daily food still eaten by most Goans despite religion, caste or class - fish curry and rice¹²⁴. Goan fish curry rice is

¹²⁴ See Fish Curry and Rice: A Citizen's Report on the Goan Environment.

a mixture of fish, coconut, masala and rice¹²⁵. This dish represents the mainstays of the local economies of the coastal areas. These areas are marked by red laterite rock caps and golden sands, by the shimmering green of the coconut trees which grow all around the coast and in the villages, and by the presence of the sea. The people living in these areas have traditionally mixed the culture of coconuts with fishing and some paddy cultivation, thus producing the ingredients for fish curry and rice [see plates 17a, 19b]. This local economy based on coconuts, fish and rice is now taken as an essential image of traditional Goan life.

From these basic resources - coconuts, fish, rice - coastal Goans have been able to produce fuel for cooking, materials for making shelters and houses, oils, ropes, alcohol, food and fertiliser, amongst other things, and they have formed the basis of a sustainable, indigenous way of life and existence in which most needs were available locally. Other resources included the red laterite rock which provided stone for more permanent dwellings, the wild and domestic fruit trees - such as jackfruit, cashew and mango - and whatever could be bought, or exchanged, at local markets such as the weekly Mapusa bazaar.

Around the northern coastal belt this fish curry and rice way of life is still very much in existence although change is also clearly visible and old ways have had to adapt to change. Change has come in two forms mainly. The first is the change brought about by general 'modernisation' programmes since Liberation and union with India. This process involves many more young Goans going to school, college, and learning modern skills, and ultimately, more people travelling to and working in the growing towns. It has also led to the introduction of mechanised fishing trawlers and canneries aimed at the export market with none of the fish caught being sold locally. The second source of change is a part of this process

¹²⁵ Masala is used in the same way English speakers use 'spice', or 'spices'.

of 'modernisation', but is of such significance in this particular area, the state in general, and to the subject of this writing, that it should be treated on its own - tourism. The development of tourism as the principal economic sector in this region, and the changes which have taken place as a result, is connected intimately to the emergence of places like Calangute, Anjuna and Vagator as 'scenes', or 'party spots', since the 1960s and the early days of 'the hippies' in Goa. I will now look at this development historically and in more detail in the following section.

3.5 THE HIPPIES IN GOA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM

"The former Portuguese enclave of Goa, one of India's gems, has enjoyed a prominent place in the travellers' lexicon for many years. The main reason for this is its magnificent palm-fringed beaches and travellers' scene. "

Lonely Planet Guide¹²⁶

"Calangute was put on the world map by the hippies..."

Fish, Curry and Rice¹²⁷

"It [Anjuna] was a favourite haunt of the hippies, who first came around 1966. They were deliberate drop outs from their western societies, protesters of the Vietnam war and the capitalist rat race in their countries. They came for the peace and serenity of the area. Then the relationship between the villagers and them was an interdependent one. Soon however the trickle became a torrent with Anjuna/Vagator/Calangute being put on the international map."

Fish Curry and Rice¹²⁸

"Modernity mingles with magic and myth when the moon appears above the hills in Anjuna, a Goan village nestling in the shade of coconut palms and fronting on the Arabian Sea. One of the first few foreigners to visit it after the Portuguese left in 1961 was Graham Greene, and then came the flower-children who placed it on the international tourist map and also made Goa notorious as a haven for drug addicts from all over the world."

R. Botelho¹²⁹

126 Lonely Planet Guide (to India): 807.

127 Fish, Curry and Rice: 184.

128 Fish Curry and Rice: 185.

129 Botelho, R. (1994): 1.

In the 1960s and 1970s a number of mainly European travellers - Italians, Germans, French and British - inspired by the psychedelic wave of oppositional and 'anti-establishment' values, ideals and practices associated with the social movement known internationally as 'the hippies', headed for India as part of a quest for an 'alternative', 'non-western', more 'spiritual', and more 'holistic' lifestyle than that which was believed by them to epitomise the modern world, or 'the west'. India was an obvious location for such quests due to the links it already had with Europe and the European imagination as a result of colonialism as well as through the central place granted to Eastern religions - such as Buddhism and Hinduism - in hippy discourses and practices, such as those produced by Timothy Leary and other Californian intellectuals¹³⁰.

The place of India in the hippy temple was firmly established in the 1960s by The Beatles who travelled to Rishikesh in the north to be with their Guru, the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. In many ways this was simply a popular, media covered example of a much wider cultural obsession and phenomenon, which was going on for many Europeans and Americans at this time, and in which India became associated with spirituality, communality and nature, and essentially symbolised the other side of modern society, capitalism, industrialisation, and 'development'.

During this time - which was not long after Goa's liberation in 1961, and the arrival of Indian troops - the first hippies and hippy communities emerged in Goa. Goa was attractive to these early hippy travellers, and more permanent settlers, for many reasons. In particular, its natural beauty and serenity could easily satisfy hippy notions of 'nature'. The openness of the local people and their traditional lifestyles also appealed to very western notions of cultural authenticity (as opposed to materialism) and indigenous simplicity. Lastly, they were attracted because of its reputation as a

¹³⁰ See Leary, T. (1968).

more 'European' part of India where beer could be purchased and where a sensibility closer to that of 'the West' existed, but in a local context which was still understood as 'exotic' and 'Indian'.

The hippies in many ways established the tourist 'season' through their nomadic seasonal practice of coming to stay by the beach during the dry season, and then escaping up north to Kashmir, or Manali, during the monsoon to pass away the time living in the mountains waiting for the ganja harvests to arrive in September. After the harvest they would head off again for the south and the beach life. Alternatively, people would spend the monsoon months travelling to other parts of the world making business from goods and skills as they moved from one country to the next, finally returning to India in September/October at the beginning of 'the season'.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, as a growing number of foreign travellers started coming to Goa each year, the presence of 'the hippies' (as they were known both locally and in the media) developed into an issue involving the international, national and local media, politicians, and the police. International media coverage of 'the hippie scene' around Calangute, and its growing popularity and numbers, attracted the attention of the national press in Delhi. Indian newspapers, such as *The Times of India*, ran scare stories of drugs, sex, nudism and moral degradation in Goa depicting it as a kind of Indian California. Some Goans, with similar views upon the foreigners and their practices, also mobilised into protest groups against perceived social evils, which were epitomised by nudism and drug peddling. 'The hippies' were dressed up as a 'freak show', and as a threat to the order and values of Indian/Goan society. Stories and reports on the immoral sexual practices and hedonistic nature of the foreign 'hippies' entered into the local press, as well as Goan popular literature, and created an image of the threat

modernity, and 'the west', posed to traditional life¹³¹. One short story I came across in a Goan journal details the destructive effects which a lascivious Western, marijuana-smoking girl has on a respectable, married Goan man. The girl seduces the man with 'narcotics' and pleasures of the flesh which he finds it impossible to fight against¹³². The moral of such stories which are common not only in popular journals, and the comment on foreigners (and 'western culture' in general) is reasonably clear, I think, depicting its attraction as a hopeless addiction to evil ways, which only results in a loss of respect, self-control, morality and decency.

However, perceptions about 'foreigners' and 'hippies' were, and are, not that straightforward. Although many Goans did/do view foreigners - who are still popularly called 'hippies'- as a necessary, or unnecessary, evil, many also saw/see in them something which they could identify with, even envy at times. As change and development have become words and experiences relevant to their lives, and as other forms of tourism have emerged which are less favourable to local people, and with a greater effect upon the local environment, 'hippie tourism' has taken on different shades of meaning for some. As Goa - led by its government - opted for greater 'modernisation' and 'development' after Liberation, many changes became visible across the surface of Goan life. Development and expansion of the towns and rural-urban migration, construction work, the influx of large numbers of migrant labour, new housing estates around the towns for the 'nouveau riche', and large tourist developments came with these aims and processes, and with them new conditions and experiences for some Goans. This 'development' process created a new context in which foreign 'hippies' at times, and from a certain position could be viewed as enthusiasts for, and even protectors of traditional aspects of Goan life and Goan ways. The hippies' desire

¹³¹ See Keni, C. (1990); the section on tourism in *Fish Curry and Rice* ; and Botelho, R. (1994) for examples of Goan discourse on 'hippies'.

¹³² See Keni, C. (1990).

to live the 'simple', or 'natural', life in huts made from the palms of coconut trees, and to eat fresh fruit and fish curry rice with their hands reminded many of aspects of Goan life which were being surrendered by many to the demands of modernisation and the idea of 'progress'. This was in comparison to other Goans, especially in the government, and the new, growing middle-class emerging around the towns, who openly flirted with the positive advantages of change and modernisation, and surrendered much to the cause. These all were, of course, issues of relevance to the hippy lifestyle formed as it was within the context of 'developed countries' who had experienced the conditions and demands placed on people by industrialisation, urbanisation, and the development of the modern state and capitalism.

In Goa this connection has produced stories in the press, and some popular literature, which have placed a more romantic gloss over 'the hippies' and their ways¹³³. Therefore, a more positive attitude towards 'hippies' has emerged compared to the more conservative 'folk devils' discourse which, on the whole, has predominated. I detected this romance among many middle-class Goans whom I met in the course of stories they told me about visits to Arambol's sweet water lake, or about strong, independent Germans they once met in a chai shop by the Baga river. It also exists in the discourse produced by contemporary environmentalists in the state who distinguish between 5-star tourism and "hippie tourism" which they recognise as more "environment - friendly" and a form which "...has adapted to local culture, and not the other way around." (*Fish Curry and Rice*: 194). The term "hippie tourism", used by the environmentalists, is supposed to evoke the differences - in terms of perceived effect upon the local environment and traditional ways of life - between tourism in areas inhabited by people known as 'hippies', and those in which 5-star luxury complexes are located. I now want to try and describe the local circumstances and practices surrounding

¹³³ See 'The Hippies in Goa.', in *Goa Today*, July 1982.

'hippie tourism', with reference to the northern coastal belt area around Anjuna, Vagator, and Chapora as I encountered it during my fieldwork [see Plates 17a, 17b, 18b, 19a].

3.6 'HIPPIE TOURISM' IN NORTH GOA

Anjuna, Vagator and Chapora are about 8 kilometres journey from Mapusa the major market town of the northern region of Goa. Between Mapusa and the coast are small winding roads mostly shaded by coconut trees which pass through small and quiet villages and above open stretches of land with paddy fields below. The roads in seasontime are busy in comparison to many of the often sleepy looking settlements which skirt them and are full of motorcycles, motorcycle taxis, state tourist buses, motorcycles, taxi cabs, rickshaws and busy local buses carrying school kids, college students, shoppers and workers to and from the town.

The surrounding landscape is punctured by laterite caps which are red and dusty in the dry season but which are transformed into green and lush hillsides following the first Monsoon rains. The paddy fields also alternate between the dry, cracked and empty basin-like surfaces of the dry season and the beautiful emerald green seas of rice during the monsoon months leading up to the September harvests. Coconut trees line the roads and fill the villages along with occasional banyan trees with their incredible roots, and on hillsides there are a variety of other trees such as mango and cashew. The roads which take you across and through this landscape are narrow, windy, full of pot holes and can be challenging to strangers due to well disguised sleeping policemen and the deep ditches which often run parallel with the roads. These roads lead to Anjuna, Vagator and Chapora which are neighbours in the northern taluka (administrative region) of Bardez. Anjuna is situated furthest south and is separated from Vagator by a series of hillocks and a

rocky coastline, while Vagator and Chapora are virtually joined together further north around the southern side of the Chapora river estuary.

The village of Anjuna is situated on a coastal plain which is surrounded on every side by small hills. The village, which has many different vaddos, has no obvious centre or daily market and has generally a kind of spread out and dispersed feel to it¹³⁴. The village has many chapels and churches, a large school, several banks and a G.P.O.. Towards the sea front, and in the Southern part of the village where the 'flea market' is held on Wednesdays in season time, there are many guest-houses of varying sizes, many small restaurants and bars, and the roadside is littered with signs advertising 'rooms to rent'. At either end of Anjuna's long beach there are rocky cliffs which mark it off from the more 'up market' Baga to the South, and Vagator further up north where the party scene extends to.

Five minutes drive north across a reasonably barren hilly stretch with little tree cover towards the Chapora river brings you from Anjuna to Vagator. Vagator also consists of a number of vaddos which are situated on the cliff above the beaches, or, on the lower land behind them. Vagator is made up of mainly family houses, small restaurants (not so many as in Anjuna), bars, a church and some small shops which surround a small grid of tarmac roads shaded by coconut trees. Vagator towards the coast is split in two parts by a deep valley which is rich in vegetation, including a number of impressive banyan trees, and which is cut through with deep flood trenches to deal with the Monsoon rains. This valley is known by foreigners as 'Disco Valley' and has been the site for many parties over the years [see Plate 20]. The Valley is situated in the middle of and directly behind the Vagator beaches where during the day travellers and party people hang out [see Plate 17b]. The valley

¹³⁴ Villages are split into separate areas called vaddos. As far as I know they have no current administrative function, but are still used as boundaries within religious/popular festivals.

is surrounded by tourist accommodation and in seasontime is at the heart of the party scene.

The Vagator coastline is split up into a number of different beaches and inlets which vary annually depending on the sand shifts which are caused by the heavy seas brought by the Monsoon [see plate 17a]. The southern end of the Vagator beach is cut off from Anjuna by a rocky cliff. In the north it reaches as far as the mouth of the river Chapora, which flows out into the Arabian sea beneath the impressive ruins of the old Portuguese fort which sits on a hill above the beaches. The popular Vagator beaches in this area, moving from the south to the north towards the fort, are commonly known as, The 'Italian beach' or 'Spaghetti beach', then 'Small Vagator' or 'Tel Aviv', then 'Big Vagator', and finally 'Little Chapora' [see Plates 17b, 18b]. These names and other versions, however, vary depending on who is doing the talking and the season.

The Italian beach is the most southern beach and people access it from the cliffs above [see Plate 18b]. The beach has several chai huts which are made from coconut palms, has its own stream which is surrounded by thick vegetation, and has the face of Shiva beautifully carved into a rock by the rocky point at the southern end of the beach. In the seasontime this is a busy beach which attracts many older travellers, hippies and their families who have been coming to Goa for some time and are well established there. In the season during hot days the beach is busy with foreigners lying on the sands between the chai huts - from which these days trance music always emanates - and the sea where people swim in the cool seas with its small waves and strong currents. Children run around playing and making noise while their folks mix with people they know on the beach, or in the chai shops, and as others throw frisbies and play beach tennis.

Further north of the Italian beach is Small Vagator, or 'Tel Aviv' beach which is situated at the mouth of Disco Valley. In the daytime during

seasontime this beach has become the busiest beach attracting most of the people in Goa who have come for the party scene. In season it is home to a mixture of people from different places around the globe wearing a wonderful mixture of sunglasses, Indian clothing, colourful lycra, thongs, bikinis etc. and sporting everything from shaved heads to dreadlocks, tatoos to piercings on both men and women. People lie on the beach and sit in, and around, the many chai shops. The red Vagator cliff, behind and above the beach, during the day has a trail of people climbing up and down the small paths cut into it by habitual use. The paths lead up past shelves cut into the cliffside where coconut trees grow, and where there are also many huts for living in made from coconut palms [see PLate 21b]. In seasontime the beach is the most busy in the area with chai huts full of people, with music going on most of the time. The beach is also a gathering place for many activities such as Tai Chi, drumming sessions and a place for the many jugglers who come to Goa every year to show off their skills. Sunset is a particularly busy time of the day when many people gather to watch the horizon, to play drums, to juggle, to dance, or simply to talk. Sitting on Small Vagator beach at sunset during seasontime is a real feast of colour, activity and gathering of different peoples. It is at the heart of the party scene and new arrivals in the area will normally be directed towards it as 'the place to go'.

Next to Small Vagator but separated from it by a small hill at the mouth of Disco Valley is Big Vagator the largest of the Vagator beaches - thus the name. On top of the hill that stands between the beaches there is a car park which is at the end of a road which comes directly from Mapusa to Vagator. As well as a car park, there is also a large light which illuminates the main beach at night, and a couple of concrete benches looking out towards the sea and the sunset. These features of Big Vagator mark it out as a site which has come under 'development' by the Goan government. In seasontime during the daytime the car park above Big Vagator is busy with state tourist buses full of

domestic tourists. They disembark from crowded buses and buy fresh fruit and refreshments in the small tourist market. Then they move down on to the beaches to sit, paddle, swim and walk. Big Vagator is known by locals and foreigners as an 'Indian beach' and caters almost exclusively for domestic tourists with very few foreigners stopping to sit on it, or swim. This is despite the fact that it is the largest and most accessible beach in the party scene area, and is surrounded by more 'foreign beaches' where many foreigners gather and predominate. On a Sunday Big Vagator is particularly busy as it also serves as a popular attraction for many Goans who live in the region.

At the northern end of Big Vagator, out of sight from the main beach around a small rocky headland and right at the base of the hill on which the impressive ruins of the old Portuguese fort sit, is Little Chapora beach [see Plate 17b]. The beach sits in a dip between two slopes which lead up to the fort above. A small stream flows down through this dip from above and ends on the beach. This small stream serves as the source of water for the handful of small chai shops which exist on the beach during seasontime. The beach is very small and usually has a small group of foreigners living in huts, or in the cave at the back of the beach. It is a popular quiet spot for many during the day who wish an alternative to the busier beaches in South Vagator. Often, in the late afternoon eagles, which live around the fort, hover in circles observing life on the rocky hillsides below as tourists and sellers stare up at them from the sands below.

In this popular section of Goa's coastline Indian tourists mainly occupy Big Vagator on a daily basis. During the days, however, many Indians - especially the men - also wander along and visit the other beaches to see one of Goa's major tourist attractions for many - 'the hippies'. Thanks to the national media and tourist guides 'the hippies' are renowned for their 'hedonistic' and 'immoral' ways. In seasontime during the day this means that there will always also be a trail of domestic tourists making their way up and

down the beach wanting to experience in some way for themselves this 'Hippie' attraction. Many large groups of young Indian male tourists have great fun looking at, talking to, and trying to get photographs with foreigners - foreign women in particular. This practice can be a source of tension at times between domestic and foreign tourists because of over anxious and pushy tactics, or by over zealous responses from sunbathers. Many local Goans speak very harshly about these 'Indian' practices down on the beaches when talking to 'foreigners'. They talk of them as 'stupid' and use such statements to create a distance and distinction between themselves and other 'Indians'. The construction of a shared sense of difference between Goans and foreigners with respect to something known as 'Indian' creates an affinity between Goan people, their behaviour, and 'what foreigners want'. Vagator beaches are daily in seasontime the site of a host of discourses based on the divisions of Goan/Indian, Indian/foreigner, Goan/foreigner, all performed within the tourist context of business and pleasure.

Directly behind Big Vagator beach itself is the Vagator Beach Resort which sits right beneath the Chapora Fort. The resort is a complex of bungalows with its own restaurant, swimming pool, perimeter fences, gate and uniformed security service. Over the years the 'backside' service entrance of the resort - which leads onto the back road to Chapora from Vagator - has been home for many construction workers and their families who have been labouring on construction work within the resort. These families - many of whom are migrant workers from other states willing to work for cheap rates - live in shacks made from red bricks with sheets of blue plastic for rooves and doors, which are situated right next to where building is being carried out. They have the main generator for the resort as a next door neighbour as well.

To the side and back entrance to the resort, there are a group of local houses heavily shaded by the dense coconut trees. In these houses the families are mainly Christian. All of them have become involved in the tourist

business renting rooms, and also motorbikes. The houses are situated in such close proximity to the beach and Disco Valley, and stand midway between the beaches (a popular daytime spot) and Chapora village (a popular nighttime one) making them a prime location for tourists. At the Eastern perimeter of this settlement is a deep well next to the winding back road which connects the settlement and the resort to Vagator in one direction, and Chapora village in the other.

Heading eastwards away from the fort along the winding tarmac road, past some small paddy fields and a group of large banyan trees, you come to Chapora village entering from the back. Chapora is noticeably more Hindu than Vagator. There are many tulsi plants outside of colourful houses which are painted in yellows, reds, greens and blues like the local temples, or, the postcards of Hindu gods on local stalls which are very popular with foreign tourists [see Plate 16a, 16b]. Many locals - both Hindus and Catholics - are still involved with small scale fishing in this area. Fishing is one of the main traditional activities for the people - men and women - who have lived in this small village over the years with its harbour tucked away into the side of the estuary beneath the Portuguese fort. The harbour, in the north-western part of the village, has a small pier at the furthest point, and a canning factory which seems somewhat cut off from the rest of the village. Many migrant workers from places such as Kerala work in the canning factory adding yet more cultural diversity to the area during the season.

The road from the harbour and the canning factory leads directly into the village centre past the general store run by the Kamat family (Hindus) one of whose sons is also the local doctor. Past the general store is the local church which is very modern in style, and which lies at one end of the main street of the village. The main street is a busy place with chai shops, tourist restaurants, tavernas, barbers, fruit and veg stalls, and with an area for

local women to sell fish caught by their families that day, and carried from the sea front, or harbour, to the bazaar[see Plate 19a]. Large buses bringing passengers down the hill from Mapusa on the other side of the village from the harbour blow smokey fumes into the faces of the fisherwomen sitting outside the doctor's surgery. They squeal with curses, or simply ignore it with steely stares as they squat barefooted on woven baskets with their fishy wares in front of them waiting for customers. The bus drivers have to beep their noisy horns very loudly in order to clear the narrow street of cows, motorcycles and people. Normally they pass by without too much damage and turn in the dusty turn circle by the church ready for the return journey to Mapusa.

At night in Chapora during seasontime the whole village is dark except for the lights coming from the balcaos of local houses and the very narrow mainstreet which is lit up by the many lights which sit in the local restaurants and tavernas. For a small Goan coastal village the main street at night is always very busy before midnight. An incessant flow of locals and tourists moves in and out of the restaurants and chai shops. Local working people return from their jobs and pass through the village centre. Some stop to chat with friends, and perhaps purchase something from the familiar faces behind the few stalls which sell vegetables, fruit and other basic everyday provisions. Foreigners on motorcycles, and also walking on foot, fill the main street mainly heading to or from bars, restaurants or their rooms in the darkness beyond the lights. The night air is always full of the sound of conversation taking place in many different languages, as well as the 'VROOM!' and 'Fut-fut-fut' of motorcycles heading into or away from the crowded main street. Local men hang out drinking chai, playing cards or Karam, getting shaves or haircuts at the barbers, or just sitting under the large banyan tree in the very centre of the village where the motorcycle taxi drivers exchange stories and information.

In season time all of the places I have mentioned - Anjuna, Vagator and Chapora - are the destinations for a great number of 'foreigners' who fill the small guesthouses and rooms for rent in local houses. Sometimes whole houses are rented which are empty, or vacated for the purpose of renting. Most of these were/are the traditional homes of Goan fisherfolk [see Plate 16b]. Many of the rooms, and even the houses, are completely empty and the foreigners have to buy whatever they need - mattresses, stoves, candles etc. - from either the local stores, or at the Mapusa bazaar. Rooms while I was there varied from more 'modern' ones with 'Western toilet' and '24 hour shower' to more traditional 'cow sheds' with 'pig toilets' and 'bucket shower'¹³⁵. In seasovertime most local families try to rent out some part of their house to 'hippies' (or 'customers') who offer valuable cash and an alternative means of subsistence in return. Often this means sharing toilets, washing and even living spaces with these foreigners. This creates a very real space for cultural exchange in the context of a mixture of business and pleasure on both sides. It also means that these kind of 'hippie tourists' are both spread out across the local landscape, and are incorporated in a sense into traditional family units, relations and to a varying extent lifestyle. They are also contributing directly to the economies of the local families who live in the area where tourism takes place as opposed to some national or multi-national business interest.

Many people, however, shun even the most basic home comforts of the 'cow shed' and the 'pig toilet', and the local housing market for a more 'rustic' existence on the beach. A desire by foreigners to live on the beach extends from hippy ideas connecting India and Asia with getting closer to and connected with 'nature' in a process of (spiritual?) self re-discovery. This process is based around experience which is perceived as being radically

¹³⁵ These are all terms popularly used by local people involved in the tourist trade to attract customers.

different to that which is 'normal' in 'the West'. Owners of chai shops having caught on to this hippy desire to live right on the beach have huts built on their beaches from coconut palms at the beginning of the season which they then either rent, sell to, or simply allow foreigners to stay in in exchange for their daily custom [see Plate 21b]. Some foreigners with hippy ideals, or low budgets, still build their own accommodation or pay others to do so for them. People also put up tents and tee-pees on the beach. Some just crash out on the sands at night without the need for any accommodation leaving any valuables they have in the trust of chai shop owners - again in exchange for custom.

The different villages, different types of accommodation/lifestyle, and the different people who come as tourists to Goa each year results each season in many different possible existences and experiences. Some foreigners, who I have known there, or heard of through others, live in what is close to luxury, by any standards, in large Portuguese villas in Anjuna or Vagator. Others live out 'tribal' dreams in candle lit huts by the ocean sitting at night around fires under the moonlight and the stars. There are, therefore, many ways for foreigners to live in the area of the party scene reflecting the diversity of peoples involved in the scene.

However, as Goan environmentalists have argued, one major characteristic of this 'hippie tourism' as a whole is that it works within local networks and feeds money directly to local families and individuals. Any 'development' has come mainly in the form of new tarmac roads, or bigger guesthouses and the odd small resort. Mini-houses have also been thrown up in back gardens to increase tourist accommodation. Many local houses have also been able to purchase refrigerators, gas cookers, satellite t.v., 'Western toilets', and showers. Locals make business, not only from accommodation, but also from selling supplies to the foreigners, feeding them in local restaurants (which are often based around traditional family homes as family businesses),

by taxi work, or by the 'big business' of renting out their own motorcycles for use by foreigners at a high price¹³⁶.

Tourism in this part of Goa differs greatly from other areas of Goa, as well as many other parts of Asia, where tourism is controlled and organised by either the state, or by large state, national or multi-national business interests. These kinds of interest normally employ cheaper migrant labour and create a distance between their enclosed 'luxury' spaces and the outside world on which their business relies, and this boundary is only crossed in the form of organised and expensive 'excursions' or 'tours' to local spots outside the perimeters. In a way then the form of tourism in the party scene area is a very populist and locally controlled one with most of the benefits going directly to those living in the local community and with a limited amount of external control.

Since Goa became popular as a travellers', and a hippy destination in the 1960s this local form of 'hippie tourism', the natural beauty of the state, and the foreigners scene which developed there, has attracted thousands of people from the 'developed' countries to come and see, as well as experience, what goes on in Goa in season time. People from all over Europe, America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and Israel - amongst other nations - have passed through Goa each season. Some of them return each year, or as often as possible. These people have created a scene which I will now go on and try to evoke for the reader in a number of different ways in the following sections.

¹³⁶ A room in a local house costs around £7-£10 per week. A motorcycle, however, can cost between £15-£20.

3.7 THE PARTY SCENE: INTRODUCTION

In this section I will try to evoke the party scene in Goa. The scene there has thrived in the 1990s since the popularisation of 'acid house', 'ecstasy' use, and 'raving' in Britain, and in other 'developed' countries over the last ten years. To do so I will use a variety of writing styles and written sources, in order to create a diverse, patchwork impression of the scene. I do so in order to create a diverse picture of the scene, and also to avoid creating the impression that it is simply an object which it is possible to simply observe, and describe 'as it is' from a particular position, or by applying the correct method - it is not. The party scene in Goa is many things to many different people depending on their position, and those positions change also over time. I have tried to uphold the open and shifting nature of the party scene as an element of discourse, social interaction, and history through this patchwork approach to representation.

The writing styles I have drawn upon are those which epitomise narrative history, descriptive ethnography, the travel guide, the personal letter and the postcard. For written sources I have used some personal letters and postcards of my own, and others from close friends, as well as newspaper cuttings from the Indian and Goan press. From these various points of view, and positions of writing, different and multiple 'versions' of the Goa scene can be produced.

3.8 TRAVELLERS, HIPPIES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PARTY SCENE IN GOA

As hippies and travellers from Europe, Australia, and America amongst other countries began in the late 1960s and early 1970s - inspired by the Beat Generation's desire to be 'on the road' - to flood into India each year in search

of alternative lifestyles, adventure, experience, spirituality, and business, amongst other things, a tradition of holding 'parties' emerged. Foreigners in India (especially in the days before national/state investment into mass tourism) relied mainly upon meeting people, and making good 'contacts' in order to find out about good places to go to, places where travellers' 'scenes' were developing and, of course, about possible sources of business and income which would help finance their lifestyle and journeying. For people who were living a very nomadic existence this network of contacts required institutions and practices in, and through, which information and skills could pass and relationships be formed and constantly re-formed.

One example of the emergence of such institutions exists around the popular guest houses and restaurants which are now established as gathering places for travellers in many Indian cities, towns and more remote locations¹³⁷. Travellers would find out the name of a guest house, or chai shop, to head for on arrival where they would be sure to connect with the right people and get information about good places to stay, or to visit, about who was around, and any planned parties, or working 'scams'¹³⁸. These institutions became popular meeting places - based around the social practices of eating, drinking, smoking and conversation - and slowly developed into a nationwide network (within a wider international one) around which travellers would wander going about their business, and able to constantly meet up again and again with familiar faces.

Another social institution which became popular with hippy travellers was 'the party'. In certain parts of India - Goa being one of them - 'parties' could be organised in collusion with local people and the relevant authorities. Information about the location and date of parties was easily

¹³⁷ The Lonely Planet Guides, which are written by long-term travellers, are a good source of information concerning the established 'happening spots'.

¹³⁸ A 'scam' is a popular term for an illegal business venture. For a detailed autobiographical account of a community of individuals who were doing such 'scams' in India, see Odzer, C. (1995).

spread around the network as people travelled around exchanging information and doing business. People would, therefore, gather at different times, and in different places, to attend these 'parties', which varied in size from quite intimate affairs between old friends to large public gatherings. These parties offered foreigners in India a great opportunity to not only meet up with fellow travellers in a positive recreational atmosphere, but also provided a space in which people could talk and arrange business, make deals, exchange and sell goods, and form relationships of a variety of sorts. Parties for many travellers were not only social occasions, but also the key to a social world, and the basis of their livelihood and existence.

Some of these parties were spontaneous and random one-off affairs. However, as parties relied on attracting a good number of people as well as on a great deal of organisation, they were traditionally held in areas of India where there was a considerable population of foreigners already assembled¹³⁹. Goa with its natural beauty and wonderfully secluded beaches was one such spot that drew many foreigners to its shores each year, and where parties were regularly held.

Hippies and travellers basically established the seasonal flow of foreigners into Goa each year, which now also exists in the form of mass domestic tourism and foreign charter holidays¹⁴⁰. Hippy travellers established a seasonal cycle whereby they alternated their existence between the beaches of the south of India in the dry season, and periods up north in the mountains, and visiting other countries, during the Monsoon. During the dry season Goa became one of the spots that hippies and travellers headed to in order to hang out.

¹³⁹ Current examples are places such as Dharamasala, Manali, Gokarn, Goa, Pushkar and Benares.

¹⁴⁰ The first charter holidays from Europe, mainly from Germany and Britain, flew to Goa in the 1980s.

The Goa scene grew up around the northern coastal belt with its sandy beaches and coconut trees. The scene developed first in Calangute, then gradually shifted further north to Anjuna, Vagator, Chapora, and Arambol across the river as locations further south transformed into more 'mainstream' tourist spots as charter holidays, package tourists and 5-star luxury tourism took root from the 1970s onwards. These new forms of tourism brought different people, different practices, and what could be called different 'tourist cultures' into these areas, which affected circumstances as well as prices. These factors gradually forced the hippies further north in search of a suitable home for the season. Change in local circumstance occurred as foreign travellers arrived each year building shacks down on the beach, or renting rooms, or even houses, in local settlements. This foreign presence brought cash and new business opportunities into localities which were originally based on fishing, toddy tapping and some rice cultivation. The new presence created a new material base from which many locals began to make their business - either through chai shops, restaurants, taxi work, or renting motorcycles - and money could be saved and re-invested in further ventures into tourism in the face of increasing numbers of foreigners coming into the state each year.

With a massive growth in the number of foreign and domestic tourists coming to Goa many new interests outwith the localities also spotted the opportunity for tourist development, and as a result many small and larger restaurants, guest houses, and hotels shot up to cater for the new trade. As this development process took place, as investments and prices increased, and as the market and type of tourist aimed at changed in many areas and shifted towards those carrying the 'big bucks', those coming to Goa for the hippy/traveller scene and the parties began to edge further north in a quest for more remote and less developed locations which were better suited to their needs. It has also meant that in a strange kind of way the hippies by coming to

Goa, populating its beaches and villages, and bringing the tourist market alive, have ended up creating the circumstances in which 'development' has taken place, but which has also ultimately led to them having to, and wanting to, move on.

3.9 A DESCRIPTION OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES FOR LIVING IN THE PARTY SCENE AREA DURING THE PERIOD OF FIELDWORK 1994-1996

In 1994 when I first visited Goa during 'season time' the party scene was based around Anjuna, Vagator and Chapora. Further to the South, places such as Baga, and especially Calangute, were noticeably different and catered more for domestic and foreign tourists in more expensive hotels and restaurants in an area with its own banks, craft markets, and even 'boutiques'. However, even in Calangute - the touristically most developed part of North Goa - all around the main streets and new buildings there were still the traditional signs of Goan village life - the bungalows, balcaos, heaps of broken coconuts, and the small red paths leading past houses and beneath coconut trees heading towards the sea. Even in Calangute rooms in local houses could still be rented for a cheap price despite the surrounding developments.

Baga, which lies to the north, sits on a beautiful estuary, and is connected by a tarmac road to Calangute along which shops, restaurants and guesthouses which have now blurred the division between the two places [see Plate 14b]. Despite tourist development of its own, and increasing links with neighbouring Calangute, Baga still remained home to many foreign people involved in the hippy/party scene who had used it as a base for years, and many of whom had houses they regularly rented and families with whom they had relationships. Despite growing numbers of tourists and increasing tourist activity, Baga remained a very beautiful location with its river, traditional fishermen, wooden fishing canoes, and its rocky headland.

Further north from Baga in Anjuna, however, was where the party scene was situated by the time I arrived in Goa. Anjuna - a very spread out village without any real obvious focal centre - was full of signs for rooms and/or houses to let. All over the village groups of rented, or bought, motorcycles - Yamahas, Rajdoots, Enfields - sat outside houses, or small restaurants, which in 'season time' litter the roadsides. Occasionally you would see a foreigner - perhaps a thin, dark skinned Italian looking man with long dark hair down his back, and wearing just a pair of old black shorts and thongs - flying at speed across an orange dirt track above the paddy fields, then quickly disappearing with the sound of the gears dropping into the cover of the trees and bushes.

At this time of year - 'season time' - many local families in villages such as Anjuna and Chapora close off rooms in their houses using bolted wooden doors to transform them into rooms for rent. Often a family will sacrifice for the whole season almost all of their personal living space except the kitchen, and perhaps one room for the whole family to sleep in. Others move out of their homes completely, or rent out the homes of absent/dead relatives and friends. Traditional Goan houses, which are bungalows, normally have a number of rooms onto which many have added outside doors. Houses can, therefore, be transformed from larger family homes during the rainy monsoon months to guesthouses during the season with only a few minor, and relatively inexpensive alterations. Family comforts and space are reduced in order to do so. However, most families involved in renting rooms are also involved in tourism in a number of other ways, and will, therefore, be very busy throughout the 'season time'¹⁴¹. As this is their 'business' such sacrifices are accepted as necessary 'costs', and the situation is balanced out by the long monsoon season when tourists vacate the territory due to the incessant rains.

¹⁴¹ Family tourist business can involve the renting of rooms and motorcycles, laundry facilities, water carrying, cleaning, food preparation, and boat trips in fishing boats and canoes.

Many families who have started out renting rooms, or 'cow sheds', have re-invested the profits in small, basic extensions often in the shape of outbuildings which are also rented to foreigners increasing that family's 'business'. These mini-houses which are often scaled down versions of local houses with their own mini-balcaos can be seen in many back gardens in the area north of Baga.

By 1994 in Anjuna, Vagator and Chapora there was a mixture of bigger developments/businesses where owners had established a fair number of rooms, a restaurant, and other facilities - such as bike hire - and also places where rooms in family houses were simply closed off and rented out. Most rooms were only basically furnished, or empty, and local businesses made good business out of selling mattresses, mats, candles, kerosene cookers, mosquito coils, and other essential supplies to those wishing to stay 'long time'. Places to eat also varied between larger established 'tourist', or 'foreigner' restaurants with Europeanised menus and prices, and traditional shacks (chai shops), and places where locals ate bhaji and drank chai¹⁴².

Foreigners during this time who were staying around the party scene, depending on their circumstances and wishes, were living in anything from a single room in a local house, to sharing a whole house with either friends, or strangers, often sleeping communally in large old style Portuguese rooms - lit only by the flicker of candlelight - on woven mats, and with their things dumped around them on the bare floor. Some long-term rooms and houses were furnished by their occupants - who were planning to stay for the whole season, or who come each season - with mats and cushions on the floor and colourful lungis hanging from the walls. These furnishings, candlelight, and the smell of incense and charras in the air has become established as a kind of

¹⁴² The best translation I can manage of bhaji is probably 'snack', and the ingredients of such vary. It is very similar to a Spanish 'tapas'. Chai is spiced milk tea.

'Goa style'¹⁴³. These rooms and houses could be either secluded spots in dark, out-of-the-way locations, or, in areas where there were many rooms, foreigners, restaurants and bars, and where it was easier to mix and get involved. For some the choice was made for them by whether or not they wanted to, or could afford to rent a motorcycle, and perhaps by the nature of their 'business'. Travelling around on foot at night in Goa can be fairly hazardous a lot of the time, because it is very dark, and there can be many obstacles to avoid, such as police and thieves. Motorbikes, therefore, not only allow people to stay outside of the busier spots, which attract the police and thieves amongst others, but also serve as a kind of insurance against some of the potential dangers which are around. There is, however, another form of security supplied by staying in popular spots which are busy and always full of people, where there is the security of numbers, and also the protection supplied by baksheesh payments to the local police¹⁴⁴.

As well as those staying in local houses and rooms, many also chose to sleep on the beaches at night. On the beach people would get to know other people, and spend their time hanging around the chai shops which made their business there. Some slept on the sand, others built, or rented, 'huts' made from coconut palms [see Plate 21b]. Most of the beaches north of Baga had small populations of foreigners living on them in this way. In 1994-96 the main concentration of huts was on Small Vagator, or 'Tel Aviv' beach, where huts decorated the red cliffside behind the beach which skirted 'Disco Valley' - a popular spot for holding parties looking out across the sands and across the Indian Ocean [see Plate 20]. While living on the beach foreigners would

¹⁴³ Charras is the name for resin collected by hand off the flowering tops of cannabis plants. It is an Indian delicacy, and it attracts many foreigners who often smoke it in the traditional way using a clay 'chillum'. This manner of smoking is used by religious babas (holymen) who worship Shiva (the creator of the universe), and many foreigners stick strictly to smoking rituals which they have learned from babas, such as shouting bom shanker (praise Shiva) after exhaling the smoke.

¹⁴⁴ Baksheesh is the popular term used for bribes by locals, sellers, beggars and foreigners.

usually create a relationship with a chai shop and those running it, which they would regularly give business to in exchange for a variety of services, such as looking after any valuables that they didn't want to keep on them, or in the unlocked huts.

Around houses, in small groups of houses, in village centres, and on all the beaches, people would gather during seasontime, get to know and mix with each other producing a variety of more tightly knitted relationships and scenes within the larger social network, which in general came together only for big occasions, such as parties or the 'flea market' on Wednesdays. These relationships and scenes would become inter-connected and overlap as people met at parties, or at the market, or through 'business', as the season progressed. Anyone who has been to Goa at this time of year knows the feeling of coming across a new beach, or stopping at a different restaurant, or chai shop, and finding oneself stepping into an entirely different social world which you had not known existed there up until that point, even if some of the faces were vaguely familiar.

3.9.1 Daily Activity And Routines Amongst Party People In The Party Scene

During the day, foreigners would hang around their rooms and houses smoking, talking and listening to music. Restaurants would be busy in the late mornings and the early afternoons with people looking for food, refreshment and conversation. The afternoons would see most people heading for the beaches - the most popular being Small Vagator. On the beaches people again would hang out drinking chai, smoking, eating and talking with others either in, or around the chai shops sitting on the sands. In the hours building up to sunset, as the heat declined and the afternoon breezes backed off, and as colours began to appear in the sky, more people would come and gather on the

beaches - again particularly Small Vagator - to watch the sunset and mix. At sunset on Small Vagator the beach would be full of people sitting talking happily through clouds of smoke, as groups of enthusiastic drummers would pound away on a mixture of African and Indian drums, and as jugglers - some using fire to dramatic effects as the daylight faded - and dancers did their thing. During the final moments in which the burning sun could be observed shimmering away teasingly on the horizon, there would be a religious-like feeling of peace and positivity on the beaches as people observed an unspoken union between themselves, all those others on the sands paying tribute to the sunset, and the last colours of the setting sun bidding its farewells to another day.

At nighttime people would spend time around their rooms, in houses with friends, or in bars or restaurants. People would often become regulars in such places where they would be recognised and get to know others who frequented them. Most of the smaller restaurants and bars would be closed before midnight - partly to do with the police, partly to do with the family nature of much Goan tourist business, and the need for children to get sleep before getting up early to go to school. Some bigger bars whose owners paid for the privilege would stay open later, and play 'trance' music into the night as people sat smoking. These places served as spaces in which the relationships, networks and friendships built by people travelling, sharing rooms, partying and doing business together could continue and extend throughout the nights as well as the days. After these places closed in the early hours of the morning people would head off to sleep, or alternatively would gather together in rooms, houses, or on the beaches. As people out in Goa say 'there is always something going on, and someone who wants to party in Goa'.

Around this informal, restless daily flow of pleasure and business, of long-term relationships and short term ones, there exists - outwith the parties

themselves - one major institution around which the scene as a whole, and the lifestyles attached to it, revolve. This is the Anjuna 'flea market', which during the time I was in Goa occurred each Wednesday during 'season time'. This market which is packed during the season is at the centre of all things to do with the party scene, and to understand the workings of the party scene it is necessary to understand something about the 'flea market'.

3.9.2 The Flea Market

"The hippies have institutionalised their subculture in the Flea Market..."(Fish Curry and Rice: 185)

"[The flea market] It's quite a scene."(Lonely Planet Guide: 843)

During 'season time' the major weekly event for people in the party scene, as well as being an attraction for other tourists, locals and Indians, is the market at Anjuna (see Plates 24a, 24b). The market originally emerged as a social event held by foreigners at which those who were residing in Goa for the season could meet, exchange and sell any goods they possessed or had made¹⁴⁵. This market provided everything from an early 'black market' trade in 'luxury' western consumer goods for foreigners, locals and Indians, to a place where travellers could buy a slice of home made pizza, or purchase charras brought from all over India by dealers. The 'flea market' was a 'western market' in the sense that foreigners could buy things they wanted, including things from 'home' not available for a long time in India- such as western music and novels - and where non-westerners could also take part in the 'black market' in otherwise restricted western goods¹⁴⁶. For some the

¹⁴⁵ There are accounts of early Anjuna 'flea markets' from the 1970s in Meta, G. (1990) and Odzer, C. (1995).

¹⁴⁶ In the 1960s and 1970s access to many 'luxury' consumer goods, such as cassette players, was fairly restricted in India, and the government attempted to prevent foreigners from selling their equipment as such sales evaded taxation. Foreigners were thus supposed to register all goods they brought in and out of the country, but in practice this was hard to enforce, and a 'black market' thrived.

market was a purely social event where familiar faces could be met in a pleasant environment, for others it offered business opportunities which gave some income during the season in between other deals, and bigger 'scams'.

Over the years as more people heard about the scene in Goa, and as they came looking to take part in it, the 'flea market' has become a renowned attraction. It has consequently grown in size from its informal beginnings. As it has become more organised and regular the Anjuna market has attracted more local and Indian traders from Kashmir, Gujarat, and Karnataka, as well as police, beggars, thieves, and interested landowners looking for rents, or baksheesh. Over the years, as a result, the market, as it has grown, has shifted both in location and also changed much in nature. By 1994 it was being held in the southern part of Anjuna close to the beach which had once been the heart of the hippy scene before the Vagator beaches became popular. Tarmac roads had been built leading right through the heart of Anjuna and the area of paddy fields behind the beach, giving greater access to this area from the main Mapusa road. On Wednesdays in seasontime this road is now packed full of motorbikes and other vehicles racing towards the market.

As the market has grown over the years, along with the scene, it has become the subject of much local debate and protest in the press. This has normally been in response to outcries concerning either the nudity of foreigners at the market, the blatant drug taking and selling going on there, or the existence there of a 'black market' in general, which competes with local markets in some ways. The 'flea market' is recognised by locals as being at the heart of the foreigners' scene, as even the quote above drawn from writing produced by a group of middle-class Goan environmentalists demonstrates. Therefore, whenever there has been a period of negative publicity concerning the wider scene in Goa this has normally led to police clampdowns on the market, which has been closed for short and longer

periods of time over the years depending on the local situation each season, and the determination of the inside, or outside, interests involved¹⁴⁷.

3.9.3 Trips

As well as the daily social routine in the party scene area itself surrounding rooms, houses, restaurants, chai shops and beaches, and the social institutions of 'the party' and 'the flea market', people would also take 'trips' up north and down south in excursions away from the goings on around Anjuna. Sometimes these would be 'day trips', and at other times they would be longer breaks from the scene, which can become hectic at peak season, or from the effects of too much partying and drug use. Up north across the Chapora river, Arambol with its beautiful sweet water lake and banyan tree was a popular spot to escape to. Arambol is a popular 'chill out' spot which is known for being more shanti than Anjuna and its surrounding area¹⁴⁸. Arambol is also close enough to make commuting between the parties and the 'flea market' possible; therefore, many families especially, and others, chose to stay there preferring the peacefulness it provided. In the south of Goa, Palolem was also becoming in these years (1994-96) a popular spot to visit, and a place which temporarily provided an escape from the demands and conditions of the party scene. In these spots people would see familiar faces from around Anjuna, Vagator, and even the rest of India, and the network would continue to work, reproduce itself and grow.

¹⁴⁷ Clamping down on the 'hippy scene' has become an arena for political campaigning, which gains votes in the towns and amongst many of the upper-middle class in Goa.

¹⁴⁸ Shanti is a Hindi term used popularly by travellers in India to signify peaceful, or relaxing, places, people and environments.

3.10 GOA PARTIES

The parties are the main social institution at the heart of the party scene (see Plates 20, 22, 23a, 23b, 25, 26b). For some, parties are the main events during a season of relaxation and pleasure spent with like-minded people, with the possibility of making good connections before the departure from India during the monsoon in the pursuit of 'business' ventures to fund the following year's travels and living costs¹⁴⁹. For others the party scene itself offers a market, an opportunity for business, and a source of income while based in India¹⁵⁰. Many others from countries with their own party, or rave scenes simply come to attend and experience a season of parties, as news of the party scene going on in Goa each year has spread, without fully becoming a part of the more established seasonal cycle, long-term lifestyle and business networks surrounding the scene. For many other travellers and tourists a 'Goa party' is just one thing on a long list of 'things to do' while in India, and they stay only for a short time in the state, perhaps two weeks, and see the 'sights'.

Parties are organised through an established, but unofficial process of negotiation between foreigners, locals, local officials and the police in the areas where parties are held. Baksheesh (bribe/payment) is paid to those who demand it until 'permission' is given for the party to go ahead with the knowledge that it will not be disturbed by the police¹⁵¹. A sound system, either brought into the state by ambitious foreigners, or hired within the state, is then organised, and the basics for a party are already there.

Then there is music. D.j.s come to India each year looking to play parties in Goa and elsewhere, and one of them will either be amongst the

¹⁴⁹ For a detailed and vivid insider's account of this annual seasonal cycle of business/party, see Odzer, C. (1995).

¹⁵⁰ The 'flea market' provides many people with an opportunity to establish businesses selling goods to short term visitors and tourists, as well as the obvious market in 'drugs'.

¹⁵¹ The security provided by baksheesh is not 100%. It is common for the police to ask for more, often during parties, and, because such arrangements are unofficial, there is always the chance of someone pulling the plug on such events should interests change.

organisers of the party, or otherwise will be hired by them. Being a d.j. has become a form of business supplying an income for some people during annual periods spent in Asia. The music policy of d.j.s at Goa parties has shifted over the years from 'acid rock' in the Seventies, to 'Industrial' in the late Seventies and early Eighties, and to 'techno' in the late eighties. In the Nineties many d.j.s have created a particular form of 'techno' music called 'Goa trance' which is played almost exclusively at Goa parties, and at other 'trance parties' around India. 'Goa trance' was influenced by Detroit 'techno' and German 'trance' music, which was originally played at Goa parties as they came into contact with the dance explosion going on in Europe, the growing popularity of raving and the arrival of ecstasy as a popular drug. The Indian party scene, and now Goa Trance scenes in home countries, form the market which fuels the Goa Trance music which is made and played, at least until very recently, by a quite small band of international people connected to the Goa scene.

After having received 'permission' from the authorities, and with a sound system and a d.j. on hand, all that is left is to supply two final, but essential ingredients to complete the recipe for a Goa party. These essential ingredients are a plentiful supply of drugs and large numbers of people. The party scene area is home during the season to many international drug runners and dealers, as well as a target for many Indian drug dealers who travel to the busy state during seasontime in order to sell their wares to tourists for high prices - a normal practice in tourist destinations around Asia and elsewhere. Drugs, therefore, are not usually a problem for those who want them.

Finding people to attend parties is no problem either. Networks based on years of travelling, business in Asia, and long periods spent in Goa have created extensive social networks and communities which recreate themselves each year in the area creating a kind of shifting, seasonal and transient

community, which is always present in Goa in one way or another each year. Furthermore, in the Nineties since the arrival of raving as an international social phenomenon, many newcomers have flooded to Goa encouraged by experience of scenes, events and practices in their own countries which have created an interest in going to Goa and experiencing the comparable scene, events and practices there. During seasontime, therefore, there are always hundreds of people hanging around enjoying the beachlife, experimenting with the locally available wares, soaking up the sociable atmosphere around the party scene and, basically, waiting for a party. News of a party coming up travels fast along the networks of relationships which exist on beaches, and in the many local bars, restaurants, houses and rooms, which are always packed full of anticipating foreigners in search of a 'Goa party' and the 'Goa experience' to be had at them. The 'flea market' on a Wednesday is a particularly good place to go and find out information about parties as most people gather there to sell, buy, or socialise.

Parties are normally held outside in the open air, and normally start during the night sometime after, or around, Midnight. The parties usually go on until after sunrise, and often until Midday (see Plates 20, 22, 25). Parties are also held sometimes during the day, as well as over a twenty-four hour period, or even longer¹⁵². These, however, are not so normal. Usually, the site, which is chosen by the organisers well in advance, is prepared during the day, or, in the early evening. Then, at least while I was there, the coconut trees around the dancefloor would be painted in 'tribal'-looking patterns with fluorescent paint in order to mark it out as a space, and to create an interesting effect when illuminated by ultra-violet lights plugged into the main generator during the night. Other tricks were employed creatively to enhance the environment on the dancefloor, such as tying white string above head-height between the coconut trees which when illuminated

¹⁵² I attended one twenty-four hour party in 1995.

by the u.v. would resemble lasers, or sometimes spiders' webs. Such trimmings would depend upon the people organising and setting up the particular party (see Plate 23a).

By Midnight the sound system would be in place and the music pumping. The party at this time would still normally be quiet with many people not arriving until after 3 a.m.. During the early stage of the party many people arriving would not make their way onto the main dancing area, but would instead choose a chai mat to sit on in the chai mat area which would be situated in a separate area adjacent to the dancefloor (see Plate 20).

A chai mat is basically a number of woven mats placed on the ground upon which a chai seller would make her/his business, equipped with a kerosene lamp and stove, kettle, glass cups, and everything else necessary to produce endless cups of sweet chai. Chai sellers are normally older women, often assisted by men and children, who are known by foreigners as 'mama'. By the season of 1994-95 - a busy party season - there were around 40 of these 'chai ladies' at each party. Regular party people normally had their own particular 'mama' whom they sat with at each party. The 'mama' would look after bags and other belongings, even baby sit, as well as providing endless amounts of chai throughout the night's proceedings to those returning from dancing activity. The chai mats provide party people with a space to smoke chillums, hang out with friends and strangers, talk, take in their drug experiences, and relax after long periods of dancing. Basically, they provide an alternative space to that of the dancefloor where the emphasis is upon the driving, intense rhythms and sounds of the 'trance' music, and the collective drug and dance euphoria which it feeds.

From about 1 a.m. onwards the approaching roads and paths would fill up with traffic coming from all around the party scene area and beyond. At the party the chai mat area would swiftly begin to fill up with the sound of conversation and other exchanges filling the air, and with people

moving about looking for chai mamas, friends and dealers. Sitting on a chai mat beneath the stars, and perhaps the full moon during this period, it can be astounding watching everyone appearing out of the darkness on motorbikes and on foot, dressed in their colourful party gear, and gathering around the now bustling party spot. All of a sudden the whole event seems to come alive.

By 4, or 5 a.m. the dancefloor would be packed with dancers as the tempo built up and as people came on to the effects of the substances which they had taken for the party. At this stage of the night on the dancefloor the u.v. lights would distort human shapes because of the party clothes which people wear, and which are often fluorescent, or patterned, so as to pick up the light and create such an effect. Many people would also paint their faces which added to the theatre, and the generally distorted effect on the dancefloor, thus enhancing the effects of L.S.D. and other substances.

By around 6 a.m., as the sky above began to change its shades each minute with the approach of the morning sunlight, the atmosphere on the dancefloor was usually intense as drug experiences came to a head, and as more substances were consumed to maintain the high well into the light and heat of the coming day. The chai mats would be busy by this time with people smoking chillums and joints of charras to help them 'chill out', and with people talking and laughing about the night's events and characters.

Sunrise at a Goa party is quite an experience (see Plate 22). Normally, the intensity on the dancefloor would build up, assisted by the d.j., until it would seem to explode as the first rays of sunlight hit the dancefloor and the sweaty, dusty faces of the trance-dancers. From that point on people on the dancefloor would keep going at it until basically they had nothing left to give, and exhausted, they would retire to the chai mats. Otherwise, they would simply keep it up until the party was stopped either by the organisers, or the police. As I mentioned before, this often didn't happen until past midday

with the blazing heat of the day bearing down upon the party and party people.

At the end of the party, people would either catch up on well deserved sleep and relaxation, often reconvening elsewhere to 'chill out', or sometimes there were smaller 'after parties' which could go on throughout the day in peoples' houses, or in small bars around the area. Many people would simply head for the popular beaches which were always packed for the day with foreigners in party spirit, refreshing themselves in the ocean, lying in the sun, or socialising in the busy chai shops which would keep the 'trance' music going. By sunset on the beaches the day after a party there was always a very calm atmosphere with some people often still dancing as the sun went down. In local restaurants and bars people would eat, drink and generally 'chill out' after an exhausting event, sharing stories with friends, or counting their profits or losses. By the following day plenty of people would already be looking towards the next party and the 'buzz' would begin again.

Depending upon the season, these parties can happen every day, every few days, once a week, or not at all. There is no set routine, or set of conditions. Many things can influence the party scene and the nature of a season, and we will find out more about that in later sections. But whatever, it is these parties which have attracted thousands into coming to Goa to experience them, and have brought many back to the state again and again each year.

In this general ethnographic description and impression of the party scene, I have, in general, written in a style which removes the author of the writing from the centre of the picture as the 'knowing subject'. This was in order to allow the reader to focus upon building up a general impression of what is going on in Goa. I now want to alter the position and style of writing in the next section. In doing so I wish to shift away from distanced, generalised description during the period of 'writing up' to that of a

more personal, subject-oriented one during the period of field research itself. I do so in order to maintain a sense that Goa only exists as a scene through the efforts and participation of real human subjects, and that it is not to be understood as a stable set of affairs and conditions, which can simply be described in some complete sense.

3.11 GOA BY CORRESPONDENCE: PART ONE (1995)

The following extracts are taken from some personal letters which I sent, while in Goa, to a close friend over the two party seasons I was there. My friend had accompanied me to Goa on my first visit there in 1994 and spent 4 months in the state. She shared my enthusiasm for, and interest in, the place, the people and the scene there. She, therefore, made an excellent target for letters.

On my return home from Goa, and while I wondered what on earth I was going to do with the experiences of my fieldwork when it came to 'writing up', a friend suggested that I re-read, and possibly use, the letters which I had sent 'from the field'. She said that she had found them very evocative in terms of the place and what it was like to be there for the first time as a participant in the scene. At the time I appreciated the help and advice.

On re-reading the letters myself, I too found them very evocative of my own personal experience of the party scene, and found my attempt to understand and describe it for another very impressionistic and 'human'. While reading the letters in Fife during springtime as the sun rose above fields coloured by the bright yellow of rape breaking the monopoly imposed on the weather by the wind and rain of winter, I found myself transported once again to Goa through words. Surely this was the purpose of anthropology, especially ethnography, I asked myself. So why not just leave them as they are - personal, impressionistic, human - and use them in my thesis, I thought to

myself. Therefore, I have decided to include them in slightly extracted form, but pretty much 'as they were', as one written engagement with the subject which casts a certain light on it from a very particular position - that which grows out of personal initiation, participation, and experience.

These letters were written in a variety of different environments. These include busy chai shops on local beaches during hot afternoons; or rooms in local houses after sunset with sand from the beach on the floor and between the toes, and with only the light from candles flickering beneath a large brass fan above; or in small packed restaurants at breakfast full of 'hippy' foreigners sitting around drinking coffee, eating fruit salads and smoking, as the local breadman passes by on his bicycle beeping his horn to attract customers while the smells of freshly baked rolls drift out of his basket.

Letters '95

1. *Dear S.,*

Today is Xmas day, my head is a little wasted, and I'm really missing you and home. Goa is pretty busy, freak show's paradise, with lots of bizarre looks, big beastly motorbikes, tents and huts, which weren't here before during the monsoon. Attitudes can be pretty fucked, unfriendly, aggressive, and superior, but there are plenty of good people who are not so concerned about the seriousness of this bizarre theatre and who talk comforting nonsense to lonely fools like me.

I was really shattered after the journey and it took a few days to chill out. It's really quite cold at night, and guess what? I've got a cold as fuckin' usual. I slept outside Baba's the first night and got cold toes and a runny nose.

Yesterday I went to the beach for the first time, got my first colour, played in the waves, tested out my new bathers and a few Kingfishers as well¹⁵³. It relaxed me into things a bit...

This place really is so peculiar. Mellow beach life, people drinking in beach huts or the village tavernas and then at night motor bikes with dreadlocked or shaven skinny bodies heading off to one of the bars which

¹⁵³ 'Kingfisher' is an Indian beer.

work as gathering places for information and exchange, and ultimately to some party in the jungle somewhere.

The parties are like a game of chase for those who are not exactly in the know, which seems to be quite a lot of people, probably through the need to keep everything as secret as possible so that things go easy with the police. So you have to listen for clues, directions etc. that you can get and then use them to try and find the party. It's a real information network which you have to break into to become a part of things.

Last night was the Xmas party. First it was on, then off, then on again, then off again. There were problems with the police who wanted too much baksheesh, and a new government which apparently wants to clamp down on this side of things.

But everywhere around Vagator and Chapora was packed out, people coming from every direction on foot, motorbike, taxi, everyone looking for the party. Everything was drenched in techno sounds and the clouds of smoke from chillums. It was an incredible atmosphere of anticipation and excitement, and there was an edge to it all you could shave on. Later, thousands (perhaps 10,000) people gathered off the road to Small Vagator, and had a party¹⁵⁴.

Outside there were hundreds of sheets laid on the ground with gas lamps and people selling chai and food. Loads of people sat smoking. To get inside there were slow moving queues all night. In the central area there were strings of lights connecting the coconut trees and fluorescent trippy ones on the trees themselves, which were impossible to focus on. There were people going crazy on the dancefloor (of sorts?) and people sitting on the floor or simply lying outside the back, flat out just star-gazing.

The music was really acid sounding and its electronic pulses travelled right through the jungle and into the village where you could hear the changes in frequency and beat.

I hung out with a nice group of people from London, quite young, and one guy was really excellent and looked just like Nelly, so I felt really comfortable. I got pretty buzzed out and ended up doing a lot of gazing after only two or three hours of dancing. I wasn't really wired into it, but enjoyed it anyway.

There were tons of locals there kind of observing, although many participated too. I saw some really old Indian men dancing to techno, and even

¹⁵⁴ 10,000 is definitely an exaggeration, but reflects the massive impression the event had upon me.

some really young boys from the church choir who had finished up the Xmas service and come up to the party in their white shirts and flannels.

Some of the Westerners looked so fascinating. Dreadlocked crusaders, shaved and pierced warriors, tanned Amazonians, troublesome jesters, gargoils and gnomes, pixies and bikers, etc. etc. I can't really describe it. It felt like everybody was appearing from everywhere to pay their respect to the underground in the jungle. Everyone following a Xmas star which was burning bright all through the night, and which was leading them all along the roads and paths to the heart of the party. I think this is what a 'gathering' is about.

I have mixed feelings about it all, some of it is interesting, some good fun, a lot is just a joke sometimes like a school playground, and some things are fucking dangerous. There is a really incredible diversity. There are police everywhere making big bucks on the chase and there have been fights and cut faces in the village. The scale of the tension between so many outsiders and the locals, and even more so between competing locals can really be out of hand.

Anyway its Xmas day and I wish you were here...

2. Dear S.,

I just did a couple of cool refreshing buckets out back to get rid of the salt, and then I shaved to remove old mister baggy eyes and hairy face. I feel fresher, but tired.

I don't know how people keep the tempo up here. It's full on all the time, parties every night now, and old Mr cushy Largo Rd, is feeling the pace more than a bit¹⁵⁵.

In a way it could get a bit boring cause it's always party, party, party... I spent a very wierd but safe night on Anjuna beach the other night with a whole mixture of wierd people, English, German, French and Indian. The music was really driving hardcore and everybody painted each other up in fluorescent paint so that everyone looked like glowing skeletons or androids, and nobody seemed human anymore. One long haired guy with a bare chest was juggling fire in the sea while it was still dark, he looked like a viking god or something like that. There was more than one nutcase on show.

You would have loved last night. Down in a bar in Anjuna there was drumming in this bar which was amazing. Lots of African and Asian guys

¹⁵⁵ Largo Rd. was an address I had had in StAndrews.

really making it move. A real sort of tribal atmosphere, dark, mysterious, rhythmic, and diverse.

...I got hauled over by the police the other night on a dark road coming back from Calangute. Heavy, heavy, heavy. Six of them all carrying huge sticks, waiting right on the turn of a corner so I had no choice but to stop. I just got my hands round my head and got ready for a good kicking. As it turned out they searched me and the guy I was with on the bike from head to toe, and eventually let us go without even a decent bribe, but I can tell you it was quite intimidating and I was pretty out of my head all through it, which I think actually helped me to stay calm. I even managed to speak to them in Konkani which I think helped to deflate the situation.

I went up to Arambol and chilled out by the lake, a real beautiful atmosphere with naked people and this mud which when it dries on your body makes your skin feel fine, after a dip in the sweet water lake. But then what happens? The police turn up again and search everyone!

It all comes down to money, or 'baksheesh' as they say here. There was a party last night and it got closed down after a short time, but then the appropriate sum was paid and before you knew it the party was back on. It's actually a really efficient system of negotiation between mutual yet diverse interests...

3. Dear S.,

...I went to Arambol the other day. There are beautiful beaches there and a thick jungle. People are living way into the jungle underneath the giant banyan tree. It's all mats, drums and guitar as the shadows of the jungle grow at night time. It's kind of the chill-out area for party people who burn out further south. Too many parties and you just pullout, sleep on the beach, smoke at the banyan tree and meet other people who are gone just a little too far¹⁵⁶. There can be a real feeling of empathy up there at times. A real opposite to what goes on down here in the heart of the madness.

This time however, I went there with a guy who was looking for his mate who I know a bit. It's kind of heavy, the guy took two trips on New Year's Eve and one is fuckin strong enough here, so he just walked off flying off his nut and now no-one has seen him for 5 days. Fuck knows, eh? What's going on for him?¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ A banyan is an Indian weeping fig tree, which have religious significance for Hindus.

¹⁵⁷ I met this particular guy six weeks later after he had returned from a trip to Hell which took him as far north as Delhi.

I met this other girl who was freaking out and panicking, wanting to get a taxi to bombay!!! So many people seem to get burned here. A Russian roulette reality!

I just met some Spanish people who went to a party last night and it went on until this afternoon. They are almost every night now and its taking its toll on many people. I'm taking it quite easy, spending quiet nights and days in between, so I don't loose my head.

I think people in the village are changing their perceptions of me, a few comments like 'You are looking very thin' suggest that I am getting labelled more and more as a 'party person'. But speaking konkani still really helps to cancel out any complete stereo-typing, I have so many good laughs all over the place just because I try to babble Goan-speak. They really seem to enjoy hearing it coming out of a 'foreigner', and they look at me suspiciously when I say I haven't even been here a year yet.

There is so much conversation and information going on here, everything is word of mouth, face to face, and or less you play, it can appear as if nothing is going on at all. It's like a verbal network which only exists when you get plugged into it.

Motorbike taxi drivers are the real supremos, magicians on two wheels, they have the information, the magic words which answer the question, 'where is the party?' Possessing this information they can then negotiate a price for their potion and then whisk you off through dark, windy, visual tunnels full of sleeping houses, empty balconies, drifting cows and moonlit coconut trees. By the time you arrive at your destination you could be fucking anywhere really, and after a shortwhile it doesn't matter anyway.

Meanwhile, in the bars and restaurants rumours spread of parties here and parties there, parties cancelled and complaints about 'no party!' People pass by trying to score and just get told to 'ask around'. Everything comes to you here by asking around, practical experience and knowledge are essential. You have to be able to get around, deal with different types of people, to get what you want, there is no advertising, no price labels, no impersonal exchange, its all in your face. It's such a different social world to that of the supermarket or the pub, its a kind of underground overground, or the visible invisible.

Anyway, sorry for getting so boring, but it feels good trying to tell someone who is not here what it is like, I mean people here talk about what is going on almost as if it is just as distant to them, as in they don't fully understand it, but it still feels like I'm trying to be more explicit when I try to write it down, and I become aware of things around me, topics of conversation

etc. that I already take for granted. Anyway I think it's time to phase myself out...

4. Dear S.,

I'd forgotten what good ecstasy was like, until last night that is! My body was rushing all over. I stood at sunrise dancing on the beach, looking out in wonder at the sea and I felt like I was touching everyone I love in the whole world.

Last night was excellent. The party was down in between Small and Big Vagator in the jungle but right on the sea as well. The party took quite a while getting started, with everyone hanging about in the chai stalls. Eventually the music started and then after only a short while a cable blew up and the rain started to fall. However, the party got going again and the rain stopped and oooooooooo! I came up on the dance floor and just started moving around to find somewhere with the right feeling. In a corner by some Large speakers I found a big group of people I met on a chai stall and we all came up together, hooting, screaming, smiling, and dancing. The energy was incredible. Later I sat with some really nice older people who've just moved here, and I had an excellent 'E' conversation. "Well you're having a bloody excellent time aren't you?" says he, 'Yes I fuckin' am" says another grining, straightbacked and devil-eyed reveller fumbling with a roach and trying to drink hot chai at the same time. A girl comes up, 'somebody's got to help me do a pee I'm trippin' off my nut and the darkness is wild out there'. A woman on E deals with her, and this older guy starts a conversation with me. We smile a lot and share a smoke, then after a few refreshing blasts of Vick's, which someone came across by accident, its farewell and back to the dancing. I think you'd like a lot of people here I spend a lot of time thinking like that bringing people I already know here in my thoughts and using them to relate to new people. It makes things seem more familiar.

After the party I've had a real lazy day today, sleeping a bit, down at the beach for sunset, a kind of definite ending to things, a wee bit of fruit salad and a couple of beers. E can really give you an incredible up in life, you feel so good towards people and you meet and mingle with a mix between sweet innocent eyed children and mischevous elves.....

5. Dear S.,

...Goa really is an exceptionally weird place at this time of year, in a refreshing but confusing way. In every bar/restaurant there is a collection of 'freaky' looking people with dreadlocks, piercings, bald heads, deep set eyes,

and multi-coloured clothing, but here it is the 'done thing', and you'll feel weird in fact if you look what is called 'normal' at home. A really different space. The smoke pumping out of chillums can be choking and the only music you can hear is hardcore techno. Even when the sun is setting and everything is totally mellow, the techno kicks in and pounds on relentlessly.

People are sleeping on the beaches and in shacks, as well as those staying in rooms and houses. All the locals are just mad about money and when anyone steps out of line, usually Israelis who are off their heads all the time, about 15 locals beat the shit out of them with broken bottles and sticks. The police also supply a good bit of aggro.

And every night, people are charging around looking for a 'party' all over the place. No-one seems to really know who sets them up and where they are going to be, but the news spreads really fast when one starts up. Some people say that its the locals who set them up, although the D,J.s etc. are foreigners. Whatever, it is really the police who control them and make a lot of money from them, around 35,000 rupees a party¹⁵⁸. Not bad eh?

In fact, the massive New Year's party was apparently in the jungle right behind a police station. It seems crazy, but so is the world, so why not?

The parties are huge, there must be around 10,000 at some. The music is manic and they are packed with drunken Indian tourists at the moment who have come to see the sights, and then fight and hassle everyone especially the women. However, as the party goes on they seem to leave early or go to sleep in the Indian tourist buses which park outside. So many people from outside of Goa seem to come just to watch and experience what Westerners, especially Western women, do in Goa. Real culture vultures, eh?

The other night I was really out of my head for a while and these Indians started fighting. It was impossible for me to make out who was fighting or dancing, or whether in fact I was just imagining the whole thing, freaking out. Everything had a mad, liquid, continuously moving feel to it. So much energy that you could feel it spreading out from its focus across the jungle. Really crazy stuff.

Needless to say, I spent quite a lot of the time sitting on mats in the chai stalls, which are chill out areas placed in various corners of the party where people can escape the madness and try to get their acts together. It's a really wierd scene, people sitting trying to work out if they have ordered tea or not, and just fucking staring around manically as if the world's gone apeshit.

¹⁵⁸ In general this is an over-estimation as it applies to the cost of parties around the peak Xmas period.

One of the best things is sunrise when the light rescues many people from the dangers of darkness, because when you're really out of it there is no chance of leaving the party. Its like you're gone crazy but the only place left where you can exist is amongst the crazy, and to try and leave, to get out of the jungle or whatever would be even crazier. So you just hang in there with other people gradually working at it, shaping it, gradually getting your act together. The sunrise is really blissful when you're in this state, because you start to recognise things again and reality becomes more than quick flashes of people's faces, the chaotic lines of ultra-violet illusion, dark spots, weird lights and incessant, driving techno. They play good tunes for sun-up and you have to wear masks because the dust creates clouds on the dancefloor which really chokes you to death.

[At this stage in 1995, after about a month, my letters stopped. This was for two reasons. Firstly, my friend came to visit me in February for two weeks in Goa, therefore, cancelling out the need to write for a while. And secondly, by the beginning of February I had made a number of good friends and had been very much captured by the spell of the parties. As such the need to write down what was going on around me - which had intially reflected the time and space afforded to an outsider on the periphery of the scene - became of less importance as there was so much going on for me and around me.]

3.12 'TONITE BIG PARTY BABA, REAL BIG PARTY!'*

[As my letters from Goa in 1995 stop reasonably early on in the season, I have decided to add the following story which I hope will further add to the ethnographic picture of the scene. In the story I have tried to write an account based on a position of deeply involved and informed subjectivity, as opposed to a description and impressions of the scene produced by a newcomer

* 'Baba' is a term used for Hindu holy men in India. It usually symbolises respect and a hierarchical relationship. It is, however, widely used in a joking and mocking sense by Indians when dealing with tourists. Friends also use the term in conversation in this joking manner. In the party and the traveller's scene it is also a very common term used in conversation and in bartering with locals.

to it. This story, therefore, represents a more established and involved representation of the Goa scene well into the season (February-April), and tries to express the kind of characters, experiences and relationships which surround it as a social practice.]

It was around the end of February, about three o'clock in the morning and it was a warm moonlit night in Goa. From the walls of the old ruined Portuguese fort, which sits on a hill above Chapora village on one side and the Vagator beaches on the other, you could see the headlights of motorbikes appear, disappear and then reappear as they made their way through the jungle below, and along the narrow dusty roads which hadn't seen a drop of rain for months now. The light from the full moon made the palms on the coconut trees glisten, and beneath them the odd visible stretch of tarmac on the winding roads shone like a running stream.

The air carried the bassy rattle and hum of the big generator which sat noisily inside the fenced off holiday resort which sat beneath the fort. Its quaint bungalows and luxury swimming pool were being guarded as usual by the resort's own security guards in their American cop-style uniforms. At the back entrance to the resort a score of poor families from neighbouring states, who were working as construction workers on the completion of the resort, squatted inside their makeshift brick and blue plastic roofed accommodation as children played around outside.

Next to the resort around the small traditional Goan houses hidden beneath the shade of the coconut trees you could hear dogs barking and the rustle and chatter of people getting on motorbikes and organising lifts. Then the 'phut, phut, phut' from Indian motorcycle engines would begin with a sharp kick, and develop into roars as headlights shot off along the winding roads.

Up on the hill, at the crossroads between Anjuna, Vagator and Chapora, motorcycle taxi drivers with scarves around their mouths like bandits carved their way through the night air and the tricky paths quickly and skillfully with customers on the back of their noisy machines. Taxi cars also whizzed by carrying foreign package holiday makers, and occasionally Indian domestic tourists, who had come from outwith the immediate area in order to observe the goings on during that night in Vagator.

On the dark twisting back road from the far side of Anjuna to Badem which passes by the local police station, and which runs parallel to the main

road to Vagator, two policemen stood in the darkness just after a severe bend in the road waiting for unsuspecting foreigners on motorbikes. They planned to stop them with their long wooden sticks, which they leaned against while waiting, and then to search them hoping to find drugs. But for whatever reason they could dream up and manage to communicate in their very limited English, they would try to intimidate the foreigners into exchanging some cash money for the right to pass. Business was business after all, and their business could be a very profitable one on a night such as this night when they knew a party was being held close by in the area. They too wanted their share of the baksheesh for themselves and their families.

Motorbikes were now arriving from all directions to get to the party whose location had been revealed and was busy passing by word of mouth to hundreds of interested people of all sorts in the area. And as people began to make their way to the spot, headlights made trails along the dust tracks between the trees, and along the narrow roads heading towards an area at the back of Badem where there were some old ruined red stone houses. The spot had plenty of tree cover which would provide shade, and had obviously been carefully selected in anticipation of a long party.

On approaching and as you looked down from where hundreds of motorbikes were parked, and where local taxi drivers were haggling for lifts and joking together about foreigners, you could see the pattern made by the bright kerosene lights which illuminated the chai mats in one area on a slightly raised piece of ground. Adjacent to this area and situated on a slightly lower piece of ground surrounded by tree cover was the dancefloor. You could tell it was the dancefloor because white string had been stretched in various directions and patterns above head height between the trees, which served to mark the area out. In the ultra-violet lights, which had been set high up on some tree trunks, the string looked like laser beams shooting through the air above the bodies of people who were already dancing. On the perimeter of the dancefloor there were stacks of black speakers on stands at four points which made a circle of sound in which they dancing would take place.

In the chai mat area there were by now plenty of people in colourful clothes wandering about looking down at people sitting on the mats. They were clearly of many different nationalities. Clouds of smoke emerged from huddles of people who had gathered on chai mats, and who were already stoking the fires. The general buzz of activity and hum of conversation, added to the already pumping trance music coming from the dancefloor, made the whole area seem exceptionally organic and alive.

On the dancefloor people were beginning to dance vigorously to the trance sound emanating from the big black speakers which surrounded them. Many of them were wearing fluorescent designs which glowed and seemed to move around in the dark independently of any recognisable human shape or form. People moved around as they danced, and as the floor began to fill up, looking for people they knew and trying to find a decent spot to dance in for a while. Some who had already started to come up on their drugs made for the front of one of the speaker stacks where the dancing was usually more energised, and as the party atmosphere and the clouds of dust on the dancefloor began to build up.

At the far side of the dancefloor, a small crowd had gathered around an English girl who was juggling fire there. She was dressed in a shining, spangly outfit which glittered in the light, and she had a large dark Maori-like design tattooed on one of her arms. She looked so proud and confident as she tossed the flaming sticks up into the sky and then safely retrieved them again. There were certainly plenty of gasps of admiration from the crowd as she did so.

Elsewhere a young beggar girl about six, or seven, years old with dirty torn clothes, no shoes on her feet, and dust all over her face approached a busy chai mat full of young Israelis. She had been told by her mother to look out for such Israelis for they were known to be very rich. The girl was ignored although she stared at the crowd intently with the open palm of her hand held out in front of her. Then she poked the arm of one of the young Israeli blokes.

- Give baksheesh baba, she whined. Very poor, very hungry, no mother, no father, give baksheesh baba, she added.

She had learned these words from her mother. Her family were from Karnataka, which was the next state to the east of Goa, and they were very poor. They had come to Goa to seek construction work, which they did during the long hot days, helping to build new tourist accommodation. They found at night, however, that much easier money could be made from begging at foreigners' parties. Many poor families would get up in the middle of the nights to go to such parties taking children and any old, sick people in particular with them, who were very good at getting baksheesh off the rich foreigners. During such occasions the children would try out the phrases taught them by their mothers and fathers.

The young Israeli bloke's name was Ronen. He was originally from Tel Aviv, he said, but had now been in India for quite some time. He was crouching down beside a group of Israeli friends who were smoking chillums when the

little girl poked at his arm. He was strong looking after his years in the Israeli army not so long ago, and had curly brown hair and dark stubble. He was wearing baggy orange Indian pyjama trousers, a black faded waistcoat, and old green converse boots. He also carried a long thin embroidered bag wrapped around his body, and had many tattoos on his arms. His fingers were covered in silver rings, and he wore a necklace with coloured stones. He spoke fast, loud and confidently about just about anything, and knew most of the other Israelis, and a lot of other people too, in the party scene.

The beggar girl poked again at Ronen's arm as he was passed yet another chillum through a cloud of smoke, and with a 'BOOM'.

- Okay, okay sister..wait a minute, eh? Jus' wait a little minute little sister...okay? he said forcefully.

As he spoke he adjusted the chillum which lay in the up-turned grip of his right hand. He made sure the saffi was firmly in place before bringing the chillum to his mouth like an upward pointed trumpet. Then he pulled strongly on it¹⁵⁹. The end of the chillum crackled and glowed red hot as he pulled on it, and great clouds of smoke rose into the air as he passed it on to his left, and then shot a funnel of smoke into the light of the mama's kerosene lamp.

Ronen coughed a little, but not too much, and then reached into his pocket.

- Take this little sister, he said giving the girl a two rupee note. She grasped it, looked at it, and then at looked back at him with total contempt as she cursed him, turned and then walked off looking for the next customer.

As she passed by the next chai mat, where four customers and a mama were sitting, the beggar girl stopped, and then decided quickly to move on somewhere else. She knew that mama from before, and she thought she was very wicked. A few parties before the woman had threatened her with boiling water for scaring away some of her customers. Her face had looked so threatening while she was screeching her death threats and curses, that even the memory of it made the young girl break into a panic. She was not to be messed with.

The mama, who was quite a large, older woman with a strong and beautiful looking face and penetrating eyes, sat quietly and confidently on a low wooden stool in front of a kerosene lamp and a kerosene stove on which the water was being boiled for chai. She chuckled to her self for a second as she spotted the beggar girl darting off into the crowd. Then she took a scarf

¹⁵⁹ Saffi is a Hindi word which literally means 'filter'. It is used by chillum smokers as the term for any piece of cloth used to prevent anything falling out the bottom of a chillum, and for cooling the bottom of the pipe down for smoking.

out of the woven basket next to her, which was full of clothes and bags she guarded for her customers while they went dancing, and wrapped it around her neck. In front of her and illuminated by the bright kerosene light were a variety of sweet cakes and fruits on small paper plates.

The mama's name was Sushma, and she was a local woman who was married to a fisherman. Her two young children - a girl and a boy - helped her to collect and wash the glass cups and the money off of customers. Years of working at parties had taught her many strategies for dealing with foreigners. She knew how to be friendly and smiley, to remember names, to always call the women 'sister', and to laugh very loudly, but also knew how to shout, curse, spit and be hard when people abused her business by sitting on her mats without drinking chai, by falling asleep on them, or by refusing to pay. Sometimes she was known, if pushed far enough, to threaten people with boiling water, or with the big wooden stick which she always had with her. Mostly, however, she found most foreigners a little stupid, and most could never remember how many teas they had drunk by the end of the party, so she would usually increase her profits through speculation.

Sitting on the mats in front of the mama there were four customers - all foreigners. A group of three - a girl and two blokes - sat talking in a huddle to one side, and on the other a man sat crosslegged on his own.

The group of three - Norman, Tess and Dave - were all British. Norman was around thirty to thirty-five, not too tall, and very skinny looking with deep set eyes, very short shaven hair, big tattoos on both arms, and a very open and friendly smile. Norman always seemed pretty relaxed and confident about whatever he did in that older, experienced kind of way. He had spent a lot of time in India over a number of years, and had a business of some sorts. That night, as usual, he was wearing his usual party kit, which composed of a thin blue singlet, German army trousers, and leather boots made in Thailand. He kept all his drugs for the evening in a small sealed plastic envelope which he kept either in his tobacco pouch, or down his pants depending on the circumstances.

Tess was in her mid twenties. She had long curly light brown hair and an attractive round face. She had been brought up by a hippy, travelling family, and had spent a lot of her youth on the road and at festivals in the summer. She liked to wear party clothes and always had something colourful, or shiny, on. That night she had glitter on her face and a bhindi on her

forehead¹⁶⁰. She carried a red and black Indian shoulder bag with mirrors sewn into the pattern that she had bought up in Pushkar once on her way to Manali. In the bag she always carried her fire juggling kit, and she performed at all the parties. She also got paid to perform at a posh Indian restaurant a few miles further down the coast for package holiday tourists.

Dave had long curly fair hair, and it was his first year in Goa. He was about the same height as Norman, but carried slightly more weight, although he was losing it quickly in the heat. That night he was wearing a small waistcoat which was blue on one side and green on the other. On the back there was a target like the British mods used to wear in the sixties. Dave was well chuffed with this article of clothing 'cause the target was well trippy in the fluorescent light, and meant that he could always be spotted on the dancefloor. The rest of his clothes - a pair of lycra shorts and some old training shoes - were caked in old red dust from previous parties. He had a black armband on his upper arm and a bright blue anklet which sat above his old trainers. Around his neck he wore a silver 'om' on a piece of black lace which he had bought off a woman at the Anjuna flea market.

They had all been in Goa for at least a few months during that season as their brown skins and relaxed attitudes demonstrated. Norman, in particular, was well connected. They knew the mama well and she them from previous nights out. They sat happily getting on with ordering and drinking chai and smoking joints.

The man who sat crosslegged and alone on the otherside of the mat was called Frank. He was originally from Canada, and was in his late forties. He was completely bald and had a thick dark beard with silver grey streaks. His eyes were electric blue, and very hypnotic to look at. He was quiet and confident, and something about him made you realise he had really lived in one way or another. He was a hard man. That night he was wearing a plain red singlet, black shorts and sports shoes. He had a chunky silver ring on one of his hands, and a thick silver necklace around his neck. His body was very suntanned and was very fit looking. He smoked hash, which smelt like very good quality, only from a chillum or a pipe, and never touched joints.

Norman, Tess and Dave had all seen Frank about at the market, down the beach, or at parties, but hadn't met him as such. That night when they arrived, and found their usual mama, Frank was already sitting there on her mats.

¹⁶⁰ A bhindi is something which Hindu women stick on their forehead (third eye) for special occasions. It has become popular amongst foreign travellers as a fashion accessory.

Norman had smiled at him as they sat down and he had nodded slowly in reply, but there had been no further communication between them.

Frank had also seen this lot about, and knew they were alright. However, he had also swallowed three top quality Californian trips back in his room in Anjuna about midnight before heading off for the party, and at that time didn't really feel much for social banter. He was beginning, in fact, to hover just above the chai mat, which seemed like a magic carpet anyway fuelled by the mad mama whose facial features now seemed bizarre to Frank, and whose high pitched screams he desperately tried to interpret as they sawed right through his head. Even the slightest movement of his head, eyes, or any part of his body, however, was now of massive significance to the general stability of his being and to his personal welfare. Any slight physical change, in fact, resulted in a kind of whooshing physical sensation in which moving tunnels seemed to appear before him, from where he did not know, but into which he would then lose himself as if caught in a whirlpool, or perhaps a washing machine, he wasn't too sure about the details. What he did know, however, was that by some freak occurrence the pull of gravity had gone apeshit, and the best thing to do was to make camp right where he sat and hovered. So basically he was sitting there holding it together and concentrating hard on being calm, composed, crosslegged, and upright as his trip unfolded. And he was loving it.

- You won' chai mister? the mama suddenly bawled in Frank's direction.

Frank's body felt as if it had just experienced an earthquake. Bolts of energy fired through it giving off major distress signals. He turned his head slowly towards the mama and stared into her eyes. The mama's expression altered as she looked into his dark eyes which seemed to be glowing like stars and occasionally rolling. There was a short silence as they sat transfixed.

- Yes please, Frank replied slowly, but firmly.

The mama looked quickly away from him and messed about with some glass cups which were soaking in a basin of dirty water next to her. She rinsed a cup, spooned some sugar into it, and then finally added the chai on top. Then she reached out towards Frank.

- Take, take, She muttered this time.

Frank turned towards her again and slowly raised his arm from his side and took a hold of the warm glass. It felt so strange in his hand. Too hot, he thought. He placed it down next to him, and slightly out of the way. After all, he couldn't even really see it properly, and wasn't that sure what exactly it was that he'd accepted, or who the funny woman with the hat on and the squeaky voice was who'd given it to him. But accepting it had seemed like the

appropriate thing to do in order to secure a place on the chai mat which was of central importance to him and his current well-being at the time.

On the otherside of the chai mat Dave had been watching the exchange going on between the older guy and the mama. He realised that Frank was tripping hard. He smiled a little to himself, and then puffed hard on his spliff, which he had only just built. Then he passed it on to Tess.

- Here Tess...take this.

- Cheers Dave...I'm dying for a smoke. Pretty busy isn't it?

- Yeah...tons of folk. Have you seen anyone yet Norm?

- Na..I'm going to smoke this joint and then go for a little wander...if you know what I mean...fancy that?

- Yeah...why not. Hey...there's Bob...BOB...BOB, Dave shouted at a tall, well-built bloke with long blonde dreadlocks who had just walked by them.

Bob was from Holland and was wearing a grey t-shirt with a colourful celtic print on the front and flared green trousers. He turned, caught Dave's eye and then smiled. He turned and walked slowly over towards where they were sitting, and then gracefully sat down next to Dave.

- Hi...how is everybody?

- Alright Bob...and you? How are you doing tonight?

- Oh...not bad...not bad.

- Have you met Norman and Tess before?

- Yes I have...at the last party in Disco Valley, Bob replied smiling at them both and nodding. Then he turned towards the mama.

- Ek chai...sugar naka, he said in the little Konkani he had picked up in a few months.

- No sugar? the mama responded.

- Yes...no sugar, Bob said again.

The mama shook her head a little and grabbed for a glass. She didn't understand these foreigners who didn't take sugar in chai. But she didn't really mind because it saved her money, and that pleased her greatly, because she was a business woman with a family to keep and a husband who liked to drink.

Bob took his chai from the mama and drank from it. It was hot and weak. As he sipped at it Norman passed him a spliff.

- Good one...cheers, Bob said nodding his head again.

As Bob drew on the smoke, which smelt very strongly of hash, Norman dug out his tobacco pouch from the side pocket of his German army trousers. He opened it and then pulled out a small, sealed plastic bag with several bright

pink pills, a few white ones, and some colourful little paper squares inside. The sight drew Bob's attention.

- So what are you doing tonight then? he said in Norman's direction.

- Well...I'm not really sure mate to be honest...but...I think I'll do a...a half a pink one an'...a half a purple om to be gettin' on with...an' then jus' see how it goes after that. He beamed a great big smile at Bob when he finished reciting the evening's menu.

- Oh yeah...and I've already taken a half a juggling balls I had over from the last party...which so far is very nice indeed, he added.

- What about you Dave? Bob said turning towards him.

- Well...Tess and I have already done a whole smiley face each...and we've got a pinky each for later on at sunrise when the stompin' starts...so that should do us nicely.

- Has anyone got any ecstasy for sale? Bob asked, turning instinctively as he did so towards Norman, who looked like a man who was well sorted.

- Yeah...sure mate...I can give you one of these pinkies if you fancy one...fancy that do you?

- What are they like? Bob inquired with a serious face on.

- Well...I like them...that's why I've got so many...they're pretty strong mind you...keep you dancing all bloody night I tell ya...I suppose they are quite speedy...but they're also pretty trippy at times...what do you think Tess...about the pink ones?

- I had one at the last party and it was the absolute business...stormin' it was...I was dancing all night and then still down the beach the next day...as well as waggin' off at everyone too...so I suppose that's a recommendation of sorts...isn't it...definitely for the party animal.

- Sounds pretty good. Bob said. He also realised that he fancied Tess.

- Well...one will cost you six hundred roops...which is what they cost me off this French geezer in the village...can't be much fairer than that, said Norman.

- Sounds good...I'll just get the money then. Bob replied pulling up his t-shirt and unzipping his moneybelt which was underneath. Then he counted out the six hundred, and passed it to Norman, who had just swallowed something and was washing it down with some chai. He took the money without counting it, and then passed a pink pill into the cup of Bob's hand, which he closed in carefully around it. Then Norman shoved the money and his tobacco pouch back into the pocket of his trousers again, sat up and accepted a joint from Tess.

Tess, Dave and Norman were all starting to feel pretty trippy on the acid now. Tess and Dave especially were starting to say less and less, and to look around them more. They would fix their eyes on people and stare at them until they would suddenly snap out of it, and then quickly look somewhere else.

- I think...I'm ...going to have to go for a wee wander..to the dancefloor, Dave said with a little bit of urgency in his voice.

- I know what you fuckin' mean, Tess agreed.

- What about it lads? Dave said looking at Norman and Bob who were exchanging joints.

- Na...I'm going to jus' park here for a bit longer Dave boy, and drink me chai...then I want to try and see a few people...I'll get up there a bit later.

- And you Bob? Dave said.

- No, no...too soon...I will see you later, he replied as he tried to work out if Dave and Tess were a couple.

- Right then Tess me darlin'...wander, wander...shall we? Dave said as he slowly got to his feet. He knew it was very disorientating when you stood up on a chai mat when you were tripping, because all of a sudden your whole perspective on the party changes and everybody else is way down below. He still ended up wobbling a bit though.

Tess meanwhile strained her face as if to demonstrate massive effort as she raised herself off the ground, using Bob's shoulder as a support, and eventually she stood up and put her hands on her hips.

- Ta, she said looking down at Bob who looked a little sheepish.

- Right then...see you lads later...have a good one now, Dave said as he started to walk off in the direction of the dancefloor.

Tess looked over and smiled at the older bald headed bloke on the otherside of the mat. Frank, however, didn't catch her smile. He had his eyes firmly closed, and was busy decorating the insides of his eyelids with 3-D, moving, geometrical patterns in a variety of whacky colours. Tess recognised the signs and had a little giggle as she wandered off after Dave who was already making his way through the crowd. They were both soon swallowed up by the busy crowds making their ways to and from the dancefloor, which by now was packed.

Dave and Tess made straight for a stack of speakers at one side of the dancefloor where they recognised some Israeli friends who they had danced with at the last couple of parties. These Israelis stayed in Anjuna in a big house at the back of the village, and they obviously had some money to spend, because they all wore the most expensive lycra party gear on sale at the market each week. They were already whooping it up, and had clearly spent

some money on some good drugs as well. There were lots of hellos and pats on the back as Dave and Tess moved into position and started to dance.

Beside them and directly in front of the speakers there was a group of really interesting looking characters who looked as if they were French, or perhaps Italian. It was difficult to tell peoples' nationalities at times after they had spent quite a long time in India. One small older man with really long, dark, thick dreadlocks which went right down his back was dancing frantically to the strong beats in nothing but a pair of denim shorts. His feet were bare and around his neck he had a number of necklaces which bounced against his body as he gyrated everything he could.

Next to him an older hippy-looking woman with white, bleached blonde hair was dancing in a really strong looking way. She wore a skin tight fluorescent pair of shorts and a small sports top which hugged her skinny, but very tough looking body. She also wore an earring which every second or two would flash like an alien's earring. On top of it all she smiled the smile of a wise old lady, and her teeth shone in the ultra-violet light.

Next to her a young English-looking bloke with a shaved head and many piercings, including his lower lip and eyebrow, was shuffling frantically to the acid sounds. He was wearing combat shorts and a black singlet, and looked as if he was out for business. He was clearly attracted to the stunning looking older woman who held the floor next to him.

Finally at the front Dave noticed a young Japanese couple who were wandering back and forth in front of the speakers. They were wearing really psychedelic clothing, and both had dreadlocks. They looked pretty out of it, however, and it looked as if they were looking for something on the dusty floor.

Well, this is it, Dave thought, a real Goa party, and as he caught one of the Israeli guy's eyes, he smiled mischievously, and then let rip with a massive scream. Immediately everybody around him felt the intensity rise, and several of them added more screams of their own. It was definitely party time.

Back on the chai mat Norman and Bob had started talking and smoking with a German couple who Norman knew from Thailand. The guy was called Hans, and he was originally from Berlin. He had long, straight dirty blonde hair, a plain cotton shirt and a pair of Jeans on. He spoke mainly to Norman about Thailand, as well as about the scene and the business possibilities in Prague during the summer months. Meanwhile his girlfriend, Marianna, who was younger than Hans, was stashing a massive chillum full of charras and tobacco.

Bob couldn't believe the size of the chillum, which seemed to be made out of blue glass, and he waited in anticipation for a smoke on it. Waiting, however, was beginning to become a little bit of a problem for Bob, because he had swallowed his pink pill some time ago, and was now starting to feel the effects coming on like pins and needles, and rushes of excitement all around his body. However, before he knew, and long after he had been able to concentrate on what was being said on the chai mat, he felt a very gentle push against his arm, and he turned to see Hans holding the chillum in front of him.

- Thank you...it's a wonderful looking machine.
- That's right, Hans replied before continuing to talk to Norman.

Bob grabbed a hold of the chillum firmly and raised it to his mouth. He knew it was going to be a real blast, because he was already feeling wired from the ecstasy, and his body was hyper-sensitive. He drew in with his lungs, hearing the crackle of tobacco, and before he knew it his lungs were full of sweet tasting smoke, and his body felt exhilarated. His head went a little dizzy for a moment, but soon his composure returned, and he felt great. He then passed the chillum on to Norman who skillfully manipulated it, before returning it to Marianna, who smoked it like a child drinks milkshake.

Bob, feeling rather pleased with himself and very confident now, fingered a small cellophane square in his left trouser pocket. It was a trip he had bought a few days ago off an Australian who reckoned it was 'cosmic'. Tonight's the night, he thought. Then he raised himself up from the mat, and gathered himself together.

- Thanks a lot for the smoke...I'm off to take a look at the dancefloor...try to see Dave and Tess...cheers for the pill Norman.
- No problems mate...see you later...I won't be long I've jus' taken another half...and look...it's not long till sun up...so I'll see you up there.
- Good one, Bob replied, and then he wandered off dancefloor bound.

It took Bob awhile to find Tess and Dave on the dancefloor, because it was so busy and intense by now, and the red clouds of dust were quite thick. He stopped and had a dance next to some other Dutch people he knew from the beach, but he was on a mission, so after a short while he moved on again.

Dave, who was covered in sweat and dirt by this time, was getting involved in some water throwing antics with some Israeli guys. Around them people were either stunned, exhilarated, or pissed off by the cold water hitting them out of the blue. One young English girl just looked totally puzzled. Dave, however, was loving it and was completely soaking wet.

Tess, meanwhile, was really strutting her stuff on the dancefloor. She had been joined by this other English girl called Tracey who was a good dancer and a real laugh. They danced with each other, weaving patterns in the dirt as they did so.

- Oi Bob...Oi! Tess all of a sudden shouted as she spotted him wandering by looking out of it. His eyes were huge, because of the ecstasy, and when he saw Tess he automatically hugged her very hard.

- It's great to see you...how are you...I feel fantastic.

- Oh I'm just smashin' Bob...well into it mate...look at Dave over there...fuckin' idiot...he's doing a spot of watering.

Bob looked over and saw Dave spinning round in circles with a bottle of water in his hands which was spraying out all over the place. The water hit Bob in the face, and although it was a bit of a shock and a kind of strange feeling, he laughed his head off at his outrageous mate. Then Tess took him by the hand, which felt beautiful and led him like a little school boy over to where Dave was performing.

- Oi you...yobbo...oi you...yeah you...the fuckin' lager lout...look whose here, Tess said pulling Bob into Dave's tunneling vision.

- Alright mate...how are you me old Dutchy, Dave shouted at the top of his voice as he grabbed Bob and squeezed him, soaking him with sweat as he did so.

- Great, great...what a party! Bob managed to reply, looking slightly uneasy and still holding on to Tess's hand.

- Well, let's do it! Bob shouted, and at that they all broke into their dance steps, screaming and shouting as they danced, and occasionally doing little jigs together just to keep everything silly.

After a short while, Norman appeared by the speakers and began his shuffle which he could keep going for up to twelve hours, he reckoned, if he was on good drugs. Plenty of people wandered by the speakers now, stopping to chat, or just smiling at the happy, mad bunch who were gathered there.

Every now and again, Dave, Norman, Tess, or somebody would make a joint, or a chillum, and everyone else would gather round and have a smoke, just to keep the spirits up. And as the hot sun started to rise, and the physical effects of dancing mounted, they would occasionally make a break for the chai mat and a visit to mama, who would serve them sweet, hot chai.

Norman, in fact, ended up spending quite a lot of time back on the chai mat once the sun was up.

- Just can't get into tonight Dave...you know what I mean...sometimes the combination jus' ain't right.

- Yeah, I know what you mean...everyone has not so good ones every now and again...it's part of the game isn't it boss? Dave said reassuringly.
- That's right...but I'm still enjoying it here on the chai mat...fuckin' alright people tonight or what?
- Sure is...but I tell you what I saw a couple of knarly things...there was this German guy lying by the dancing floor who was getting held down by these other blokes, and his face had gone bright green...fuckin' well freaky...must be strychnine in the acid or something.
- Yeah... heavy...and did you see that fight earlier.
- No...what happened?
- It was that old French bloke who always sells the good acid...well he had a disagreement with somebody and next thing you know there a barney going on...didn't last too long though...but a bit of a shame, eh.
- Yeah...here do you want this spliff.
- Bloody right I do I'm still tripping out my head...fuckin' nice sunny day though isn't it.
- Yeah...and there might be a bit of romance in the air as well.
- How come?
- Well...last time I was on the dancefloor Tess and Bob were looking pretty international...if you know what I mean...and that reminds me...I'm off back for a wee dance myself...you coming?
- No...I'm going to sit here for awhile, chat to a few people and enjoy the glorious morning sun.
- See you mate.
- yeah cheers, Norman replied as he dug out his tobacco pouch. As he did he heard Dave whooping as he headed back towards the dancefloor, which made him laugh. Then he turned and noticed the older bald headed man on the other side of the chai mat. They smiled at each other.

3.13 GOA BY CORRESPONDENCE: PART TWO

Letters '96

1. Dear S.,

I've spent the first couple of days taking things very slowly. I'm staying at St.M's which has some nice people hanging around and it's nice to sit in the evening on the roof top garden. There is this big group of French guys next

door who have this wee porch and they sit on that fuckin' porch about 14 hours a day doing chillums and listening to really heavy trance music. What a laugh! One of them is really into my mixes, that kind of made me feel good cause he certainly listens to enough trance!¹⁶¹

...It's been really nice sitting down on the beach again. B. and his wife from the 'Nikita' are having a kid and look really sussed together. And the guy from the 'Sunrise' ended up marrying S. my chai-lady from last year. She was really great when I first saw her. She got the wedding photos, the stories, the lot out. She was laughing and telling stories about me and 'my many dancing last year this one' to anybody who looked her way.

It's amazing there are so many people here already and some of them are very young and a lot are here for the first time. But I've already bumped into some of last year's squad, and its early days.

Today I'm off to the Flea market later in the afternoon to have a wee look around and possibly my first dance in the S. at sunset. I don't think there will be any major parties until Xmas Eve. So slowly, slowly just now.

2. Dear S.,

How are you?...I went to my first party of the season the other night. It was in Anjuna on a cliff side with three levels to dance on facing out to the sea. It was a bit frustrating in the night because people had to cross the dancefloor all the time to get to the bar...but eventually we got it really stomping by sunrise.

I met some excellent people, all the maniacs, of course, and even at 11 o'clock I was still managing to squeeze the odd scream out.

Now it feels much easier to get into all the other shit that's happening around here. You need a good blow out before you can really appreciate sitting on the beach, chatting rubbish all the time and being very mellow.

I've been getting to know a lot of people. It seems much easier and more fluid this year because I don't look so new to things. I met an Israeli guy the other day from last year and that was great, he's a real Disco Queen. N. is still not here but there is still a week at least to Xmas.

Time passes slowly-quickly here, sometimes as if it is slipping by and at others it is so intense. I think about you and home.

3. Dear S.,

¹⁶¹ During my second party season in Goa I brought mixes of 'trance' music which I had made up to try and sell there as a small source of income.

Today is market day and at midday it's fuckin hot. It seems a long way to the beach at this time of day. I think I'll see D. sometime today, probably still grinning. It will be good to see a face which makes me think about what I'm up to at home.

At the moment I'm having some problems with the stitching on my lycra flares, it seems to be rotting away. I'm a bit worried that it will end up with me in a pair of crotchless panties in the morning sunrise at some party. Not a pleasant sight!

Another strange thing happened last night. There is this new place called the Paradiso de Anjuna, or something like that, which not only sounds like Ibiza but is a real attempt at an Ibiza style club night here in Goa. Can you believe it? They had the first party there and a lot of people went, but since then it has been empty. Although it has space and bars, U.V. lights etc. it seems to be just too commercial for the people here. So its kind of like a ghost club. And yet the S., which is like a club too is still packed. Perhaps because of 'tradition'? So there are changes in Goa but the reaction has been negative. People don't want places with toilets, indoor rooms, and posh systems. They want some old dinosaur of a P.A. in the middle of a shit black jungle. Hoorah!

I'm expecting N. any day now. I hope he can pump my energy up a little, I'm sure he will. I met a lovely guy from San Fransisco the other day at a party. Apparently there is a Goa Trance scene over there, although he says it is quite small. So that is something to look forward to.

I've got flu just now which is shit, but I'm fighting it, not enough time to get ill now just before Xmas. See ya!

4. Dear S.,

It's early in the morning and I'm feeling warm and relaxed. I'm in a bit of a daze at the moment, just about fully Goa-ed.

I met a guy called M. who is a good friend of P. and C. who lived on the beach with me last year. We hang around together quite a bit, he's good company. I've also met this kind of 'cool dude' record label owner called C., who always wears black and looks a bit cavalier like. He's very friendly to me, but I reckon he talks a lot of bullshit at times.

The people at St. M's are really nice to live with. P. the guy that runs the show is quite a funny character always chatting way. He wants to have a party and asked me to do the music but I'm not so sure. I'm really enjoying being on the dancefloor again, in the boiler room. I've been meeting people since the party the other night who I danced with in the morning. Some crazy dancers from San Fransisco, and Israelis, of course. It was really amazing at one point

that morning when I looked up I realised that I had forgotten the real sensation of a Goa party. All the colours, different types of people, the wacky clothes, the ecstatic dancing...I looked up and saw Japanese, Israeli, German, English, American, French, black, brown, white, and yellow all dancing and screaming with so much enthusiasm for what they were doing. What a feeling it is to be in the middle of that kind of thing.

I've started to like going to the P. bar a bit more at night. It's a really good place for just wandering around in a circle, bumping into new or old faces, chatting, sitting down, sharing a smoke and some of the news, eating, or just listening to the music which is pumped out of this old P.A. and looking at the sky, the moon and the stars. There's is plenty of air in there to take it easy.

5. Dear S.,

I have just seen a beautiful sunset. You know those ones that seem to start melting into a fluoro orange liquid when they first touch the horizon. Really refreshing and soothing end to the day. I thought about you over there and hoped that the morning sunshine would make you smiley and happy.

Things were really different down the beach today. Everything seems to have become more relaxed, like people are really getting into the swing of things. Now that a few parties have gone off and people are mostly sorted out with a place to stay and have got some steady mates around them it's much more fluid. People from groups are starting to wander more talking to others and introducing their friends.

On the beach a load of new people were floating around looking for conversation, information and smoke, of course, and some people are starting to hang out in neighbouring chai huts spreading the social highways. It's a real open and responsive atmosphere just now and that's bound to spread into the parties.

I met this English guy called D. down the beach who told me stories about San Fransisco and other places and we had fun discovering all the mutual friends we had without having bumped into each other.

That meeting friends from sunrise dancing sessions has started. Lots of smiles of recognition and first chats with some idea that you've met already in another way. I really love that! It's so good when you meet someone after a dance and their exactly your kind of people.

There was this guy the other day at the party who kept on shaking his head and looking straight into my eyes. So I started to reply shaking my head and looking back, and we had some great smiles and laughs. Then later on when I was leaving the party on my bike I saw him in the middle of this paddy

field and he caught my eye and we both immediately started shaking our heads and laughing. I laughed all the way home. Anyway after a hazy, lovely Xmas day on the beach just before sunset I looked up and walking across the beach is that mad looking Israeli guy and he looks up and sees me, and guess what? Yes, we both started shaking our heads and laughing, and even gave each other a wee wave. Excellent. All the time we never had to bother to say a single word.

Tonight there is the first party in Disco Valley which after the brilliant sunset and the growing social thing going on could produce a hell of a party. One to remember. The one in the Bamboo Forest on Xmas Eve was a really crazy tribal affair. Weird place, lots of raw, red dust clouds and mud on the floor, people throwing buckets of water around, screaming and stomping. I only wish I could have seen you doing your stomp thing there.

6. Dear S.,

I've been thoroughly Goa-ed now and I'm stuck in my wee routines and am generally passing time easily. It's a bit of a weird time here just now though. The parties have been stopped for a while, almost 2 weeks and there are plenty of rumours that there might not be anymore. So you can imagine what it's like here stacked full of full-on party-goers without any fuckin party to go to! Frustration, frustration.

About a week ago it was full moon and nobody could believe it, no party! People were sitting in bars and in houses until about 5a.m. just waiting for news of a party kicking off, with scouts flying about on motorbikes checking out any possible spots. So much unguided energy just buzzin' around, and at times it felt like it could turn into serious tension. Some parties tried to kick off but ultimately the police were really serious about no party. So...no party.

All the problems seem to be coming from some media coverage in the Israeli press which is depicting Goa a wee bit like a kind of new Acid House horror story, you know kind of God help our misguided youth thing. Why don't they want to work and kill Arabs anymore? So anyway someone's kicked up a stink and asked for action and now the police won't or can't take the baksheesh for the parties and no permission is being given. No party.

So many things have happened as a result. Some people have left, pissed off, some going to Hampi where there is rumoured to be a party soon. Others are here waiting, sitting it out, and occasionally, if desperate, go to this new Ibiza-like club thing or to one of the bars with music. Seems like a whole ploy to push dancing into more controlled, licensed venues. Don't they know that that is what people have come to get away from? Others are developing

alternative strategies so as to avoid police pressure by holding small parties during the day on beaches or in bars and finishing them up by midnight. Some of these smaller ones have been really good.

The parties have become a real issue in the press now as well, with it being fully admitted that they go on and that corruption is involved in high places. However, some have written about just how involved peoples' lives around these areas are with the party scene and that just stamping them out will have bad consequences for local folk. The voice of reason, eh? However, a lot of what is being said seems pretty naive about why foreigners come to Goa in an attempt to sell it as a classy tourist destination. As you know the vast majority of people from travellers to package holiday makers come to Goa for the beach, the sunshine, a wee bit of 'culture', but most of all with the hope of experiencing a Goa party and that's that. So anyway it's been an interesting period listening to all the rumours and debates about the parties which seem to go on wherever you go around this area.

I'm still enjoying it here although it's different. It took a few days to chill out about the lack of parties, but it seems now that it means people talk and hang out a lot more doing other things, going on day-trips etc.. So it's alright. Anyway I've probably said enough.

[I returned in February '96 to Britain. There had been no large scale parties like the previous year since New Year's Eve. The government and police made a firm stance - allegedly due to outside pressure - against the parties. The 'flea market', however, was allowed to continue and, as I mentioned, there were also plenty of smaller, alternative, more secretive and 'underground', events throughout the season.]

3.14 SELECTED REPRESENTATIONS OF GOA TRANCE PARTIES, or "ACID PARTIES", IN THE GOAN AND NATIONAL PRESS (1995-1996)

The following are extracts - mostly extracted in their entirety as they appeared in their original form - from the Goan and Indian national press concerning the phenomenon they have chosen to describe as 'acid parties'.

The first article is from 1995 the first year I went to Goa while the party season was in full swing. The article represents the sole example I came across that year in the mainstream media concerning "Acid Parties". This is so even though 'parties' had been taking place for a number of years prior to this, but to which very little attention had been paid. The presence of such events as the 'full moon parties' was not an 'issue' - even though they were very much an established part of many local people's everyday lives, economic existence and common knowledge in the northern coastal belt of Goa .

On my return to Goa in December 1995 for the beginning of 'the season', which traditionally kicks off with the big Xmas party (although 'foreigners' will have been in the state in great numbers since October when the rainy season finishes) I discovered that there was a very different climate to that of the year before - more people, more media, more police, more hassle. To a great extent, this change in climate was due to unprecedented international media interest in, and coverage of 'Goa trance', and Goa trance scenes, in countries such as Europe, Israel and the U.S. during the previous year. These were provoked by an increase in the number of organised events with a Goa theme and style which emerged in 'home countries' as a result of the growing numbers of 'Goa heads' returning from seasons in Goa to their lands of origin. These people spread stories of 'Goa parties' and 'the Goa experience', and many had the energy and inclination to try and re-create the 'Goa experience' in their homelands. They were assisted in the latter project by the growing market for such a product due to the growing popularity of raving which had led many to Goa in the first place, and by the growing numbers going to Goa itself each year. This favourable context also created the potential for large profits as an added incentive, possibly to fund further return trips to Goa.

The new 'Goa craze' resulted in Britain - to use one example of a much wider international phenomenon - in the growth of Goa clubs and events, fashions, musical acts, record labels and mainstream attention from the major music industries and the growing dance music press. 'Goa parties' became popular (some events attracted over 5,000 people) all over Europe, and in Israel, Japan, the US, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. 'Goa Trance' became a fashion, a part of people's domestic 'youth culture' and their recreational activities in places far away from, and no longer directly connected to, Goa itself, except through association, and exotic absence in stories and myths about the place, 'Goa party people' and 'Goa parties'. The growing popularity of Goa events, styles and music and its emergence as a meaningful social term and practice resulted in a growing interest in the mainstream press in countries where they were held. Articles were produced about the local scenes and events, and interviews with organisers and participants revealed the centrality of Goa and 'the Goan experience' within the movement as a whole. This mainstream media attention, of course, served to bring Goa and the 'Goa Trance scene' even more into the popular gaze, making it an 'issue'.

As articles began to appear in major European and international journals, the Goan press (which has a tradition of being aware and defensive about outsider's views and depictions of Goa) obviously felt that Goa had come under a powerful foreign 'gaze' and took notice of 'the parties' as an 'issue' worth covering. The press also used the opportunity to use 'Acid parties' as a means to address a variety of issues of concern to them - such as government and police corruption, and the effects of tourism. This discourse formed part of a growing debate between members of certain sections of Goan society - those in the government, the press, the professions, members of church and citizen's groups etc. - concerning, and trying to shape, the nature and future of Goan society.

Following the coverage of domestic scenes during 1995 in the international media, foreign journalists flocked to Goa for the Xmas parties of season 1995-6. As they did, and as their reports started to make their way into national newspapers, it would seem that inquiries were made by certain concerned national governments regarding the legal status of, and action being taken against, such events. Politicians, police, the local press, local inhabitants, businessmen, tourists, travellers and party people in Goa, therefore, found themselves in the middle of a truly 'global event'. 'Goa parties' became an issue involving the interests of various national governments, undercover intelligence activity, international media, international party people, international drug dealers, as well as local politicians and a variety of different local people.

Goa had established historical connections with 'Western' counter/ youth cultural phenomena, and the tradition of holding 'parties' in Goa stretched way beyond the contemporary concern in 'developed' countries over raving. However, despite this, the increase in scale of the 'Goa Trance' scene abroad and the media interest in such, led to new forces and pressures being in, and on, Goa the following 'season'. The attention abroad was based around a connection between what was going on in Goa and mainstream discourses concerning, and popular interest in many countries in 'Acid House', 'Ecstasy', and 'raving'. This interest had great effects upon the local scene itself during that season, when parties were stopped for most of the season. For many it was an unexpected, unwelcome guest on the commencement of the Xmas and New Year festivities.

One local response and set of reactions which this international complex produced is represented below - that of the national/Goan press. I have chosen to reproduce the newspaper writing in the original form, rather than write an analysis, or interpretation, of their content. I do so for several reasons. I will offer two. The first is a desire not to

give the impression that there was a more concerned, sustained and articulate discourse concerning the parties and foreigners in Goa than was actually the case. 'Acid parties' and 'foreigners' are only really minor concerns for many Goans, and for others they are a means of subsistence which are dealt with like the realities in most people's lives. I do not want, therefore, to over-exaggerate the importance of the scene and the parties in the local context, while still demonstrating their emergence as newsworthy 'issues'. The second is to do with maintaining a local flavour and presence within the various impressions given of the party scene. I think the tones and style of the Indian English used, the idioms employed, and the positions expressed in the articles offer an interesting view and impression of the scene.

Newspaper Cuttings

1995

1. *Herald*, Panjim, Monday, Jan. 23.

Cops suspect drug-beach party link

Herald News Service

PANJIM, Jan 22 - Goa police officials today confirmed that full moon parties have been going on along the beach belt of northern Bardez, and suggested that there is reason to suspect a drugs link with these functions.

Deputy Superintendent of Police Indra Dev Shukla told Herald telephonically that police had seized some one hundred "acid trips" from an Anjuna local, while he was conducting negotiations over the same with a foreign tourist.

"It was very difficult to go into the crowd ... having a violent nature," DySP Shukla said. Police said this full moon "party" was going on near Ozra in Anjuna, a famous ex-hippy and back packing tourist haunt.

Police said they were tipped off, and swung into action, to effect the arrest at around 2 a.m. in the dark predawn hours on Sunday, at Dando in Anjuna, the site of the full moon party.

Police gave the name of the arrested person as Surya Pandurang Haldankar (25) of Anjuna. They said some 100 "acid trips" worth Rs 30,000 in all had been seized from him.

Police confirmed that some full moon parties have been taking place in the locality these days, saying that local clubs, panchayat members and "so-called social workers" are known to have connections with those organising these parties.

When the police raided the party on Saturday-Sunday, some 2,000 persons were taking part, it is learnt.

Some citizens have suggested that such parties are organised by drug-linked syndicates, as otherwise it is difficult to attribute any

motives for organising such big events, attended by large numbers of persons. Local associates have been helping to get permission for such parties, police said.

Oddly, the issue of the full moon parties is getting some political connotations now, with various factions within the congress (I) taking diverse stands on the same¹⁶².

Critics of the Rane group in the ruling party have sought to argue that the spate of full moon parties has grown after the new government took over, alleging that their promoters were getting some political support. Earlier Chief Minister de Souza had sought to stop the same, they claim.

Asked if the northernmost taluka of Pernem was also seeing a spurt in beach parties, DySP Shukla replied in the negative. He suggested that more such parties were being held in faraway Hubli, apart from the Anjuna-Vagator area.

Police said the drug-peddling suspect arrested on the pre-dawn hours of Sunday had been charged under section 22 of the NPDS (Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances) Act, dealing with synthetic drugs.

He was remanded to a week's custody. The maximum fine he faces is 20 years in jail and a fine of Rs 2 lakh.

Police said the "acid" trips he was allegedly dealing with were tiny pieces of paper, of about 4 mm x 4 mm dimension, which were dipped into narcotic chemicals and sold for Rs 300-400 each!

Earlier this month itself, Police said they had seized 2 kg and 1- 1/2 kg of hashish, in around the same area of the North Goa beach belt in Bardez.

1996

1. *Gomantak Times*, Panjim, Tuesday 2 January.

Drugs and foreigners mark acid party

Our Staff Reporter.

The congress government headed by chief Minister Pratapsing Rane has on numerous occasions made tall claims that beach parties of foreigners would not be allowed anymore and sale of drugs would be totally curbed. But the parties reportedly held at Anjuna and Vagator beaches on New Year eve have proved him wrong.

More disturbing is the news that the beach party - known as *acid party* the world over - was attended by international media to give wide publicity abroad informing that Goa was most suitable place for such parties.

Highly placed sources in the police department, though admitted the acid parties did take place, expressed helplessness as they were "legally allowed" by the concerned authorities.

As per the information gathered by *Gomantak Times* in this regard, a big party was held on a hillock of Anjuna beach while comparatively a smaller one was held at Vagator on the night of 31 December. It began at around 11.30 pm with the blaring of music ended much after the sun rose on the New Year day.

It was a market specially built for the acid party on one side and the so called "dancing floor" on the other side. The locals were reportedly selling liquor, eatables and many other "items" required for the 1500-strong crowd of "tourists" gathered there from different countries, Japan, Israel, etc.

¹⁶² The Congress Party in Indian politics is split into two factions .

It is learnt that drugs from charas, ganja, hashish to brown sugar and LSD was flowing like water on the small hillock of Anjuna and hardly anybody was found in this sense even to greet each other on the occasion. Code words were reportedly used to buy or exchange drugs.

The party also included around 200 domestic tourist besides locals, mainly the tourist taxi drivers and motorcycle pilots. The crowd included foreign girls who had come down specially for the *acid party*, it is learnt.

Keep aside the foreign tourists, but even journalists belonging to one prestigious international news agency as well as one East European newspaper were down in Goa to "personally experience" the thrilling event. While photographs of the party have also been shot by these journalists, sources told *Gomantak Times* that photographs of one such similar *acid party* held on Christmas eve night have already appeared in one Israel-based newspaper.

While the local government is claiming to put a stop to such parties, news have been flashed in foreign countries along with "tempting" photographs signifying Goa as a famous place for *acid party*.

When contacted in this regard, highly placed sources in the police department confirmed the news. But they claim that no action could be taken when permission was granted by the authorities for using sound system while "political pressures" have played a major role in the menace.

How the flow of drugs can be controlled when such acid parties are allowed to be held, asked one responsible police office. "We can act only if sound system is not permitted or the owner of the place complains to us. The police otherwise gets beaten up from the violent crowd if he forcefully try to stop it," the officer said.

While Goa is placed on the international map as a place for vices and not simple enjoyment, sources also pointed out that three foreign tourists died in last one week due to overdose of drug.

2. Herald, Panjim, Friday, January 5.
Cops foil beach bash at Pernem

Herald News Service

MANDREM, JAN 4 - Pernem Police prevented a late night beach party sought to be arranged by some foreign tourists at Arambol beach on new year's eve.

A German in collaboration with one local person had arranged a party at Arambol beach and large number of foreigners had converged on the one spot.

However, police on learning about the party rushed to the scene and prevented it even though they had to face the wrath of the tourists, including abuses.

In fact some of the tourists even flung empty soda bottles at the police but the law enforcers maintained their cool despite extreme provocation and ensured that the party did not take off.

Some of the tourists who went off in a huff left their vehicles behind which were seen lying at the junction the next day.

In addition to the tourists who had come to have fun, many locals were present to sell their ware.

In fact one local youth disclosed that narcotics including charas, ganja and opium were hidden on the sea shore to be sold at the party. However, these were removed immediately after the police went away from the scene.

Meanwhile residents of Arambol and surrounding areas have expressed their apprehensions about such parties where drugs are sold

openly on ground that the youth would get involved in this nefarious trade.

In fact narcotic trade has been flourishing in this area which is flooded with foreign tourists.

It may be recalled that recently two youth from the area were convicted for drugs possession and are undergoing their sentence in jail.

Besides Arambol other places where such parties are being organised are Ashvem, Mandrem and Khadchebag.

3. *The Navhind Times*, Panjim, Friday, Jan. 5.

The Tourism Question

TOURISM IS BAD, one section says. Tourism is good, another section says. They are not equal sections, and every section does not have only one stream. But it is from these opinions that everything destructive or dynamic follows: Like the screaming stories carried about beach parties spun on the lure of drugs. There are no proofs of such parties taking place, no eyewitness accounts, no participants' disclosures, no anti-narcotic cell's statements, no inquires.

Yet off and on, such 'parties' shall be blown up well in tandem of the opinion of one section that "Tourism is bad. It must be driven out." If the season is not of the "beach parties", prostitution will come, and if this runs out of season, "the voyeurism" of the lewd desis will fill the scene. There has to be something going on, because the tourist hatao is a permanent revolution, if the revolution has to be successful.

This section is more vocal, so their voices get public attention. But, blaming them for exaggerating it for what they think is public benefit apart, these spokesmen do have a horse to ride upon. This horse is collectively provided by various streams who also think that Goa does not need tourism or tourists: these fellows only come and enjoy at the cost of us.

We have the opposite opinion, which goes to claim that a major segment of the Goan population makes a living out of tourism, especially poorer people who have dropped out of school and deprived of any employment in the agricultural and other sectors. This opinion fiercely promotes more and more facilities for the tourists: more lodging places, more restaurants, better roads, water sports, golf courses, a new airport, and so on. How do we reconcile these two streams, one driving the tourist out, the other treating him as a special guest?

For the past several years, tourism has been going on together with these contradictions, and, no doubt, yielding visible results: whether positive or negative, we would not be able to say as a whole but only in parts. Like the drugs. If we are going strictly by evidence, we know it for certain that every year the police catch a good number of Indians or foreigners, individually or as a group, who are found possessing the dangerous drugs. Only on this much evidence, we have quite a reason to ask anybody: Do you think these fellows carry huge sacks of brown sugar for their dinners and breakfasts? Aren't there customers in Goa? Couldn't they be tourists, addicted incurably or just wanting to freak out on holidays by the Goan beaches?

Those who want to drive the tourists out also have a theory about narcotic market in Goa. According to this theory, the state government itself winks at this dangerous sector, because they fear that tourists won't come if we stop giving them drugs. Bravo! In turn, if we may ask these pessimists, what they have been doing on their own, since everything else that is good comes only in and out the non-governmental sector? Have they ever cleared one village by a single beach of drug retailing? Have they educated, persuaded and won over

the young and semi-educated locals who form an important part of the distribution network anywhere they have been operating?

But if this is true that the government does not want to push the anti-narcotic campaign hard, it is better that the government be told that this is plain opportunism and nothing else. A determined government can change things. If easy availability of drugs attracts foreign tourists, this emphasis can be changed in a few years by phasing the addicts out and luring other classes of tourists who would come for other reasons, like water sports, golf courses or ecotourism or cultural tourism and such special interests.

But, over and above, this thing has to be settled first whether Goans can live free of problems without the tourists. If they can, nothing shall be more beautiful. But nobody just because he has a good vocal chord or a cliché vocabulary has a right to draw the curtains over tourism. It may be better to begin with studies of what the people living by the beaches think. Off and on, we have the conflicts cropping up over the sharing of tourist business between hotels and shacks and taxis and buses and such interest groups. And those wanting to drive tourists often start fighting for the lesser-advantaged fellows. And the main question remains lost.

4. *The Sunday Times Of India*, Delhi, Jan. 7.

Goans demand ban on acid parties

By Ashley D'Mello, the Times of India News Service.

PANAJI, January 6.

Acid parties at which thousands of foreigners from different parts of the globe dance to loud digital music and use narcotics freely have caused a controversy in Goa with citizens' groups and some politicians demanding a ban on them.

One such party on new year's eve in which over 2,000 people took part at Anjuna in the north Goa beach belt has caused a flutter as it was covered by foreign journalists and caused adverse reports in the local press.

Chief minister Pratapsingh Rane has promised to ban parties in which drugs are used but admitted that permission for parties was given during Christmas and new year by the government. "Normal parties can be held but these acid parties in which drugs are used will be stopped," he stated emphatically.

The reaction came in response to public anger against the series of acid parties which were held in the north Goa belt at Vagator and Anjuna during Christmas week in which drugs were used.

Eye witness reports state that the Anjuna party began to warm up on a hillock near the beach at around 12.30 p.m. on December 31, with thousands of foreigners converging from different parts of the state. "It was a sight which must be seen to be believed, they said, people coming together for a midnight romp in which drugs could be smelt in the air."

An Israeli journalist who was covering the party for his paper was threatened when he took out a picture of the frenzied dancing. Several hundred Indian tourists also converged at the site to stare at the foreigners dancing the night away in gay abandon to the digital tunes coming from huge speakers. According to the Israeli journalist many youngsters in Israel had come specifically to attend the acid parties in Goa. Local press reports state that another acid party in the making was stopped at Arambol beach when police raided the place.

Goa assembly speaker Thomazinho Cardoso has called for a ban on acid parties or full-moon parties as they are known in local parlance as they were "basically a money-making racket of drug peddlers and had nothing to do with tourism." Mr Cardoso who was formerly sarpanch of

Candolim in the beach belt decried the tendency of some local Goans who have got involved in organising these parties¹⁶³.

The organisers of the parties usually have some local front and are in league with the distributors of drugs in the Goa beach belt according to police sources. It seems that a brother of a Bombay based industrialist took a special interest in this year's party.

Over the years the acid parties have generated revenues for the local residents of the areas and this is stressed by a local Shiv Sena leader who said the government has no moral right to ban beach parties as the villagers depend on the low budget tourism it generates.

The government has not taken any pains to develop the infrastructure in north Goa and this has left the area fit only for low budget tourists. The poor villagers of Chapora, Vagator and Anjuna depend on this tourism for a living. Mr D'Souza goes on to state that during Christmas parties in villages people sometimes end up knifing each other, does the government ban such parties, asks Mr D'Souza.

"Banning is not a solution," said Mr D'Souza, who runs a restaurant in the area, "it will only give rise to corruption and will drive the tourists to the adjoining states."

Social welfare minister Chandrakant Chodankar who hails from the area feels that parties are fine provided no narcotics are used. Several times groups of people have come to me and asked when they should not hold such parties when others are doing so in Goa, he revealed.

The Jagrut Goenkaranchi Fauz (Vigilant Goans Army) which has been campaigning against such parties claimed that there was not enough political will to tackle the problem. Roland Martins, a JGF leader, said that huge sums exchange hands and breaking the system needed the concerted support of both the government and the police which has been lacking in the past.

The acid parties according to local reports were more popular in the past but the spurt in domestic tourism has led the foreigners to increasingly use areas like Hampi in Karnataka as their stomping ground. The Redi beach on the border of Maharashtra has also seen several such parties in the past. Will acid parties continue in Goa, only time will tell.

5. *Herald*, Panjim, Tuesday Jan. 9.

Acid Rock Parties

The cat is now officially out of the bag. The social welfare Minister Mr Chandrakant Choddankar representing the Siolim Constituency has admitted that acid rock parties were indeed held during Christmas and New Year. This confession comes on top of the candid disclosures by the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Mr Tomazinho Cardozo, who represents the Calangute constituency. Anjuna and Vagator fall within the Siolim constituency represented by Mr Chandrakant Chodankar. Both the Honourable Speaker and the social Welfare Minister have condemned the acid rock parties. The speaker has gone to the extent of reiterating that the sole purpose of these parties was to peddle drugs which are used on a very large scale during these parties. Goa's acid rock parties have apparently become so famous or notorious that they are even advertised abroad. Briefing the press after a cabinet meeting the Chief Minister recalled that they had received a phone call from Israel inquiring about an advertisement for the acid rock parties.

What is an acid rock party? Acid rock parties can by no stretch of the imagination be dismissed as innocent beach parties. There is much

¹⁶³ Sarpanch are local authorities within the larger talukas (administrative regions).

more to acid rock parties than the sand and the sea and the moon. Definitionally these parties are drug parties at which heavy rock music is played. The expression Acid is slang for LSD, a hallucinatory drug which is top of the list of banned narcotic substances. These parties are organised almost exclusively by foreigners for foreigners. With the active collusion and connivance of some prominent locals. In the normal course no permission is sought or granted officially for these parties. But obviously either elected representatives and the officials remain neutral or tacitly extend their co-operation to the organizers. Mr Tomazinho Cardoso has revealed how he was misled into granting approval by foreigners who claimed that they were organising water sports and held acid rock parties instead. And how in subsequent years when he had refused permission, to his frustration he discovered that the organisers had obtained permission from the neighbouring Calangute Panchayat.

Officially these parties were banned a long time ago. Like the notorious flea market in Anjuna, as far as we know, they remain officially banned. But these parties are held not only during Christmas and New Year but throughout the tourism season routinely. Indeed to a lot of foreign tourists who visit Goa the acid rock parties form the highlight of their stay in Goa. Foreign tourists and some prominent locals who have attended and participated in these parties have disclosed that it is the large scale availability and consumption of drugs which is the distinctive feature of these parties. Indeed it would be difficult to endure the hard metal rock that blasts away at these parties in a normal state. The parties are primarily intended to cater to foreigners. The contribution of locals is limited to setting up stalls for supplying solid and liquid refreshments. There is no publicity but information about these parties spread very fast merely by word of mouth.

In theory, there is an elaborate machinery to monitor such events. Organisers of any kind of party are required to get formal permission from the Panchayat under whose jurisdiction the site of the party falls. There are several agencies who are responsible for checking the use and sale of drugs. These include the local excise authorities, the Central Customs and Excise officials and the local police. Believe it or not Goa even has a separate anti-narcotic cell within the police department. All the authorities have their intelligence machinery. Not that there is anything secret about these parties. Quite often the local police are present in considerable strength at such parties. Not to play spoil sport but ironically enough to extend protection to the organisers and guests.

Make no mistake about it. These parties are not fun and games. They are cold blooded commercial ventures organised to market drugs. Which are available in plenty in the state. For a price you can get any kind of drug you may fancy from simple Hashish and Ganja to the latest designer drug. There have been persistent rumours that an enterprising outsider has set up a very sophisticated laboratory for manufacturing designer drugs in the state. If drug abuse was limited to foreigners, while it would still be illegal we would not be quite so agonised. But the bitter truth is many locals have been dragged into the drug trade by the lure of easy money. Families who rent out accommodation to back pack tourists, motor cycle pilots and owners of small beach side shacks have all been drawn into the drug trade both as peddlers and more tragically as users.

The question is if every one including the Sarpanch [local authority], honourable Members of the Legislative Assembly, Mr Tomazinho Cardoso who represents the Calangute Constituency and the Minister for Social Welfare are all aware of what is happening and why

is nothing done about it. Why have there been no raids what so ever on these acid rock parties? Why have the police including the anti-narcotic cell adopted such a benign and indulgent attitude? It is obvious that the organisers of these acid rock parties are big business and the profit margins are so huge that there is more than enough for every body.

There are parts of coastal Goa which have been virtually colonised by back pack foreign tourists. Most of the shacks of fisher folk living along the North Goa coastal belt have been hired out to these tourists. Illegal structures have sprouted with additional rooms being added to traditional houses to accommodate the foreigners. A number of licensed and unlicensed bars and mini restaurants have sprouted along the Calangute, Baga, Anjuna and Vagator belt. Many of these establishments cater exclusively to foreigners and actively discourage domestic tourists or even locals from patronising them. An entire industry has developed to cater to this tribe of tourists which include bars, restaurants, two wheelers for hire and wayside shops or rather shacks to cater to their needs. These have become virtually foreign enclaves, where even locals from outside the area are discouraged from intruding. Local officials are very often hand in glove with the foreigners and locals who control these mini United Nations.

What is most disturbing about these parties is the fact that foreign nationals should be permitted to break every law with impunity. There is a sizable population of foreigners who have permanently settled in Goa. Some of them have even set up restaurants. There are many instances of their marrying locals. On the face of it, many of these foreigners who own a considerable amount of property seem to have no visible source of income. It is impossible not to conclude that they are engaged in drug trafficking. The drugs probably are brought into Goa by Kashmiri carpet traders. The carpet outlets seem to be fronts for drug trafficking as we have never seen or heard of anyone buying even a square metre of the thousands of kilometres of carpets on sale in every part of the state. Some time ago it was revealed that some of these Kashmiris had even acquired passports claiming to be Goan citizens. We also fail to understand how foreign nationals seem to stay on indefinitely in the state.

There is also a larger issue involved which goes beyond the law and order dimension which is assuming alarming proportions. These acid rock parties also distort the image of Goa as a tourist destination. It is the continuing influx of back pack tourists who are attracted to Goa primarily by the easy availability of drugs that is earning Goa the reputation of a cheap low budget tourist destination where anything goes. A significant proportion of even charter tourists who come to Goa belong to this category. Many of them have been taken advantage of the very low fares offered by charters. This season packages are being offered for less than three hundred pounds.

Despite all the noise being made by the politicians ranging from the Chief Minister to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, we doubt if any action will be taken. The full moon and acid rock parties are here to stay. Too many people have developed a vested interest in their continuance. It has become a major source of illegal gratification for the Police and excise officials. Tourism has replaced fishing as the mainstay of the coastal economy. Politicians, their protestations notwithstanding are unlikely to do anything to antagonise their vote banks. We have to face up the fact that coastal villages have developed a vested interest in the back pack tourists, and the acid rock parties. This was dramatised when the locals in Anjuna protested very strongly when attempts were made to stop the Anjuna Flea Market. Our only hope of

stopping these orgies on our beaches is to refer the whole issue to the Narcotic Bureau and launch an all out war against drugs.

6. *Herald* : The Illustrated Review, Vol.96, No.25, Panjim, Jan. 27 to Feb. 15, 1996. (The following three extracts are taken from this issue which also included a centre section entitled 'Of Goan cuisine, beaches and drugs' in which several extracts from the international press on Goa were reproduced)¹⁶⁴.

Acid house parties on shifting sands

By Ashley Do Rosario

Goa tourism Minister Dr Wilfred de Souza says his department has "nothing to do" with the controversial Acid House parties that are held surreptitiously, especially along the northern beaches of Goa for foreign tourists in the state, and said it was the State Home Minister's job to control the use of narcotics.

In an exclusive interview with the Herald Review, the tourism minister however virtually ruled out the promotion of alternative "night life" in Goa to cut back on the illicit activities.

"Tripping" on a goan beach

By Rahul Goswami

Lysergic Acid Diethylamide is a hallucinogenic drug based on alkaloids, the Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances Act sagely says. LSD, the cool hip generation used to call it. "Acid" is what it's still called. And the best place to experience it was the Anjuna beach in Goa on December 31. Thousands of foreigners were ushering in 1996 here with an "Acid Party".

After the early '70s this was the biggest ever, and most advertised ever acid party in Goa. By 4.30 a.m. on January 1 there were close to 3,000 people strung out along Anjuna beach. There were the British, Germans, Italians, Spanish, Scandinavian and about 200 Israelis.

Why Israelis? Apparently the Goan beach was advertised in the Hebrew papers in Israel a fortnight before the event. It was also advertised in some of the New Wave occasional press in Berlin and Munich. Most of the Germans were already there, either in typical Teutonic preparedness or because a large number of them live in Goa for several months a year.

The British and Scandinavians came for the scene. The Italians and Spanish came for the music.

Symbolically, Anjuna was the best place for the party. In the centre of the North Goa beach belt, Anjuna became the focus for first the hippy and then other tourists in the '70s and '80s.

Narcotics? If they couldn't get it there, they grew it there. In the old days the communes here would have made old Rajneeshdham look like a monastery. Then came domestic tourism.

By 1990 busloads of tourists from Vidarbha and Vizianagaram would get to the beach and gape at the foreigners.

Naturally the more permanent residents moved to beaches further North. And Anjuna slowly subsided into a thousand fading fluorescent memories. Till December 31.

¹⁶⁴ I want to thank David Wilson for bringing these particular articles to my attention one night in the old 'Day and Night' in Vagator, and, in general, for showing a great enthusiasm, openness and eagerness to learn about the scene in Goa, which I found very refreshing and stimulating.

Exclaimed Martin K, a long-time German resident in Calangute, whose sources of income are only dimly known: "I've been around a long time, and couldn't believe there would ever be an acid party this big in Goa again."

Martin's views were echoed by Laurence, who is French (hates his government's nuclear programme, but also hates wine, which makes his genes somewhat suspect) and lives in Chapora, a village in north Goa. Laurence makes a living by buying foreign liquor in the Mormugao port and selling it to the foreign tourists at a massive markup. "Maybe it means the hippies are coming back," he exclaimed.

Emerging from monster hangovers on January 2 - the first of January is the most transient day of the Goan beach year - Anjuna old-timers calculated that altogether up to 6,000 people passed through that mega acid party. It went on for hours and nominally ended around 11 am the next day, and only because there was a power failure.

By 11pm, the single tarred road to the beachfront was impenetrable. "Gridlock," commented one Israeli covering the event. He was from a Hebrew newspaper called *Udiol Akhaton* and part of a contingent of five Israeli journalists.

A German TV channel was there too. So was a reporter from a Romanian newspaper, who lost interest in the proceedings after discovering palm feni.

The organisers, a group of foreigners from Vagator (the beach village adjacent to Anjuna) and from Baga-Calangute, had set up their music on the hillock overlooking the beach and facing out to sea. They started off with the rather popular but quite irritating Technofunk, but after midnight switched to Rave.

Like in the old days at Vagator, the trunks of the palm trees around the party zone were painted in Day-Glo colours. Right below the music hillock, a huge pack of Rave maniacs jumped around, illuminated by strobes from the hilltop.

To one side was the rest of the *mela*. Local villagers had set up little makeshift stalls selling fried fish, massala fish, a sort of pau-bhaji and choris pao (buns stuffed with Goan sausage).

They had also set up bars, with all sorts of liquor on sale including the Goan staples: Cashew *feni*, Palm *feni* and urrak, the pre-*feni* stage distillate which when consumed in large quantities leads to psychotic reactions.

And then there was LSD and its relatives. You could, for your Dollar, Pound, Mark, Kroner, Peseta or Lira buy Acid, and also Hashish (Afghani or Manali), Grass (Kerala Idukki or UP Barabanki), Heroin and quarters (quarter gram vials) of Cocaine.

Naturally, the sale, purchase, consumption and possession of any of these is prohibited. Naturally, these were what made the party.

The average foreign "tripper" in Goa wears a standard uniform: foam sandals with trapezoid straps; a batik or vegetable-dye printed pyjama or lungi; similar shirt with embroidered waistcoats; a cummerbund-pouch also embroidered with mirror-work; beads; lots of silver bangles and anklets for the women (optional for men); and a knapsack which carries a novel, a bottle of Bisleri (mineral water), passport and other assorted odds and ends.

The resident foreigners wears a little less - sometimes just sandals and bikini briefs - and shoot around on Enfield 500s. There were several hundred Enfields and jeeps at Anjuna, besides Volkswagens.

There were a few dozen violent confrontations between the motorbike crowd and the Goan tourist taxis over right of way.

By 8 am on January 1, the tempo had slowed down a bit; a few hundred bodies were scattered over two kilometres of beach; wisps of smoke still curled into the air.

Dinner was being re-hashed into breakfast and the last violent confrontations between foreigners and gaping domestic tourists ended. It looked like an incredibly surreal Chowpatty beach in Bombay after the Ganesh immersion. Scraps of clothes, footwear, cigarette packets, paper, bangles and bottles lay strewn everywhere.

"That was a nice party," said Anita, a Finn, before she passed out under a tree.

Three days later, Goa's chief minister muttered something about banning acid parties in Goa.

Then, slightly befuddled by the scale of Goa's biggest beach party since the flower power years, he agreed that drugs are "not good" but that private parties can't be banned. How private is 6,000 maniacs?

The final bit of bizarre behaviour, incredibly, came from the Goa Shiv Sena. They said they supported the beach parties since it gave local residents an opportunity to earn some money.

Meanwhile, the brains behind the Anjuna mega bash are already planning the next one during the February Carnival. This is one party that just never stops.

Luke-warm crackdown on drug use

Herald Review Network

Since the beginning of this year, a lot of foreign nationals have been arrested for possession of narcotic substances shortly after a series of "acid" parties drew attention to the proliferating use of narcotics here. Last year the Goa police seized drugs worth over ten million rupees, officials said.

Though it created ruffles in government circles the Chief Minister Pratapsing Rane recently asserted that he would not permit any Acid Parties in the state while clarifying that beach parties per se would be permitted provided the local bodies (panchayats) cleared it.

He said that in future if any party is being promoted as an "Acid Party" overseas, then such a party would not be permitted. He refuted that 1,000 Israelis had come to Goa for a party on New Year's eve and said that only 30 persons had come from Israel, four of which were held for possessing narcotics. But the local leader of the Shiv Sena in the area, Camilo D'Souza of Anjuna, came out in support of the "acid" or beach parties.

He argued that "poor villagers" of the area had to survive on low-budget tourists, and small house owners also benefit. Even legal dances and other forms of entertainment sometimes end up in "knifings and murders", he argued. Some media reports charged the Sena with having links with small-time drug runners.

Early this month the Anti Narcotic Cell squad seized 2.5 kilograms of charas worth Rs 2.5 lakhs from a house in Anjuna occupied by two Australians Philip Roger Hill aged 28 and his accomplice Juanita Jane O Callaghan aged 25.

The two Australians were staying in the house for the last one month and were allegedly trafficking in drugs. Another police raid in Anjuna led to a seizure of charas and LSD worth six million rupees in the global market.

Five foreign tourists were also found dead around coastal Goa in the New Year festive week, following a number of drug-filled parties.

Officials in Goa's Anti-Narcotic Cell said drug overdoses may have caused two of these deaths. But, citizens' groups charged the police with trying to play-down the problem, which could be more serious.

Anti-Narcotic Cell police chief Inder Dev Shukla is stated to have said that police present at the acid party had "not seen any drugs", according to a report in The Asian Age. Police felt it was impossible to take action once permission was granted for these parties. Goa has long had the image of being a haven for drugs. But the government has mostly denied a serious problem exists.

Official action against drugs has been extremely cautious, obviously fearing adverse implications on the State's tourism sector and due to the clout of some of the involved. Unofficial estimates say narcotics worth twenty million rupees were sold during the New Year Week parties itself.

"Political will to tackle organised drug-pushing is completely absent. Police harass only the small consumers", says a spokesman of a local voluntary group that addresses tourism issues.

The Jagrut Goenkaranchi Fouz (Vigilant Goan's Army) has plans to revive its campaign "Operation Cold Turkey" to build public awareness on the impacts of such parties.

Indian-produced narcotics makes its way to Goa from Himachal Pradesh, Nepal and North India, while LSD and "brown sugar" and the powerful synthetic drug Ecstasy comes in from Europe and the US, police concede.

Drug-drenched moonlight parties have become more organised over the years, involving a number of European organisers. Some local politicians and unemployed youth also play a role.

"Acid parties" have grown in number, along with a new hard-electronic dance-music craze called "Goa Trance", which, some reports in the British press say, combines the use of the narcotic LSD with the new music.

SECTION FOUR
CRITICISM: FOUCAULT AND RAVING

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Up until now my principal aim within this work has been 'ethnographic'¹⁶⁵. By 'ethnographic' - as I pointed out in the introductory section - I mean that my efforts have been aimed at evoking a particular social, political and historical human practice - raving - and the kinds of events, experiences, relationships and struggles surrounding it in various contexts over time. In doing so I have employed a variety of writing strategies - including history, personal narrative, creative writing, and sampling - geared towards communicating a knowledge gained from inter-subjective experience of praxis, and from the position of a participating subject. A major aim for me within this 'ethnographic' venture has been an attempt to uphold the complexity and diversity of experiences, practices, relationships and discourses surrounding this human phenomenon, and as such, the production of resistance to the kind of definitive, one dimensional and totalising knowledge and discourse produced by many other forms of 'public' discourse concerning the subject which have been motivated by very different positions of engagement, which, I believe, have been animated by distance and disinterest, and which have settled for cheap and de-humanising representations of the phenomenon in order to produce self-reifying political capital. The general aim behind such an ethnographic resistance to totalisation, and the production of 'sound bites', results from a personal and political desire to treat raving as a complex and diverse human practice of at least some value - due to the passion it produces amongst the millions who have participated in it - and as a practice which revolves around the lives of real human characters such as you and I, and to suggest that, just like you and I, they cannot be understood through simplistic, often totally ignorant, caricatures.

¹⁶⁵ For 'ethnography', see section one part 1.3.2.

In this section on 'criticism', however, my intentions shift somewhat away from this ethnographic concern - which is mainly addressed to the task of evoking in greater detail, and in humanising terms, raving 'from within' for those who may think they know what 'it' is - to a more traditional, 'theoretical' exegesis concerning it as a subject. In this respect, I would refer the reader back to the section on 'criticism' in my introductory section which discussed the status I afford such theorising, its role of 'double addressivity', and the tolerance-producing effect I hope such writing might have.

In short, however, what I want to do in this section is to use the terms of a 'dominant' socio-political theory - that of Michel Foucault regarding 'power relations' - to further animate and draw out more positions regarding raving as a social, historical and political practice. This time, however, these positions will emerge through the application of a form of criticism and through rational argumentation, as opposed to being the result of trying to evoke actual experience of real events, relationships and characters. I would remind the reader that I regard such theorising as just another way of talking/writing about raving, which is in no sense essential to, or an explanation of the social phenomenon itself, which as a lived reality is not reducible to any single representation, or set of critical terms. It is, therefore, in every sense an imposed model, or discourse, which is included not as a sophisticated explanation, but rather because of the liberalising and politicising effects such discourse may have upon a wider audience.

To begin with, however, I must set out the terrain of understanding which I call 'Foucault' - for as with raving as a social practice, Foucault as a producer of public discourse cannot be understood simply as one thing, the 'real' Foucault, but must rather emerge as a 'Foucault' through its use, and from within a certain position of understanding and engagement.

4.2 WELCOME TO THE ANALYSIS OF POWER RELATIONS

Foucault's basic vision of the fundamental nature of social life revolved around the idea of power relations. As he once wrote, "...a society without power relations can only be an abstraction." (Foucault, M. (1982): 222). According to Foucault then, we are all born into society (and increasingly a form of modern society spreading around the globe), and this involves not only our acceptance of, and participation in on-going linguistic and cultural systems (the subjects of structuralism), but also our positioning within relationships which are marked by power. This basic posit concerning social life and 'power relations' was what directed Foucault's method, writing and discourse throughout his work. To be human is not simply then a matter of being economic, a part of society, or the result of successful communication, it is also, according to Foucault, to become the subject of power, and as such to be positioned within fields of power relations through which "...the possibility of action upon the action of others" emerges both as a condition, and a result - society (Ibid.: 224).

The necessary existence of these power relations, and mechanisms/techniques of power, and the above possibility are what Foucault presented as 'power' - understood as, "...the government of men by one another in a given society..." - and they existed in all societies, though not in the same forms, using the same techniques, or with the same efficacy (Ibid.: 224). Power, according to Foucault, although always present, was not universal in its form or effect, it was specific and historical, with reference to the given situations in which it worked. Foucault wrote that power and power relations were for us all "...not only a theoretical question, but a part of our experience." (Ibid.: 209). As social subjects, Foucault informed us, we live, work, play, love, think, encourage, dislike, etc. within fields of power relations.

So, therefore, in a manner similar to much modern social thought and theory, Foucault's work can in a sense be reduced to what seems a fairly straight forward remark concerning the nature of social life and society - i.e. that it is not only laden with, but is also the result of, organised power relations and mechanisms of power. For Durkheim society had been the structural embodiment of 'solidarity' based on collective beliefs/shared values, and organised through the 'social effervescence' of ritual. For Marx, society was based on class domination and conflict which were to be located in structural and systematic inequalities within the realm of 'political economy'. For Mauss, society had always functioned since 'Archaic' times though forms of exchange and reciprocity which he conceptualised through the universal concept of 'The Gift'. For Levi-Strauss, social life in the form of 'culture' was the outcome of complex underlying cultural systems which demonstrated the universal functioning of 'Mind'. And this list, which I believe Foucault and his concept of power belong to, could go on, and on...

All these theories are based on the existence of a thing called 'society', or 'social life', and are engaged attempts to describe how these things exist and the way they function e.g. as a structure, through ritual, by class antagonism, through exchange, like a language, and because of power. They are based on different 'material' and try to inform and convince the reader by reference metaphorically to things which unlike 'society' (the thing which apparently needs explanation) the reader should understand - e.g. a system, a structure, a language, solidarity, struggle, the family etc. For Foucault, following in a philosophical tradition influenced by Nietzsche, the best term through which to understand aspects of our individual lives and social world around us was 'power', or 'power relations' (the 'will' for Nietzsche). The connection between this term and its scientific, and now popular, use of it as referring to an energy produced by some kind of mechanism, or machine, into which things and people and things connect in order to function in a number

of ways and which in turn connects them to and creates a dependency upon the source of the energy immediately suggests a particular vision, or model, of social life in general.

However, Hobbes, Marx, Darwin and Freud had all pointed out in different ways the importance of a variety of aspects of social life which could be described beneath the umbrella term of 'power' e.g. 'government', 'class', 'natural selection', and 'repression'. So what makes Foucault's notion of power so different?

In order to firmly grasp Foucault's vision of power, and answer such questions, we will have to look in more detail into Foucault's use of the terms 'power'/'power relations', as well as other related concepts of his, to:

1. See how they differ from functionalist and Marxist notions of 'authority', 'domination' and 'class exploitation'.
2. Use them as the setting in which raving as a social practice can be described in a variety of different and illuminating ways.

Foucault's work on power relations was historically based, and surrounded a detailed engagement with 'primary sources'. His work focused on one set of power relations in particular. These relations were the ones which formed modern society as it had emerged since - what Foucault called - the 'classical age' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe. For Foucault, power relations in this historical epoch (which continues into the present day) had become increasingly centralized around the phenomenon of the state, and particular mechanisms of power, which in turn constituted society/social life as experienced by the subjects of such states and powers.

The history of the development of modern societies in Europe since the sixteenth century was not, therefore, a history of growing 'solidarity' based on a set of new ethics, or form of economy, nor the result of economic exploitation, but rather, according to Foucault, was the outcome of

certain historical developments (population explosion and the Reformation), and crucially the deployment of new strategies of power and power relations - based on religious and military models - which were aimed at the rational and utilitarian 'government' of the 'population'. In a manner comparable to Weber, Foucault thus placed politics and political models/structures in the engine room of history as opposed to a realisation of 'universal/natural rights' in the form of a path towards 'progress', or a struggle over 'economic exploitation'.

In order to open up an examination of the importance of power relations, and the shift towards modern forms of society, Foucault employed history as a means of representation. The opening passages of his Discipline and Punish - which presented a graphic account of the execution of the regicide, Damiens, as recorded by an officer of the watch who had witnessed it first-hand - is now renowned as one of the most powerful introductions to any contemporary study of modern society and social life. In classic historical style Foucault allowed the sources to speak for themselves in a way which seemed to bring the events to life through the voice of an actual witness:

"The sulphur was lit, but the flame was so poor that only the top skin of the hand was burnt, and that only slightly. Then the executioner, his sleeves rolled up, took the steel pincers, which had been especially made for the occasion, and which were about a foot and a half long, and pulled first at the calf of the right leg, then at the thigh, and from there at the two fleshy parts of the right arm; then at the breasts. Though a strong and sturdy fellow, this executioner found it so difficult to tear away the pieces of flesh that he set about the same spot two or three times, twisting the pincers as he did so, and what he took away formed at each part a wound about the size of a six-pound crown piece." (Foucault, M. (1991b): 3).

The effect, I think, of such dramatic historical writing and use of historical documents upon the reader is that s/he is drawn seemingly into the events through the blow-by-blow description of activities and characters surrounding, in this case, a spectacle of ritual punishment. This particular account of a ritual punishment, for Foucault, represented a particular

mechanism and form of power. The spectacle stood, in fact, as representative of the historical period of the 'Ancien Regime' before the development of modern nation states, and demonstrated a particular mechanism of power which was based on the sovereign's power to mark and torture his subjects if they disobeyed the rule of his law.

So the rather unusual starting point for Foucault's study of the modern institution of the prison was an historical sketch of a ritual punishment, which to the modern 'liberal' mind and values was no doubt supposed to appear as 'dark', 'barbarous', 'cruel', 'backward', and ideally be identified with a 'past' out of which we had supposedly come. In a liberal account of 'the birth of the prison' the reader would not be foolish to expect, after such a 'violent' beginning, to then hear a story which goes somewhere along the lines of: well, after that we got rid of all that barbaric stuff because it just wouldn't do! And then instead, we implemented the modern penal system which is 'fairer', more 'humane', and which has generally made everything for all of us much better.

This was not, however, the story which unfolded in Discipline and Punish. Instead, Foucault sidestepped producing a value judgement of the manner of punishment by recourse to an ideal of 'humanity', or by taking a liberal stance of abhorrence towards the use of 'violence', or 'physical force'. In doing so, he thus avoided producing an uncritical Whiggish view of history as 'progress', and rejected the temptation to presume that the time and the place that we live in - our 'now' - is always essentially 'better' in some, or all ways to others which exist in other places, or have previously existed in the past. This Whiggish notion is normally attested to by recourse to a number of modern values and practices, the apparent existence of which is then assumed to demonstrate the point beyond doubt. However, most crucially - in terms of Foucault's notion of power - he discarded any claims that just because the accounts of ritual punishment seemed 'violent' (perhaps excessively so to 'we

moderns'), that that in any way meant that the world in which such torture existed was essentially more 'violent' than ours, or that it was more marked by excesses of power, domination and exploitation directed at the bodies of individual subjects. By doing so he also opened up a critical space in which to ask questions, not about the essential 'humanity' of such torture, or how 'civilised' people ever lived in such a way, but rather, about what socio-political changes had occurred which displaced such a form of power and means of punishment, and which had replaced the need for, and function of, such ritual torture.

In other words, Foucault set the ground in which to discuss the origins and nature of modern power which filled the space vacated by sovereign power, and punishment as a ritual spectacle. He also, in doing so, opened up an historical analysis and interpretation of modern society (based exclusively on Europe, and France in particular) based around a study of changes surrounding one of its central functions - the maintenance of law, the institutions of punishment and the variety of other functions and institutions surrounding such concerns. Foucault thus set the stage, historically and critically, for what he called his 'micro-physics of modern power', which was "...a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, M. (1982): 208); and an analysis of "... the mechanisms of power that [now] frame the every day lives of individuals" (Foucault, M. (1991b): 77 - 78).

Foucault had, therefore, used history to pull the reader into a weird and fascinating past epitomised by the seemingly spectacular application of power upon the body, and had thus presented such power relations as a subject of interest in terms not only of the past but also the present within the world around us. Through this fascinating use of history as a means of provocation, as opposed to reification, he opened up a critical space

in which to explore and suggest just what mechanism of power had come historically to replace that produced by these ritual spectacles of power.

In order to begin to fill this critical space which opened up through this appreciation of historical change, Foucault again turned towards the voices of the past to do the talking for him. In doing so he offered the following extract from Servan which was written within twenty years of the execution of Damians which served as the subject of the last extract:

"...a stupid despot...may constrain his slaves with iron chains; but a true politician binds them even more strongly by the chain of their own ideas; it is at the stable point of reason that he secures the end of the chain; this link is all the stronger in that we do not know of what it is made, and we believe it to be our own work; despair and time eat away the bonds of iron and steel, but they are powerless against the habitual union of ideas, they can only tighten it still more; and on the soft fibres of the brain is founded the unshakeable base of the soundest of Empires." (*Ibid.*: 102 - 3).

This extract, according to Foucault, was a specific utterance amongst a diverse field of similar utterances which emerged in the form of authoritative, political discourses in Europe from the sixteenth century onwards, and which came to a head in the severe social and political upheavals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In these discourses a whole new territory of knowledge and practice, which he called 'governmentality', emerged surrounding concerns such as 'society', 'individuals', 'economy', 'health', 'the population', and which when viewed critically constituted a new form of modern power - that which immersed itself in the problem of 'the art of government' of 'the population', and not merely the enforcement of sovereign law.

In this great historical rupture, Foucault underlined the fact that we must understand that changes did not appear first of all as breakthroughs in the realm of ideas, philosophy, or political science, understood as separate and distinct phenomena from the more 'everyday' concerns of the law, authority, and power/social control. Nor were they a reflection of some kind of 'natural law'. Rather he suggested that they were

aimed at practical and political problems and concerns surrounding the constitution of power relations which had been problematised due to a significant growth in the population. Thus, Foucault did not separate the realm of ideas and discourse from political action, either in liberal terms as being neutral and distinct, or in Marxist terms as being 'ideology'. Instead, he placed the realm of ideas and authoritative knowledge within society and, therefore, marked it with, and involved it in, the constitution of power relations and matters of 'politics'.

In order to represent his position in this respect, Foucault coined the term "power-knowledge" in opposition to the more traditional distinction between power and knowledge. He did so so as to make clear, graphically, the practical and political connection, as he understood it, between the realm of ideas and discourse and the everyday practice and experience of power. This connection between power and knowledge as areas of social practice which cohabit the same social terrain, and which must be understood in terms of wider forms of power relations, was one of Foucault's most original conceptions. In practice, it opened up an historical mine which Foucault worked the face of for many years and in which he explored the practices and knowledge claims of a number of disciplines (in particular, the social sciences such as psychiatry, criminology), and outlined their practical and political connections with major social institutions of power and 'discipline' - such as the asylum and the prison. He took these disciplinary practices to be not only representative of modern power, but as constitutive of modern society as a whole through the two sided assault of 'pseudo-scientific' knowledges, and the proliferation of 'governmental' institutions based on these knowledges whose aim was to 'control', 'govern', 'educate', 'cure', or 'punish' individual 'subjects' according to sets of disciplinary 'norms', which employed similar, overlapping mechanisms of power, and power relations, to do so, and which when taken all together could be said to have produced the

kind of "habitual union of ideas" written about by Servan within modern society, and an equivalent to the "iron chains" of old (Ibid.: 102-3).

In Discipline and Punish Foucault charted the change to, and growth of these modern 'disciplinary' mechanisms of power. As a mechanism of power he traced its origins to Christian religious and military orders of the Middle Ages, and their quest to :

1. Create functioning religious 'orders' based around certain everyday practices and tasks undertaken by individual subjects within a hierarchical and punishing system of surveillance and correction in the pursuit of 'the good life'.
2. Create ties and relations with those within, and outwith, the orders through the performance of a number of social functions (legal, welfare, medicinal, military) thus spreading the influence and order of such institutions through direct involvement in the everyday lives and interests of their 'flock'.

According to Foucault, this 'pastoral power' rested on the twin pillars of:

1. 'Discipline' - in the form of a detailed regimentation in time and space through a codification of 'norms' and rules concerning individual subjects, and the situating of such within a hierarchical system of surveillance, which in turn kept each individual in check. This was an 'objectifying' mechanism of power.
2. 'Confession' - that is, the power which encouraged individual subjects to tell the truth about themselves as a form of 'salvation', and which encouraged them to think and act upon themselves in a number of ways as a result of such confessions. This mechanism of power was an 'individualising' power for it coerced subjects into considering themselves as 'subjects' with 'truths' to tell, and then assisted in the means and discourses through which these 'truths' could be revealed. Thus they

placed their institutions and discourses at the threshold between individuals and their self/soul/salvation/the truth, as well as disciplining their bodies.

According to Foucault then, modern society was, therefore, not the result of 'consensus'/'solidarity' based on the realisation of 'natural rights' (e.g. 'authority'), nor was it merely the product of physical 'coercion'/'domination', or the result of economic 'exploitation' at all times based on 'class' distinctions. Furthermore, society involving power relations was not viewed as an overbearing monstre terrible, which threatened subject's individuality epitomised through the essential struggle between 'the individual' and 'society'. 'Society' was rather a network of power relations within which individuals were placed within positions of 'subjectivity', and in the context of forms of power which based themselves on those very notions of subjectivity. This highly original and complex notion of power and power relations thus surpassed certain established dichotomies through which notions of power had been worked out - e.g. individual/society, or, bourgeois/proletariat. In doing so, he opened up a new critical space in which to further reconfigure understandings of power, subjectivity, and society.

4.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BODY AND SUBJECTIVITY IN THE CONSTITUTION OF POWER RELATIONS

I now want to consider in more detail and depth Foucault's reconfiguration of power. I will do so by examining more closely how he described the role of firstly, the body; and secondly, the subject, or 'subjectivity', within his accounts of modern society. My aim is to point out a number of ways in which he challenged existing conceptions of the nature of society/social life, and the old question concerning the means of social reproduction/control. In doing so

I want to consider how his reconfigurations suggest new fundamental understandings of, and approaches to social life when compared to more traditional approaches - such as Marxism - which are based around the body, bodily practices, and forms of subjectivity, and which are all situated within the general framework of power relations. Ultimately, my purpose in outlining this understanding of Foucault's work is to produce a contemporary critical context - which surrounds themes and aspects which I regard as central to the phenomenon, such as bodily practice/experience, subjectivity, power - through which further statements can be made regarding raving as a social practice.

In Madness and Civilisation and Discipline and Punish

Foucault looked into the modern social institutions of the asylum and the prison. In both of these institutions Foucault demonstrated the complex, functional interplay of disciplinary knowledge and disciplinary practices. Employing Jeremy Bentham's political ideal of 'the panopticon' as an effective model for a new kind of society - efficient, visible, rational, individualising, controlled - Foucault conjured up an alternative history of the development of modern society. It was a history based around the body, subjectivity, and discipline (power-knowledge), or, what Foucault called "...a military dream of society" (Foucault, M. (1991b): 169). In this kind of society, he wrote that "...the body is ... directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs." (Ibid.: 25). Individuals' bodies lay not outwith, or beneath power, instead, Foucault situated them at the centre of things as the stage upon which humans came to be known, and to know themselves as 'subjects' within the institutionalised, and 'governmentalised' aspects of everyday life.

Foucault's studies of the asylum and the prison demonstrated how certain new 'sciences' - such as psychiatry - functioned within specific

new social institutions of 'government' which aimed both their knowledge and 'corrective' practices at 'the population' in the form of individual bodies/subjects. This had led historically to the establishment of sets of 'norms', systems of surveillance and hierarchy, and a number of disciplinary procedures (punishment/education/management/reform/cure) which pervade modern societies. These disciplinary knowledges and practices were a means of not only controlling 'the population' and 'society' in some abstract sense, but rather defined and constituted 'society' itself through their very practical, everyday existence and functioning in the form of institutions.

Within this account of the growth of 'discipline' and modern power the body - knowledge of it, techniques and strategies for organising, controlling and rendering it 'useful' - was situated at the heart of both society and power relations. For Foucault, the individual body in modern society was the target for a host of 'governmental' discourses concerning 'welfare', 'well-being', mental/physical 'health', 'labour' etc. based around a body of 'scientific' knowledges which organised, judged, and acted upon 'subjects' and their bodies through the activation of disciplinary practices. Through these mechanisms 'the population' were rendered 'visible' and 'docile' in a variety of ways as 'subjects' according to established disciplinary 'norms'. These disciplines and disciplinary mechanisms constituted a proliferating number of categories and types, which, through the procedure of comparing individual subjects, or 'cases', to the established 'norms', produced evaluations and prescriptions for action. Through such mechanisms of 'power-knowledge' individual bodies came under 'the gaze' of institutions, their 'norms' and power relations. Individuals through their 'behaviour' could thus be rewarded, punished, corrected or excluded according to the 'norm', and in the name, not of an absolute sovereign's power over his subjects, but rather, in the name of, and for the sake of 'society' understood through established disciplinary 'norms'.

In Foucault's writing, therefore, the body and bodily techniques/practices were brought firmly into play as the principle agent in social-political relations (of power), and placed at the base of 'society'. This was in strong contrast to a Western idealist, liberal tradition, which focused upon ideas, values, language, communication and thought as forming the basis of 'society'. It shared, however, a terrain with Marxism in highlighting social realms and practices which were, in some sense, non-discursive (e.g. Marxist relations/means of production). However, unlike many Marxists, Foucault refused to disassociate the body and bodily practice from the forms of 'subjectivity' surrounding them (e.g. as 'ideology'), or treat them as separate conflicting realms of human social experience (e.g. production). He also refused in liberal terms to separate and relegate such phenomena from, and beneath, 'higher' functions/capabilities (e.g. thought/action, mind/body). Instead, he treated the body and bodily practices as the site of, and as the effects of 'discourse', which consisted of a single political process involving bodily practices/techniques, ideas and words in the form of specific socio-historical practices. These discourses and practices were often, particularly in the context of modern society, constructed within the setting of powerful social institutions; social institutions whose interests spread out beyond their walls and into the entire population of the governed as a constitutive force.

It is important before proceeding to 'the subject', and 'subjectivity', to note that although Foucault spoke of 'the body' and 'bodily practices', he did not present such as mute, physical, or moto-moronic - that is as entities in some way removed from language, thought and consciousness. The body was, rather, the complex site of semiotic-political struggle through which human beings became 'subjects' through the constitutive power of discourse and discipline (power-knowledge). To know and talk, therefore, about the body, whether in the present or in the past, was to decode and identify the signs on the body produced through bodily practices, and the

power relations they represented. The body was not understood in some empirical, essential sense, 'as it is', or as the object of a sub-conscious non-discursive 'economic' realm. The body in Foucault's understanding was much more, therefore, than the body as a kind of sack of potatoes, or mute 'infrastructure' beneath a thinking 'I'. Instead, Foucault idealised the body, and gave ideas and language a material basis upon which to work politically in everyday life and upon human subjects in the form of particular historical practices. This conception leap-frogged Marxism's rejection of the ideology of language and consciousness in favour of 'science', (and the problem of the linguistic basis of 'science'). It also rejected, however, the idealism of structuralism and hermeneutics which treated as irrelevant 'parole', or as mute 'actions', everyday bodily practices, and treated real individuals as disembodied producers of 'meaning' within systems marked by their ahistoricity and the absence of power relations/politics. It rejected too a focus upon the system/structure with individuals and specific social practices understood in a causal, deterministic sense as the result of proper 'grammar', or 'interpretation'. Foucault in rejecting such positions offered a new form of analysis incorporating aspects of liberalism and Marxism on a firm material basis within concrete and historically specific everyday practices and institutions. He thus provided an example of a mode of analysis which fitted, as critique, the aims of modern 'government' which, according to Foucault, were both:

1. 'totalising' - in terms of the object of 'government' (the population), the scope of knowledge/intervention, and its rational efficiency.
2. 'individualising' - in terms of the methods of discipline and subjection used to constitute power relations.

To perform such a task, Foucault's complex understanding of the role of the body and bodily practices in the constitution of both social life, and the power relations with which it was synonymous, necessitated a twin

concept which distanced his use of the term - 'the body' - from crude, or 'vulgar', interpretations offered in forms of empiricism and behaviourism. These kind of interpretations advocated 'the body' as a kind of 'reality' and realm of experience/knowledge, which was in some sense distinct and different from others where the ambiguities and conflicts of language over meaning took place. The body represented a kind of 'zero degree' from which the analyst could produce informed statements through applying the 'correct' procedures.

There are two major problems, I can think of, with such uses of 'the body' as an analytical term:

1. It relegates everyday life to the realms of mystification. Such is the result of treating everyday practices and discourses as 'surface' phenomena 'beneath', or 'above' which lies some 'deeper', more essential truth (a truth of a biological, psychological, or sociological nature). Everyday life, its practices and subjects, are, therefore, presented as mysteries to those who inhabit, and exhibit them, for the truth lies in a deeper 'scientific' level.
2. The second problem is related to the first, and concerns the position of the analyst produced in such interpretations. Foucault himself called such a position 'the speaker's privilege'. Such positions/interpretations are 'privileges' because they grant to the interpreter the ability to see things in not only different, but, in terms of 'truth', superior ways (that is 'as it really is'). These privileges are apparently the result of disciplinary practices and discourses, and the specialised knowledges and authorised stances they help produce. Such an interpretive schema (that of a number of conflicting forms of knowledge e.g. Marxism, behaviourism, structuralism, psycho-analysis, feminism) constructs as a means of legitimising their claims to 'knowledge' hierarchical distinctions based on apparent differences and value between the positions, means and methods

of experiences and interpretation of the subject and the analyst. Such a hermeneutic hierarchy, for Foucault, was clearly connected to modern forms of interpretation, and the forms of power and power relations which produced them. In the above cases, such interpretations would be linked with the growth of the modern state, the 'policing' role of state officials (or 'professionals'), and the function of 'science', or 'rationality', within their institutions. Foucault, in opposition to such modern interpretive schemas and hierarchies, while maintaining his focus upon 'the body' and 'bodily practices' as the pivots upon which social life centred, tried to avoid the above problems with behaviourism through the construction of complementary concepts of discourse and subjectivity, which were connected to his wider notions concerning the importance of the body and bodily practice.

Foucault's interest in forms of subjectivity, and the discourse which produced/expressed such, was connected to his wider historical argument concerning the emergence of modern society and its new techniques of power. This was because, Foucault argued, that with the end of the Ancien Regime and ritual spectacles of power, there emerged a new modern form of power based around 'disciplinary knowledge' of, and disciplinary practices directed at 'the population', which increasingly spread into every domain of social life. These disciplining powers were aimed at understanding, controlling and directing human 'subjects'. The importance of subjectivity and the subject, therefore, was, according to Foucault, a social phenomenon which emerged as a problematic of 'government', and as a means to constitute specific forms of power relations (e.g. subjection). This modern form of 'pastoral power', wrote Foucault, could not "...be exercised without knowing the inside of people's minds, without exploring their souls, without making them reveal their innermost secrets. It implies a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it." (Foucault, M. (1982): 214) - that is, a

knowledge of individuals as subjects, and by having a formative effect upon the constitution of subjectivities. So, according to Foucault, the subject, or the individual to use a more liberal term, was not a universal human essence, but was instead a sociological and historical manifestation of specific societies and specific forms of power relations. 'Subjectivity' was, therefore, of interest to Foucault because it was produced in accordance with power relations ('power-knowledge', disciplinary practices) which it expressed and brought to light in various forms and contexts, and because as a 'mode of subjection' it was at the heart of social control and the reproduction of social life.

The subject and subjectivity were, therefore, aspects of social life and areas of social research which gathered within their territory, and connected phenomena such as the practice of everyday life, individuality, disciplinary knowledge, disciplinary practices and individual bodies. Under the title of 'subjectivity' Foucault could bring together a variety of different notions which emerged from his analysis of specific socio-historical institutions, and forms of knowledge, and connect them to his interpretation of modern society as a 'disciplinary society' in which 'technologies of the self' played an increasingly important constitutive and reproductive role as aspects of 'government' (Dreyfus, H.L. and Rabinow, P. (1982): 175).

This notion of 'subjectivity' radically differentiated Foucault, and his work, from those in the Marxist tradition, who traditionally treated areas of social life such as knowledge and everyday practice as 'superstructural', or 'ideological'/'mystification' beneath which lay the 'real'/'scientific' realm of 'political economy' (e.g. 'infrastructure'). However, many Marxists responded well to Foucault's earlier works on the asylum and the prison as studies which seemed to fit into Marxist understandings and critiques of the modern state as an instrument of class power. Many neo-Marxists, in fact, inherited Foucault's seemingly dark image of the 'disciplinary society', the production of 'docile bodies', and the concept of

'power-knowledge' as sophisticated versions of traditional Marxist concepts of state/class domination, exploitation and ideology.

To see Foucault as a 'sophisticated Marxist', is, however, to misrepresent his notion of power, his basic understandings of society and social relations in general, and the emphasis he placed upon 'subjectivity'. For Foucault all social relations were marked indeed by power relations, but this could not be escaped by 'emancipatory' action, or social 'revolution', which he saw essentially as mystifications. Such developments according to Foucault, could only lead to a reconfiguration of, or new forms of, power relations which were necessarily always in existence in social life. Foucault also did not believe, like Marxists, that modern society was constructed upon basic economic inequalities and exploitation which lay at its base disguised by the mystifications of 'ideology', and the practical 'drudgery' of everyday life. Foucault believed that power relations in the form of a complex involving knowledge, disciplinary mechanisms, and subjectivity, glued individuals into functioning social bodies. Foucault had no concept comparable to 'ideology' (except perhaps in reference to movements of resistance/emancipation which he claimed masked the necessary existence of power relations). For Foucault, all discourse was socially constructed, and was specific to certain historical periods, social contexts and power formations. It was not, therefore, a matter of eliminating 'false belief' through 'science', because such a claim was made nonsense by the fact that both existed only in Foucault's terms as 'discourse' and could not, therefore, be used to eliminate the claims of the other except through the appeal to power relations. Every day social life, social practices and discourses were, therefore, not the illusions produced by 'false belief', engendered by one class into another so as to secure domination of the latter by the former, but were rather, the means through which individual bodies came into existence as social beings, as 'subjects', within established power relations. You might not like them, you might want to change them, but to

declare that they were 'false' was, in Foucault's terms, to misrepresent the material and social nature of discourse as embodied in social institutions and everyday practices, and to make misguided claims to 'science' which denied its discursive nature in an attempt to speak the truth in a way which seemed as if it spoke for itself (naturalisation). Foucault wished to do none of this. He wished instead to investigate the nature and historical constitution of powerful discourses/forms of subjectivity and to connect them to institutions and mechanisms of power as a means to identify the form of power relations which they produced.

For Foucault then, the question surrounded:

1. What forms power relations took, how they functioned, and changes in such over time.
2. The role of the disciplines and subjectivity in modern society as constituent forces of power relations.

These interests differed from Marxism because they concentrated on everyday life, subjectivity, social institutions, and knowledge as the central phenomena, as the basis of social life, and not as mystifications of, or 'super-structural' reflections of some deeper 'infra-structural' reality. Foucault also did not hold up the temptation of escape, or emancipation from power, which to him only denied the true nature of social life as power relations. As Foucault put it: "...in any case, to live in society is to live in such a way that action upon other actions is possible - and in fact on-going. A society without power relations can only be an abstraction." (Foucault, M. (1982): 222-3). As a materialist Foucault was not interested in the promises apparently offered by such abstractions, which hid the necessary, inevitable functioning of power relations (e.g. the paradox of the state/party within Marxist theory/society).

Foucault also denied as an 'anti-humanist' the existence of an essential, universal human subject (soul, spirit, nature), which was often the

basis of many Marxist interpretations of the process of history and change, as the catalyst which created a 'consciousness' concerning existing states of inequality. For Foucault, talk of human essences, universals, and the human spirit/condition was always connected to, and concerned with, the production of power relations, and was constituted in social and historical terms. Such things could not, therefore, be sources of criticism/resistance because they were a part of the very discourses of 'subjection' through which power relations, such as the law and discipline, were formed (e.g. the subject, freedom, rights).

While Foucault's work on 'disciplinary' knowledge and institutions, and his notions of 'power-knowledge' and the 'disciplinary society' have been widely accepted by many neo-, latent, and traditional Marxists, his apparent acceptance of power as a social fact, and his resistance to any traditional notion of 'revolution' and alternatives, and what has been called his 'totalising' view of society as both object, and effect of power relations has been criticised by many authors, such as Richard Rorty, Nancy Fraser and, within anthropology, Richard Fardon¹⁶⁶. Foucault himself in this respect as a political character has been proclaimed a 'young conservative' for failing to take on power, and being content merely to describe its dark rational and totalising strategies and effects (Fraser, N. (1989)). Such a criticism, although perfectly justified in terms of certain discourses, and from certain positions/assumptions, does, I think, refuse to accept, or really consider, the nature of power as Foucault presented it in an intellectual tradition which stemmed from Nietzsche to Weber to Foucault himself. I will, therefore, use this criticism to embark on one final description of Foucault's notion of power relations with respect to both liberal and Marxist notions of 'authority/freedom', and 'domination/resistance' in terms of his more general notion of 'the politics of everyday life'.

¹⁶⁶ See Rorty, R. (1989); Fraser, N. (1989); and Fardon, R. (1985b).

4.4 THE POLITICS OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Foucault wrote that "...what characterises the power we are analysing is that it brings into play relations between individuals (or between groups). " (Foucault, M. (1982): 217). Power here is presented as a relationship between people, a form of organisation "...in which certain actions modify others." (Ibid.: 219). This 'action' may take the form of 'coercion' (as in Marxist/liberal notions of 'domination'), or 'consensus' (as in the Liberal notion of 'legitimate authority', and the Marxist notion of 'ideology'), but both lead - according to Foucault - to powers/actions modifying other actions - e.g. power relations. Therefore, Foucault defined 'power' in such a general sense that focus on power was shifted from structural notions of domination, and debates over legitimate and illegitimate forms of control/authority, to the existence of power relations in all the social contexts and practices of everyday life in which individuals find their actions and behaviour being shaped by relationships with others.

This shift in the boundaries of the traditional realm of 'politics' to areas outwith 'institutional' situations, and beyond 'structural' perspectives, and into a wider notion of 'the politics of everyday life' was Foucault's critical response to the growing intervention of the modern state into the daily lives and practices of individuals during modern times, as well as a basic assumption concerning the social and political reality of existence. The state itself, according to Foucault, could be regarded as the concrete historical phenomenon which has spread traditional concerns over 'politics' - through 'government' - into all realms of the social life of its populations. In the modern era, what we think and do with others in our daily lives has become increasingly 'politicised' - that is, it has become an object of 'knowledge', and a subject for surveillance, control, and disciplinary action. That we must, therefore, in accordance with the development of such interests and powers

adjust our concepts of power seems to me to be one of the important messages of Foucault's work. Power, according to him, was a relationship between people which was constructed in everyday life by predominating forms of discourse which resulted from disciplinary knowledge and action, which in the contemporary world revolved around the modern state. Such disciplinary relationships existed throughout the social world, thus making an analysis of their historical functioning crucial to our social existence.

But how exactly did power understood as a relationship, and not simply the result of 'coercion', or 'consensus', work according to Foucault? He wrote that, "The exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting into order the possible outcome. Basically power is less a confrontation between two adversaries or a linking of one to the other than a question of government."(Foucault, M. (1982): 220). So, rather than viewing society as essentially a confrontational struggle between two armies (good vs. evil, bourgeois vs. proletariat) with 'power' as the outcome of the struggle, Foucault described society on a 'military' model as something in which power rested upon the organisation and control of its different parts and subjects, and where differences and struggles were part of the problematic of 'government', and the very constituents of/legitimations for the presence and the function of power, or structures of 'authority' and 'discipline'. Power thus appeared as the necessary pre-condition for the existence of society, and not as a force alien to it by nature, or the result of 'false', or 'illegitimate' forms.

But what then of movements of resistance and emancipation? As, for example, with the present ethnographic case of raving in which much of the imagery of 'the underground', and themes of 'rebellion' and 'release', and its 'criminal' status express tension, opposition, and struggle. How could they be conceptualised within a theory of power as a relationship? On this point we can move deeper into Foucault's relational understanding of the nature of power. He wrote that "...a power relationship can only be articulated on the

basis of two elements which are indispensable if it is really to be a power relationship: that 'the other' (the one over whom power is exercised) be thoroughly recognised and maintained to the very end as a person who acts; and that, faced with a relationship of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results, and possible interventions may open up." (*Ibid.*: 220). The exercise of power, therefore, necessitated two elements in order to function through actions modifying other actions.

This relational notion of power, therefore, suggested that apparent and 'visible' oppositions, resistances, and struggles were not to be viewed as either:

1. 'Deviancy', or 'abnormality' (e.g. evidence of 'dysfunction'), because they are pivotal to the functioning of power.
2. 'Revolutionary', or as 'emancipatory', because they served the functioning of power, and existing power relations, by highlighting them, and bringing them into play and effect through opposition. They were also essentially mystifying because they based themselves upon the denial of power relations which could not be escaped in social life.

Modern power understood as something which works through oppositions and discipline, according to Foucault, was "a question of government", the purpose of which was "...to structure the possible field of action of others." (Foucault, M. (1982): 220; 221). This kind of power, very different to the physical coercion of the Ancien Regime, could be:

"...exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free...Consequently there is no face to face confrontation of power and freedom which is mutually exclusive (freedom disappears everywhere power is exercised), but a much more complicated interplay. In this game freedom may well appear as the condition for the exercise of power - (at the same time its precondition, since freedom must exist for power to be exerted, and also its permanent support, since without the possibility of recalcitrance, power would be equivalent to a physical determination)...The relationship between power and freedom's refusal to submit cannot therefore be separated...At the very heart of the power relationship, and constantly provoking it, are the recalcitrance of the will, and the intransigence of freedom." (*Ibid.*: 221-2).

Foucault, therefore, in these descriptions of power relations posited the relationship between power and freedom in a similar fashion to the way he conceptualised power and knowledge, as 'power - knowledge'. That is, not as separate, distinct zones, or experiences of social life, but rather as interconnected phenomena. Instead of power vs freedom, Foucault encouraged us to think more about 'power-freedom'; or, in other words, the ways in which discursive notions of 'freedom' and 'opposition', and the practices which embodied/embody them, supported/support the maintenance of general mechanisms, and forms of power in the form of surveillance and discipline. Power and freedom in this sense represent the two sides of a "complicated interplay", an "agonism" involving "reciprocal incitation and struggle", and in which the struggle, and the agony, was permanent, because it was "productive", and the basis of 'disciplinary society' (Ibid.: 222).

In this Foucauldian description of power in the form of power relations then there was no place for either:

1. A liberal belief in essential 'human rights', or 'freedoms' existing outwith, and prior to the establishment of political-historical discourses and institutions of 'government'/social control. For Foucault, 'human rights' were historically specific, discursively produced, and therefore, subject to the exercise of certain power relations. They could not, therefore, be used to challenge, or overthrow, a regime of power for they were constituent forces within its very existence.
2. Any 'sub-conscious', 'economic', accounts of exploitation, and the development of a 'class consciousness'. Or, any image of a future society - a 'Utopia' - in which power relations would no longer function.

Instead, Foucault described a society in which neither power nor freedom could afford to win the battle. This was because they formed the stage upon which society in the form of subjectivities and power relations took place on an everyday level. Mechanisms of power/government necessitated

the presence of, and a whole knowledge based upon oppositions, resistances, deviations and perversities through which they functioned. These were not the effects of a dysfunctioning 'government', or 'society', nor the potential sources of 'emancipation'; they were rather the necessary preconditions for 'government' in the form of disciplinary action and subjection.

So 'freedom' in the total sense of removal from all forms of constraint, or, by recourse to some image of a more 'natural life', or a 'human nature' devoid of negative constraints and features, did not exist in Foucault's work. But neither did 'power' exist solely in a Marxist sense of 'domination', or as total 'cultural hegemony' through the blinding effects of 'ideology'. It existed, rather in the face of, and through apparent freedoms. One dimensional notions of freedom and power, for Foucault, represented a denial of the existence of relations of power in all social contexts, and the mutually defining, and practical connection, between such and notions of freedom and resistance. Resistance to the 'norm' was, therefore, in modern society neither a sign of its dysfunctioning, nor a sign of the possibility of 'revolution'; it was rather an example of the process of 'power-knowledge' in which 'norms' had been constructed, and around which power relations (relations between individuals/people) functioned.

As a result of this relational view of power, Foucault constructed an outline, or a method, for "...the analysis of power relations" (Foucault, M. (1982): 223). This method, based in historical analyses of specific modern discourses, and the function of specific social institutions, informed the majority of his works. In one overview of his work as a 'project' Foucault wrote about it as constituting '...a new economy of power relations.' (*Ibid.*: 210). The method of construction of such, he wrote:

"... consists of taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point...it consists of using this resistance as a chemical catalyst so as to bring to light power relations, locate their position, find out their point of application and the methods used. Rather than analysing power relations from the point of view of its

internal rationality, it consists of analysing power relations through the antagonism of strategies." (Ibid.: 211).

Foucault's suggestion was, therefore, that in focussing upon apparent 'oppositions', or areas of 'resistance', in which power relations are most effectively called into play as 'disciplinary mechanisms', the analyst would be able to describe the functioning of those power relations - e.g. the knowledge upon which they were based, their objectives, mechanisms, and institutions. Such analyses by working outwards from 'antagonistic' areas of social life would be able to produce an accurate account of power relations within the society concerned. As Foucault himself put it "...in order to understand what power relations are about, perhaps we should investigate the forms of resistance and attempts made to dissociate these relations." (Ibid.: 211).

A good example of this method was Foucault's later work on The History Of Sexuality. In this work Foucault took as a starting point 'the repressive hypothesis' that informed 'we moderns' that sexuality had been repressed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries due to new social conditions and forms of social control, and that as a result 'sexuality' lay at the heart of all forms of 'repression', and as such offered a key to the self, as well as a form of 'opposition' and 'rebellion' through denial and experimentation.

In opposition to this popular belief (and the modern discipline of psycho-analysis which lay behind it), and the liberal values which it expressed (freedom from sexual repression), Foucault painted a very different picture. Instead, he asked: why, and in what ways had 'sexuality' been invented as a powerful form of social discourse, and what institutions and disciplinary practices did it support? From these questions Foucault constructed an historical narrative based on the idea that 'sexuality' was a discourse (originating in religious and scientific practices) which focussed on the everyday practices and bodies of individual subjects, and which brought them through such discourse, and the construction of 'norms', forms of surveillance, and disciplinary practices (the clinic, the asylum, the prison)

into a field of power relations in which they were formed as 'subjects', and in which it was supposed individuals discovered 'truths' about themselves.

Therefore, according to Foucault, increased talk and practices surrounding 'sexuality', or 'sexualities', was not a form of freedom, resistance to authority, or self-liberation, but rather, 'sexuality' was an invented concept around which a regime of 'power-knowledge' accepted, corrected and excluded individuals based on observations of their 'behaviour', and in the name of 'society' in the shape of disciplinary 'norms'. 'Sexuality' was thus studied by Foucault as a discourse, and as a form of subjectivity connected to modern power, its disciplinary knowledges, and institutions. 'Sexuality' was, therefore, transformed by Foucault from the liberal view of repression/liberation to the status of an historically constituted discourse which functioned within a specific power regime and power relations. In typical Foucauldian fashion it was truly a world turned upside down in which Foucault asked us to consider in what ways our notions of 'sexuality', and our sexual practices supported mechanisms of power, which in turn infiltrated and attempted to control and direct our every day lives - through the asylum, the school, the prison, the welfare state, and the psychiatrist.

Foucault made similar 'topsy-turvy' historical interpretations of other supposed 'oppositions' within modern society in Madness and Civilisation and Discipline and Punish. In both of these works he did not assume that 'madness' and 'deviance' were 'universal', or 'natural' phenomenon. Instead, Foucault asked in what context, when and how certain discourses (concerning 'madness' and 'deviance') came into existence as:

1. Objects/subjects of knowledge/discourse.
2. "...the means of bringing power relations into being" (Foucault, M. (1982): 223) e.g. as institutionalised forms of social differentiation/exclusion.

Through this historical and sociological method, and Foucault's own resistance to forms of philosophy which evaluated truth claims outwith the material and concrete institutions and practices of social life, he created a radical, historical account of modern society which demanded attention, and in doing so he demonstrated a new method (both historical and material), and a host of new concepts which could be applied as an interpretive 'model', or 'framework' for the study of any society, or form of social practice, and in particular, as a setting for studies of practical aspects of modern, contemporary social life within nation states.

4.5 RAVING AS A FORM OF NEW 'OPPOSITION' WITHIN MODERN NATION STATES.

In this section I want to use my understanding of Foucault's work, his concepts, and their location within his wider socio-historical interpretation of 'modern society' (as I have presented them above) to construct a Foucauldian analysis of raving. In doing so, I am accepting his work as a compelling, contemporary account of the historical development and nature of 'modern society'. I, therefore, feel happy to apply it as a useful descriptive context in which to talk about raving as a social phenomenon. This is because it is a practice which takes place in the kind of modern societies which were the subject of Foucault's analyses, and which he understood as 'disciplinary societies'.

My aim in doing so is to connect raving as a social practice, and as an object of public discourse, to academic notions, descriptions and debates over history and society, and to construct an alternative, more 'abstract' (in terms of participants' practical experiences) account of raving which attempts to situate it as a social phenomenon, a practice, and such an object of discourse within a theoretical field of socio-political power relations

in which it can be said to function. To do this, I want to use Foucault's mode of analysis based around situating concrete, historical phenomena (involving subjects and their bodies) within a field of power relations, the nature of which can be understood through an analysis of the practices, discourses, and disciplinary mechanisms surrounding the phenomena which function to make it a 'subject' - (that is, a form of 'subjectivity', and a subject of power relations).

Raving as a social practice, and aspect of everyday life, serves such an aim very well because of its perceived 'marginality' (both internally and externally), its 'criminal' aspects and status, the general theme of 'defiance' (against the law, parental guidance/tradition, property owners etc.), and yet, despite this, its widespread popularity, and its status as a popular 'media issue' and object of 'government'. As such, I think, it works well as an example of what Foucault called an 'opposition' within a specific social field - e.g. leisure/recreation - and provides a good site upon which to work out Foucault's notion of "the antagonism of strategies", and his methodological suggestion that "...in order to understand what power relations are about, perhaps we should investigate the forms of resistance and attempts made to dissociate these relations." (Foucault, M. (1982): 211). I am, therefore, arguing that raving can be treated (being not only a popular social practice, but a controversial one) as a site for an analysis of power relations, and that as such, it can be understood as a practice which reveals many things about the nature of contemporary society, its practices, forms of subjectivity, disciplinary mechanisms and power relations.

As a social practice and form of subjectivity which functions within a dominant system of power relations whose discourses deem it to be an 'opposition' (e.g. 'problem', 'criminal', 'unhealthy', 'unsafe', 'anarchic', to do with 'youth'/'counter-culture'), and as a practice itself based in discourses which appeal to the value, and attraction of being an 'opposition'

('underground'/'alternative'/'D.I.Y. '), raving is clearly a phenomenon which surrounds a transgression, and a bringing to light in practice of perceived 'norms'. It exists, therefore, in the face of a variety of forms of 'government' (e.g. local/national government administrations, the police, the law courts, social workers, etc.) which support these 'norms', and whose existence and functioning it bases itself against, but also simultaneously supports through calling such mechanisms of control into play. This process constitutes, as I have said, a field of Foucauldian 'power relations' within a 'disciplinary' model of society.

Raving described as a form of 'opposition' within modern 'governmentalised' power relations can, I think, be understood further as an example of what Foucault - late in his career - called "a series of oppositions which have developed over the last few years: [which have incorporated] opposition to the power of men over women, of parents over children, of psychiatry over the mentally ill, of medicine over the population, of administration over the ways people live." (Foucault, M. (1982): 211). Raving as a social phenomenon and practice can, I will argue further, be described relevantly through reference to this "series of oppositions" which - to paraphrase Foucault - surround issues and practices to do with the extent of 'governmental' intervention and authority concerning social practices, forms of subjectivity, and basically, the conditions of society as experienced in the everyday lives of many contemporary subjects. As Foucault wrote: "...the main objective of these struggles is to attack not so much 'such or such' an institution of power, or group, or elite, or class, but rather a technique, a form of power." (Ibid.: 212). In trying to describe this social practice in the terms of such a struggle, I will try to demonstrate a form of analysis which, I believe, incorporates an original and highly relevant understanding of modern society (its issues, and struggles), and which compared to traditional forms of

analysis presents, in my view, an extremely relevant framework in which to situate, and work out, analyses of contemporary social life and practice.

When Foucault wrote about this new 'series of oppositions', which he linked to his on-going account of the development of modern society in the form of a 'disciplinary society', he described in some detail six defining aspects which he understood as making up the character of such an 'opposition' to modern 'governmentality'. I will now look at each of these, and refer them to my historical-subjective knowledge of raving as evoked within my ethnography.

i Transversal Struggles

The first common feature of these oppositions was that they were "transversal struggles". Foucault explained that such struggles were transversal because "they are not limited to one country" (Ibid.: 211). This was because they were the effect and a part of the functioning of a set of power relations which existed in the form of a mechanism, and as strategies, which although pioneered within European societies had spread, due to the powers they produced (formation of 'orders' and 'armies', accumulation of 'labour/capital', powers of 'colonisation') to countries around the world. The experience of such power relations and the existence of necessary 'oppositions' in the process of such power formation, was thus a 'transversal' phenomenon.

Raving as an international phenomenon, which emerged initially in the context of Euro-American society, and in Britain in particular, but which has also spread around the world into numerous countries (Australia, South Africa, Czech Republic) fits such a 'transversal' description very well in that its attraction spreads across traditional national boundaries. Raving historically speaking, and in the present, is also a phenomenon which has existed/exists in many contexts as a practice marked by its 'internationality' (e.g. in terms of its connection with tourism and travel, and

places such as Ibiza, Koh Phangan, and Goa). This also serves to demonstrate its 'transversal' nature. This 'transversal' quality suggests that if raving is a form of 'opposition' and a struggle, that as such it concerns issues which are not restricted to a particular location, place, or, agent of power. This makes it, I think, in turn a fascinating area in which to analyse such opposition and struggles which are not limited by traditional social, cultural, even geographical limits.

ii Struggle Over Control and Power Effects

The second feature of these oppositions was that "the aim of these struggles is the power effects as such...". This meant that they were essentially directed against "...an uncontrolled power over people's bodies, their health and their life and death."(Ibid.: 211). Foucault, therefore, saw these 'oppositions' as complementary to the growth of modern power ('biopower') in the form of the state, its institutions, disciplinary practices, and its controls over everyday life. The struggles were not, therefore, over 'the division of labour', 'capitalism', or an 'illegitimate authority'/despotism', but rather were directed against a form of power which invaded peoples' lives, and intervened in everyday life in a variety of different ways, and in a variety of contexts, the result of which was to make them 'subject' to its controls and its 'norms'.

I think that in raving the desire by participants to experience something 'different' - a different kind of recreational/social space or atmosphere, a different state, different looks, ways of behaving, etc. - to those on offer legally, and in more accepted/legitimate public forms and institutions, can be interpreted as a localised and subjective response, and challenge to, this kind of 'governmental' control and social constraint. They do so by:

1. Transgressing its limits e.g. doing 'illegal', or 'alternative'/'underground' things as their accepted practice.

2. Making such 'governmentality' visible as a force which acts upon them.

The 'Fight For Your Right To Party!' movement, and the Free Party scene with its proclaimed aim of a 'D.I.Y. culture', I think, are examples of the way in which aspects of raving have been/are concerned with 'libertarian' notions about the value and power of people deciding for themselves (as individuals, or within collective 'communities') what they do with their bodies as subjects (e.g. how they should look, spend their time, what ideas/knowledge they should have) through the practices which they become involved in and the knowledge and forms of subjectivity they offer through participation, and not by constant reference to the power of more abstract, institutionalised and centrally produced typologies and 'norms' regarding acceptable practice, and forms of subjectivity. This, I think, forms an opposition on a practical everyday level to a regime of social power, that of the modern state, in which knowledge, roles, identities, etc. emanate hierarchically from 'higher levels' of administration, government, education, etc., and which in turn are used to govern the population for its own sake. This political scenario involves people giving away control of large parts of their lives voluntarily, or not, to other individuals, groups, or institutions who have 'the knowledge' (as established by 'examination' or 'election'), and who will use it to govern them. By raving, it can be said, people suggest that such a scenario is not adequate, its controls unacceptable, and in many senses deem it unworkable (as ideals) as they swallow the pill that spells 'defiance', but which also brings them as subjects, and through 'opposition', within a field of power relations and disciplinary mechanisms which posits the previously described system of hierarchical control by 'experts' and 'officials' as the necessary 'safe' conditions of society and social life.

Interpreting raving as a denial and struggle over such 'governmental' and 'disciplinary' power - the modern power of 'subjection', which is the subject of Foucault's work - helps explain both why raving is a

'transversal' struggle, and why, I think, it cannot be described accurately within Marxist terms as either 'class struggle', or as 'ideology' (for it is not restricted to one particular class and its expression, and is not 'false'), or in liberal terms as either 'deviance' or 'progress' (because of its popularity and its restricted and practical aims). Raving as a social practice in Britain has existed as a phenomenon whose subjects transgress traditional notions of 'class' and 'class conflict', and which sidesteps traditional realms of 'politics' and political engagement.

There is also no adherence to a single ideological framework, or political schema within raving. For instance, there is no universal resistance to people making money/profit as such (ravers are more concerned with who makes it, how and where, and what you get for your money). Raving as a practice and a form of subjectivity is not essentially anti-materialistic, anti-individualistic, anti-liberal, anti-social, anti-modern (e.g. science, technology) etc. etc. as with many contemporary 'political' forms of 'opposition'. In fact, raving incorporates simultaneously the dual existence of an economy and network of social relations related to the exchange of certain 'goods' which interacts with 'mainstream' form of economic practice and activity (over drugs, music, fashions, events), and oppositional 'emancipatory' notions and discourses, which in practice do not seem to function as debilitating contradictions, therefore, reducing the force of its attraction. The opposition and struggle is not, I believe, over materialism, capitalism, liberalism, socialism, science, or technology per se (although aspects of these oppositions often come into play), but rather over the conditions and constraints of modern everyday life imposed by the problematic of 'government'. In this kind of struggle, forms of opposition exhibit a desire to take control, or reclaim, aspects of their social lives which have been lost and which are seen as essential to a meaningful existence. Notions, discourses and practices surrounding themes of 'return', 'loss', 'reclaim', 'release' and '(self-)

control' are popular aspects of names for raves, clubs, and sound systems, as well as popular themes in samples, and in subjective discourse surrounding the practices. This 'D.I.Y.' aspect of raving makes it, I think, suitable for description as a struggle against 'power effects'.

iii Immediate Struggles

The third feature which Foucault identified for these 'oppositions' was that they were "immediate struggles". He explained that this meant that "they do not look for the 'chief enemy', but for the immediate enemy. Nor do they expect to find a solution to their problem at a future date (that is, liberations, revolutions, end of class struggle)...they are anarchistic struggles."(Ibid.: 211). This feature is obviously connected as a form of opposition to Foucault's notion of 'power relations' and 'the politics of everyday life' (as opposed to domination/class exploitation), and his historical interpretation of the role of the modern state with its 'totalising' intervention into and control over everyday life. In the face of a power understood as a functioning and diffuse mechanism applied in a variety of social contexts on the surface of everyday life (and increasingly connected to the modern state), Foucault defined a type of struggle which was similarly diffuse and multi-contextual as a mechanism of 'opposition', and which constituted a number of 'enemies' at different times, and in different places, but which had as its aim the defiance of a certain mechanism of power, and form of social reality.

Now, in terms of raving, there are indeed a number of possible 'enemies' which it comes into opposition with as a result of its practice - e.g. the government, the law, the police, landowners, parents, reporters, etc.. In turn, raving as a form of practice/subjectivity always exists, as such, in opposition to other practices, and other ('governmentalised') forms of subjectivity, which it comes up against in practice. Raving, however, because it does not necessitate the adherence to a specific ideology, or framework,

which lays 'behind' the practice as a necessary qualification for or guarantee of participation, also does not have a 'chief enemy'. Instead, raving as a practice involves highlighting, confronting, negotiating, and temporarily (during a rave) defying a number of 'authorities', or 'enemies', and the power they possess over the conduct of everyday life. Raving can in this sense - as a movement with more practical than 'emancipatory' concerns - be described as an 'immediate' form of struggle. The immediate and diffuse nature of struggles such as raving assures their continued existence as 'oppositions' deployable in a variety of contexts within 'disciplinary' societies - such as Britain, France, Germany, India, Thailand.

As an 'immediate struggle' with practical concerns (as opposed to 'political' in a traditional sense) and without a 'chief enemy', raving represents a social practice which can be used within a multiplicity of social contexts, because it is not attached to a single aim or plan upon which its existence and attraction exists. As it does not necessitate a commitment to a specific political project, or ideology, or set of shared values, beyond the practical desire to rave, and the obligation to participate, raving as a practice can be used in accordance with a variety of individual and collective aims and targets, which can change over time and space, and which can also conflict and contradict each other. The stress upon collective participation, as opposed to 'meaning', and the value placed upon difference and diversity within that practice without the acceptance, or necessary knowledge, of a set of beliefs again, I think, supports the notion that raving can be described as an 'immediate struggle' with practical enemies and concerns. This, of course, would be in opposition to a more traditional understanding of resistance, or political opposition, that understands it in more grand, and dominant terms in the form of social and political movements, organised in the recognisable form of an 'institution' (leaders, administration, members, means of coercion/violence, etc.) and addressed in discourse, through a specific project

or set of beliefs, to a dominant state of affairs which they seek to dismiss. Basically, Foucault situated such forms of resistance as not resistance at all for they themselves were institutions and mechanisms of power which were both governing and governed as a result. They, therefore, represented power relations as opposed to challenging it. In fact, as far as resistance went in the face of 'totalising' and 'individualising' modern 'governmentality', it seems that, according to Foucault, it was realistic to expect opposition to exist only in immediate, diffuse and local expressions employing mechanisms of opposition surrounding the body and subjectivity.

iv Struggle Against the Government of Individualisation

The fourth common feature Foucault mentioned was that "these struggles are not exactly for or against the 'individual'." (Ibid.: 212). Foucault wrote that these struggles both "assert the right to be different" and also "...attack everything which separates the individual, breaks his links with others, splits up community life, forces the individual back upon himself and ties him to his own identity in a constraining way."(Ibid.: 210). Foucault thus shifted beyond the conception of struggle based around individual freedom/selfishness vs. social constraint/social commitment dichotomy. For Foucault, contemporary forms of struggle incorporated aspects of individuality and sociality, because they were not political in terms of being either for, or against, 'difference', or 'sameness', but were rather "...struggles against the 'government of individualisation'" - that is, a form of modern power which attempts to control everyday notions of individuality as constructed in social practice through the focus of power upon subjectivity (Ibid.: 210).

In terms of raving this conceptualisation of a struggle against the "government of individualisation" helps situate certain 'anomalies' which appear when it is approached as either for, or against, the individual, or society, as a whole. While concepts of collectivity and 'oneness', collective

practices, collective looks, and even forms of discourse are aspects of raving in a kind of conscious mass conformism which constitutes it as a practice (especially from an external point of view), a strong internal value is also placed in any rave scene, or at any rave, upon individuality, difference, and character. Furthermore, the growth of raving as a practice, its establishment as a popular practice within the club context, and the proliferation of scenes, d.j.s and styles of music has, as a result, created a stronger sense of difference between different types of raving, and an internal need for expressions of difference (not simply difference with respect to external practices/subjectivities) as well as ones of collectivity. Raving, therefore, cannot be said to be either explicitly collective and anti-individual, nor ultra-individual and anti-conformistic. It does not fit into such notions and descriptions of socio-political struggle. A rave involves both, and according to Foucault's definition of 'oppositions' it does so in the face of a 'disciplinary' form of power which works in terms of both disciplining social practices and notions of individuality, or subjectivity. To oppose such a power, therefore, involves both sides of its power - its control of social practices/the body, and of individuality in the form of 'subjectivity'. The individual and the social need not naturally be contradictions, or mutually exclusive, according to Foucault, with regard to the exercise of power, or the performance of 'opposition'. They are rather the subjects of discourse and practice which can be either 'disciplinary', or 'oppositional', and which must be understood not as abstractions, but in relation to their use within power relations. In its practice and discourse, a form of 'opposition' may, therefore, have values and notions concerning both the collectivity and individuality, and this does not have to be seen as a problem, or be used as a means of challenging its status as an aspect of the politics of everyday life.

v Struggles Against the Privilege of Knowledge

The fifth feature Foucault wrote about was that such struggles "...are an opposition to the effects of power which are linked with knowledge, competence, and qualification: struggles against the privileges of knowledge" (*Ibid.*: 212). He explained further that such struggles surrounded "...the way in which knowledge circulates and functions, its relations to power. In short, the regime du savoir." (*Ibid.*: 212). Such struggles concern the knowledge, practice and control of everyday life in all its different forms, contexts and various aspects, or 'departments'. They question, through practice, the rights of 'higher authorities' and 'experts' to effect, guide and control peoples' lives (the 'subjects' of their works), through the authority of 'knowledge', training and qualification, and the disciplinary apparatuses and power relations surrounding that knowledge. As movements, therefore, they question established 'knowledge' (in the form of accepted style, behaviour, language, values, norms, rules and laws) concerning what individuals as 'subjects' should do with their time, their space, and their bodies. In questioning 'common sense' (established through power relations, 'power-knowledge') notions, such movements of opposition simultaneously construct alternative forms of knowledge, competence and qualification within their own practices, thus creating a social space of power-knowledge relations which exists in opposition to the dominant forms of knowledge and subjectivity of the existing power regime. 'Knowledge', therefore, becomes localised in oppositional/alternative forms based around the body and subjectivity. Knowledge of such practices is not the result of a 'privilege' of authority, or of hierarchical, disciplinary qualification, but the outcome of an individual's participation in specific social practices. In this respect, discourses within raving surrounding the importance of 'self', 'alternative' and 'D.I.Y.' practices and knowledge can be situated within a Foucauldian framework as socio-

political expressions of opposition towards the 'disciplinary society' and 'governmentality', as can the emphasis upon participation, the body, and practical knowledge and connections, as opposed to textual, disciplinary knowledge, objective expertise, and official qualification. For Foucault, this kind of struggle over knowledge, the body and subjectivity, was highly relevant, and as 'political' as traditional struggles over control of the economic means of production within the political context of the modern state. Both (economic exploitation and subjection) were forms of power, both aimed at organising and controlling the actions of others, their individual subjects, and the predominance of the latter form - subjection through 'power-knowledge' - within modern society made it the basis, according to Foucault, of many new forms of opposition of which, I am arguing, raving can be taken as an example.

In this sense, Foucault allowed us to conceptualise 'struggle' not as an essentially economic affair, nor as 'political' in the traditional sense of physical control over the wider structure and apparatuses of government, administration, and the economy. Instead, Foucault placed struggle within the context of on-going social life and social relations in the form of 'a politics of everyday life'. Struggles were understood as diverse, local, and diffuse (therefore, reflecting the nature of 'disciplinary' power which they opposed). Struggle, or opposition, was also posited more as the state of things, the shifting tides on the political ocean of everyday life, than the sign of an approaching and passing storm on an otherwise calm sea. Struggle was spread out across social life, and expressed in social practices, knowledge, forms of sociality/community, individual identities, behaviour, and styles. Basically, Foucault suggested then, through his 'total' and 'disciplinary' interpretation of the state, that most aspects of our modern lives could be transformed into a political struggle, for they were already the objects and subjective outcomes of

an existing regime of 'power-knowledge' - the modern state and its disciplinary apparatus.

In this shift towards 'a politics of everyday life', Foucault did not dismiss forms of physical and economic domination and exploitation as areas of power and opposition. However, what he did do was to open up a whole new area of inquiry into forms of 'opposition' which were not essentially seen as the result of physical/economic power, but rather, concerned "...that which ties the individual to himself and submits him to others in this way (struggles against subjection, against forms of subjectivity and submission)." (*Ibid.*: 212). This was the power mechanism of the modern state, and its spread during modern times throughout the social body and everyday life. Struggle, therefore, existed in everyday life in the antagonism between individual appearance and behaviour as produced in social practices and the 'disciplinary norms', institutions and corrective practices which performed surveillance, and acted upon the behaviour of 'the population'. Knowledge, therefore, of the nature of struggle and power within modern society, and an appreciation of such 'micro-politics', according to such a framework of understanding, must emerge from an analysis which takes into account, in subjective details, the practices, forms, styles, languages and different identities in existence in social life, as well as their connection to power relations and 'power-knowledge' through the effects and practices of 'discipline'. Such details were not treated as irrelevant to other, more determining areas of social life, or forms of analysis/writing. They were, rather within a Foucauldian framework the heart of the matter.

In terms of raving this wider notion of 'a politics of everyday life' in which struggles and oppositions function throughout the social body, allows us to consider a wide range of phenomena, such as the music, dance styles, fashions, language, substances, practices, methods of organisation/information, forms of social relation, etc. as a form of 'micro-

politics' existing within a wider field of power relations to which they are always connected through inter-related processes of 'opposition' and 'discipline'. The job then would be to experience, learn about, and describe the subjective details of such practices, the forms of subjectivity they produce, and the history of their 'disciplinary' relation with wider power structures and disciplining institutions.

If raving is understood in relation to everyday power relations as an 'opposition', and as an aspect of 'the politics of everyday life' within a 'governmentalised' modern state, its practices/subjectivities (surrounding difference to 'the norm', criminality, and opposition/defiance in general) do not have to be dismissed because it fails in its diverse terms and multiple contexts to conform to certain narrow interpretations of the nature of society, politics, power and struggle. That is, either as:

1. 'Ideology', in Marxist terms, because it does not challenge directly the existing power structures of centralised government and administration in some kind of more organised, 'revolutionary' manner in which 'conflict' is understood as direct, physical confrontation and action.
2. 'Unpolitical', and instead understood as 'recreational', or 'criminal' (e.g. as beyond the sphere of 'politics'), and not addressed to the transformation of 'political structures'. This would deny the role of such subjectivities and social movements/practices - such as raving - within the functioning and formation of power relations within modern nation states.

Both of these interpretations would be contrary to my own personal, inter-subjective experience, and could only lead to the need, I think, for explanations and descriptions of raving as a practice which:

1. Explain, by reference to a theory of 'ideology', why so many participating subjects get fooled (why they are 'dopes') - e.g. the power of capitalism, ideological state apparatuses, moral decline, lack of education, etc., etc..

2. Describe it as a practice unrelated to power relations and politics, which denies its practical, historical and political reality.

Personally, I am not prepared to take the expert's stance of 'diagnosis' which, I think, is condescending to social practices and forms of subjectivity, because it posits an interpretive level which lies either 'above', or 'beneath' a description of practices/subjectivity, and always makes the analyst's interpretation and language superior to those under study. I also do not want to accept a position which involves treating everyday practices, and forms of subjectivity, which constitute real subjects' lives as anything less than 'real', and which questions their ability to know their own position/reality. Finally, I accept Foucault's account of the importance of the modern state and disciplinary practices, and their extension of the field of 'politics' into everyday life through knowledge and intervention, and therefore, I feel it would be foolish to describe and evoke social practices, in particular ones with 'oppositional' overtones, without analysing the political nature of such practices existing as they do within power relations and mechanisms.

Instead of these descriptive-political options I have preferred to look for an alternative description of society/social life with a different understanding of politics and opposition/struggle, which I think reflects raving better in terms of a position of subjective participation and knowledge; that is, as a powerful and popular form of social experience and practice, which produces positive value for participants, but which is disconnected from any particular cosmology, or traditional/mainstream political project, or aim, but which also in a number of ways, and in a variety of different forms, opposes social norms, rules, customs, laws, and the powerful institutions which impose them through intervention into the practice of everyday life. And as a practice which although it produces incredible social energy, and makes claim to 'oppositional' knowledge and values, does not seek as its aim traditionally

understood political desires within traditional understandings of the nature of society, power, and struggle. As Foucault wrote, they do not "...expect to find a solution to their problem at a future date" , they exist rather in the form of localised and temporary expressions of mechanisms of 'opposition' which act as a kind of 'release' from, and response against, the structure and institutions which control everyday life in the form of power relations (Foucault, M. (1982): 211).

'Opposition' and struggle re-conceptualised in this way as existing diffusely upon the surface of everyday life and "...rooted deep in the social nexus" suggests a way in which to understand and situate the emphasis within raving upon 'alternative', or 'underground' styles, music, substances, practices, lingo, gender roles etc. (*Ibid.*: 222) . All of these can be viewed - within a Foucauldian notion of 'the politics of everyday life' - as areas of 'antagonism' where what is at issue is power in the form of power relations (of power-knowledge and discipline), and control over everyday life at the level of practice and subjectivity. This opens up such phenomena for socio-political research and analysis as significant subjective socio-political domains of social reality concerning subjectivity and power relations, and which allows for the development of a more complex understanding of politics within modern society.

vi Struggles Against Subjection

The final feature which Foucault listed for these "...struggles against subjection, against forms of subjectivity and submission" was that "...all these present struggles revolve around the question: who are we?" (*Ibid.*: 212). The importance of this question concerning subjectivity was - within a Foucauldian framework - due to the fact that such a problematic was seen to have emerged alongside the growth of modern 'governmentality', and 'disciplinary'/state 'subjection', against which it functioned as an 'opposition'

by questioning its norms in practical terms of accepted/disciplined/governmentalised practices and forms of subjectivity, and against which it expressed a "refusal". In this sense, Foucault took the question to be a sign of struggle against, and at the same time proof of the existence of modern power, as he understood it, in the form of 'subjection', 'governmentality', or the 'government of individualisation'.

In this respect, many of the discourses, themes and images involved in raving as a social practice (as well as drug use, and marginal practices in general) concerning 'self-discovery', 'release', 'return', 'enlightenment', 'renewal', 'discovery', and new 'frontiers' could be described as functioning within this problematic of 'who are we?' And the stress upon the value of 'the underground', and things 'alternative', thus can be represented as an attempt to seek possible answers, and temporary resolutions to this problem of 'subjectivity' outwith everyday norms, constraints and types constituted by dominant power relations and disciplinary 'power-knowledge'. It also suggests an historical and sociological interpretation of the social mechanism, or force, behind the emphasis in so many contemporary social practices and forms of subjectivity upon signs and practices expressing 'difference'; that is, in the face of a centralised and interventionist form of 'government' of everyday life and power relations, in which 'opposition' functions in a localised, subjective and temporary fashion through questions such as 'who are we?' and the practices and forms of subjectivity which exist as a result of such a question being relevant.

I think, anyway, that as a social practice which involves individuals' willing participation within an inter-subjective realm of: What do I want to do? Where will I go to do it? Who shall I go with? What will I wear? What shall I do to my body? etc., etc. in opposition to other, not only possible, but more acceptable practices and forms of subjectivity, raving must necessarily surround questions of 'who are we?', or, 'who am I with others?' It

responds, as a practice, locally and diffusely to these questions of subjectivity, for as a practice and a form of experience it involves the acquisition of specific knowledges/information, techniques, forms of interaction, signs, strategies and forms of exchange. Within a wider socio-political context these practices express (practically) values concerning both 'difference' (distinction from the norm) and 'sameness (e.g. 'collectivity/community'), and they function as networks and through the collectives they produce, but most commonly, during often isolated events involving a mixture of music, chemicals and dance. As practices and aspects of subjectivity they must also fit in with the rest of social life, and respond to and negotiate dominant power relations which will work upon them as a form of 'opposition'. In this sense the 'who are we?' question at the centre of these struggles brings them right into the political field of power relations in the form of disciplinary knowledge, 'norms', and practice, both as the socio-historical context in which such a question arises, and as the kind of 'oppositional' struggle upon which power as a relation and as a 'discipline' (the 'legitimate' provider of subjectivities) functions in modern society.

Foucault, therefore, in accordance with his relational view of power as 'power relations', connected this new "series of oppositions" within a mutually defining cell of power - opposition as "confrontation strategies" the effects of which were the continual, permanent bringing into effect of power relations in the form of strategies of knowledge, discipline, and control (Ibid.: 225). As Foucault wrote: "If it is true that at the heart of power relations and as a permanent condition of their existence there is an insubordination and a certain essential obstinancy on the part of the principles of freedom, then there is no relationship of power without the means of escape or possible flight...It would not be possible for power relations to exist without points of insubordination." (Ibid.: 225).

In this way, Foucault offered a way of conceptualising aspects of social life and practice as 'oppositions' and 'confrontation strategies' which existed in a variety of forms, and areas of social life, surrounding the body and subjectivity, and which can be seen as functioning in the face of, while simultaneously supporting dominant power relations. This kind of description was also based on and supported Foucault's historical interpretation of the modern state and 'disciplinary' power. "To sum up," he wrote, "...the main objective of these struggles is to attack not so much 'such or such' an institution of power, or group, or elite, or class, but rather a technique, a form of power." (*Ibid.*: 212). This form of power, which Foucault called 'subjection' - "that which ties the individual to himself and submits him to others in this way" - and the new forms of struggle which it produced ("...against subjection, against forms of subjectivity and submission...") "...tends to prevail in our society", he stated (*Ibid.*: 212-213). The reason, of course, for this, he explained throughout his work, was to be found in history and "...the fact that since the sixteenth century, a new political form of power has been continuously developing. This new political structure, as everybody knows, is the state." (*Ibid.*: 213).

Foucault thus in his method and writing connected a sociological and historical interpretation of modern society and modern power with the analysis of everyday practices and forms of subjectivity (the subject of ethnographies), some of which could be understood as 'confrontation strategies' and 'oppositions'. I have tried to offer an account of his approach, and have suggested how raving as a social practice can be described/understood within such a Foucauldian framework as just such an 'opposition'/'confrontation strategy' in a way that is sensitive to the experience and knowledge of the practice from the position of subject, and as evoked within my more complex and diverse ethnography.

If we accept then that raving can be relevantly described in such a way as an 'opposition', and part of a new 'series of oppositions', then on that basis further interpretation can be offered as a result concerning raving and power relations using this Foucauldian framework of 'subjectivity', 'the disciplinary society', 'governmentality', and within the specific field of power relations surrounding leisure/recreation. The following section is an attempt to produce such a sweeping Foucauldian analysis of raving within modern society in the light of my ethnographic account of the practice.

4.6 PLEASURE AND POWER: AN ACCOUNT OF THE INVENTION OF 'RECREATION' AND THE FUNCTION OF 'LEISURE-POWER'.

The agrarian and industrial revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe led - according to a general consensus amongst modern historians, philosophers and social theorists - to new social forms, practices and relations which have come to be known collectively as 'modern society', or more recently 'modernity'. Within this transition to modern forms of society there has been an increased concentration upon 'recreation', or 'leisure', as a social practice, a source of self-fulfilment (subjectivity), a political value (the rewards of labour/modernisation), and as a major economic 'market'/business sector. 'Recreation' exists as a result of the modern division of time/activity into an opposition between 'labour' and 'recreation'. However, the existence of 'recreational' practices, and the perceived importance of such as being at the heart of social life/subjectivity as the rewards for disciplined labour, should not, I believe, be understood uncritically through liberal oppositions between work/play, or through the positing of distinct 'economic' and 'cultural' realms, or even in Marxist terms as 'ideology', because both deny - as I have argued above - their important socio-political function, in Foucauldian terms, within

the constitution of power relations, and the relation of such to forms of subjectivity produced through 'recreational' practices. Therefore, I think, 'recreation' should not be approached as an area of social life which is essentially understood as being composed of 'free time' - that is, as being outwith, or beyond, power relations, discipline, and other forms of constraint. Rather, I think, it should be treated as an area of social practice, which is not opposed to production, labour, and power relations in terms of its political function, but rather, in practice presents a field of everyday 'politics', an arena of 'governmentality', and an object of power relations, which is central to questions of society, subjectivity and power. This is because it is the site of regular, daily encounters between individuals and power relations.

The bringing together of 'masses' of population in the nineteenth century due to industrialisation, and the introduction of modern forms of 'discipline' based around an industrial-urban-colonial form of society, led to the necessary submission of subjects to not only a regime of labour (based on the rationalisation of production) within their social lives, but also a regime of pleasure (based on legal and disciplinary constraints upon and controls over 'free'/'leisure time' and forms of 'consumerism'). These areas of modern social life - labour and recreation - are not opposed to each other in terms of power relations for they both function under the knowledge, surveillance and disciplinary controls of established forms and institutions of power relations. To deny the 'political' nature of 'recreation' is, therefore, I would argue, to ignore areas of social life which connect individuals' subjectivities to forces of 'governmentality', and which constitute everyday sites of struggle/opposition in which power relations are constituted within modern society for subjects outwith more recognised institutional settings such as the workplace, the school, the prison and the asylum. The regimes of 'labour' and 'pleasure' are mutually supportive within modern economies based upon production and consumption within the market, and in which

subjects must produce and consume. They are both the object of controls, power strategies, and constraints, and one area cannot be used in terms of an opposition to justify the existence of the other with reference to notions of 'free time', for such a description masks the crucial functioning of power relations within such practices.

Since the emergence of modern industrial societies, pleasure, recreation and consumerism have been presented as the benefits and symbols of the 'modernising' project. Social recreation, or how individual subjects spend their 'free time' and behave outwith the institutionalised contexts of the workplace, the school, the hospital, the prison, etc., has, however, not been left open to 'natural' development in the form of uncontrolled, spontaneous expressions and activity beyond the field of traditional 'politics', and instead has become the apparently de-politicised object of 'disciplinary', 'governmental' knowledge and practice, the aim of which is social control over everyday practices/subjectivities, and the constitution of power relations through such control.

'Recreation' as an area of social practice has, therefore, emerged in conjunction with a number of institutionalised and governmentalised forms of control. In the nineteenth century 'recreation' included hobbies, societies, unions, and clubs of a variety of types in which individuals became 'members'. Membership most often involved the payment of money and the acceptance of hierarchical forms of organisation similar to those found in the workplace and other dominant social institutions. These forms of recreation reflected modern industrial society, its forms of discipline/organisation, its 'timetable', and its dominant power relations (which they had to negotiate in the form of surveillance by disciplinary, governmental powers), and as such they functioned as a support for the political structure of everyday life through their extension of discipline and organisation into the field of organised 'recreation'. Football in Britain in the twentieth century has followed a similar

path towards becoming fully governmentalised, and a mirror of more dominant forms of social organisation, surveillance and control through the introduction of modern policing, identity cards, c.c.t.v. Football is perhaps the most useful example of the politics surrounding 'recreation' and the struggle by the authorities to control and define its practice. In their institutionalised forms - such as the football clubs - recreational practices have made even further, and deeper connections with governmental bodies and practices, which have brought them even more under 'the gaze' of centralised discipline and organisation in the form of the modern state and its experts. Therefore, it could be said that 'recreation', rather than representing 'free time', in practice presented a supposedly 'unpolitical' arena of social life (due to the predominance of liberal discourse and distinctions in mainstream politics, education, and media) in which powers of discipline and control were at work which were crucial to the constitution of socio-political reality within important areas of social control/power relations, and which worked directly upon controlling individuals' everyday practices and forms of subjectivity.

As recreation/leisure has come to form an important everyday, subjective aspect of global, consumer-based, modern economies and societies, institutional/governmental practices have emerged which have constructed norms, rules, and methods of regulation, control, supervision and punishment involving the function of a number of disciplinary knowledges and bodies. The police, educators, social workers, doctors, philanthropists, local and national levels of government have all become involved with 'recreation' discursively and practically as an area of 'policy' and 'public concern', and as an object of knowledge and disciplinary practice in which discourses have established rules, constraints, forms of surveillance and punishment with regard to such recreational pursuits surrounding discourses of 'safety' and 'security', and which have connected them to the functioning and power relations of such modern states.

'Recreation' understood in a liberal sense as 'free time', and as essentially 'non-political', thus denies this process of social control and disciplinary construction of power relations which surround, invade, and shape forms of 'recreation', and the contribution of such to the political structure of everyday life in the form of the power relations surrounding the practices and forms of subjectivity which constitute daily life within any nation state. This kind of narrow concept of 'politics', and areas of social tension, struggle and power, leaves no space for developing an understanding of raving, which reflects its complexity as a practice, its function as a source of powerful social experience, subjectivity and discourse which has involved/involves numerous disciplinary confrontations, or clampdowns, in the form of police surveillance/intervention, local authority restrictions, and national legislation. Liberal and Marxist notions of 'recreational', 'cultural', or 'super-structural' practices do not allow a space in which to explain the kind of systematic disciplinary reaction and practice which is described in my previous ethnographic accounts. This is because of the ways in which they conceptualise and understand power and politics. I think, however, that the Foucauldian framework which I have sketched out surrounding modern 'discipline', the state, and power relations; and in which 'recreation' becomes an area, and an object, of 'discipline' and 'governmentality' does, however, allow us to situate raving as a social practice, and to interpret its social history as one particular expression of the struggle surrounding modern 'governmentality' and power relations in one area of modern social life - leisure/recreation - which makes, I believe, more sense of the ethnographic details and socio-political complexity of the phenomena.

So, using Foucault's notions of the 'disciplinary society', and the process of 'governmentality', I am arguing that 'recreation', and practices prescribed predominantly as 'recreational' (that is, what modern subjects do with a lot of their time/lives) should not be considered merely as a 'non-

political' realm, or simply, as an 'ideological' gloss (again divorced from the political, through mystification), but rather, because they involve 'disciplinary' and 'governmental' institutions and powers, should be considered as a 'political field', necessitating 'opposition' over which control is then assumed, and in which 'governmental' powers (through surveillance, intervention and controls - that is 'standards' and 'licences') establish power relations within everyday forms and practices. This perspective brings major aspects of modern social lives which have either been dealt with apolitically as separate, or as removed from more important aspects/fields of social life, into the field of questions concerning the nature of subjectivity, power, and resistance within modern society based upon an analysis of everyday practices and forms of control surrounding them. In terms of tension surrounding practices understood as 'recreational' this kind of analysis could be said to constitute a field of 'leisure-power'.

In fact, 'recreation' as an aspect of modern social life which is predominantly presented as either separate from, or divorced from political concerns, and as an aspect which is also seen as central to modern existence, and its claims to 'civilisation'/'progress', could represent an important 'depoliticised' area in which the nature of society in the form of power relations and 'governmental'/'disciplinary' control - that is 'leisure-power' - is essentially masked, and an important area, therefore, in which power relations are not only constituted through acceptance and submission, but also challenged. 'Recreation' is, after all, a very important source of wealth and power within modern societies where subjects seek it both outwith and within the home in the form of 'consumer' practices and products which are all subject to 'governmental' controls. It is a crucial aspect of modern subjects' lives, and therefore, of great importance to those characters and institutions whose practices surround the 'government' of individuals' lives, or 'the population'. It is unlikely, therefore, that recreational practices would not

involve and express in their diverse forms a variety of possible positions within this political field of 'leisure-power', and area of 'governmentality', including, of course, 'opposition'. In fact, within 'disciplinary' modern societies in which traditional fields of 'politics' are governed by established hierarchical forms of power relations and discipline, and ruled by the forces of economic rationality, 'recreation' and recreational practices might, in fact, present spaces and areas within social life in which expressions of 'opposition', which would not be allowed to be voiced within traditional political realms with their much greater public controls and restrictions with regard to entry and voice, can be released and take effect subjectively behind an apparently apolitical front.

This kind of Foucauldian perspective upon 'recreation' and 'leisure-power' can, therefore, be used, I think, to open up an awareness and analysis of a host of everyday 'political' practices and expressions of 'opposition', which although not 'political' in traditional terms, surround issues of 'disciplinary'/'governmental' practice and control, and crucially opposition to such, which, in Foucauldian terms, makes them 'political' in the sense that they involve institutions and practices whose function is essentially to perform actions which control and limit the possible actions of individual subjects in everyday life. This involves accepting a Foucauldian notion of 'the politics of everyday life', and when applied in a variety of possible socio-political fields, it not only opens up an extensive underground system of everyday 'opposition' to modernity, the 'disciplinary society', and the power of the modern state, which exists in everyday practices and forms of subjectivity, but also gives us a wider sense of the everyday struggles, as opposed to grand political stages/struggles, which lead to the construction and maintenance of a modern society. These include struggles over taxation (tax evasion), property (squatting), welfare ('illegitimate claims'), over government/business projects and programmes (environmental protesting/human rights movements),

which lead to the development of alternative/partisan/subaltern strategies, forms of evasion and protest, which express a resistance to 'governmentality'.

A 'recreational' practice, therefore, such as raving, which possesses many 'oppositional' expressions, forms and practices, can be placed in this framework as at the centre of issues surrounding subjectivity, opposition and power in a way that does not demand of it that it reflect dominant, 'disciplinary' notions of what is/is not 'political', but which accepts it as 'political' because of the practical political reality in which it exists as a practice, and the forces it must oppose and call into play through its existence. Further questions can then be concerned with accounts of its modes of opposition, practices and forms of subjectivity, as well as the ways in which it has interacted with the forces of 'discipline' and 'governmentality'. These are the kind of details which I feel are offered within my ethnographic account of acid house and raving within Britain, and of the Goa trance scene. I will, however, now try and connect explicit aspects of my ethnographic subject to this specific Foucauldian notion of 'leisure-power' in terms of its opposition to 'governmentality' and its historical status as an object of 'governmentality'.

4.7 RAVING AND THE MODERN REGIME OF LEISURE-POWER.

How does raving then - taken as a form of 'opposition' (as I have described it earlier) - function as a social practice, and as a form of subjectivity, within this modern process of 'leisure-power'? (A process which, I am arguing, has developed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, first, in Europe, and then gradually around the world with the spread of 'modernisation' through colonialism, and the global 'normalisation' of the political structure, institutions, and practices of the modern state).

Let us consider raving then as a 'recreational practice' which has existed/exists within a modern 'governmentalised' regime of pleasure, and one

which is constructed both by participants and outsiders in the surrounding social milieu around notions of its 'opposition' to dominant 'norms' and 'normal' practices/values. I think raving can then be viewed as a socio-historical practice, and form of subjectivity, which reveals much about the nature of modern freedom, and modern power relations as they function in the socio-political field of 'leisure/recreation'/'tourism' within modern societies - such as Britain and India. Raving, because of the public-media constructed 'issues', and extent of 'government' interest and intervention, can be used as a site of political struggle over the nature, forms and controls over everyday life within modern states. In this case, the struggle surrounds the ideologically crucial (in terms of a liberal society) realm of 'recreation', or, the what, when, where, and how subjects should do their 'recreation', and spend their 'free time'.

Raving in general through ecstasy use, and specifically in its 'illegal'/'free party' format is a social practice which, although it functions predominantly within the realms of modern 'recreation', places practical value upon difference, and the transgression of norms/rules on a variety of everyday levels - including style, music, substances, practices, and language. These practical values constitute a notion of freedom from constraint which is best epitomised linguistically in the working distinction between 'the mainstream' and 'the underground'. This is a distinction which produces value for characters, events, music, and styles within raving as a practice. In particular, 'underground resistance' is produced by a defiance of a variety of social controls, such as the ownership of land/property, the political-economic control of substances, as well as other commodities such as style and music, and through the pursuit of 'recreational goals'/'lifestyles' which lie outwith dominant 'governmentalised' forms and practices.

It is important to remember that raving as a popular practice emerged in a Thatcherite Britain in which 'leisure' was becoming a 'boom industry' and

formed a major part of her programme for 'economic recovery' as a symbol of a new consumer society. In this period 'leisure' not only became a very visible social and economic practice, particularly in the institutionalised form of 'the leisure centre', but also came under the closer inspection and gaze of 'governmental' surveillance, taxation and controls. 'Leisure', therefore, not only came into the social limelight, it also became governmentalised and politicised through the extension of intervention and controls. In this political context, raving can be interpreted as an 'opposition' to increasingly 'governmentalised' forms of recreation - such as 'the leisure centre' and 'the football club' - which, through becoming increasingly disciplined, opened up 'recreation' as an area of possible social tension surrounding the application of power relations in the form of a variety of 'permissions', or 'licences'. In the case of a rave these permissions were/are not asked, or applied for with regard to use of land/property, substance use, health and safety regulations, and security controls which together function to keep 'social recreation' within knowable, controllable, 'governmentalised' formats, and which in turn contribute to the constitution of power relations through controls over everyday life and practices.

It could be suggested then that it is this process of transgression of 'norms', and defiance of 'authorities', through participation in raves which gives them, and raving as a practice and as a form of subjectivity, its attraction, or its 'buzz'. The 'buzz' in this case is the crossing of established social limits and forms of control, the opening up of new social space and forms of expression which result from such, and the notions of freedom, self-discovery, and community which are constructed through practices connected to terms such as 'the underground' and 'D.I.Y. culture'. However, to continue the Foucauldian analysis, we must remember that, according to Foucault, such 'oppositions' not only functioned within regimes of power as sources of 'opposition', but were, in fact, one side of a mutual 'agonism', the outcome of

which was supposedly the continual constitution of power relations through the calling into play of 'disciplinary'/'governmental' mechanisms.

So, although in Foucauldian terms raving can be described as an 'opposition', it cannot be described as 'resistance', or, the expression of an essential 'freedom', which actually posits the existence of positions, or experiences of total 'freedom' from constraint, which are understood as essentially separated, distinct, removed from realms of power. According to Foucault, within social life in general, and the modern state in particular, this is the myth of 'emancipatory movements', even perhaps their 'ideological' function, in that they create notions of practices, events, forms of subjectivity which are beyond power relations, which in practice they cannot be, since all social relations involve power relations, and because of the 'totalising' nature of modern power in the form of the state. Notions of 'freedom' then can only exist within a context of power relations and power mechanisms, opposition to which produces the notions themselves in the first place, and whose existence cancels out the possibility of 'freedom' in any pure sense (e.g. removed from politics/political struggle).

So, raving as a social practice can be described as being based around a variety of transgressions within the field of 'recreation', and the pursuit of pleasure based around practical values concerning 'freedom' (from control), and 'difference' (from 'the norm'). The nature of the practice, however, as a 'recreational' practice within a wider socio-political structure based around an opposition between labour/recreation means that for most participants it functions only as a temporary release, a "possible flight", from everyday discipline, constraints and control over the body and discourse/subjectivity which are re-enforced in a variety of other areas in their social lives, such as the workplace, welfare, the school, the family, the prison, etc. (Foucault, M. (1982): 225). Furthermore, its existence as a practice within modern nation states, and with 'oppositional' qualities also ensures its continual interaction

with the knowledges, practices and mechanisms of 'governmental' institutions in a variety of forms and a number of ways (the police, the media, the professions, government authorities, etc.). As an 'oppositional' practice it defines itself against specific norms and constraints, and in the face of the institutions which enforce them. In turn, these institutions, and their 'disciplinary'/'governmental' practices use raving as an 'object' upon which to carry out their practices and their social function which is to create knowledge and establish forms of control over individual subjects and social life in all its different aspects.

Raving, therefore, within this Foucauldian framework, and understood as a form of 'opposition' to 'governmentality', posits 'freedom' as a practical value of everyday practice, while simultaneously bringing into play the powers and mechanisms which make such notions of 'freedom' an illusion. As Foucault wrote "...at the heart of power relations and as a permanent condition of their existence there is an insubordination and a certain essential obstinacy on the part of the principles of freedom." (*Ibid.*: 225). Raving, in this sense, can be described as such an "insubordination" which although it is 'oppositional' in a variety of ways (which vary according to the nature of specific events and individual participants) it never leads, and does not aim to lead to an overthrow of society, or radical structural transformation. It results rather in temporary and localised forms and experiences of transgression and difference in the face of an over-arching, disciplining form of 'governmentalised' power relations which could not exist without these very "points of insubordination" which bring such relations into effect (*Ibid.*: 225).

Now if raving is described in this way what kind of interpretations can then be made of the social history of raving as a practice, and form of subjectivity in Britain, and in Goa? Or, in Foucault's terms, how can we use "...this resistance as a chemical catalyst so as to bring to light power relations, locate their position, find out their point of application and the methods used."

(Ibid.: 211). To answer these questions it is necessary to examine raving's appearance as socio-historical discourse within modern society (which I have attempted to do in various sections of this thesis), and their connections to a political field of power relations in which it has historically existed as an object of 'government' and 'governmentality', and as an area of intervention into the lives of individual subjects.

Since the emergence of 'acid house' and ecstasy use in the mid/late 1980s in Britain, raving has not simply developed as a social practice, and form of subjectivity in itself. It has also existed simultaneously as an object of public/media discourse, and as a subject of 'governmental' intervention. Both of these roles for raving do not have to be understood as essentially separate areas, or as the result of one area imposing upon another. They can rather be understood, in Foucault's terms, as an 'agonism', as two sides of a perpetual struggle over control of social life, the result of which is 'society' in the form of dominant discourses and power relations which are established through the intervention of 'disciplinary' mechanisms, which such struggles bring into play. Raving as a meaningful social practice could not exist without the power relations and conditions, which through transgression and 'opposition', give it its 'buzz'. Likewise, 'governmental' discourses, practices and institutions can only function through the presentation of areas of social life - through the construction of discourse - as problematic, thus necessitating that such areas be made 'visible' through surveillance, discourse, and knowledge, and acted upon through discipline and intervention. Neither, therefore, can be understood separately within a Foucauldian framework, but must be situated within the socio-historical constitution of power relations. They both as such exist within a "complicated interplay" and a "game" in which "...freedom may well appear as the condition for the exercise of power - (at the same time its precondition, since freedom must exist for power to be exerted...)" (Ibid.: 221). This is 'power-

freedom' (instead of power versus freedom), and in this case it functions as a mechanism producing power relations within the field of 'recreation'.

Raving as a social practice based around transgression, defiance, opposition, and values of 'difference' and 'freedom', has brought to light, or objectified, for participants in rave events, and the everyday forms of subjectivity surrounding them, crucial aspects of the social conditions and power relations within the modern societies in which they live - such as the access to resources and limits upon agency. In turn, raving as a social practice, and individuals as bearers of its forms of subjectivity, have been objectified in the terms, and by the practices, of a number of institutionalised, 'disciplinary' positions and relationships of power (through the powers of 'disciplinary'/'governmental' intervention, such as newspaper articles, academic analyses, government reports, etc.). As such it is seen to constitute a 'problem' in attempts to re-constitute the power relations which are challenged through the practice - for example, the police surveillance and clampdown on 'rave activity', and the advertisers attempt to employ rave imagery to sell 'mainstream' products.

In this scenario established social institutions - such as the mainstream media, the police, local and national authorities, medical and academic authorities, business and the advertising industry - have all used raving as an object (created in authoritarian discourse) upon which, or at which, to direct and ensure the continuance of their practices, and the power relations which they constitute. Media, government and most academic reports on ecstasy have all concentrated their discourses on raving upon interconnected questions of:

1. 'Legality/criminality/morality' - the breaking of established laws; abuse of 'rights' and 'the community' understood in terms of disciplinary norms and governmentalised forms.
2. 'health/safety/security' - a focus upon physical and social 'evils', and possibility of death in particular; the dangers created by surveillance, and

the possibility of imprisonment due to involvement in such an 'oppositional' practice.

The identification of these 'issues' surrounding raving, which has taken place through media/government/police/academic objectification and representation of the practice (of which media these days seems to carry the greatest force), has simultaneously called into effect all the 'governmental' social institutions and 'disciplinary' practices focussed around the 'government' of social life. These, of course, include local/national government, the law courts, the prisons, social workers, doctors, psychiatrists, educators, social welfare groups, and public interest groups. And the engagement of such institutions and practices only promotes, of course, further media coverage and objectification to function as 'news'.

Raving, ravers and ecstasy has in Britain (as can be seen in the historical account I have offered previously) been the object of such a variety of diverse social practices and institutions. It became an object of media discourse as a 'craze', and then as an 'evil'; then, as a result of such media-'public' attention, an object of police surveillance and intervention, necessitating new strategies, roles, and institutions ('rave units'); then an object of licensing restrictions and 'curfews'; an object of national legislation; an object of 'scientific' enquiry; an object of public social concern and action; the subject of innumerable court cases; and, of course, the object of many prison sentences and fines. All of these actions have fuelled a large 'governmental' apparatus which structures everyday life within modern society on an everyday level, leading in turn to more media coverage of raving as an 'issue', and ultimately more legislation and intervention.

This process, historically speaking, has created the context in which raving as a form of opposition has existed and from which it has created its 'buzz'. It has led to constant struggle between it as a social practice, and a form of subjectivity, and the wider, constitutive and 'governmental' forces of society,

which has created both a practical meaning for the practice through 'opposition', and revealed the workings and methods of modern power - that is, objectification in discourse, surveillance, and 'disciplinary' intervention spread out across a number of diverse institutions and fields of power relations. It has also led to a search by some for less 'governmentalised', less disciplined areas in which to continue the practice. This they found in Goa and in other locations outside western Europe, but these attempts themselves have led ultimately only to further clashes and 'governmental processes due to, and proof of, the global nature of modern forms of power (e.g. in Ibiza, Koh Phangan, Goa).

As an object of discourse, and a form of subjectivity, raving has served both as a source of 'opposition' to, and a "possible flight" from the dominant material, social conditions of society, and the means of their exercise upon the social bodies of individuals in the form of power relations through discourse and disciplinary practice. However, the historical existence of raving has not only developed new styles, types of music, language, etc. of 'opposition', it has also produced new technologies of control and strategies of surveillance (for instance, computer data bases used to store information about vehicles at raves), new 'disciplinary' knowledge (scientific accounts of MDMA), new institutions ('rave units'), new laws (Criminal Justice Act 1994), as well as many 'victims', 'cases' and 'sentences', and the subjects they posited. Any notions then of 'freedom' and 'difference' should, therefore, not be treated separately as isolated utterances by individuals at particular events (although these are, of course, of great local and subjective importance), or treated in terms of their internal rationality, or coherence (e.g. according to their 'truth'), but rather should be situated within a social, historical and political 'everyday' struggle between individuals, different social institutions, and forms of practice to which they are connected in both practice and discourse

through power relations, and through which they draw their effect, their force, and through opposition, their means.

When the history of raving in Britain, and the account of recent changes and tensions in Goa, is considered from this perspective, it could be said that these histories are histories of 'governmentality' - e.g. accounts of the processes through which aspects of contemporary social life, and individuals, have been brought under 'the gaze' of the modern state, into its field of intervention, and ultimately under its control. As local and subjective accounts of a social practice within modern states they thus function as examples which reveal much about everyday conditions within those states for many people, and open up important issues and questions within modern society surrounding the relationship between forms of everyday social practice and subjectivity and power relations - a relationship which, borrowing Foucault's term, I have called 'governmentality'.

Raving as a social practice works upon the basis of bringing into the light, and the subjective experience of those involved, the limiting and constraining powers surrounding them, and which in many ways shape their lives. These powers include in raving's case lack of ownership, or access to resources, policing, licensing, advertising, and media representation amongst others, which have had different effects upon it in its specific and local forms. More generally speaking, however, local and specific practices, events and struggles have through a process involving all of the above 'authorities' been connected, collected and centralised in discourse and practice through 'governmentality'. These institutions have had massive effects upon raving as a practice and upon individual subjects as 'ravers' through the construction of negative 'public issues', surveillance powers, 'busts', 'clampdowns', 'confiscations', 'fines' and 'sentences'.

This aspect of raving's social history seems to support Foucault's historical view that although:

"The forms and the specific situations of the government of men by one another in a given society are multiple, they cross, impose their own limits, sometimes cancel one another out, sometimes reinforce one another. It is certain that in contemporary societies the state is not simply one of the forms or specific situations of the exercise of power - even if it is the most important - but that in a certain way all other forms of power relation must refer to it. But this is not because they are derived from it; it is rather because power relations have come more and more under state control...one could say that power relations have been progressively governmentalised, that is to say, elaborated, rationalised, and centralised in the form of, or under the auspices of state institutions." (Foucault, M. (1982): 224).

For raving this helps explain why although there are a number of possible 'enemies' for organisers of, and participants in a rave, as struggles they only seem to lead to major effects when they are connected with individuals, practices and institutions of, or connected to, the modern state, thus suggesting that it is indeed the major agent of power relations within modern society. For example, note how the intervention by the media and state/national governments radically altered the situation within the Goa scene in 1996. It also helps explain why as a form of 'opposition' so many of these 'governmental' institutions have gathered around raving as a social practice.

One possible critical interpretation of raving's social history, therefore, is to view it within a Foucauldian framework (as I have done) as a social practice which has been 'governmentalised' as a form of 'opposition' surrounding 'recreation' within modern society. This is a process in which the political control over everyday life, practices and subjectivity has been struggled over, and ultimately constituted in the form of power relations through institutional, 'governmental' discourse and practice concerning appropriate forms of 'recreation'. This is a process which could be said to have functioned in terms of raving in both Britain (and other European states), as well as in other 'faraway' places such as Koh Phangan and Goa, and which occurred not autonomously as disconnected local political struggles and phenomenon, but rather as a result of global/international political

conditions, connections, alliances, networks, forms of power relations (the modern state), and forms of social practice which have created similar tensions, struggles and mechanisms of discipline around the world, as well as supplying the technology and links which allow such tensions and struggles to travel and combine into new forms of 'opposition' and experience, as well as supplying the means of their elimination.

4.8 CRITICAL REFLECTION: A CRITIQUE OF TOTALISATION AND DEHUMANISATION

I would now like to reflect on this Foucauldian historical outline and description of raving, and offer some criticisms of it as a theoretical model and as a pattern made out of a more diverse and complex social phenomenon. This is so as to make it clear that such an account is a pattern which can be made, as opposed to an 'objective' reflection of reality, and to extend my firm resistance within this thesis to any totalising schema, and my basic commitment to a non-objective notion of social reality. Such description in critical terms - as presented above - may have the political effect of attracting the interest of an outside audience to a marginalised social phenomenon such as raving, however, it does so not by explaining the internal rationality of that phenomenon, but rather, by making a pattern which in one sense or another fits those accepted by a specific audience at which it is aimed as discourse. In this regard it follows that such patterns, and the impressions they make, can always be undone through critical re-positioning and redescription. In order to demonstrate this, I will argue that Foucault's sociological framework and notion of power are - to use familiar anthropological terms - highly 'structural-functionalist' in nature. This is despite Foucault's detailed historical method, and his basic assumption that society exists through micro-practices, discourses and mechanisms of power apparent in everyday life, and not in the

deeper apolitical levels of 'social structure', 'langue', or 'mind'. Despite all this, however, I will suggest that Foucault maintained highly 'structuralist' and 'functionalist' elements within his method of analysis, which, I think, ultimately challenges his account of modern history and society - a challenge which can be voiced in terms of theoretical critiques of structural-functionalism. Let me explain.

In many ways Foucault's work - its topics, as well as method - must be seen within an historical and intellectual context dominated by French structuralism and Marxism. It was against these predominating forms of knowledge that Foucault constructed his work, and his notions concerning social life. In many ways then, these discourses set the terrain in which Foucault made several radical departures, while still remaining - for the purpose of critique - upon traditional ground. This in turn offers some space for some traditional issues, criticisms, and debates to develop.

The 'addressivity' of Foucault's work can be read, I think, in a number of possible ways. For example, Foucault's attention to historical detail - in the form of primary sources and characters - was an obvious attempt to relocate notions concerning 'society' and 'social life' within a material historical framework involving the practices and discourses of real characters and events. It was then an attempt to add historically specific material weight to notions such as 'society' and 'the subject', rather than explain them through reference to the existence of abstract, deeper mechanisms, or systems of a de-personalised, ahistorical nature such as 'social structure', 'culture' and 'mind', which dominated structural-functionalist and structuralist thought.

Foucault also, of course, focussed upon 'power relations', and connected the realm of knowledge and ideas (central concerns of structuralism) to everyday material institutions and disciplinary practices, which worked 'upon the body', and not 'in the mind', or, through cultural 'logic'. He thus introduced Marxist-like notions concerning human practice,

processes of differentiation, social control and their relation to language and knowledge, which were absent from structuralist accounts of political and cultural 'homeostasis'.

However, despite such anti-structuralism, Foucault did not, I believe, manage to avoid many of the assumptions, and, as a result of established critiques, the pitfalls of structural-functionalism and structuralism. I think, that these assumptions can be used via such criticisms to open up spaces and faults in Foucault's work which are of relevance to anthropological accounts of social practices which exist in the kind of modern societies he described, in a rather 'sociological' and 'totalising' sense, as 'disciplinary' and 'governmental'. I want to explore these spaces further - in terms of a critical description of raving - not in order to rubbish Foucault's historical and sociological account of power relations, but rather so as to situate it as one possible account amongst others which also offer other possible descriptions and positions, and suggest that these also be taken into account so as to describe raving more fully as a diverse social practice and object of discourse, and therefore, to avoid the de-humanising dangers of totalisation, or reification. This amounts to treating Foucault's work more as a 'framework' for research into social practices, as opposed to a statement of fact, which in Foucauldian terms anyway would be a denial of the discursive nature of all social knowledge, and would signal its emergence as a 'discipline'.

First of all, I want to consider Foucault's basic philosophical and sociological assumption concerning the nature of society; that is, his belief that society as such exists only as a result of power relations which function through 'power-knowledge', 'subjectivity', and 'discipline'/governmentality', and which allow for the possibility of "...action upon the action of others" (Foucault, M. (1982): 220). This basic understanding seemed to be, for Foucault, the definition of both 'social life' and 'power', which within his work seem to have been synonymous. It is unclear whether

Foucault's emphasis upon power relations as the context in which social life in the form of knowledge, ideas, practices, and institutions should be situated was based on a fundamental philosophical assumption concerning all human social life in all its possible contexts (i.e. that it was political, explainable by reference to 'politics'), or, that he did so in order to redress the political and historical imbalances of structuralism, other forms of western philosophical idealism, and their 'essentialist' focus upon 'meaning', 'value', and 'communication'. Certainly, Foucault's extension of the traditional realm of 'politics' into a wider notion of the 'politics of everyday life' does allow us to reconfigure many traditional forms and aspects of social life which have been situated outwith, or beyond, the traditional realms of 'politics' - that which concerns "...the government of men by one another..." (Ibid.: 224). This extension of the political realm, and politicisation of social life in general, certainly revealed a much more complex perspective on the nature of modern society, which accentuated differences and tensions above rather simplistic liberal notions of 'solidarity' and 'consensus'. And in the case of widespread practices, such as raving, it allows analysts greater powers of theorisation with respect to such practices.

However, one problem with this perspective is that in itself it is a major form of sociological reductionism based on a philosophical/political assumption concerning the nature of human being and social existence. By situating and understanding all aspects of social life within the framework of power relations, Foucault demonstrated an affinity between his own philosophical assumptions and those of a tradition in western Christian philosophy (from Plato to Levi-Strauss) which seeks and posits the one 'Almighty' above 'the many' - a scenario in which the former in its magnificence explains in turn the existence of them all. Such reductionism strips bare the diverse nature of human individuals and the complexity of social life in general in much the same way that structuralism did with

reference to the all embracing entities of 'culture', or 'mind'. In other words, perhaps the spectacles of power are not the only ones through which to represent the characters, practices and events of everyday life, which cannot all be reduced simply to power relations. This does not mean, however, that power is not important, only that as a feature of social life and a form of description of it, it is not the one and only possibility.

In terms of accounts of social life and practices, I think, that this criticism of reductionism, or 'totalisation', suggests that it is not enough simply to understand whatever the 'object', or practices, are under enquiry by referring them descriptively to an historical and sociological model of power relations. To me that seems too neat and tidy, too convenient, and too naive. I think that social subjects, or practices, function in a number of ways especially for those involved in their construction and re-construction in practice, which cannot always be explained by reference to any single entity such as power relations - even if in some critical sense, and from a particular critical position, they can be said to be connected to the latter.

For instance, (as I have demonstrated) there are many, many aspects and features of raving as a social and historical practice, and as a form of subjectivity, which allow it to be described through power relations concerning issues of social control within the modern state. This is so. Such a pattern, I think, can be made. However, raving at any specific rave event does not, of course, only exist as a practice within a network of power relations which re-constitute it in the terms of wider society. In fact, it can only be said to have such a function at all because it exists in the material form of actual and diverse rave events, practices, and forms of subjectivity as well. These events, practices and the individuals which produce them, exist within wider political fields, which they must negotiate, but, I think, it would be wrong to see such struggles over power as the only important, or determining feature, which predominates over other, what may seem like, more mundane and

common human factors. A rave involves human interaction, communication, exchange, and social experience in a wide variety of forms, and at a variety of levels including dancing, talking, reciprocity, and physical sensation. Although it is possible to describe them all by reference to a theory of power, I feel from my own inter-subjective participation that it does not do them justice as more 'total' human phenomena, and in particular reduces their existence as subjective experiences - e.g. experience of the thing itself as a form of subjectivity, as opposed to an object of knowledge. It also reduces our understanding of the practices themselves, and the awareness and knowledge which results from participation as a subject in such to unrealistic caricatures in the service of a realm of philosophical assumption and socio-historical interpretation. The production of such theoretical 'soundbites' are attractive to those of us whose understanding, appreciation and motivation is based upon a view from the office, the lecture theatre and the journal page. However, it reduces complex human, social phenomena down to de-humanised caricatures, which are then used to fulfil seemingly sophisticated theoretical promises.

In this respect, I think, that Foucault, although focussing upon practice and everyday life in his analyses, ended up reducing such to a single framework - modern power relations - which although politically 'relevant' at the time, and relevant also to his own political outlook on life, also served as a 'structure' through which to discipline social and human phenomena, which seem on the surface and in practice to be so slippery when it comes to obeying rigid 'structures'. The human and social phenomena in this kind of approach come thus to represent 'the structure' which is ultimately the analyst's own political assumptions and socio-historical interpretation. The phenomena as they exist externally to the analyst's concerns in social life as practices and forms of subjectivity in themselves thus come to be reduced into caricatures which deny their complexity and diversity.

I am not saying, however, that some criticism based on socio-political assumptions, or commitments, and historical interpretation should not be a part of social research. I have in fact argued to the contrary elsewhere in terms of the political and tolerance-producing effect such description may produce. However, I think that such theoretical criticism should be restricted and understood as a form of description and a knowledge amongst others. In some cases (as I think in the case of raving) a certain affinity between the subject and an analytical framework - Foucault's opposition and marginality; raving's opposition and marginality - may prove to be very enabling in terms of description and interpretation. An interpretive framework surrounding notions of power, the body, knowledge and discipline, I think, fits very well in terms of a social practice like raving. In terms of my own personal research experience I find it very evocative. However, this does not mean that this framework is suitable to, or incorporates as a 'totality' a way of identifying all the aspects of raving, never mind social life in general. That is simply fool's gold.

However, as I have suggested, in the case of raving, Foucault's highly 'structuralist-functionalist' interpretation of social life and everyday practices in terms of power relations reduces the phenomenon to a political essence, which disregards how the phenomenon exists, and is experienced both bodily and subjectively over time during actual events and in practice (the focus of parts of my ethnography) by focussing rather upon their connections within a wider socio-political field of power relations and discourse. This is, of course, because of Foucault's role and position as an 'analyst', a socio-political theorist, which I see as in many senses removed from, although I believe it should also be also connected to, more purely 'ethnographic' and 'historical' forms of description and academic work. Let me explain this further.

Although in his work Foucault stressed the importance of historical and sociological detail, he did so only in so far as it supported his analysis and

historical interpretation of modern society. Foucault's analytical interest in historical and sociological detail and material was not driven by a historicist, or empiricist's concern for 'the truth' as it really was, but more, I think, part of a strategy through which to challenge convention (in the form of 'power-knowledge'), and to provide an historical basis for his reflections on, and critical interpretations of the nature of modern society - his politico-intellectual project. The material existed, therefore, as a part of a wider strategy to which it was directly connected. Foucault's position and situation of writing/knowledge was, therefore, from the point of view of 'the analyst' who reveals material, which connects in turn to a wider interpretive schema. This is the kind of knowledge and interesting 'critical' position which Foucault's work represents, and it makes it very useful as a framework for making analyses of aspects and features of the particulars of everyday life. What it does not offer, however, is an account of the material as they existed autonomously and diversely as human social practices in themselves outwith the application of an over-arching and reductionist, historical and sociological interpretive schema. Or, in other words, as they existed/exist as practices and subjectivities employed in everyday life which were/are not so neatly connected to, made visible by, and reduced to one single factor - power relations, the modern state. Such complex and shifting perspectives of a social phenomenon which avoid the temptation to dehumanise and totalise social life in order to make grand statements can only be produced, I believe, from positions based on direct experience and long-term social relationships with real human subjects who embody that phenomenon. As such, I would further suggest that such perspectives are best produced from the position of participating subject, which will obviously produce more detailed and complex appreciations of subjects than those simplifications often put forward by outsider 'experts' in the name of some theory or other. I will, however, return to this general theme in more detail during my concluding section.

One theoretical point which is connected to this critique of Foucault's 'sociological reductionism', and his 'totalisation' of social life, concerns more specifically his dialectical/structuralist understanding of power as a relational phenomenon, which necessitates two sides within a mutual "agonism". This notion of power clearly represents a structuralist 'opposition', and although it does away with the crude view of power simply as the result of physical force, or coercion, it does so at some cost, and can be theoretically challenged in other critical terms. The loss occurs in terms of any notions of social change and resistance within societies viewed as the result of such power relations. This is because Foucault understood power to be the social relations, disciplinary practices, and institutions, which result from specific 'agonisms', which in themselves are produced by power relations in the form of knowledges and subjectivities in the first place. The aims of power (subjection) and opposition to power (resistance) thus constituted, for Foucault, two sides of a neat structuralist equation which was both productive of and the result of power relations. The argument put this way is clearly very dialectical, very structuralist, and very tautological. It is thus open to the classic critiques of structuralism and structural functionalism concerning critical notions of the importance of 'practice', 'process', 'agency', 'interpretation', and 'history'. In a way which must be very familiar to social anthropologists, Foucault accounted for 'power', and therefore 'society' in his terms, by describing it as a functioning system based on 'opposition', a system of balancing forces devoid of, although critically reduced from, any notions of everyday practice and subjectivity in the form of experience, as well as any notions of dysfunction and change. Within anthropology such static, ahistorical and conservative accounts of social life have been rejected by authors such as Maurice Bloch and Talal Asad because of the conservative image of 'homeostasis' they produce (Bloch, M. (1977); Asad, T. (1979a)).

Outwith anthropology Foucault's systematic, formalistic account of society as it functions as a disciplining force, and a form of power relations, understood as diffuse and embedded in daily aspects and routines of everyday life, has received a number of historical and political criticisms from liberals and Marxists alike. These critiques have surrounded the dark, sociologically reductionist, and 'totalising' nature of Foucault's work, his anti-Liberal perspective, and his unique and idiosyncratic style. In particular, Foucault's work has received a number of reprimands from neo-Marxists who while attracted to his historical method and dark interpretation of 'the disciplinary society' have failed to swallow the neat discipline/opposition formula in which resistance only leads to the reification of power within an on-going mutual 'agonism'. This is because Marxism, as well as many forms of liberalism, posits change, and the possibility of 'emancipation' at the heart of its beliefs and interpretive schema. Foucault's structuralist dialectics of power relations, and his 'structuralism on the level of everyday life' does not provide an adequate account of socio-political life for them, therefore, because it fails to leave a space for tension and agency, which can build up into resistance, consciousness and ultimately change, or progress.

This scenario has led to Marxist based criticisms and re-interpretations of Foucault's work in terms of notions of struggle, agency, resistance, and the possibility of change. Diane Macdonnell, in this vein, wrote that Foucault's view of power by "...focussing on what prevails and comes to control those who are ruled might seem in parts rather blind to the bases of revolt and resistances", and that "...on discourse and subjection, Foucault's studies have most to say about the effects of discourse in forms of subjection which prevail and come to control, and they tell us little about discourse which rather than merely countering is able to bring about disidentification and a change of terrain." (Macdonnell, D. (1986):109-113). Macdonnell also re-interpreted, or positioned, Foucault's analysis of the modern prison within a

Marxist framework in which "it [the prison] has been a weapon in bourgeois class struggle against the masses, a continuing means of splitting up the masses, organising those who are not workers and opposing them to workers..." (*Ibid.*:109). Foucault himself refused to reduce the apparatuses and effects of power to a basic division of classes and history of class struggle in this kind of way, and avoided positing a single group of people, or institution, as the sole agent of power. He thus made Marxist, and liberal action against a particular individual, or institution, difficult, and discouraged such action through the assumption that any 'revolution', or 'reform', could only lead at most to the re-constitution of power relations in a different form, and not its banishment altogether.

Alan Sheridan another early English-speaking commentator on Foucault's work also offered a Marxist-like interpretation of his work as a kind of Barthesian 'de-mystification'. He wrote, based on a detailed first hand engagement with Foucault's work, that:

"The process by which the bourgeoisie became the politically dominant class in the Eighteenth Century was masked by the establishment of a coded, formally egalitarian constitution supported by a system of representative government. But this 'Enlightenment' politics had its dark underside in the ever-proliferating network of disciplinary mechanisms. While the first was based on the notion of the freely negotiated contract, the second ensured the submission of forces and bodies." (Sheridan, A. (1980):157).

Again Foucault's work was employed within a more Marxist style critique of modern 'liberal' Society.

In her highly informative consideration of Foucault's work on power, the philosopher, Nancy Fraser, has also criticised Foucault's position, and his failure to identify any 'normative framework' upon which critics could agree with his 'negative' image of modern power (if not from a liberal, or Marxist set of values). Fraser basically brought Foucault's description into the field of socio-political practice, and asked the question: if power relations and 'modern discipline' are to be viewed as 'bad' (as they appear to be in Foucault's work which was far from a cheery tale) then why? Why should we make power

relations and mechanisms visible at all if not to criticise and resist them? This question has led Fraser elsewhere to engage with Foucault as a 'young conservative' in connection with neo-Marxist criticisms made first by Jurgen Habermas.

All of these criticisms refer to aspects of Foucault's work which produced, what I will call, a 'totalising' outlook on, and account of, social life in general and modern society in particular. They represent attempts to create spaces within, or against, Foucault's work for identifying and understanding 'power' understood more as a socio-historical 'force' (perhaps 'dominant', but not 'total') as opposed to an all-embracing 'mechanism'. They thus cleared some room for experiences, however passing, and notions of 'resistance' and 'agency' upon the critical journey. Foucault's 'totalising' and systematic account of power, while creating the impression, as Weber before him had done, that we all live in a modern society in which we face dark, rationalised and powerful forces, failed, however, to suggest how people were, or might, deal with such forces. As one modern rebel, Bob Marley, once said, "half the story ain't never been told" by Foucault, and has led to various inadequacies and criticisms. As such then, these criticisms in theoretical terms amount to a cry for a less systematic and formalistic notion of power with a stronger emphasis on practice, and with greater attention to tensions, resistances, and criticisms which are not merely 'countering', or systematically supportive as an 'opposition' to power relations - which strangely enough, I think, is the kind of 'opposition' Foucault's own writing presented to traditional forms of understanding/knowledge.

In terms of raving understood as a Foucauldian 'opposition' within the framework of a 'disciplinary society', and as an object of 'governmentality', this description situates it as a sociological phenomenon (e.g. in terms of its functioning within society). However, the above criticisms of 'totality', I think, encourage us not to make it seem that the existence and history of

raving as a practice and form of subjectivity should purely be understood in this kind of systematic, 'sociological' sense produced by rational criticism. Raving does not have to be reduced as a human social phenomenon to a purely 'governmentalised' form of social experience and practice, even if, historically, this seems to make sense of its history (e.g. clampdown and institutionalisation through clubs). If it has become an object of governmentality, this is the result of a process which has involved much greater human agency than is allowed for within Foucault's model. Furthermore, this result, from a more subjective position of participation, can be seen within a history of social practice, knowledge-making, tension, clashes, and negotiation in terms of strategies taking place on both sides, which has involved a host of subjectivities, subjective experiences, and events in a variety of localised expressions which in themselves were often experienced as 'radical', even 'revolutionary' (e.g. Castle Morton, Goa parties), at the time despite a wider historical, sociological and political perspective afforded by criticism, such as that offered by Foucault.

In retrospect, or on critical reflection, the diverse phenomena surrounding raving can be described in terms of an analysis and interpretation of power relations. They cannot, however, be reduced to such an analysis as an essence, or as its ultimate 'truth'. Such 'sociological truths' are only so in so far as they support, and demonstrate, a particular critical framework, and set of analytical terms. The truth in a more general sense of the practices themselves is unknowable in any definitive sense for it lies in their very existence as forms of social practice/subjectivity, and in the particular lives and experiences of the individuals who participated in and through them socially, and this kind of knowledge can only be presented in very partial and political terms as I have attempted to do in a number of ways in my ethnography - e.g. story-telling, personal narratives. I will further develop this distinction between 'sociological' or 'theoretical' truths and

explanations, as opposed to political and partial accounts of actual social practices 'from within' in the following section in terms of crucial distinctions between objective/positioned knowledge, and inter-textuality/ethnography, and in terms of a re-statement of Malinowski's original radical notion of 'science' in the face of a more elitist use of the term and calls to reject any notion of 'science' altogether.

SECTION FIVE
FROM CRITIQUE OF SCIENCE TO A RE-
STATEMENT OF MALINOWSKI'S RADICAL
'SCIENCE'

5.1 THE PRE-DOMINANCE OF 'SCIENCE'

"Nature and her handmaiden science are neither friendly nor hostile to morality; they are simply indifferent to it and equally ready to do the bidding of the saint and of the sinner, provided only that he gives them the proper word of command."

Sir James Frazer¹⁶⁷

During the twentieth century anthropology has become an institutionalised and professional form of authorised discourse, despite being based around general, diverse, and often vague, notions surrounding 'the study of Man'; and despite a long history of 'crises' and critical comment, such as that of Rodney Needham, who wrote in 1970, that the discipline had "... no unitary and continuous past so far as ideas are concerned...Nor is there any such thing as a rigorous and coherent body of theory" (cit. in Asad, T. (1979b): 85). This is, I would argue, because of its predominant adoption, manifestation in practice and institutionalisation of the language, ideals and power of modern western 'science'.

Anna Grimshaw and Keith Hart have written that "The wave of nationalism, imperialism and bureaucratic centralisation which ushered in the twentieth century gave scientific ethnography its impetus." (Grimshaw and Hart (1995): 59). As such, they suggest, as others before them have done, that the adoption of 'scientific' discourse within anthropology reflected more widespread socio-political aspects of the societies in which such discourses were endorsed. 'Science' and the developing authority and power of the 'natural sciences' - connected as they were to the growing political and economic function of emerging modern/colonial nation states - offered the practitioners of emerging forms of knowledge (such as anthropology) a dominant model and a readily available discourse, which would both legitimate their practice, further their careers and allow their discipline to blend in with, and reflect, the political mood of the times.

¹⁶⁷ Preface to Malinowski, B. (1922/1987): xiii.

As such, the majority of anthropology in Europe and America in this century (especially in its more 'public' and institutional guises) and, in particular, during the inter-war years and the immediate post-war period, has revolved around activities, ideals and discourse which have reflected the ideology and practices first developed within the 'natural sciences'¹⁶⁸. This relationship has produced the popular dictionary definition of anthropology as 'the science of Man', and has also led to anthropology's categorisation within the U.K., and elsewhere, as a 'social science' as opposed to an 'art', or a 'humanity'. This 'scientific' legacy exists despite the co-existence of an opposing current within the discipline, especially in the U.S.A., which has always leaned towards a more 'literary' based form of 'cultural criticism', and which has entertained notions of anthropology as an 'art', or a 'humanity'¹⁶⁹. However, despite this 'artistic' current the basic format of most modern anthropology, particularly here in Britain, has continued to focus upon the 'scientific' practice of collecting 'data' through 'fieldwork' with its methodological emphasis upon vision/observation, its penchant for typologies and categories, its desire to construct generalisable laws (theories), and its extension of disciplinary ideals surrounding 'objectivity', 'neutrality', 'distance' and 'professionalism', all of which reflect this 'scientific' historical legacy and the discipline's emergence and function within modern nation states in the early to mid-twentieth century.

The adoption of 'science' as a legitimating discourse for anthropological studies has served the discipline very well. As a result it has achieved academic

¹⁶⁸ For example, within British anthropology, early works borrowed evolutionary and psychological frameworks from the 'hard sciences', see Kuklick, H. (1991) and Stocking, G.W. (1995). Malinowski championed 'fieldwork' (a Darwinian innovation) as real 'science'; and both he and Radcliffe-Brown adopted Durkheim's notion of 'sociology' as the science of society. Elements of all these traditions remain within current British social anthropology.

¹⁶⁹ Here I am thinking about the 'cultural' tradition which stretches from Boas to Benedict and Mead, and on to Geertz and Writing Culture. Within British social anthropology there is a similar current which can be traced back to Evans-Pritchard (1950).

acceptance, has been institutionalised within the universities as a form of 'higher education', and has received funding from major state and private bodies in Europe and in America, particularly during the post-war period of de-colonisation. As such, anthropology, particularly through its 'educational' role and 'professional' status, has come firmly into place within the structure, practices and ideals of modern nation states. This disciplinary 'progress' is best attested to by the fact that to be recognised as a competent anthropologist these days one needs to be a 'doctor', as opposed to an interesting 'fellow'. This label of social status and symbol of social qualification signifies the effects and powers which have followed from the discipline's pursuit of the 'scientific' paradigm. That anthropologists are now 'doctors' to be found 'in the department', or 'in the field'; spending their time 'doing research', 'making observations', 'writing up data'; and, of course, lecturing on their 'findings', or 'discoveries', is largely, I would argue, to do with anthropology's claims to 'scientific' method and to 'objective' authority, and the public power afforded to such claims during the twentieth century in societies around the world, particularly in 'the west'. This power and influence, of course, has resulted from the crucial political, military, and economic function of 'science' within the modern period of political predominance by the nation state, and the central role of 'science' within such entities in terms of processes of modernisation and colonisation.

This critical historical relationship between anthropology and 'science' as a legitimating form of discourse continues right into the present in a variety of forms, not all of which make direct discursive claims to 'science', but all of which nevertheless reflect its ideals and practices. These vary from Marvin Harris and the cultural materialists in the U.S.A. and Maurice Bloch in Britain (who continue to stick by a strict ideology of positivist social science, 'scientific' methods, and ideals of 'objectivity' and 'universality') to forms of cultural anthropology such as that produced by Clifford Geertz in the name of

'hermeneutics' (which continue to stress the neutrality, critical distance, and difference of the observing anthropologist). I believe that despite numerous sweeping critiques of 'science', it can safely be said that 'scientific' discourse, methods and ideals still predominate, however latently, within the majority of anthropology departments, where emphasis continues in most cases to be upon a 'professional' exegesis of 'the facts' with value placed upon the neutrality and impartiality of 'the observer', which as a political and methodological stance is related positively to the production of a 'realistic' and accurate representation¹⁷⁰. The continued existence of such 'professional' conduct and 'scientific realism' reflects the power which 'science' still holds as the major legitimating discourse and form of knowledge, in terms of modern government, professional power and national/global economics. It also reflects the political-material hold which such interests (the latter) and their discourses represent within the contemporary world in the form of major and powerful national and global institutions, and the influence which they have upon the production of knowledge through their role as funding bodies and sponsors, and the resulting state of dependency which most academic work is contingent upon.

5.2 AN EMPTY VESSEL: COMPETING NOTIONS OF 'SCIENCE'

'Science', however, is a very general and widespread term the meaning of which is difficult to grasp. This is due to the multiple uses of the term over time, in a multitude of different contexts, with reference to an incredible variety of methods, techniques, practices, characters, contexts, discourses and theories. 'Science', for example, was the chosen discourse of Bronislaw Malinowski, the founding father of modern ethnography. Malinowski's

¹⁷⁰ In the critical Writing Culture volume (Clifford and Marcus: 1986) this stance is called 'ethnographic realism'. Mark Hobart has referred to it, perhaps somewhat optimistically, as "...the long-dead horse of crude Correspondence Theory" (1988: 309).

'modern ethnographer' was animated by 'scientific' values of 'objectivity' and 'professionalism'¹⁷¹. He was a 'professional', god-like character of honour and integrity, sworn into being an observing force at the heart of things, a picture of 'scientific' and 'professional' integrity, recording "the imponderabilia of everyday life" in detailed and copious notes (Malinowski, B. (1922/1987): 29). According to Malinowski, such 'scientific' attitudes and methods represented the desire of the 'modern ethnographer' to totally immerse him/herself into his/her 'field', and was a guarantee of his/her intimacy with 'the natives' and 'native life'. This intimacy and the 'ethnographic' detail it provided to the anthropologist produced, in Malinowski's understanding of the term, a 'scientific' form of anthropological enquiry and knowledge.

This 'scientific' approach was opposed by Malinowski to what he called - during a career of controversy and incessant critique - 'armchair theorising', or 'conjectural history'. He used this as a label for previously dominant, 'traditional' forms of anthropology, ethnology and sociology, which had emerged during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and which had been based upon information collected by missionaries and colonial civil servants¹⁷². This 'data' was then theorised by distant and removed academics in their home colleges. These 'armchair theorists' were so called by Malinowski because of this process of knowledge-making, and the fact that they had no 'direct experience' of the subjects as lived phenomena. Direct, first-hand experience of the subject in its living environment was, for Malinowski, the essential defining aspect of a truly 'scientific' approach.

This rather populist, face-to-face, people-centred and positioned notion of 'science', advocated by Malinowski, was, however, radically transformed

¹⁷¹ See Malinowski, B. (1922/1987) and his now famous introduction to 'The Argonauts' for what has come to be known both in the past (Jarvie: 1964) and the present (Stocking: 1992) as his charter for modern anthropology.

¹⁷² For critical information upon Malinowski the man, his work and ideas, see Jarvie, I.C. (1964), Kuper, A. (1975), Kuklick, H. (1991) and Stocking, G.W. (1992).

beyond the original context in which it functioned in the discipline - e.g. 'fieldwork' vs. 'armchair theorising' in terms of knowledge about the social world. During the post-war period 'science' as a discourse within anthropology became less of a radical, charismatic technique, and more of a powerful form of legitimation within growing public and professional institutions, which were in receipt of major public status and funds, and which were based around the institutional and bureaucratic realities and demands of modern state 'education'. This new setting, marked by a growing professionalism and major institutional growth, as well as a much closer relationship between the discipline and the modern state, was very different to the world and disciplinary context in which Malinowski had worked. The brave new world of anthropology imposed different limits and constraints on those who saw themselves as anthropologists, thus affecting the nature of anthropological practice, and, as such, the use and meaning of the term 'science'.

A very different and opposing notion of 'science' can be detected, for instance, in the very influential work of the great structuralist of 'culture', Claude Levi-Strauss, who wrote, about the personal adventures, relationships and experiences of 'the field', that "...the truths [scientific/objective knowledge] which we seek so far afield only become valid when they have been separated from this [human?] dross" (Levi-Strauss, C. (1989):15). Later in the same work, Levi-Strauss continued by writing that, in order "...to reach reality one has first to reject experience, and then subsequently to reintegrate it into an objective synthesis devoid of any sentimentality." (*Ibid.*:71). This was a cold, rational, bureaucratic, even aristocratic, and essentially de-humanised vision of 'science', and of the world surrounding academia, which was populated apparently by untidy human beings and the "dross" which was their lives. This "dross" (which was the subject of direct experience) was, however, open to capture and beautification by the rational, professional engagement and thought of 'the anthropologist', through the performance of what Susan

Sontag has called a form of "intellectual agnosticism" (Sontag, S. (1970):196). Such a mechanical and de-humanised vision of 'the study of Man', or 'the science of Man', reflected in discourse the power and mood of modern state bureaucracies with their armies of professional 'experts', as described by Max Weber in his account of modern processes of 'rationalisation' and institutions of 'disenchantment' centred around the emergence and growth of the modern bureaucratic state, and by Michel Foucault in terms of the rise of the 'disciplinary society'¹⁷³.

It is, I believe, this latter kind of 'bureaucratic' (to use Weber's term), or 'agnostic' (to use Sontag's) notion of 'science' - as opposed to the more radical, populist and action-centred sense advocated by Malinowski - which has flourished within the highly bureaucratised and state-funded context of post-war anthropology, and whose notions of 'distance' from and essential 'difference' to subjects of enquiry which have come to predominate within the discipline. This, I will argue, is because such essentially 'bureaucratic' notions, practically and politically, have been more suited to the context, demands and limits imposed on modern anthropology through its location within the highly bureaucratic setting of the university department, and through its role as a form of 'education', than the radical, people-centred notion initially advocated by Malinowski, which has become a difficult myth to realise in practice.

In the following section, I want to argue that the predominance of 'science' as a legitimating discourse within anthropology and, in particular, the pre-dominance of notions within the discipline which reflect the latter more 'professional' and 'bureaucratic' understanding of 'science' presented above - in terms of an emphasis and value placed upon distance, neutrality, difference and "intellectual agnosticism" - has produced a torrent of critical

¹⁷³ For Weber, see Gerth, H.H. and Wright Mills, C. (1948); for Foucault, see Foucault, M. (1991b).

thought within the discipline based on criticising such discourses and positions in terms of history, power and de-humanisation. I will present an overview of some of the critiques of 'science' and 'objectivism' which have emerged so as to establish in more detail the critical basis of such departures, and as a way to construct a theoretical context involving specific issues which concern the nature and practice of anthropology. I will then use this context as the basis from which to present a corresponding set of theoretical strategies which connect my research and writing positions within this work to that critical context as a contribution to the discipline.

To look ahead slightly, what I ultimately intend to suggest is that although 'science' has become the object of a torrent of criticism by anthropologists from a variety of theoretical persuasions, and despite the fact that numerous contemporary debates are voiced in terms of 'science' vs 'anti-science', such criticisms and debates are essentially misleading. They are misleading, I believe, because they make it seem as if anthropology's problems are the result of its choice of terminology, theory, or discourse, and that getting 'it' right is, therefore, simply a matter of realising this fact and selecting the right one. The blame in many contemporary discourses is thus placed upon previous uses of 'science', or, in a more totalising sense, the use of that term in any sense¹⁷⁴. 'Science' is, however, I would argue, itself an empty vessel, and such arguments somewhat false. In opposition to this naive, idealist point of view (which looks towards language not practice), I suggest that anthropology's problems should be sought not in terms of its chosen terminologies or discourses, but rather with respect to how it is practiced by its practitioners; the location of such practices within specific bureaucratic/public institutions; the identity and status of its practitioners, and the effects of such upon the relevance of anthropological work to those

¹⁷⁴ Steven Tyler's (1986) contribution to Writing Culture is a classic example of such contemporary anti-scientism.

outwith the discipline (e.g. relations between practices). What, I believe, has occurred in the post-war period is that 'science' as a discourse has become routinised within certain institutional constraints and practices, which could equally have employed other forms of discourse. The historical reality is, however, that 'science' has been the canon used predominantly by anthropologists to authorise and fiercely defend their local, regional, theoretical and professional territories, and that within such a diverse territory of disciplinary politics any particular, or original, meaning or use of the term 'science' has been lost, thus encouraging many to abandon it altogether. However, despite the fact that for many the 'scientific' train pulled out of the station a long time ago, I will try to demonstrate how contemporary notions emerging from contemporary critiques of 'science', such as those surrounding issues of 'power' and 'history', which form the critical background to my own point of engagement, have produced a set of values and commitments which, I would argue, reflect, or correspond with, Malinowski's original use of the term 'science' within his commitment to 'modern ethnography'. By doing so I wish to open up a more specific, historically and contextually aware discourse upon 'science' and the history of anthropology than is presented within many contemporary critical works, such as Writing Culture and Anthropology as Cultural Critique, which have been accused of producing "autolatrous genealogies" for the purpose of producing an apparently radical disjunction, thus boosting their careers (Hobart, M. (1988): 330).

Lastly, I also believe that this correspondence between certain contemporary critical positions and the original position pioneered by Malinowski reflects a deeper historical correspondence between a contemporary movement against 'meta-theorisation', 'over-interpretation/textualisation' and 'inter-textuality' in the name of 'experience' and 'inter-subjectivity' and Malinowski's original critique of 'armchair

theorising'¹⁷⁵. The new positions are being (re)formed in the face of the emergence of another growing tendency within the discipline towards 'grand' cultural and psychological theorising, which itself resembles the kind of theorising (Frazer, Tylor) and academic climate which predominated in the early stages of this century, and against which Malinowski himself responded critically in his advocacy of 'modern ethnography'¹⁷⁶. As such, the present represents an apt time to restate anthropology's unique commitment to a people and experience-oriented approach, and the popularising and potentially levelling effects of such a stance in terms of its opposition to an elitist (in a monologic sense) form of theorising based on theoretical traditions and inter-textuality. This, of course, was the original 'ethnographic' project previously mapped out by Malinowski in terms of 'science', and which, strangely enough, corresponds to the positions and strategies I will develop out of my critical engagement with critiques of 'science' and 'scientific' values over the past three decades.

5.3 CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES, CHANGING CONCEPTIONS.

Following Malinowski's original statements concerning the 'scientific' practice of 'modern ethnography' - in which he laid out a charter for those apprentices who wished to learn the "...ethnographer's magic, by which he is able to evoke the real spirit of the natives, the true picture of tribal life..." - 'science' as a form of legitimating discourse predominated within British and American anthropology almost exclusively up until the late 1960s, and

¹⁷⁵ I will make these connections more explicit later in this section.

¹⁷⁶ In particular, here I am thinking of recent work and seminars by cultural anthropologists, such as James Fernandez (Ladislav Holy Memorial Lecture 1998) and Nigel Rapport (1997), which is influenced by the work of Clifford Geertz and by the more 'literary'/'poetic' aspects of Writing Culture. Fernandez's use of 'irony' and other 'tropes' to explain periods of history, and Rapport's focus on a certain notion of 'the individual' as a means through which to interpret social phenomena, amount in my view to 'grand theorising'.

continued to predominate well into the 1980s on both sides of the Atlantic (Malinowski, B. (1922/1987): 6). This was despite the fact that conditions both within, and surrounding, the practice of anthropology had altered significantly since the publication of Malinowski's work on the Trobriand Islanders, and even more so since the rather unusual circumstances surrounding his original period of 'fieldwork' during World War One¹⁷⁷.

In particular, within the discipline a great deal of change had occurred in terms of greater institutionalisation and professionalisation. This was as a result of the political focus upon, and development of 'education' within modern nation states in the first half of the twentieth century. As universities experienced a 'boom', relatively new disciplines, such as social anthropology, grew stratospherically as they became more closely connected to institutions of modern government and business through their recognition and acceptance as legitimate forms of 'education', and as feeder institutions for 'society', the national economy in general, and the latter institutions in

¹⁷⁷ I thank David Riches for pointing out to me that the same can be said of Malinowski the man, who, in pursuing an academic career and heading an institution (L.S.E.), also faced very different circumstances from those he had experienced as a fieldworker on the basis of which he had criticised the 'armchair theorists'. His notion of A Scientific Theory of Culture (1944/1969) perhaps best reflects a different phase and institutional change in role and position in terms of his ideas and writing.

In this sense, I realise that I have upheld a particular image, or version, of 'Malinowski' in order to facilitate my argument. However, as the principle subject of interest here is not to produce an exhaustive account of Malinowski the man (of which there are already innumerable, highly authorised, but nevertheless contested versions), and with some intellectual and personal doubts about how one would actually perform such a task anyway devoid of any authorial stamp, or interpretative distortion, I can only state two points (one general, one more specific) on my behalf, that:

1. my aim is to use this image, this 'Malinowski' if you like, to say something of relevance regarding contemporary anthropology. I think, therefore, that my argument should be judged in terms of such relevance and its force, and not according to whether it is selective, which is surely a critique all argument, interpretation and writing is open to ?
2. Even in his institutional and more theoretical phases Malinowski continued to preach his people-centred 'fieldwork' approach to his students, who were all fieldworkers, as the basis of any theoretical departure as this quote from his Scientific Theory of Culture demonstrates:

"Incessant cross-fertilisation of experience and principles is...indispensable...The minimum definition of science...implies invariably the existence of general laws, a field for experiment or observation, and last, but not least, a control of academic discourse by practical application [my emphasis]." (Malinowski, B. (1944/1969): 11).

particular. As anthropologists accepted the universities as the proper and legitimate institutional basis for their practices and knowledge, and as they accepted the financial assistance of the state and an 'educational' role within the wider socio-political system of the modern nation state, anthropologists as salaried 'civil servants' also had to accept many of the more general models, principles, and discourses of modern bureaucratic government so as to accommodate and become accountable to the new system in which they operated, therefore continuing and extending the fortune of their discipline. As such, anthropology - which like ethnology and sociology had originally been an amateur and privileged pastime, or 'hobby', conducted by 'gentlemen' within their own 'societies' - became a state funded 'discipline' with its own 'departments', 'courses', 'degrees' and professional career structure¹⁷⁸. This new identity, and the new relationships and roles which it incorporated, resulted in a fundamental shift in terms of the basic conditions and demands facing practitioners, and the nature of those practitioners themselves.

In particular, and in relation to Malinowski's radical 'science', change had resulted in reliance upon the state and public funding and committees, as opposed to private connections and sponsorship, and an anthropologist was now expected to principally play the role of civil servant for which s/he was primarily paid. This new status and role meant more extended periods of tutoring and lecturing within the highly formalised and administrative setting of the university 'department' than had previously existed within the context of amateur 'societies'. 'Fieldwork' was institutionalised and incorporated into the 'professional' tasks of 'the anthropologist', as a usually compulsory requirement of a period of one year, during doctoral study, comparable to periods of academic research into 'sources' in libraries, followed

¹⁷⁸ Kuklick, H. (1991) is a particularly useful and well-researched source on the personal, social and professional characteristics of early British social anthropologists and social anthropology. Kuper, A. (1975) also provides an insider account of major characters, relationships and practices within British anthropology during its formative period of institutional development.

by further, ideally regular, return trips to 'the field' throughout an anthropologist's career to extend and up-date available information, or, to use the scientific term, 'data'. This new structure for the discipline meant that an anthropologist's existence was transformed, and firmly re-situated within the modern, bureaucratic setting of the twentieth century university in which s/he took on the role of a modern civil servant, and in which, as a discipline within a general state education system, they came to rely upon fulfilling the demands and expectations of more general, external state organised bodies. As such, extended periods of 'fieldwork' resulting in total ethnographic immersion into 'the native's point of view' as advocated by Malinowski was highly problematised. Crucially, anthropologists found themselves trying to walk on a tight-rope between the Malinowskian 'scientific' ethnographic ideal of complete integration into 'native life', and the practical and political reality, constraints and demands forced upon them by their location within the highly bureaucratic and elitist (even in terms of their own society) setting of the university through which, and in which, they produced their work, and upon whose existence they relied for their living.

This historical change in the conditions of the production of anthropological knowledge affected not only the practice of anthropology in terms of its institutional setting and the roles and social status of its practitioners, but also altered the social, material and experiential basis behind its claims to 'scientific' knowledge. This was because, as anthropologists began to spend the majority of their time within educational institutions, as they became more concerned with the demands of day-to-day administration and the need to further their careers within the discipline's new professional structure and hierarchies, and as public (often disinterested) institutions geared towards 'economy' cut unnecessary costs, it became less and less

realistic that anthropologists could carry out the kind of engaged 'long conversation' provided by fieldwork as suggested by Malinowski¹⁷⁹.

In this sense Malinowski's original understanding of 'science' and 'fieldwork' became somewhat defunct and inappropriate with respect to the modern conditions within anthropology as a discipline, despite the continued use (and force) of 'science' as a legitimating discourse. In this new context the use of 'science' within anthropology came to represent the professional status and authority of anthropologists as respectable civil servants and as educators of the nation's elite, and reflected life in the quadrangle and, rather ironically, the authority of the 'armchair theorists'. This is in opposition to reflecting the "...intimate touches of native life...with which one is made familiar only through being in close contact with the natives, one way or the other, for a long period of time" and through which the ethnographer and the reader "...shall see him following the lure of his own romance", and could experience "...a feeling of solidarity with the endeavours and ambitions of these natives..." (Malinowski, B. (1922/1987):17; 25). Such an ethnographic ideal and humanistic goal was far removed from the practical and political realities enforced upon anthropology and anthropologists by their institutional setting and burgeoning professionalism.

It must be remembered, after all, that at the heart of Malinowski's project lay the inherently anti-academic opposition to 'armchair theorising' and 'conjectural history', and the 'ethnographic' commitment to people (as opposed to texts and theories) which could not so easily be located, put to use and checked as 'sources', and which was highly resistant to 'traditional'

¹⁷⁹ I know from personal experience that many universities, funding bodies and schools often view 'fieldwork' as an expensive, often risky, luxury when compared to library based research. For a reference to the notion of the 'long conversation', see Bloch, M. (1977): 278. Such a notion has re-appeared in contemporary anthropology through appeals to 'dialogic' approaches based on a conversational model and techniques, and a proclaimed preference for 'ethnography' over 'meta-theorisation'. See Clifford, J. and Marcus, G. (1986) for a theoretical statement of this project and Stoller, P.(1989a, 1989b) for a similar statement connected to an ethnographic project.

methodologies - such as those employed by historians and literary critics in terms of written sources, or philosophers in terms of universal logic and rationality. As Malinowski himself wrote, "In ethnography, the writer is his own chronicler and the historian at the same time, while his sources are no doubt easily accessible, but also supremely elusive and complex; they are not embodied in fixed, material documents, but in the behaviour and in the memory of living men." (Malinowski, B. (1922/1987): 5). They were not, therefore, open to the same methodological and theoretical considerations as traditional disciplines, nor were they productive of the same kind of knowledge, which in Malinowski's case he saw as a positive thing. However, within anthropology's new institutional setting, as Anna Grimshaw and Keith Hart have stated, "...whatever its virtues as propaganda, the [ethnographic] habit of deriving ideas from ethnographic facts, rather than acknowledge the influence of Western traditions, made the task of intellectual reproduction virtually impossible." (Grimshaw, A. and Hart, K. (1995): 52). And as such 'intellectual reproduction' became an essential requirement of anthropology as an educational discipline, anthropologists had to elaborate upon and radically alter Malinowski's original use of the term 'science'.

Outwith the immediate disciplinary bounds of anthropology, social, historical and political events had also resulted in shifting conceptions of 'science' as an enlightening form of discourse, and as the radical and progressive basis of modern life and society, which had become firmly identified with the modern state and industry. In the workplace many more people had experienced the alienation, damage to health and unemployment, which could be caused by the greater application of 'science' and 'scientific' techniques¹⁸⁰. The Second World War had also demonstrated that the inter-

¹⁸⁰ Here I am referring to the application of 'Fordism' and notions of 'scientific management' within the workplace, and the production of counter-ideologies which opposed such 'de-skilling' processes, and which were spread through the workforce through the efforts and protests of trade unions and political radicals.

relations between 'scientific' knowledge, business interests and modern nationalist government could be damaging and disastrous for humankind, and had led, as the pictures from Auschwitz and Hiroshima recorded, to inhumane outcomes. In the 1950s and 1960s, even amongst the dominant social classes who stood in many ways to benefit the most from 'science' within Euro-American society, there emerged a much greater suspicion and fear of things performed in the name of 'science', and the powerful political, military and economic interests it had often come to represent with incredible brutality. It was such factors that led up to the emergence of a variety of socio-political movements within Euro-American society - such as 'the beatniks', 'the hippies', and environmental and anti-war/nuclear protest groups - which challenged assumptions at the basis of modern society, and which often expressed a distaste for 'science' in favour of 'alternative', 'traditional' and 'non-western' forms of knowledge and lifestyles. Similar factors also provided the background to the campaigns against American involvement in Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s, and the British Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament of the 1970s.

Another historical factor which had an effect upon notions of 'science' surrounded the process of colonial disengagement which peaked following the end of World War Two. The withdrawal of colonial powers from their dependant territories led, amongst other things, to the growth of new forms of nationalism and a greater recognition of negative aspects of colonisation which had previously been left unvoiced. Within such an environment works by certain 'non-western' authors - such as Franz Fanon, Mannoni, and Edward Said - criticised the oppressive nature of European colonialism, and they connected the master/slave relationship at the heart of colonialism with the master's discourse of 'science' and its claims to providing an all-seeing, universal and unchallengeable form of knowledge and authority which truly

expressed an 'Imperial' frame of mind. Said (1978), in particular, equated western knowledge and western 'science' with colonial power and subjection.

Such critiques of 'colonialism' and of 'western science' were further supported in the years following the end of the war, and during the 'cold war', by increasing media coverage of and civil rights campaigns against African, Middle Eastern and Asian nationalist dictatorships which stressed their reliance upon neo-colonial political and economic relationships with ex-colonial powers, and the importance of 'science' in terms of military and political power; for instance, in terms of programmes of enforced 'modernisation'¹⁸¹. Through such revelations and connections 'science' was even further tarnished by its apparent complicity with oppression.

Despite the institutional transformations taking place within anthropology, as a whole, 'science' as a legitimating discourse continued to predominate within post-war anthropology. However, within the wider political and historical climate of change with regard to conceptions of the nature and role of modern 'science' within contemporary societies, a growing body of anthropologists following the end of the Second World War began to re-evaluate the place and role of 'science' as the major legitimating discourse within their discipline. I now want to look more closely at some of the critiques of particular notions of 'science' and 'objectivism' which these anthropologists produced within the discipline since 1950 in order to establish the bases of such critiques, and as a means to draw out a set of critical issues and strategies related to the predominance of 'science' within the discipline, and which concern notions of 'history', 'politics', 'power-relations' and 'position'. These issues and strategies have formed the critical and theoretical context within which this work has taken place, and constitute my critical

¹⁸¹ Civil rights movements, such as Amnesty International, have done much to advertise and create awareness of such connections.

engagement with the history and theory of the discipline. As issues they surround:

1. the predominance of 'science' as a legitimating discourse within anthropology.
2. the critique and relativisation of 'science' which has taken place during the post war period (influenced by the historical factors I have mentioned).
3. the emergence of a growing and crucial debate surrounding the ethics and politics of anthropology which potentially threatens to transform the nature of the discipline.

After presenting the critiques and issues, I will then demonstrate how they relate to my chosen methodologies and approach within this work and, finally, I will reflect on this body of critical thought in terms of the distinction between different notions of 'science' and, in particular, Malinowski's radical notion of 'science' which I presented above.

5.4 POST-WAR CRITIQUES OF 'SCIENCE' AND 'OBJECTIVISM'

In the interim period between the two World Wars following Malinowski's ethnographic encounter with the Trobriand Islanders and in the immediate post-war period, social anthropology (as it had become known) thrived in terms of institutionalisation and professionalisation. The discipline profited from a historical and political context which was marked by the election of the first British Labour government, and the post-war concern with the 'welfare' of the people, which included an increased concern with and public funding of 'education'. Furthermore, social anthropology with its traditional concerns with 'primitive', or 'savage', peoples, and the predominant geographical and cultural location of such interests within the colonies, also resulted in a favourable context for the discipline provided by the post-war march towards

colonial independence and a promised post-colonial political world. As an emerging discipline, therefore, social anthropology in Britain at this time stood at the vanguard of wider socio-political processes and historical changes concerning the nature of modern industrial societies and, through decolonisation, of global society, which had been catalysed by experiences, relationships and alliances during wartime.

Up until about 1950, this disciplinary growth was based around a relatively small band of interconnected practitioners who understood quite clearly, it would seem, what their subject was ('primitive', or 'savage', society), and who regarded their endeavours to be 'scientific' based upon the borrowing of metaphors and discourse from the 'natural sciences' and the 'sociological' model of Emile Durkheim. The influence of Durkheim upon British social anthropology was also present in terms of the predominant 'scientific' theory of society - functionalism - and the focus upon the 'organic' interconnectedness of social phenomena, and upon the socio-political values of 'solidarity' and 'order'. During this period, forms of 'functionalism' were strongly advocated by both of the British disciplines' leading figures - Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. It was in terms of these disciplinary coordinates of 'primitive' society, 'scientific' method and 'functionalist theory' that the rather narrow and homogeneous (with respect to the social background, identity and politics of its practitioners) world of British social anthropology became a recognised academic discipline.

However, even in the very early days of institutional growth and professional recognition, currents of critique and dissatisfaction with regard to the emerging canons of British social anthropology appeared as both the world around the discipline began to alter in make-up, and as the identity and homogeneity of its practitioners became effected by post-war socio-political change. In particular, experience of the two World Wars had altered many peoples' views concerning the potentially 'enlightening' role of modern

'science' (as I have argued above). Furthermore, the post-war spirit of freedom from oppression, and Utopian hopes for a better 'New World Order' in the making, which within many nation states - such as Britain and France - was truly altering the nature of modern society, also challenged the very basis of European colonialism, which in the light of closer encounters with nationalist ideology and forms of oppression in the names of Fascism, Communism and 'the war effort', appeared as inconsistent with post-war notions of liberty and democracy. The wars had further highlighted in the popular mind the presence and potential force of conflict and tension within social life based on ideas of difference and distinction, which had resulted not only in very bloody conflicts of man versus man, but also a more 'rational' and 'scientific' elimination of human beings through the imposition of certain categories, distinctions, and grand plans upon such people in a manner which ignored their humanity.

In terms of these historical experiences and wider socio-political factors alone social anthropology's existence within a set of co-ordinates which appealed to a colonial and asymmetrical form of discourse (modern/primitive), a pro-'scientific' stance, and which theoretically stressed the importance of the kind of social and political 'solidarity' activated by Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin, meant that, as such, the discipline was likely to experience a number of challenges in the years of change to come. This challenge was not simply the result of the discipline trying to keep up with socio-political and historical changes surrounding it, but rather signalled its growing reliance upon wider 'society' for its existence. Furthermore, due to its expansion in terms of pure numbers following socio-political changes after the end of the war, challenges also came from a new breed of practitioners.

5.4.1 Early Critics

As early as 1950 one of the discipline's leading lights, Evans-Pritchard, pointed out "a division of opinion" within the discipline during his Marett lecture concerning the nature and future path of the discipline (Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1950): 13). Evans-Pritchard was concerned with criticising the predominant conception of the discipline as a 'science' in the mould of Durkheimian 'sociology', which had been adopted in differing ways by Malinowski and, in particular, by Radcliffe-Brown. The basic assumption within such a 'scientific' perspective, argued Evans-Pritchard, was not a Malinowskian commitment to a radical, people-centred and 'empirical' approach to 'the native's point of view', but was rather more theoretical in nature, and represented a commitment to the philosophical and political belief that "Human societies are natural systems in which all the parts are interdependent, each serving in a complex of necessary relations to maintain the whole...", and suggested that "The aim of social anthropology is to reduce all social life to laws or general statements about the nature of society which allow prediction." (*Ibid.*: 19). In this respect, Evans-Pritchard claimed that "it is no more than an assumption that human societies are systems of the kind they are alleged to be", and in even more scathing critical terms he continued by stating that "it is easy to define the aim of social anthropology to be the establishment of sociological laws, but nothing even remotely resembling a law of the natural sciences has yet been adduced. What general statements have been made are for the most part speculative, and are in any case too general to be of value. Often they are little more than guesses on a common-sense or post factum level, and they sometimes degenerate into mere tautologies or even platitudes." (*Ibid.*: 19-20)

In the light of such a sweeping critique of social anthropology as a 'science', Evans-Pritchard asked instead "...whether social anthropology for all its present disregard of history, is not itself a kind of

historiography" (*Ibid.*: 22). By suggesting 'historiography', instead of 'science', as a model for social anthropology, Evans-Pritchard suggested that the discipline be treated as "...a literary and impressionistic art", and as "...an imaginative construct of the anthropologist himself", and that as such it was "...ultimately of philosophy or art, ...[and] studies societies as moral systems and not as natural systems...and that it therefore seeks patterns and not scientific laws, and interprets rather than explains." (*Ibid.*: 22-26).

In producing such an authored critique of 'science' as a legitimating discourse for use by social anthropologists, Evans-Pritchard reflected and expressed a growing post-war concern with 'science' as a potentially dehumanising and destructive approach to social life. He wrote that "...I cannot resist the observation that, as the history of anthropology shows, positivism leads very easily to a misguided ethics, anemic scientific humanism or ... ersatz religion."(*Ibid.*: 27). Evans-Pritchard's critique of 'science' in terms of 'dehumanisation' within the discipline amounted to an academic version of Aldous Huxley's Brave New World. His critique was based on a clear understanding of the discipline as being based on the very 'human' and 'political', as opposed to 'scientific', arts of assumption, philosophy and interpretation, and the need to practice and evaluate anthropological knowledge in such ways rather than to continue "...a false scholasticism which has led to one rigid and ambitious formulation after another."(*Ibid.*: 26.) As such, a major part of modern anthropology's canon - its use of 'scientific discourse' - had been challenged from within by one of its most prominent practitioners.

Some seventeen years later, amidst the emerging 'flower power' of the 'hippy' social movement as it spread across the modern world, Edmund Leach, another leading practitioner of British social anthropology, issued yet another scathing critique of 'science' and 'objectivism' during his Reith Lectures of 1967. Leach criticised the

predominance of approaches and points of view, not only within anthropology but within society at large, which stressed "...tidy, over-elaborate classifications, [and] makes us think that society ought to be organised like a watch rather than like a jellyfish." (Leach, E. (1967): 77). "This bias..." Leach continued "...produces conservative-minded people who take fright whenever they come up against the fluidity of real-life experience."(Ibid.: 78.) Leach argued that such conservatism prevented a recognition of "...elements of choice, uncertainty, imagination and so on."(Ibid.: 79.) within accounts of human social life, and resulted in static representations which failed to explain the growing popular perception during the 1960s that the world was, to use Leach's phrase, a "runaway world" epitomised by flux, change and tension in terms of social, political, and even sexual attitudes and practices.

Within the context of this "runaway world" Leach noted that "the young are just appalled at the way science is being used: Hiroshima, Vietnam, Dr Kahn's' calculations of mega-death", and suggested further that "...we must get out of the [scientific] habit...of thinking that reason and imagination are two different kinds of 'thing', that the truth of mathematics relates to one kind of fact and the truth of poetry to something quite different. We are altogether in one world and what we are conscious of is one experience."(Ibid.: 83-88). In doing so, Leach, like Evans-Pritchard before him, pointed out that whatever the applied truth, or apparent relevance of anthropological knowledge was, it was not so because of some 'scientific' representation, or 'mimesis', of reality in which anthropologists in the guise of 'scientists' pretended to be dehumanised, god-like purveyors of 'the truth'. Evans-Pritchard had noted the presence and importance of assumption, philosophising, morality, interpretation and even "ersatz religion" within the discipline, all of which to him made a mockery of claims to 'scientific knowledge' and amounted, if such claims continued to be voiced, to a "false scholasticism" (Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1950): 26-27). Following this, Leach had

further equated 'science' with political conservatism, narrow-mindedness, and a false and barren dichotomy in which imagination and creativity were abandoned in favour of a rigid 'scientism'. Such tastes and views, as Leach argued, were way out of line with what was going on in the social world around them, and presented serious problems for disciplines - such as social anthropology - which continued to uphold them as a means of legitimation.

As well as criticising 'science' as an essentially conservative and reactionary political discourse upon the social world, and pointing out changes in popular perceptions of 'science' within modern society, Leach also challenged a tenet which lay at the very heart of not only 'science' as a discourse, but also the majority of academic scholasticism including historiography. This challenge regarded the presence, role, or position of the analyst, or the producer of knowledge, in terms of the nature of the knowledge ultimately produced. In academia, the accepted position both within 'science' and 'the humanities' with regard to subjects was marked by values of difference, distance and disinterest (except in a purely scholarly and textual form of interest) towards the subject. This model of 'objectivity' and 'neutrality', in a continuation of a religious claim to knowledge and power through denial, prayer and the study of ancient texts, was central to academics' claims to 'knowledge'. Leach, however, politicised this model of intellectual innocence and political abstention by claiming that "...we are part of the system. I keep on repeating this, but it really isn't so easy. For centuries our whole education has been built up around the assumption that we rational human beings stand outside the system, and that the human capacity for understanding the processes of nature by taking things apart has no limit. But it has."(Leach, E. (1967): 78-79). By making such a statement, Leach, in a pioneering move, positioned the anthropologist as a human subject alongside those subjects s/he wrote about. This, of course, not only humanised anthropological knowledge, as Evans-Pritchard had attempted to do by

connecting it to a human process of production, but also politicised such positioned knowledge by making it somebody's 'point of view', as opposed to 'scientific', or 'objective', accounts of 'the facts'. Leach wrote that "...there cannot be any right policy in the traditional sense ['scientific'/'objective'] because any policy to which values like 'good' or 'bad' could possibly be attached would simply represent the advantage of some particular group of people." (*Ibid.*: 85). Leach, therefore, introduced not only notions of human imagination, creativity, and the partial and interpretive nature of anthropological knowledge, he also brought to light political issues concerning the presence, role, and constitutive force of the anthropologist, and the political nature of 'truth'. In this latter respect, Leach suggested that it was impossible, and misleading of anthropologists to try and adopt 'objective', or 'scientific' notions concerning their work and knowledge, for such notions would deny the human and political processes and origins of such knowledge. Instead, he suggested that anthropologists, and human subjects in general, must "only connect...", and advised them to reject a god's eye view of 'news from nowhere', and instead to simply attempt "...to see where you fit in." (*Ibid.*: 85).

What I understand, then, by this historical analysis of two key figures in British social anthropology is that even in Britain - where 'science', 'functionalism' and the great British traditions of 'colonialism' and 'empiricism' are supposed to have reigned - and even amongst the often claimed stuffiness of British academia, there were significant authored challenges to the 'scientific' canon of the discipline which had gained institutional and professional recognition. In Evans-Pritchard's case, this had amounted to a critique of 'science' based on an understanding that academic disciplines were either of 'science', or, of 'the humanities', and his advocacy of the latter and of 'historiography' in particular, as a means of criticising and opposing those who favoured 'science'. This was conducted in terms which

stressed the dangers of 'dehumanisation', and as a way of introducing notions of imagination and creativity into the discipline which were excluded by a commitment to a particular notion of 'science'.

In Leach's case, his critique was not simply the voice of a Humanist laying out the faults of vulgar 'science', but his was also a highly politicising form of discourse which equated 'scientific' approaches with a rigid conservatism, and which opposed such conservatism by positioning the producer of knowledge as an active and interested participant within the process of knowledge-making, and who must, therefore, as a human subject, have both a position and an influence. Anthropology had, therefore, been relativised and humanised as a product of human creativity and imagination, and had also been politicised by the notion that anthropologists were also like their subjects (who they were increasingly beginning to describe in political terms) - human agents, and, therefore, open to the prejudices and bias of human position, interest and subjectivity.

Both Evans-Pritchard and Leach, therefore, criticised in their public lectures the predominating use of 'science' as a legitimating discourse within the discipline. The 'science', however, which they represented in their accounts, was far removed from the radical, people and action-centred 'science' of Malinowski which I mentioned earlier. What seemed to bother both Evans-Pritchard and Leach about what they understood as 'science' was the potentially dehumanising, conservative and elitist uses it had developed in terms of producing a "false scholasticism" which had used 'science' and 'scientific' notions of knowledge to banish other competing notions concerning the value of imagination, creativity and interpretation (Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1950): 26). As such, this 'science' had served more as a means through which to make knowledge unchallengeable, and god-like in status. In this sense 'science' as a discourse within British social anthropology was understood to have served less of a radicalising and popularising force, as

intended by Malinowski, and instead had served more as a very handy means of legitimation and of routinisation within the highly bureaucratic and professional social networks of modern academic institutional life. Furthermore, in Leach's case 'science' had led not only to a "false scholasticism" and stagnation, but also to a mystifying, depoliticisation of the discipline, and of the knowledge it produced by denying its basis within the everyday politics of human social relations.

5.4.2 Later Critics

Following these early critiques of 'science' and 'objectivism' in the name of human imagination, creativity and politics, a critical body of literature has gradually emerged which has been based around challenging 'scientific' discourses at the heart of the discipline which have stressed academic 'objectivity' and 'neutrality'. This criticism emerged initially from critiques of 'functionalism'. Critiques challenged the 'scientific' nature of functionalist accounts by pointing out areas, or aspects, of social life which were not touched upon by such functionalist analysis. These re-appraisals of 'functionalism' reflected a number of historical changes, which included, as I have mentioned, an increased awareness of areas of socio-political life which were marked by power relations, conflict and social tension. This awareness reflected the new post-war political climate where 'total war' had altered the global political map, as well as the traditional positions and roles of women, working class men, racial minorities and colonised peoples who had all accepted new roles within the 'war effort' and as a result had experienced new relationships in the face of common interests, and now eagerly expected changes to come in the future as a result of victory.

During this period of expectation and socio-political optimism, anthropology, along with most academic disciplines, experienced a

much greater diversity of practitioners entering its disciplinary territory, as well as some more external attention from a new generation of post-war socio-political theorists who imagined themselves to be riding the wake of progressive and democratising change. Within the discipline of anthropology this optimistic general socio-political mood, and the emergence of new forms of socio-political criticism, was reflected by the acceptance and use by some practitioners of socio-political 'models', or 'frameworks', which were based on opposing political and philosophical assumptions to those advocated within a Durkheimian scheme of things. These alternative 'models' employed the different assumptions and politics of Marx, Weber, Freud and Nietzsche in order to produce opposing positions and discourses.

An early example of an attempt to break with Durkheimian functionalism, although really its apotheosis, was Max Gluckman's Custom and Conflict in Africa published in 1955. Although the volume maintained an 'organic' approach synonymous with functionalism, it also introduced a complex consideration of 'conflict' and 'social change' as key areas within the study, and daily experience of social life. This rather unusual fusion of Durkheimian 'organic solidarity' and Marxist flavoured notions concerning the centrality of social conflict to society, had been constructed by Gluckman within a wider context of growing socio-political dissatisfaction, and by a corresponding uneasiness within the discipline regarding the very static, ahistorical, and apolitical nature of Durkheimian analysis, and in particular, its failure to account for processes of colonisation and modernisation, or 'social change', which clearly affected all those areas covered by anthropologists, but which had, nevertheless, been left out of the 'ethnographic record' in order to produce a de-politicised, often romanticised, highly rational and pristine representation of 'the native's point of view' as if 'the white man' and 'power' had never existed.

Such initial pioneering, but often shy, excursions into 'anti-functionalism' not only challenged the 'scientific' nature of such accounts by demonstrating their inadequacies, but also opened the door to greater theorisation and intellectual diversity within the discipline, based around the growing security and autonomy of a much wider network of professional, state-funded jobs and institutions, and strengthened by a 'boom' in 'higher education' beginning in the 1960s. The emergence of a number of new anthropology departments in universities around Britain, and a radical increase in the number of anthropological societies and journals meant that there was much more scope and demand for new material and different perspectives, as well as many new practitioners some of whom differed considerably in social make-up from the heavily patronised, rather aristocratic and homogeneous body of anthropologists who had made up the evolutionists and the structural functionalists, and who had predominated within the discipline during the period of 'scientific ethnography'. As Richard Fardon, one of the new generation, wrote, "A smaller anthropological establishment, while riven by conflicts between personalities who seem, perhaps always seemed, larger than life, was able - thanks to conditions largely beyond its control [class/sexism/colonialism] - to live at relative peace with a set of suppositions which made the classic period of ethnographic writing possible. The suppositions have lost conviction. They are not ours, and we cannot choose in good faith to justify our activities in terms of them." (Fardon, R. (1988): 1).

In this new material and socio-political context, characters such as Maurice Bloch began to criticise functionalism in the terms of a Marxist perspective, which stressed notions of social change, political conflict and ideology. Bloch directed his Marxist project at demonstrating the 'political' nature of the functionalism inherited by British anthropologists from Durkheim, and he criticised the 'western', 'liberal' assumptions at the

heart of analyses which highlighted the 'organic' nature of 'society' and the importance of 'solidarity'¹⁸². In opposition to such 'bourgeois' forms of analysis, Bloch advocated recognising the significance of factors such as power, inequality, and social change within social life. Such critiques of the nature of functionalism in Marxist terms thus situated functionalism as a 'theory of society', or a particular 'framework', and therefore made way for the existence of opposing and alternative theories and notions - such as Marxism. This increased 'theorisation', and recognition of the presence and importance of theories (imagination/creativity), and assumptions (politics), within the process of knowledge-making, which it produced, introduced a dialectical and contested edge into the discipline which challenged existing notions concerning the 'scientific' (rational/universal) nature of all anthropological knowledge.

Feminism, that other popular theory of the 1960s, also found its way into anthropological territory, debate and literature, and thus entered into the landscape depicted by accounts of social life. Like Marxism, Feminist perspectives produced an awareness of areas of socio-political tension and conflict - surrounding gender relations - which had been left out of functionalist accounts due to the predominantly male identity of both anthropologists and informants, and the male discourse of 'science', in the early days of the discipline. In the post-war period, Feminists made re-appraisals of 'classic' debates and ideas, such as the culture/nature debate, and the Maussian notion of the universal 'gift'¹⁸³. These re-appraisals criticised, to use the term of one Feminist anthropologist, the discipline's "viricentrism" (Huizer, G. and Mannheim (1979): 9). This growing and now established body of feminist literature, like Marxist anthropology, added new dimensions and a more contested and political feel to all anthropological knowledge-making and

¹⁸² See Bloch, M. (1977) for a Marxist critique of functionalist anthropology.

¹⁸³ See Strathern, M. and MacCormack, C. (Eds.) (1980) for a critique of functionalism along gender lines.

discussion. Feminist discourse also added further to the growing awareness of the importance of 'the analyst's model', and the difficulty in reality of separating the latter from the ultimate representation in order to satisfy the 'scientific' ideal and authority of 'objectivity'.

This politicisation of anthropological knowledge and practice was boosted even further by growing intellectual and socio-political concerns with the issues of 'race', 'culture' and 'colonialism'. The American Civil Rights Campaign, in particular through the presence of the media, provoked a growing concern with 'race relations' and matters of social, political and economic inequality within modern nation states, such as the U.S.A. This, of course, simultaneously sparked off an interest in the history of different races and cultures, and more importantly of 'culture contact' - 'colonialism' and 'slavery' for example - which lay behind multi-cultural societies, such as Britain and France. 'Race', in particular, like 'class' and 'gender', expressed a fundamental difference, inequality and opposition, and was, therefore, alien to functionalist, structural-functionalist and structuralist analyses which ignored such differences as products of modern society which, it was claimed, were not applicable to their 'primitive', 'tribal', 'indigenous', or 'other cultural' subjects, and which were also below, politically speaking, their grand 'objective' and 'scientific' point of view.

One response within anthropology to this growing concern with 'race relations' emerged in the form of cultural, or interpretive, anthropology. This branch of anthropology grew out of an American tradition based on work with peoples heavily implicated in historical processes of culture contact/race relations - such as the native American Indian tribes. This tradition, which included the likes of Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, based itself on the principle of 'cultural relativism' and upon the existence of distinct and particular, 'cultures'. This was, of course in opposition to the more elitist and universal use of the singular term 'culture'

which was originally used to signify a status achieved by a society, or section of society, which had experienced an 'improvement', or 'civilising' process. Cultural anthropologists, such as Roger Keesing, saw it as their job to represent the specific and particular 'culture' which belonged to their subject/s, and to protect the integrity and authenticity of their cultural 'meaning' against perversion by 'ethno-centrism' which became the anthropological equivalent of racism. Through this discourse of 'cultural anthropology', some anthropologists, such as Benedict, Mead, Geertz, Holy, and Fernandez, introduced notions of power and interpretation into the discipline in opposition to a focus upon 'structure', which reflected wider concerns with colonialism and cultural/race relations.

They did so, however, only in terms of creating a great liberalising 'mission' for themselves, in which they, the cultural anthropologists, appeared as the innocent 'good guys' who were going to sort out all the sociological and positivist ruffians. In this way, cultural anthropology, although it introduced discussions of certain 'political' aspects of the social world surrounding race/cultural relations, did not put itself in the picture as yet another 'western' form of professional discourse, or 'analyst's model', which itself continued to work within, and help constitute, power relations. It did so by failing to give attention to the history of such 'culture contact' in favour of a more racialist (in terms of a longing for purity and authenticity) and depoliticised vision of 'other cultures'. As such, cultural anthropologists took on issues of power, inequality and politics, which had been ignored by structural-functionalists, and structuralists, only to create yet another form of de-politicised, 'objective realism' based upon the professional de-coding of 'cultural meaning' and 'cultural systems' in which the role of the anthropologist was yet again as a de-politicised 'interpreter', or 'scribe', and his/her presence remained most often absent from within the texts. In the case of Clifford Geertz the turn towards cultural anthropology and 'meaning'

was expressed through a re-statement of anthropology's commitment to representing 'the native's point of view', which became understood as their particular 'cultural system'. This was to be done, however, not by "natural intercourse" and empathy as a subject, as Malinowski had suggested, but rather, through the professional interpretation of peoples' lives and their 'culture' as if they were synonymous with a 'text', and which only necessitated the correct form of 'interpretation'¹⁸⁴.

Other anthropologists, such as Talal Asad, however, who were influenced by the more overtly political discourse produced by Marxism, as well as by early critiques of colonialism - such as that undertaken by Franz Fanon - began to look at the relations between societies over time, rather than maintaining purely static and ahistorical 'snapshots' of 'primitive', or 'tribal' society, or of 'other cultures' in their authentic and as near to pristine state - e.g. depoliticised. In Asad's case this amounted to a pioneering and sweeping account of anthropology's own relationship with one such global and historical relationship between different peoples, that is Euro-American colonialism. As Asad wrote "...there is a strange reluctance on the part of most professional anthropologists to consider seriously the power structure within which their discipline has taken shape." (Asad, T. (1979b): 90). In order to begin to do so, he further suggested that:

"We must begin from the fact that the basic reality which made pre-war social anthropology a feasible and effective enterprise was the power relationship between dominating (European) and dominated (non-European) cultures." (*Ibid.*: 91).

Asad continued by criticising 'science' in a similar manner to that performed by Edmund Leach which I presented earlier, and which equated certain forms of anthropological discourse with academic conservatism and political complicity with the status quo. Asad wrote that:

¹⁸⁴ For Geertz's highly textualised anthropological model and approach, see Geertz, C. (1973), (1988).

"...the scientific definition of anthropology as a disinterested (objective, value-free) study of 'other cultures' helped to mark off the anthropologist's enterprise from that of colonial Europeans (the trader, the missionary, the administrator, and other men of practical affairs); but did it not also render him unable to envisage and argue for a radically different political future for the subordinate people he objectified and thus serve to merge that enterprise in effect with that of dominant status quo Europeans?" (Ibid.: 92).

As with the earlier critiques by Evans-Pritchard and Leach, Asad produced a picture of 'science' as it had functioned within historical practice which was far from Malinowski's 'science', and in which 'science' was understood more as a form of restriction and legitimation within an established power structure.

Such colonial theorising surrounding the relationship between anthropology as a form of 'western knowledge' and the history and politics of global colonisation, unlike cultural anthropology, added further to the wave of politicisation which was spreading throughout the discipline due to the much greater diversity and theorisation which was emerging within its boundaries. The introduction of such new models, and theoretical frameworks, challenged previous and existing accounts of social life, and the nature of anthropology as a supposedly 'scientific' (objective/universal/apolitical) discipline. Such accounts did not, however, necessarily have to rubbish the notion of 'science' altogether as a result, but rather could point out the inadequacies of a particular version of 'science' - e.g. functionalism/structural-functionalism. Marxism, for instance, was regarded by many of its practitioners as the true 'science' of society, and Marxists, such as Maurice Bloch, criticised aspects of structural-functionalism because the latter had 'got it wrong', and not because they were coming from different political positions. For many, however, the increasing number of possible theoretical discourses, and internal conflicts and debates within the discipline, added to the emerging 'power-knowledge' interpretations of 'colonialism' - such as Said's on 'Orientalism' and Asad's on anthropology which connected western 'science' as a discourse with the social and political asymmetries of

colonial relations - led to a new awareness of, and concern with, the politics surrounding all knowledge-making, and to an abandonment of the essentially apolitical 'scientific' project and 'scientific' values in favour of more politicising accounts. This was because 'scientific' discourse appeared to mystify and deny the essentially human and political origins of all knowledge, and its essentially contested nature, through notions of 'objectivity', 'neutrality' and 'universality'. Such claims to absolute authority were increasingly viewed as being symbolic of an imperial stance. As Roger Keesing wrote:

"It is being realised that not taking a political position, not making a moral commitment is not neutral: it is making a commitment - to the support and continuation of the system of which one is a part and within which one is working anthropologically...Ultimately amorality is immorality." (cit. Huizer, G. and Mannheim, B. (1979): 6).

In the light of such opinion, another anthropologist, Gerrit Huizer, in his edited volume on 'Anthropology and Politics', wrote that "...anthropology is politics, whether anthropologists like it or not, and...it is preferable to take up a conscious stand rather than to pretend neutrality..." (*Ibid.*:10).

By the beginning of the 1980s then, anthropology as a 'scientific' discipline had been challenged by its own practitioners in terms of its de-humanising use of 'scientific' discourse, which was epitomised by an essentially removed, distanced and disinterested form of academia, and politicised in terms of 'theory' and historical-political interpretations of the role of knowledge, and 'science' in particular, within the processes of modernisation and colonisation, and the power relations and inequalities which such processes were based upon. This was an awakening, which as I have taken some pains to demonstrate, began as far back as the 1940s/1950s with the work of Evans-Pritchard and Gluckman, amongst others, and which has throughout the post-war period surrounded notions of:

1. The constructed nature of all knowledge, and its basis in human imagination and creativity.

2. The importance of 'theory' and 'the analyst's model' (the intentions/plans of the creators), and the political nature of such anthropological constructions, which are based on the particular experiences, discourses, and positions of the particular individuals who produced them. And, of course, the challenge such politicisation presented to 'scientific' discourse within the discipline.

3. The politics and power relations surrounding all knowledge production, and, in particular, knowledge produced through institutional practices which are marked by socio-political relations of inequality between observer and observed - e.g. colonialism.

5.5 WRITING CULTURE: CONNECTIONS, RECEPTION AND RE-APPRAISAL

It was then on the back of some three decades of critique on both sides of the Atlantic that James Clifford wrote in 1986 that:

"A conceptual shift, 'tectonic' in its implications, has taken place. We ground things now, on a moving earth. There is no longer any place of overview (mountaintop) from which to map human ways of life, no Archimedian point from which to represent the world." (Clifford, J. and Marcus G.E. (1986): 22).

In the light, however, of what I have previously said about Evans-Pritchard and Leach, it now seems somewhat anachronistic that Clifford should also have written, rather prophetically, that "...a series of historical pressures have begun to reposition anthropology with respect to its 'objects' of study." (*Ibid.*: 9-10). Surely these "historical pressures" had been a reality throughout the post-war period? Was Clifford's "moving earth" not comparable to Leach's earlier "runaway world"? Clifford, like Evans-Pritchard, Leach and Asad before him, stressed the significance of history and the importance of "The critique of colonialism in the post-war period..." which had led to "...an undermining of 'the west's' ability to represent other societies." (*Ibid.*:10). Like

Evans-Pritchard before him, Clifford also criticised the de-humanising discourse of 'science'. He wrote that:

"Since Malinowski's time the 'method' of participant-observation has enacted a delicate balance of subjectivity and objectivity. The ethnographer's personal experiences, especially those of participation and empathy, are recognised as central to the research process, but they are firmly restrained by the impersonal standards of observation and 'objective' distance...the subjectivity of the author is separated from the objective referent of the text." (*Ibid.*: 13).

Again like Evans-Pritchard and Leach, Clifford clearly believed that 'science' as a discourse within the history of anthropology had produced bureaucratic impersonalisation and de-humanisation of subjects and authors, as opposed to the "natural intercourse" and popularising voice advocated by Malinowski in his original invitation to 'science'. Malinowski, however (as can be seen in the quotation above), was also cited by Clifford and the new breed of 'post-modern' anthropologists as a contributor to this process of 'impersonalisation', under a very general and ill-defined notion of 'science' which equated it entirely with 'objectivism'¹⁸⁵. I think that such a sweeping generalisation was mistaken, because of the existence of more radical and politicised notions of 'science' as a discourse, which have not been so committed to elitist notions of distance, neutrality and authority, and which, I believe, include Malinowski's 'science' of ethnography. I will return to this later on, however.

For now I wish to concentrate on the fact that in terms of its focus upon notions of human/social constructionism ('poetics'), the politics and power relations surrounding knowledge production ('politics'), the importance of reflecting upon the position/role of the anthropologist with

¹⁸⁵ In opposition to such a view of Malinowski, however, Richard Fardon has pointed out a correspondence between Malinowski and 'post-modern' anthropology in terms of liberal "images of symmetry or balance" (Fardon, R. (1988): 570) - e.g. 'participation'/dialogue'. Fardon wrote that "Anthropological postmodernism needs a particular version of Malinowski." (*Ibid.*). Fardon's view of a correspondence between Malinowski and aspects of contemporary anthropology, in fact, reflects my own line of argument here although, significantly, he views such a correspondence negatively in terms of a failure to deal with wider inequalities through theorisation, whereas I am trying to use it as a means to make a positive re-statement of the importance of ethnography within the discipline.

respect to the subject under study (history/reflexivity), and even the status of anthropological knowledge (ethico-political), Writing Culture (published in 1986) was in no sense ground-breaking, or radical. In fact, such notions were supported by some three decades of critique within British social anthropology, as well as by a strong tradition of 'cultural anthropology' based in the U.S.A. Richard Fardon has made a similar historical connection. Fardon wrote that "Clifford recognizably belongs to a movement, which has been gaining in authority, at least since Evans-Pritchard's mature writings, that disputes the aptness of scientific paradigms in anthropoogy. The message is not original..." (Fardon, R. (1988): 11). Furthermore, I would argue that the commitment to face-to-face 'fieldwork' through 'dialogue' and 'ethnography', and to the giving of 'voice' to marginalised others through the 'heteroglossic' production of ethnographic texts, was a re-working of the radical, people-centered Malinowskian endeavour to advocate 'the native's point of view' in the face of increasing professional specialisation and 'meta-theorisation'¹⁸⁶.

However, despite this academic genealogy and connectedness, Writing Culture, especially in Britain, has been treated by many anthropologists as a very threatening and radical text. Pejorative metaphors and images of Writing Culture, or the "new ethnographic criticism", have been extensively employed within the British discipline in order to dismiss its contribution (Fardon, R. (1988) (ed.): 4). Jonathan Spencer has called it "...a highly self-conscious and reflexive iceberg..." and "...a depressingly reactionary document", which he claimed would "...provoke a trend away from doing anthropology and towards ever more barren criticism and meta-theorisation." (Spencer, J. (1990): 145;161). Richard Fardon, another important (and slightly less scathing) voice within the British reception committee, also conjured up several of his own metaphorical images in his introduction to Localising Strategies a British volume addressed to the 'new

¹⁸⁶ For such Malinowskian notions, see Tyler, S. (1986) and Marcus, G. (1986).

(American) criticism'. Fardon described the 'new criticism' through comparative images of:

1. pathetic, repentant lovers promising to mend their ways, but in the knowledge that they have promised to do so before unsuccessfully (Fardon, R. (1988): 4)
2. "catapult owners" - "...a motley crew who seem to share little more than a propensity to break windows" - as opposed to "glaziers" with their "vocational interests" - e.g. 'regional specialists' (Ibid.: 5).

A third critical British voice, that of Mark Hobart, also sounded off somewhat vitriolically against the 'new criticism' as "...unreflective, conservative, and subtly hegemonic" writing full of "libertarian pretensions" which ultimately "...lands up indulging our seemingly endless passion with ourselves, our language, metaphors and intellectual spectacles", and which offered, in terms of the future, only the image of ethnography as "...the poisoned chalice of an elixir of immortality"(Hobart, M. (1988): 305; 313; 306; 309).

Now in presenting this barrage of very literary and highly negative metaphors and images my point is not to suggest that there was not some substantial weight in the criticisms that British anthropologists constructed against the 'new criticism'. Quite to the contrary, in fact, I believe that all critical positions and argumentative stances form themselves oppositionally, and can be re-described, criticised and deconstructed through the adoption and assumption of alternative positions and argumentative terms. As Marshall Sahlins has stated "At least as far as anthropology goes two things are certain in the long run: one is that we'll all be dead; but another is that we'll all be wrong. Clearly a good scholarly career is where the first comes before the second"¹⁸⁷. No criticism, no matter how authoritarian or well-written, is beyond criticism itself. As such, I also do not wish to present the

¹⁸⁷ I found this amusing and humanising extract in a promotional pamphlet for a series called Prickly Pear Pamphlets in which Sahlins had a publication entitled 'Waiting For Foucault'.

view that Writing Culture was an evolutionary peak within the discipline's history which was/is not open to criticism itself (I have, after all, attempted to diffuse, historically, its departure above). In fact, I even support many of the criticisms, or revisions, which have been made, or suggested, by British contributors to the debate.

In particular, I believe that contributors to the Localising Strategies volume added greater substance to much of the highly generalised, theoretical and argumentative structure of Writing Culture by criticising transcendentalist and essentialist notions within it (such as 'the other' and 'ethnography'), and by suggesting instead accounts of particular ethnographic encounters in time and place as opposed to further statements concerning some kind of "ethnographic master process" (Fardon, R. (1988): 23). Furthermore, several authors, such as Mark Hobart, have also expressed a desire to hold on to a notion of 'cultural' difference and specificity in the face of approaches based on 'power' and 'history' which make people everywhere subject to similar forces and leave little room for reflecting upon the specificity and contingency of our own categories and the difference between them and those employed by others in a way that amounts to a commitment to those others as opposed to the categories of the self (Hobart, M. 1988). This kind of critique, although criticised itself within Writing Culture in terms of where exactly to draw the boundaries between 'cultures', and through a desire to engage with important issues (power, colonialism) surrounding spheres shared by different peoples (history, exchange, political relations), reminds us all of the dangers of 'ethnocentrism' which could result from over-concentration on any metropolitan, or academic, form of theory, interpretation, or technique such as 'self-reflexivity'. As Hobart has written:

"...the price of such self-reflexive criticism, besides being infinitely regressive, is that it privileges the anthropologist and western academic cultures at the expense of the supposed subject [presuming, of course, that such a distinction exists in the first place!] ." (Hobart, M. (1988): 307).

Both of the above criticisms of Writing Culture involve important issues (the importance of intention, specificity, historical context and commitment to others, as well as 'ethnocentrism') and in a reasonable climate could indeed be accepted, as some themselves have suggested, as fine-tunings, or contributions, to the Writing Culture debate as opposed to constituting scathing criticisms of it (Fardon, R. (1988): 9).

However, despite the occasional liberal statement to the contrary, most British commentary upon Writing Culture and the 'new critics' (as even the title suggests) has indeed been scathing. Beyond the use of the aforementioned negative metaphors and imagery the "project" has been thoroughly condemned not only in terms of 'culture' (American ethnocentrism) and 'history' (transcendentalism/essentialism), but has also been rubbished as "contrived" and as philosophically "confused and contradictory" (Fardon, R. (1988): 4; Hobart, M. (1988): 306). Richard Fardon, a voice of authority within the British scene, has perhaps best summarised their collective response to Writing Culture when he wrote that:

"...they ["the prognostications they make"] start from different premises...are internally divergent, and are not easy to implement simultaneously. Each generates positions with which it can be comforting to identify; together they offer a radically different perspective on anthropological history; but this is not to say that it is easy to specify, on the basis of them, how we make matters better." (Fardon, R. (1988): 8).

And to this highly critical comment one could add, in typically verbose style, Hobart's damning and highly dramatic conclusion that " We are invited to witness a conspiracy against oppression but are left with Neros fiddling while Rome burns." (Hobart, M. (1988): 312).

Now it seems to me, especially taking into account the shared interests between a certain British critical tradition and much of "the prognostications" of Writing Culture which I, and others, have pointed out, that this reaction is somewhat severe and unfair. I must admit that, on the whole, I have always found it rather surprising, and sometimes disillusioning,

just how violently British anthropologists seem to have reacted, and continue to react, to Writing Culture. Even Jonathon Spencer's own views on the importance of 'ethnography' and 'history' are not fundamentally in opposition to many of those voiced and advocated within the "depressingly reactionary" volume, which he himself has acknowledged in the case of James Clifford's work (even though he is not an ethnographer!), and yet he has still dismissed it vitriolically (Spencer, J. (1990): 161). Richard Fardon has at least, if somewhat reluctantly, admitted that the contributors to Writing Culture had accepted a "...role as champions of the contemporary intellectual scene within anthropology [which] has been salutary. They have made it impossible to ignore problems which need to detain us." (Fardon, R. (1988): 9). Furthermore, the general theoretical and practical message which can be drawn from Fardon's edited volume Localising Strategies regarding the need to reflect upon the importance of 'regionalism' and 'regional perspectives' indeed itself seems to incorporate much of the critical substance of Writing Culture within its own more specific framework. As Fardon again wrote in his conclusion to the introduction to that volume:

"By exploring regional perspectives on ethnographic writing, the intention of contributors to this collection is not to dispel but to invigorate the recent critical momentum of anthropological studies of ethnographic writing and to apply its insights to the task of creating an 'ethnography of ethnographers'." (Ibid.: 29).

The strong flavour of the Writing Culture project can be detected throughout this closing extract despite the fact that Fardon had, prior to this statement, concluded that "The new critics...cannot really be said to share a project." (Ibid.: 19). I would say that in the light of Fardon's own prognostications and the obvious influence upon them produced by the Writing Culture departure, that such criticism is unfair (Ibid: 4)¹⁸⁸. Mark Hobart's contribution to the

¹⁸⁸ I would also suggest that without the intellectual capital made out of criticising the Writing Culture project that Fardon, and perhaps some other British anthropologists such as Hobart, would not have been able to manufacture their own successful academic careers.

same volume also seems slightly unfair to me as well. Hobart thoroughly rubbishes the project on a number of fronts (cultural, philosophical, political) in his article, but then later in his own argument, with reference to South-East Asia, he himself criticises Dutch structuralism and Clifford Geertz as "hegemonic texts...which have, in a sense, helped to constitute South-East Asian societies." (Hobart, M. (1988): 314). Again the echoes of the critique of 'Orientalist' discourse, 'power-knowledge' theory and other aspects of Writing Culture can be heard within Hobart's own voice. There is significant correspondence as well between his call for attention to 'agency' as opposed to 'idealism' within approaches to South-East Asia and the focus on 'dialogic ethnography' as opposed to 'meta-theorisation' within Writing Culture. Why there has been such a vitriolic and sweeping response to the latter volume is then, at least to me, somewhat of a mystery.

Mark Hobart again, however, in a rather more 'reflexive', as opposed to 'critical', moment in his contribution to Localising Strategies, seems to have suggested that perhaps the void between the 'new critics' and British social anthropologists has been over-stated within the heated exchange of writings. Hobart wrote in a closing sentence that might even slip by unnoticed following his sweeping critique, that "Talk of grand, or regional, anthropological traditions is more about creating autolatrous genealogies than many would admit and the point of the exercise easily becomes forgotten.[my emphasis]" (Ibid.: 330). So perhaps, if I interpret this correctly, it can be said that the often extreme reaction to Writing Culture within the British discipline can be explained, at least to some extent, by the contemporary career-driven, nationally based and territorially defensive world of academic politics. Such an interpretation of events would also help to explain why significant correspondences between 'traditional' critical concerns within British social anthropology and the Writing Culture project have been very much left unstated by many, and why British anthropologists

seem to have produced reasonably contradictory responses to the departure in their desire to dismiss it completely as a 'project'.

This was, of course, also despite the fact that Writing Culture, although now a myth and a cliché, was itself only a collection of "working papers" which emerged from a week long "advanced seminar" with "...blatant exclusions produced by the organisation and focus of the seminar" and published only with the "...hope that the book would strike an important, controversial chord, but hopefully not "...leave the impression that the volume as a whole points in any Utopian or prophetic direction." (Clifford, J. and Marcus, G. (1986): viii)¹⁸⁹. Few such publications as this, of which there are numerous every year which present work resulting from 'seminars' and 'conferences', have created such a storm and such vehement critical response, and very few have been so sweepingly judged as if they were both the beginning and the ultimate proof of the entire worth of what was suggested within. In many ways, I would say, that Writing Culture was condemned in a way which other, often lesser, volumes have not been, that is, as not forming a coherent 'project' when, in fact, the volume if anything was a new, inchoate initiative and an invitation to new (and not so new) diverse ways of thinking about specific aspects of anthropological practice, as well as suggestions for ethnographic innovation and experimentation. Such writing could surely be tested, advocated or rubbished only in terms of whether, or not, it produced exciting or poor practice/effects, and not purely on philosophical or critical grounds of one sort or another? Such latter criticism is, after all, surely self-indulgent beyond its application to particular, specific projects and particular ends, and potentially never-ending as long as differences and distinctions

¹⁸⁹ One of the main criticisms of Writing Culture produced by the contributors to Localising Strategies is that it does not offer a coherent 'project', see, for instance, Fardon and Hobart's articles. However, I suspect that had they presented such a Utopian project they would have also been criticised for their lack of scholarly, or theoretical, diversity and their dogmatism. Fardon, in fact, criticises George Marcus in his introduction for being on just such a dogmatic "mission", while, in general, bemoaning the lack of a clear "project" within the volume as a whole (Fardon, R. (1988): 13-16).

remain a socio-political reality; and this must lead us ultimately to the question: what is the point? In this sense, I would further suggest, that perhaps it was not the contributors to Writing Culture who threw the baby out with the bathwater, but rather those, particularly British, anthropological critics who rejected its prognostications so fiercely, while ignoring the extent to which they themselves stood on common ground. On a more positive note, however, the British response certainly confirms the contributors to Writing Culture's hope that the volume "...would strike an important, controversial chord." (Ibid.).

In terms of further explanation of the general response to Writing Culture, there is, of course, a fierce resistance within anthropology and the 'social sciences' in general to being compared with 'literature', 'literary criticism', or 'philosophy', which often leads to over-reaction and re-statements of pseudo-'scientific' values and discourses¹⁹⁰. This kind of reaction stems from a latent 'experiential positivism' produced by Malinowski's original distinction between 'the ethnographer'/'ethnography' and both 'armchair theorists' (and their 'conjecture') and other types of foreigner - missionary, trader, administrator - and their knowledge of 'the natives' in which the latter's relationships were understood to be more self-fulfilling, self-indulgent and distorted than that of 'the scientific ethnographer' (with the odd exception). As Richard Fardon has written, such distinctions were crucial to the establishment of social anthropology as a discipline and lay at the heart of "...the argument for our privileged status among reporters." (Fardon, R. (1988): 3). Marilyn Strathern has also argued for

190 A particularly apt and to the point example of such reaction to the 'fictionalisation' of the 'social sciences' can be found in I.C. Jarvie's response to Marilyn Strathern's 'Out of Context' article (Strathern, M. (1987): 272-273). Jarvie wrote, in response to Strathern's account of the work of Frazer and Malinowski as "persuasive fictions" and against "irresponsible irrationalists" that "...the single most important fact about our society that makes it different from all others [is]: the presence and tradition of science. We should resist fictional accounts of anthropology, however persuasive!" (Strathern, M. (1987): 273).

the importance of such distinctions in terms of 'modernist' anthropology's claim to put subjects into their real, living social 'context' (Strathern, M: 1987). However, as far as I understand it, any such comparisons between anthropology and 'literature/fiction' in terms of them being 'writing' within Writing Culture were not made in order to belittle anthropology, and especially ethnography, but rather were made in order to demonstrate and recognise the basis of the discipline within human imagination, human creativity, inter-subjectivity and politics, and in order to suggest positive ways in which such ethnographic writing could be produced ('dialogue', 'heteroglossia', 'joint action', 'indigenous ethnography') and in what terms it could be received (politically and ethically as a human encounter). Surely such critical insights and attempts at suggesting ways to alter our practices should not just be shot down in flames in terms of common sense understandings, epistemological preference, academic convention, or for the sake of preserving 'traditions' which should always be strong enough to deal with resistance if they are to be of value?

I personally think that many of the problems behind the hostile reception of Writing Culture surrounded the rather aloof and prophetic tone of parts of the work, which was clearly animated by (male?) enthusiasm, and a focus within the volume on "...theorising about the limits of representation itself", which, drawing upon post-structuralist notions of language and textual production, perhaps went too far into alien territory and towards questioning anthropological praxis altogether in purely critical terms (Clifford, J. and Marcus, G. (1986): 10). There was also the sweeping (ab-)use of the discourse of 'science' within the work which itself is left ill-defined, except negatively, as the work's own significant 'Other'. Both the borrowing of terms from contemporary literary criticism/theory and the wholesale rejection of 'science' made Writing Culture an alienating and disrespectful

experience for many experienced, professional anthropologists¹⁹¹. This was despite the fact that, as I have endeavoured to demonstrate, Writing Culture incorporated and synthesised many critical threads which had been emerging throughout the post-war period within anthropology, and which reflected wider socio-political and historical changes within modern societies. Severe reactions and responses also, however, demonstrated the extent to which the critique of crude 'science' and 'objectivism', which had developed strongly in the post-war period, had been resisted, or ignored, by many practitioners within the discipline who continued to use 'scientific' discourse, and who still claimed a (pseudo-) 'objective' authority.

In the light, however, of my previous analysis of critical developments within the discipline in the post-war period I hope that I can now re-ignite critical interest in particular aspects of the heterogeneous writing within the Writing Culture volume, which can be incorporated into more long-standing disciplinary concerns, issues and debates surrounding the nature of anthropological practice and knowledge (human, created, political), and the need to incorporate such notions into our practices, writing and the ways in which we present and evaluate the representations we produce. It is within this critical context that I want now to discuss my research and writing methodologies in terms of a set of theoretical strategies of 'history' and 'positioning' which are based on a commitment to the politics of anthropology and the anti-objective notion of 'positioning'.

¹⁹¹ This is, of course, to be expected from any critical re-evaluation, departure or disjunction, which in essence should always unsettle the *status quo*. Furthermore, it could be said that if anthropology in the contemporary world is to distinguish itself from other forms of 'media', with which it increasingly shares a common territory, and demand some kind of authority, then it must remain vigilant and highly self-critical.

5.6 HISTORY AND REFLEXIVITY

In terms of issues of 'de-humanisation' and 'depoliticisation' - the denial of human imagination, creativity and politics within anthropology, and the rigid totalities produced by a particular use of 'science' which I have mapped out above - I think that critical debate within the discipline has suggested a variety of strategies through which such inadequacies can be tackled. These include with particular respect to this thesis: 1. **History**. 2. **Reflexivity**.

The first, history, continues and extends a growing tradition within anthropology during the post-war era which has stressed the importance of achieving an historical awareness of 'practice' as opposed to 'structure', processes of 'social change' and 'culture contact'¹⁹². Such approaches, which have placed a previously absent 'dynamic' quality into accounts of social life, allow anthropologists to engage with certain social phenomena and social practices which are themselves beyond the scope, boundaries and politics of a static functional, or structuralist, analysis. History also helps us, as writers and readers, to understand and make the critical connections between apparently diverse aspects of social life - such as knowledge, education, the modern state, colonialism and more 'local' realities - without having to stamp them with the blueprint of an all-encompassing and totalising 'framework', or 'model', as has been the case with functional, and even cultural, models which have identified social things in terms of a particular political vision of 'organic solidarity'¹⁹³. History and historiography, therefore, present a means of representation, a way of thinking and engaging with social reality, as well as a style of writing, which allows both writer and reader to continue to make further senses and connections from a variety of possible positions in a continual process of description and interpretation, and without the need to

¹⁹² Ortner, S. (1984) is an interesting review of such post-war theoretical change. Bloch, M. (1977) is a classic critique of structural-functionalism in terms of notions of 'ideology' (idealism), 'flux' and 'social change'.

¹⁹³ For a powerful critique of the affinities between structural-functionalism and some cultural anthropology, see Hobart, M. (1988: 316-320) and his critique of Geertz.

constantly prove each sense, or part, in the terms of an apriori model, or dominating framework. To paraphrase Edmund Leach - who, despite his commitment to structuralism, used history himself to create a wider notion of complexity within his pioneering ethnography of Highland Burma - history allows us to visualise and imagine social life as a complex, jellyfish-like affair representative of "...the fluidity of real-life experience" (Leach, E. (1967): 78), rather than constantly viewing it as if it functioned like the simple, logical mechanism of a watch, which, in the words of Evans-Pritchard, has only "...led to one rigid and ambitious formulation after another." (Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1950): 26)..

Historical approaches, as I have demonstrated above, have been pivotal to the process of critique within anthropology which has taken place during the post-war period, in terms of theoretical innovation and as a framework in which to produce re-appraisals of previously existing accounts and representations¹⁹⁴. Major critiques have been performed upon timeless, static and apolitical functionalist and structuralist knowledges of 'wholes', 'systems', 'structures' and 'cultures'. The political and historical work of Michel Foucault and Edward Said outwith anthropology, and of Michael Taussig, Talal Asad, George Stocking, Johannes Fabian and James Clifford within it, in particular, come to mind. Furthermore, an historical perspective on ethnographic subjects, in terms of a research methodology and writing position, pioneered by ethnographers such as Jean Comaroff (1985), has also become a commonplace within contemporary works in order to create more of a sense of the processes and changes which have constituted that ethnographic world by engaging with it temporally, and to convey to the reader the sense that what the anthropologist is dealing with is very much open to change and transformation. As such, historical perspectives, which

¹⁹⁴ For examples of historically based critique within British social anthropology, see Asad, T. (1972; 1973); Bloch, M. (1977); Ardener, E.W. (1971; 1985).

offer more of a partial and shifting view of an ever-changing landscape, as opposed to functionalist manuals of operation, or 'scientific' dissections and diagnoses of social life, have emerged reflecting the growing acceptance of more general notions of subjectivity, interpretation and partiality as important factors within the production of anthropological knowledge which have emerged since the arrival of critiques of 'science' and 'objectivism'.

Evans-Pritchard, despite his own seemingly unproblematic relationship with colonialism and his use of the 'ethnographic present' within his own ethnography, recognised the importance of this historical perspective, and the shift towards history early on. In 1950 Evans-Pritchard, as I have already mentioned, advocated 'historiography', not only as a part of anthropological practice (which to some would have been contentious enough), but as a model for the discipline as a whole in opposition to the Durkheimian model based upon mimicking the 'natural sciences'. In doing so, he also predicted the career of Clifford Geertz, the 'literary turn' and the Writing Culture departure within anthropology with his description of the discipline as "...a literary and impressionistic art" surrounding experience, interpretation and translation, and his recognition that anthropological knowledge was in essence "an imaginative construct"(Evans-Pritchard, E.E.: 22; 23).

However, in challenging the 'scientific' canon Evans-Pritchard was quick to add, as a consolation to those who equated 'knowledge' whole-heartedly with 'science', that "...it does not follow from regarding social anthropology as a special kind of historiography rather than as a special kind of natural science that its researches and theory are any less systematic", nor any less relevant by implication (Ibid.: 26). However, Evans-Pritchard did oppose such historiography, in a humanising sense, to a 'scientific' model which aims "...at proving that man is an automaton and at discovering the sociological laws, in terms of which his actions, ideas and beliefs can be

explained and in the light of which they can be planned and controlled." (Ibid.: 28). In this sense, Evans-Pritchard understood history, as I have tried to employ it within this thesis, that is, in opposition to a certain understanding of 'science', and as a 'humanising' approach and model within the discipline as a whole. Evans-Pritchard wrote as a conclusion to his own personal contribution to this 'humanising' project that "I expect that in the future there will be a turning towards humanistic disciplines, especially towards history, and particularly towards social history..." within the discipline (Ibid.: 28). There has indeed been such a shift, although thanks to the emergence of structuralism and the 'culture' concept, it has come somewhat more gradually and later than Evans-Pritchard perhaps expected. In this work I have tried to extend and express this particular shift away from 'scientific' approaches to human social life as if it were a natural organism, or a distinctive, material object, which could be taken apart, and towards a humanising, historical perspective on social life which describes it in a processual and active sense in terms of human characters, experiences, events, scenes, shifts, conflicts and strategies. Perhaps, as critics of the 'new criticism' have suggested, I have in doing so underplayed the other worldliness and different/distinctive 'structure', or 'cosmology', of the particular people and area of social life which I have focussed upon, and settled instead for a projection of my own 'academic culture' and interests onto them (ethnocentrism)?¹⁹⁵ However, as an 'indigenous ethnographer', I feel less restrained, or constrained, by difference and the dangers of ethnocentrism than many anthropologists would in terms of their relationship with their ethnographic subject, and as a result of the extensive inter-subjective experience of the subject I have had and my own position of subjectivity towards it, I find it difficult to know either

¹⁹⁵ This 'cultural' critique and accusation of 'ethnocentrism' is central to critiques of approaches, based on experience, history and power, advocated within Writing Culture, which were issued within the volume Localising Strategies. See Fardon, R. (1988) and Hobart, M. (1988).

where to draw the boundaries between the subject and my own knowledge of it, or how to transform human historical, inter-subjective experience and ongoing relationships/processes into 'structure', or 'culture' in the ways they are commonly used by anthropologists as explanatory models. Perhaps, as I suggested in my introduction to his work, the insider's view is essentially practice-based and historical, because experience and knowledge of the living thing seems only to produce resistance to what Mark Hobart has called "cryogeny" (Hobart, M. (1988): 312)¹⁹⁶.

As well as this general and theoretical commitment to history as a humanising and political way of knowing and representing social life and its subjects - that is, when compared to more 'scientific' and ahistorical approaches, such as structuralism - I also think that history offers a very valuable resource methodologically speaking. By this I mean that historical research and an historical approach to ethnographic subjects offers an ethnographer an ethnographic project through which to engage with his/her subject/s, and a means - through historical writing - to present a detailed and diverse appreciation of such subjects. Within this thesis I have tried to employ historical research, perspective and writing as a valuable source of ethnographic information and knowledge, for example, in the sections on the history of 'acid house', 'raving', and 'the Goa party scene'.

Furthermore, an historical perspective, as well as providing a possible theoretical model and ethnographic method, can also - crucially in these days of over-interpretation and multiple theorisation - provide the researcher with a critical position and point of engagement concerning the nature of anthropological practice/theory over time which, as in the previous section, helps anthropologists to situate their ethnographic projects and research methodologies, and to engage with specific issues within the discipline. Such historical awareness, produced perhaps by reading the historicist work of

¹⁹⁶ See 1.3.3 in the introductory section,

George Stocking (1984, 1992, 1995) and James Clifford (1988), offers emerging anthropologists a means to avoid the naivete caused by apparent 'naturalisation' of particular forms of the practice. As such, history of anthropology offers a comparative, and relativising resource in terms of both 'power' and 'knowledge', which can be used to both situate and temper any sweeping claims to knowledge, authority, and absolute truth.

History and historical reflection in the form of a personal performance of 'reflexivity', 'auto-anthropology', or 'personal anthropology', I think, can also be used by ethnographers and anthropologists to situate their own personal, ethical and political involvement with both anthropology, and with their chosen ethnographic subject of enquiry, and to chart such relationships over time¹⁹⁷. This is a method which lies at the heart of this work in terms of my position (both in research and writing) towards my ethnographic subject - a position which has criss-crossed traditional boundaries between subject-object, and in which personal history, subjectivity, academic research and knowledge production have been inter-connected and pushed towards creative and informative effects. In this thesis, for example, I have attempted through the incorporation of sections of personal, self-reflexive writing to establish for myself as the ethnographer-anthropologist a particular position, and human-political relationship of engaged and informed subjectivity with respect to my subject - raving - and to utilise such a position, and the experience and knowledge it produces, as a means through which to produce ethnographic writing and knowledge. This kind of creative use of personal history and subjectivity, through 'self-reflexivity', can be used to humanise the position/role of the ethnographer, to elaborate on power relations, both pre-existing and in the interactional situation of 'the field', and as a means of qualifying, and defining, the kinds of sources, and kinds of knowledge and

¹⁹⁷ For 'reflexivity' see Rabinow, P. (1977); for 'auto-anthropology' see Okely, J. and Carraway, H. (1992); and for 'personal anthropology' see Pocock, D. (1975).

experience, which lay behind more explicitly 'traditional' forms of anthropological discourse¹⁹⁸.

I am arguing, therefore, (as I have tried to demonstrate throughout this thesis) that history offers us, as anthropologists:

1. A theory of knowledge, which is opposed to a certain notion of 'science', and which is more characterised by notions of human openness and partiality, and based in a continuous process of description and interpretation. Such knowledge is, therefore, moral and political in nature - e.g. contingent and contested - as opposed to 'objective', or 'scientific'.
2. A research method and means of engaging with, as well as representing, one's ethnographic subject, which avoids systematic theorisation in terms of a particular analytical model, or particular set of terms, and which, therefore, avoids the de-humanising dangers of 'objectivism' and 'essentialism'.
3. A means of critical reflection through which to engage with the discipline, to situate and work out one's own work and position, and, therefore, to temper absolutist claims to 'objective' knowledge and create critical debate.
4. A means to produce greater 'reflexivity', that is, of reflecting upon the role of the anthropologist, the socio-political context, and honestly upon the kinds of human interactions and relationships which took place in the field in order to situate, and temper, claims to 'knowledge' in the light of a host of constraining and defining factors - personal, social, political and historical - which have direct influence upon not only 'fieldwork', but the nature of ultimate representations themselves¹⁹⁹. Such 'reflexivity' is, as

¹⁹⁸ Rabinow, P. (1977) is still, I believe, a classic example of 'reflexive' anthropology which, however, maintains the ethnographic ideal; that is, it does not become pure 'self-reflexivity', but uses reflection to inform upon the ethnographic process and the kind of knowledge produced therein. A more popular, slightly comical, British example of the genre also exists, see Barley, N. (1986).

¹⁹⁹ Okely, J. and Carraway, H. (1992) (eds.) is an early example within British anthropology of such critical reflection on 'fieldwork'. Also see Fardon, R. (1988) (ed.).

such, comparable to an historian's need to establish the nature of his/her sources, and also a way of constructing meaningful debates about the human, interactional and political basis of anthropological knowledge.

History, of course, is not the only way to tackle issues of 'politics' and 'power'. These subjects can also be introduced through the critical application of concepts, theories and interpretations surrounding such notions in the form of descriptive accounts of specific ethnographic subjects. This is what I attempted to do in my section on 'criticism' with regard to a Foucauldian analysis of raving - although not without many critical apologies. Such critical theories, unlike Foucault's, may not be strongly based in historical research and interpretation, and they may end up committing the very same sins (totalisation and de-humanisation) as those cast against 'scientific' functionalist and structuralist accounts of social life. They do, however, present an alternative means through which to highlight issues of 'politics', 'power' and 'power relations' within a wider and more complex historical and ethnographic account. It is with such a hope in mind that I have included such a critical analysis within this work, based on Michel Foucault's notion of 'power relations', as well as being a response to the fact that such analysis is still very much an obligation for the doctoral student.

5.7 POSITIONING: HEART, MARGINALITY AND KNOWLEDGE 'FROM WITHIN'

The other theoretical strategy which I want to outline with respect to my work, and which revolves around critiques of 'science' and 'objectivism', concerns 'positioning', which I also discussed previously at some length in terms of 'methodology' (see section 1.3.1). I will animate my understanding of the importance of 'positioning' through the elaboration of two aspects of what I understand as 'position' - 'heart' and 'marginality' - which are central to this

work. But to begin with, I would like to present a quote from Carlos Castenada's The Teachings of Don Juan which has been a big inspiration to me in terms of working out these notions with respect to my own particular position and project. The voice is that of Don Juan, a Yaqui shaman, who in conversation with Castenada - the anthropologist - offered this advice as a guide to evaluating knowledge:

"Does this path have a heart? If it does, the path is good; if it doesn't, it is of no use. Both paths lead nowhere; but one has a heart, the other doesn't. One makes for a joyful journey; as long as you follow it, you are one with it. The other will make you curse your life. One makes you strong; the other weakens you." (Castenada, C.(1973): 106).

The notion of 'positioning', and awareness of the importance of position with respect to the production of knowledge, has emerged out of the critiques of 'science' and 'objectivism' which I presented earlier. Basically speaking, those critiques have rejected the 'scientific' and absolutist theory of knowledge which states that aspects of social life can be fully apprehended and understood in their entirety and totality, and then be reduced and redescribed as 'knowledge' by disinterested, distanced, professional 'experts' who employ particular techniques and language games in doing so. Instead, the critiques have suggested and argued that 'knowledge' of a particular subject, especially a human subject, depends upon a variety of much more complex factors - social, political, personal, cultural - and in particular, upon the identity of the subject who has produced that 'knowledge'. The critiques have further introduced the notion that such partial, positioned and political knowledge is also highly contested because it generates itself within fields of discourse in which different vocabularies and techniques are established in opposition to each other. Such knowledge has, therefore, shifted in status from a notion of 'universality' and 'neutrality' - a 'news from nowhere' - to a partial, positioned and political notion of knowledge-making more akin to the

conditions and politics of everyday life and interaction²⁰⁰. As one European anthropologist, Kirsten Hastrup, has put it "...the world is always experienced from a particular point in social space...There is no seeing from 'nowhere in particular'." (Hastrup, K. and Hervik, P. (1994): 234).

This shift from 'scientific' notions of 'neutrality'/'objectivity' to 'position' (which also reflects the previously mentioned moves towards 'history' and 'reflexivity') is based on a political and historical understanding of the political, military and economic context, and the history of power relations surrounding such 'scientific' ideals. Such changing conceptions within academia - which have produced a great interest in the politics and history of 'science' - reflect wider historical and socio-political experiences surrounding the practical and political uses of 'science' in everyday life, and the effect of such on popular opinion and politics²⁰¹. Anna Grimshaw and Keith Hart very recently have felt it necessary to point out this trend when they wrote that "...by the mid-point of this century, science had come to embody for many an oppressive, impersonal force in society..." (Grimshaw and Hart (1995): 53). Such politicised notions of 'science' were the subject of Michel Foucault's highly influential works on 'power-knowledge', which have been widely adopted as a model by other critics, such as Edward Said who employed such a notion to great critical effect within his work on 'Orientalism'. Within anthropology Richard Fardon has called this current of thought "the critique of representation from power" (Fardon, R. (1988): 7). Such opinion, which is now very widespread thanks to the influence of Writing Culture and other work on 'colonialism', expresses an historical and critical awareness of the relationship between science,

²⁰⁰ Said, E. (1978) and his critique of 'Orientalism' is a classic example of this contemporary politicisation of knowledge. In terms of ethnographic writing a reading of Chagnon, N. (1997) and Lizot, J (1985) on the Yanomamo also presents an interesting example of the different, politically charged images which can result from different persons (one American, one French) and different 'spectacles'.

²⁰¹ See Kuhn, T.S. (1970) for a classic example of work which introduced and popularised notions of history and politics in terms of the study of 'science'.

professionalism, state centralisation, nationalism and colonialism in terms of a specific type of modern power and authority - which, of course, formed the subject of Foucault's influential historical works²⁰².

Such interpretation and criticism has normally coincided with a desire to express a new set of (Post-modern? Post-colonial?) ethics, and a model for social research which sees value in de-centralisation, populism and the politics of giving 'voice' to certain subjects and peoples; as opposed to the authoritarian objectivism of 'scientific expertise'. One proponent of such criticism, John Shotter, has stated, in spatial and positional terms, that contemporary social research should be based around the task of achieving in discourse and practice a "...move from the orderly centre to the disorderly margins." (Shotter, J. (1993): 52). This de-centralisation of position from the centre to the margins, which Shotter proposes in the light of a discussion of postmodern ethics and research strategies, is a strategy through which, hopefully, that "...peculiarly inhumane approach...", as Anthony Cohen has described 'scientific ethnography', can be overcome, and a process of 're-humanisation', or in Weberian terms of 're-enchantment of the world', begun.

In a kind of democratic, populist sense it is hoped, by those who employ such ethics, that this process of de-centralisation and self-marginalisation (through accepting new positions and status for knowledge) will help temper the certainties and abuses of a centralised, linguistically sealed-off community of knowledge, based upon professional elites, which it is now thought epitomises the period of modernity and colonialism, and its basis in forms of

²⁰² I agree with Richard Fardon (1988) that if such connections and criticisms are to be accepted as a general critical framework, then they must be pursued further in terms of studies of particular historical encounters and projects taking place in specific times and locations, and not through the presentation of self-comforting liberal imagery. Commitment to this specific project, however, does not rule out the need for more generalised statements and frameworks in which to work, which at times Fardon seems to object to as essentialist and transcendental. Surely the general and the particular must work dialectically upon each other to productive ends?

hierarchy and dialectics of power. Shotter, again, put the challenge to researchers in this way:

"...what might it be like to be embodied, interested persons, living in the boundary zones between systematic centres, i.e. on the margins, facing the task of specifying or articulating the character of life within those zones practically and dialogically, in interaction with the others around one? What might help to break the hold of the Enlightenment, monologic, analytic, systematic spirit upon us?" (Shotter, J. (1993): 46)

Shotter's own reply to this question, which reflects Leach's call, via E.M. Forster, for academics to "only connect..." back in 1967, is pretty simple - 'conversation' (otherwise known within contemporary anthropology as 'dialogue', or 'inter-subjectivity'). Shotter's model is based upon an ethics of practice which values proximity and integration (expressed through an ideal of 'conversation') with one's subject as the basis of knowledge about that subject. As opposed to the monologues of the expert in which the subject is normally silent, passive and 'spoken for' through 'analysis', 'conversation' as a model for social research involves at least two speakers, as opposed to one author, with respect to the source of the knowledge, and, of course, a context, or position, in which the speakers have spoken. This apparently more 'democratic', 'positioned' and people-centred notion of research and knowledge production, in which the role and authority of the researcher/author is redeployed and spread out through notions of empathy with others, was also adopted by some of the Writing Culture school within anthropology (such as Clifford, Marcus, Tyler, and Rabinow) in their own critiques of 'objectivism' and 'scientific ethnography', and in the hope of establishing a 'new ethnography'. In the words of Grimshaw and Hart, the aim of such a 'new ethnography' is to produce "...new ways of integrating individual creativity with social life..." (Grimshaw, A. and Hart, K. (1995): 59-60) while leap-frogging the 'scientific' subject-object dichotomy, and the losses the latter has produced in terms of the literary, artistic, creative, human and political content of disciplines such as anthropology.

The current critical emphasis upon 'positioning', the resulting understanding of the ethnographic process/writing as political and ethical, and the desire to give 'voice' through such positioning to marginal areas and peoples within politically centralised, bureaucratic societies attempts to break down that one modern opposition which, as Bourdieu has put it, has "...of all the oppositions that artificially divide social science [been] the most fundamental, and the most ruinous...", that is, as he goes on to say, "...the one set up between subjectivism and objectivism."²⁰³ It shatters, in practice, the dividing line upon which the 'objectivity', 'neutrality' and 'truth' of the observing anthropologist, and his/her 'scientific'/'realist' accounts were originally based, and according to which certain anthropologists have been deemed to be 'wild wo/men' by their professional colleagues²⁰⁴. It is, again in the words of Grimshaw and Hart, an attempt to define "...a new notion of science [knowledge], one which integrates the subject-object pair rather than being opposed to art and human creativity." (Grimshaw, A. and Hart, K. (1995): 61).

It is in the light of such 'anti-objectivism', based on an appreciation of the ethical and political nature of knowledge production, and in opposition to the disinterested, distanced pseudo-objectivity of other 'public' forms of representation of my ethnographic subject - raving - that I have opted in my research and writing strategies for a positioned, partial, embodied and politicised form of ethnographic knowledge. This ethnographic knowledge has emerged not from the authority of the library, or from the universality and expertise of my research method, nor from the sophistication of a particular form of academic discourse, but rather from my experience as a human subject, and my personal-historical involvement with my

²⁰³ Bourdieu cit. in introduction to Hastrup, K. and Hervik, P. (1994): 226.

²⁰⁴ See Pratt, M. (1986) for details on the controversy surrounding the anthropologist Florinda Donner (1982); and see Marton, Y. (1994) for details on a very similar affair surrounding Carlos Castenada (1973).

ethnographic subject, which has provided me with both the basis of, and limits of, such ethnographic knowledge. As such, I would argue that this work reflects what James Clifford in 1986 called a "new figure" on the anthropological scene - the 'indigenous ethnographer' (Clifford, J. and Marcus, G. (1986): 9). Clifford wrote that "Insiders studying their own cultures offer new angles of vision and depths of understanding." (*Ibid.*). Again, however, Clifford, as with much of Writing Culture, was rather too prophetic, and slightly anachronistic, in making such a statement. Almost a decade before many contributors to Gerrit Huizer and Bruce Mannheim's volume on The Politics of Anthropology recognised the political nature of ethnographic encounters in terms of power relations, based on experiences 'in the field' during the 1960s and 1970s in politically volatile areas such as Latin America and South-East Asia. This experience and realisation encouraged them to reconsider the ethics and politics of their discipline, and to advocate a shift from "academic colonialism" (objectivity/neutrality) to "committed anthropology", and to argue for strategies such as "partisan participation", the "view from below", and "native anthropology". As the editors of the volume put it very clearly at the time:

"The processes of rapid change in which most communities and societies are involved at present, anywhere, can probably most fruitfully be studied and understood by participating in those change processes, from within and from below." (Huizer, G. and Mannheim, B. (1979): 35).

In line with such commitments to ethnography and an anthropological perspective 'from within' and 'from below', I do not, therefore, present my knowledge as something which has been constructed outwith, despite, or beyond my own personal experiences, relationships and commitments, in a disinterested and mystifying sense, but rather, I claim to know what I know, ethnographically speaking, because of such factors as personal history, subjectivity, social relationships and politics. It is rather then, in a Malinowskian sense, this "natural intercourse" with my subject, and

the close proximity and integration with that subject which I understand to be the concrete basis of what I have written here (Malinowski, B. (1922/1987): 7). It is in this sense of "natural intercourse", and my personal, practical and political relationship with, and position towards, my ethnographic subject and the people who animate it, which guarantees for me that my anthropology is about a human subject which exists outwith the world and interests of anthropology, thus avoiding self-reification, de-humanisation and elitism. I have engaged the former subject with the latter discipline only as a means to represent it politically within the charged world of 'public' discourse, and my interest is not merely about anthropological identities, discourses, theories, careers, or the possibility of achieving some kind of abstract, universal truth, authenticity, or realism, but is rather based on particular human experience and relationships surrounding the subject. It is this basis for the production of knowledge with regard to aspects of the social world around us which I understand by the term and strategy of 'heart', which is itself as a notion comparable to recent academic notions of the importance of 'embodiment', which stands for the creative use of subjectivity as a source of positioned and political ethnographic knowledge and writing²⁰⁵. In this positioned and political sense, I have tried to combine within this thesis a personal and political engagement with a particular ethnographic subject and the production of anthropological knowledge, in a manner which seeks to dissolve those oppositions of subject-object, creativity-rationality, fiction-fact, politics-science, which have been mentioned above, and which, I believe, are the basis for the production and reification of social hierarchies based upon notions of 'professionalism', 'expertise' and 'bureaucratic' authority.

The question which remains to be asked then, with respect to such a notion of 'positioning' is what kind of authority can replace that produced

²⁰⁵ For anthropological notions concerning 'embodiment', see Hastrup, K. and Hervik, P. (1994) (eds.).

through apparently rigorous, apolitical obedience towards 'scientific' principles? How can accounts of social life be treated, and understood, if not by weighing them up on the scales of 'scientific objectivity' and 'empirical truth'?

Well, as I have suggested in my research methodologies, throughout this written work, in the sub-heading to this section, and in the quote from Don Juan with which it begins, I believe, that one possible direction in which we can go in terms of a response to this question involves the aspects of 'heart' and 'marginality', which both surround a notion of 'positioning' as opposed to notions of 'objectivity', or 'subjectivity' (in the traditional, and not Foucauldian, sense), and which aim at producing a positioned and partial knowledge 'from within' specific socio-political practices as a result of human (inter-)subjectivity. Such knowledge 'from within' cannot be weighed up in terms of some abstract notion of truth, and must be understood as the production of a specific, partial and creative individual. Such contingencies, however, I believe, should not be understood negatively as 'unscientific', or 'non-objective', but rather should be received in terms of the very detailed human and politicising accounts which they produce of social life, and as records of specific human encounters. They can be treated, therefore, in terms of the extent to which they seem to provide evocative accounts of such encounters, and the extent to which they impress upon readers a sense of such encounters; or, to use more popular terms, they can be treated according to whether, or not, the writer's 'heart is in it'. As such, they can also be treated and received in terms of how they compare and contrast with other forms of 'public' account and discourse regarding the particular ethnographic subject²⁰⁶.

²⁰⁶ For example, a reader could compare one of the stories within this work, or part of the history, with accounts produced in national newspapers, television documentaries and journals, such as the Reader's Digest.

Judith Okely has put forward a similar vision when she stated that "...existing and future personal narratives of anthropologists in the field can be examined not only for stylistic tropes and their final textual construction, but also as a record of the experience, the political encounter and its historical context." (Okely, J. and Callaway, H. (1992): 4). Therefore, issues would surround the positioned relevance of the writing as a particular source of knowledge written out of a particular social context, social practice, or form of subjectivity upon which it informs; that is, as opposed to the abstract 'Truth' of writing presumed to be written outside of, beyond, or above the level of praxis, according to some abstract notion of 'truth', which itself exists out with the practice itself. Judith Okely has labelled this abstract, and apparently depoliticised kind of knowledge, "authoritarian" in terms of its correspondences with a modern form of hierarchical and bureaucratic power (Okely, J. (1975): 171). In opposition to such an "authoritarian" approach and form of knowledge, Okely herself has called for "...a peculiarly individualistic and personal confrontation with 'living' data." - a process in which, she explained, "...the specificity and individuality of the observer [what I call 'heart', or 'subjectivity'] are ever present and must therefore be acknowledged, explored and put to creative use." (*Ibid.*: 171; 172). Okely's position as such corresponds with my own attempts within this work to put subjectivity to creative use in terms of writing ethnography.

Another anthropologist, Renato Rosaldo (1989) has also pleaded for a similar re-deployment of 'subjectivity' as a source of human, ethnographic knowledge, as opposed to treating it, as Levi-Strauss suggested, as mere "dross", and which also avoids the potentially terrifying suggestions of practices such as those suggested by Nadel in 1951 in which psychological testing and treatment were put forward as the only logical way in which to temper the dangers of 'personality' with respect to a 'professional' anthropology of truly

Olympian, and somewhat Aryan qualities²⁰⁷. The alternative, I have been suggesting, to such a scary vision - a position of 'informed subjectivity', 'indigenous ethnography', or, to use Don Juan's term, knowledge based on the 'heart' of subjective participation and experience and resulting in inter-subjective, partial representations of praxis - I think, could be the basis of a less imperialistic, less centre-oriented, more politically decentralised, and more populist form of ethnographically based anthropology. Such an anthropology would have to position itself within social life as an active part; as opposed to producing centralised accounts of 'higher' knowledge about 'popular' topics. In the light of critiques offered over the last three decades of 'science' and 'functionalism', and the emergence of postmodern/postcolonial ethics based around notions of history and power, and with the acceptance of 'positioning' and adoption of strategies surrounding political and subjective 'heart', it is just possible that Okely's prediction that "A certain personal exposure may in time be seen not as professional disaster but intellectual growth" may be realised within anthropological work (Okely, J. (1975): 173).

In addition to a recognition of the importance of 'positioning', and acceptance of the ethnographic value of positions based upon the 'heart' of integration and personal involvement, within humanistic knowledge production, I think also, that the acceptance of 'marginality' as such a research and writing position within a plural social world, as well as a worthy quality belonging to subjects themselves, would help to produce continuing diversity and appreciation of difference within such positioned forms of anthropology. The assumption and expression of marginal positions and identities would thus extend the discipline's long standing 'liberalising' tradition, and transform it into an important area for knowledge and debate over the constitution of socio-political reality from the roots up as opposed to an essentially hierarchical form of knowledge based upon producing God's

²⁰⁷ For details on Nadel's suggestion, see Okely, J. (1975).

eye, theoretical views from the heights of distanced objectivity and complex, specialist discourse. This marginal positioning and writing 'from within' would increase the spread and scope of social accounts by increasing the number of acceptable positions from which such accounts can be made in the name of pluralistic understanding, and would help to temper the claims of arrogant certainty and absolute authority, which have been so damaging during the historical period of modernity and colonialism. I believe that such a dispersed, diverse, positioned, and marginalised form of anthropology - based around the dissolution of the power relations and claims to authority surrounding the traditional distinction between anthropologist (objectivity/centre) and the informant (subjectivity/periphery) - would involve greater 'ethnographic' detail (from the Malinowskian position of subjective knowledge/participation), more correspondence between academic work and actual lived socio-political realities, and a greater sense of pluralism which is so necessary to contemporary 'creole', global societies²⁰⁸.

5.8 IN THE LITERATURE

In arguing for such a notion of 'positioning', a political and ethical theory of knowledge, and in my attempt to demonstrate and practice such during this work, I would point out a variety of different departures within the recent literature which support these notions concerning the value of position, subjectivity and marginality in the light of the growing critique of 'science' and of 'objectivism'. I will mention some of these briefly (although many examples are already laced into the text in the form of quotations and footnotes) in order to demonstrate this current of critical engagement, most of which revolves around a commitment to history, politics, practice and

²⁰⁸ For a contemporary notion of 'creolisation' as a social process and a subject of anthropological enquiry, see Hanerz, U. (1996).

ethnography; as opposed to 'science', 'objectivity' and 'meta-theorisation'. As interests and concerns the latter are now associated with 'modernity', or 'the Enlightenment', as symbols of a distanced, elitist, western, professional rationality, and will to knowledge/power.

John Shotter, in his engaged critique of 'science' within the field of psychology, has written about what he called 'knowing of the third kind'. By this Shotter means a 'positioned' and 'embodied' knowledge of the social world based upon "...a knowing 'from within' a situation or circumstance." (Shotter, J. (1993): xiii). Shotter placed value upon knowledge which was produced by "...embodied, interested persons" as opposed to the disembodied, disengaged, neutral, hierarchical accounts, and interpretations of experts (*Ibid.*: 46). As a method to produce such accounts he suggested "joint action" as a model; as opposed to scientific observation, or interrogation, of distanced, differentiated subjects. Shotter also expressed a value in performing such "joint action" in "the margins" in an attempt to decentralise and repoliticise knowledge, and in an attempt to give subjects "...an otherness worthy of our interest and respect" (*Ibid.*: 2). Shotter's suggestions have influenced me greatly in terms of both theory and research practice.

Renato Rosaldo (1989) has also advocated a similar research and writing position 'from within' social practices and particular forms of subjectivity. Rosaldo in opposition to Geertz's treatment of social and cultural life as a kind of 'text', and his depiction of the anthropologist as a kind of distanced, literary critic of that text, epitomised by difference and objectivity (in the form of 'anti-ethnocentrism'), stated that "...the problem of meaning resides in practice, not theory." (Rosaldo, R. (1989): 6). In opposition to Geertz's "thick description", and his rejection of 'experience' as a source of knowledge in favour of 'textualisation' (which incidently connects Geertz genealogically with the arch-rationalism and superior voice of Levi-Strauss mentioned above), Rosaldo advocates "the positioned subject" as a key to understanding

social life (*Ibid.*: 7). In opposition to Geertz's disengaged interpretation of symbols and texts, he championed "...personal experience as an analytical category." (*Ibid.*: 11). Rosaldo has basically argued that the secrets (if indeed there are any) of social life lie more in the emotional and visceral aspects of subjective participation than in any deeper 'cultural', or 'universal', logic or structure. Therefore, according to Rosaldo, anthropologists should accept positions of human 'subjectivity' and the embodied knowledge they provide as the basis for their accounts. Through such claims for 'subjectivity' as the basis of positioned knowledge, Rosaldo has leap-frogged the objectivism/subjectivism divide, and opted for 'position' and 'positioning' as the keys to relevant knowledge; as opposed to elitist notions of abstract truth. This, he has suggested, amounts to "the remaking of social analysis"²⁰⁹.

George Marcus is another American anthropologist who, emerging out of the Writing Culture group, has put forward a research and writing position again based upon placing value upon participation and praxis as a source of experience and knowledge; that is, as opposed to theorisation, critical distance and objective expertise. Marcus who has long been a popular supporter of 'experimentalism' in terms of ethnographic strategies, has suggested in one paper that ethnographers might adopt, in the light of revelations concerning power relations and ethnography, a position which he has called "bifocality". This "bifocality" involves "...the coevalness of the ethnographer with the 'other' (as subject)..." (Marcus, G.E. (1994: 50). As such, Marcus, like Rosaldo, has rejected Geertz's understanding that the ethnographic act will always be/should be marked by significant difference and distance, thus necessitating the powers of (superior?) 'analysis', or 'interpretation'. Marcus, therefore, has suggested a model for research and writing based upon diametrically opposed (to Geertz) notions of empathy with the subject (through personal identity, or subjective participation), and an ethnographic

²⁰⁹ This is the sub-title of Rosaldo's major theoretical work, see Rosaldo, R. (1989).

ideal of human-social 'integration'; as opposed to critical distinction upon grand cultural lines, and a model based on textual/literary criticism which treats the socio-cultural world and people's lives like 'texts'²¹⁰.

Finally, I want to mention the work of a number of European anthropologists who have also reacted to the idealist, disembodied and disengaged nature of functionalist, structuralist and much culturalist anthropology. These include Peter Hervik, Kirsten Hastrup and, in particular, Judith Okely. These authors, again in a very anti-Geertzian manner, push "total social experience" involving more than language and interpretation as the basis of the research process, and the key to providing a lived sense of the subject. Hastrup calls this approach "embodied understanding" which she favours over critical/theoretical knowledge (Hastrup, K. (1994): 229). Judith Okely calls it "embodied knowledge" based upon "vicarious experience" of the subject in which, as she stated in an earlier work: "The individual is open to a complete range of information and not merely what people say they do." (Ibid.: 52; Okely, J. (1975): 171). Okely also wrote that "Contrary to those, like Geertz, who fear the mystery of empathy, I suggest that the anthropologist has no choice but to use body and soul, in addition to intellect, as a means of approaching others' experience." (Okely, J. (1994): 61). This, of course, again is in opposition to Geertz's anthropological literary criticism and cultural relativism as a model for research which has always seemed so lacking in 'ethno', and been so full of 'graphy'.

I have been influenced during this work, both in my methodology and in my writing, by all of these departures, and the issues which they surround concerning the position and role of the ethnographer, the manner of the research process, the emphasis upon participation and 'subjectivity' as the basis of knowledge of social life, and their rejection of the imperialism and

²¹⁰ For such textualised notions of anthropological practice, see Geertz, C. (1973) and Marcus, G.E. and Cushman, D (1982).

elitism of a particular notion of 'science' through their emphasis upon praxis, process and positioned knowledge. This body of knowledge has formed the context in which I have carried out my ethnographic research and writing, and through which it is now addressed as a critical contribution to anthropology as a discipline. It is within this critical context that I have placed emphasis in my work upon 'ethnography' based upon a position of 'subjectivity' and the notion of an 'indigenous ethnographer', 'history' as a form of representation, and accounts of 'praxis' and 'experience' (as opposed to explanations of 'meaning'). I have also, of course, selected a subject which is 'western'/'modern', as opposed to 'traditional'/'non-Western', so as to redress critiques of ethnography based upon colonial relations and powers, and have also selected a subject which is also marginalised in terms of modern law, media representation and politically centralised social conventions. I hope that by doing so I have demonstrated a willingness to not only take on board the critiques of the last three decades, rather than ignore them, but also to engage with them critically and meaningfully.

5.9 IN CONCLUSION

In this last and concluding section I want to say something about 'science'. As I have demonstrated 'science' as a legitimating form of discourse, and form of knowledge, has come, during the post-war period, under severe attack. A strong 'anti-scientific' element connects the discourse of anthropological characters as socially and politically diverse, and separated by dimensions of time and space, as Evans-Pritchard, Edmund Leach, Talal Asad, James Clifford, and Judith Okely. Particularly in recent times, as a result of the deployment of 'science' within Writing Culture as its 'significant other' and the spread of post-colonial and post-modern discourse and theory in general within the discipline (surrounding critical-political notions of 'western knowledge'),

'science' has become a 'bogey man', or a 'boo word', which practitioners have heaped all sorts of criticisms upon and distanced themselves from²¹¹. My aim, however, in this section is to challenge these predominantly negative conceptions of 'science', and as such to rekindle interest in the term and shift critical interest away from distinctions and dichotomies based on over-simplified caricatures.

Now although I have been heavily influenced by many of the arguments and positions produced by such 'anti-science', I think it is essentially wrong, and misleading, to identify the failings, or evils, of the past or present with a particular form of knowledge, technique, discourse, or writing strategy. Such a notion makes it seem as if resolution lies very simply with the realisation of such, and the exile of the 'bad guy' into the depths of theoretical obscurity and historical exoticism, thus making way for a new form of 'enlightenment'. Richard Fardon has implied that such a naive notion lies at the heart of the 'new criticism', when he noted a general "...suspicion of any claim on the part of the discipline to have achieved a radical break with its own past." (Fardon, R. (1988): 17). The problem is that such a prophetic scenario suggests that anthropology's problems are simply a matter which can be resolved through the adoption of particular discourses and models, such as 'science', 'art', 'history', or 'literature'. I believe, on the other hand, that the discipline's problems lie outwith and beyond such a simple choice of vocabulary, or theory, and are better located in terms of the identity and practices of its practitioners, and the institutional context in which such operate. In this sense, I would stress the actual institutional practice of anthropology, and not its vocabulary, as being the matter of greatest importance to the discipline.

²¹¹ For classic examples of anthropological critiques of 'science', see Okely, J. (1975) and Tyler, S. (1986).

In this respect, I believe, that there is a common theme which can be detected within the critiques of 'science' and 'objectivism' - which I have presented above - and within my own views concerning 'public' representations of raving which initiated this work, and, ironically, within the notion of 'science' advocated by Malinowski which I presented earlier. This common theme revolves around a desire to reject authoritarian and absolutist forms of knowledge which are based upon critical positions, discourses and relations which are essentially marked by a certain removed, distanced and asymmetrical (in one sense, or another) relationship with their subject/s. There is also a corresponding political desire in such critical departures to produce alternative positions which revolve around an entirely different relationship with the subject/s - that is, one which is marked by more explicitly political and humane factors, such as openness, integration, partiality, personal interest/experience/involvement, and which is also based around a more people-centred approach than the authoritarian type of knowledge produced by a more removed form of inter-textuality.

It is in terms of this resistance to distanced authority, elitism and the power relations expressed by knowledge formed within these kind of co-ordinates, that I would argue that Malinowski's original notion of a radical, people-centred and 'scientific' form of 'modern ethnography' through "natural intercourse", and produced in opposition to the 'armchair theorising' of Malinowski's day, is, in fact, comparable to the kind of critical engagement and notions I have suggested above in terms of a contemporary commitment to ethnography, history and positioning (Malinowski, B. (1922/1987): 7). This is despite the fact that I have personally formed such notions often through reading critical works which have presented their positions in terms of 'anti-science'.

The question that emerges, then, is how Malinowski's original notion of a people-centred 'science', in which he claimed it was

pivotal to remain "...in as close contact with the natives as possible" as a means of acquiring "the feeling" of native life and of putting yourself, the ethnographer, "...in touch with the natives" became transformed into the kind of distanced, removed, authoritarian and disinterested notion of 'science' which has been the object of so much criticism in terms of history, power, politics and position within the discipline (Ibid.: 6; 7; 8)? In other words, how did anthropological notions of 'science' shift from Malinowski's desire to observe and participate in "the imponderabilia of actual life" (Ibid.: 18) to an opposing notion of 'science' as a 'meta-discourse' and as a form of "intellectual agnosticism", more reminiscent of Levi-Strauss, in which human experience, relationships and people became the "dross", the mere chaos and muddle of 'parole', compared to the rational and professional beauty of 'langue'? Or, in other words, why did the invitation to Malinowski's radical 'science' result ultimately in further 'armchair theorising'?

5.9.1 Response

In order to string together a partial and political response to this question I want to follow a line of thought which stems from an observation by David Silverman concerning 'sociology' which, I believe, is also highly relevant to its close relative anthropology. Silverman wrote that "Sociology rests on a happy irony. It seeks to study socially organised practices. Equally, it itself is inevitably a socially organised practice [my]." (Silverman, D. (1975): ix). Let me now explain how I interpret this in terms of a correspondence with anthropology.

I would like to begin with a recent observation by Anna Grimshaw and Keith Hart which concerns the nature of social anthropology, and which is addressed to Raymond Firth's description of

anthropology as an "uncomfortable discipline" (Firth, R. (1981): 200). Grimshaw and Hart wrote that:

"...from the beginning of the modern phase, anthropologists have straddled a divide between a commitment to engaging directly with people in society and a desire to find acceptance within established structures of academic bureaucracy. Over the course of the last half-century the balance between these two sides of the project has shifted decisively towards the second..." (Grimshaw, A. and Hart, K. (1995): 60).

This comment regarding the "uncomfortable discipline" suggests an over-commitment at the heart of the charter of modern anthropology. Malinowski's original charter for 'modern ethnography' - it must be remembered - demanded that the anthropologist play the dual role of 'ethnographer' and 'theorist'. This demand was made principally in the face of the claim that 'armchair theorists' had produced distanced, elitist and misleading forms of what Malinowski called 'conjectural history'²¹². This 'armchair theory', he claimed, was devoid of "...the full body and blood of actual native life" (Malinowski, B. (1922/1987):18). In Malinowski's example of 'the kula' this had resulted in modern economists and sociologists underestimating, and undermining, the logic, practicality and complexity of such events and the socio-political networks they represented and produced, as mere 'primitive economics' (in the pejorative sense of 'simple' as opposed to 'complex' within an evolutionary scale of forms). In order to prevent such prejudiced scholasticism, and the biased and self-reifying opinions it produced, Malinowski advocated, of course, face-to-face direct interaction with and experience of the ethnographic subject within its local and lived context ('participant-observation'). As Malinowski warned his fellow anthropologists who remained at 'home' in their institutions, colleges, libraries and offices:

"To study the institutions, customs, and codes or to study the behaviour and mentality without the subjective desire of feeling by what these people live, of realising the substance of their happiness - is, in my

²¹² Strathern, M. (1987) cites Malinowski's work on 'myth' as a case in point.

opinion, to miss the greatest reward which we can hope to obtain from the study of man." (Ibid.: 25).

Malinowski thus prepared the ground for a 'modern ethnography' that demanded of anthropologists that they remained throughout their careers "...in as close contact with the natives as possible", and that that experience, through the knowledge it produced of human, socio-political life, would be the basis of their claims to 'scientific' knowing (Ibid.: 6).

However, as the above quotation from Grimshaw and Hart suggests, and as even Malinowski discovered during his career and life, such periods of extended 'fieldwork' and "natural intercourse" demanded a great deal of personal commitment and financial support²¹³. Malinowski himself ended up, of course, in the Trobriand Islands during World War One as a result of the 'alien' status afforded to him because of his possession of an Austrian passport²¹⁴. Through this chance circumstance, and the award of some financial assistance through his old school academic network, he found himself undertaking and inventing 'modern ethnography'. Such chance, fortuitous circumstances and enabling social relations are, however, not everyday, especially for individuals who wish to spend extended periods of time in often remote, unknown and marginalised locations engaged in even more remote and esoteric forms of academic engagement, and in the inter-war years and the immediate post-war period when 'scientific ethnography' experienced its 'boom' years, most professional anthropologists in both the U.S.A. and Britain relied upon their role and status within centralised, bureaucratic state institutions, their access to 'public' funds and the few grants offered by professional societies to fund their 'fieldwork' trips. I would argue that this material, practical and political reality, surrounding

²¹³ Malinowski himself during his own career spent much time within the institutional walls of L.S.E. and within professional circles both in Europe and the U.S.A. He also produced his own form of 'grand theory', see Malinowski, B. (1944/1969). He did, however, maintain his commitment to 'fieldwork', 'participant-observation' and people-based studies as the material basis of all anthropological practice.

²¹⁴ See Kuper, A. (1975) for autobiographical details concerning Malinowski.

institutionalisation and professionalisation of the discipline, resulted in a number of factors which have made Malinowski's charter for 'modern ethnography' an awkward myth within the discipline, as opposed to a practical reality.

These factors include the spatial, temporal and political demands placed upon anthropologists as a result of their location within modern university bureaucracies and their principal role of 'education', and the fact that both national governments and universities are mainly concerned as institutions with economics and economic planning, and particularly, since the 1960s, have been run increasingly on the model of a 'business'²¹⁵. As a result of these very influential practical and political demands upon anthropologists, I would argue that anthropologists have been primarily concerned with the compiling of lectures, seminars and other teaching duties, as well as having to participate in the administrative and bureaucratic running and life of the universities, and by the need to become members of a number of professional organisations and societies, which also demand much time and effort²¹⁶. As such, the commitment to extended 'fieldwork', and a radical, people-centred discipline has been unrealistic for most anthropologists, and this has thus altered the nature of the discipline, and the meaning of its discourses, away from that envisaged by Malinowski²¹⁷.

²¹⁵ This process is an on-going reality within most British universities where courses produce 'credits', where students, increasingly foreign students paying higher 'fees', are understood to be 'consumers' and where members of staff and courses are judged in terms of their levels of production and the numbers of consumers they attract.

²¹⁶ The annual round of teaching/administrative duties, publications, conferences, etc. leaves very little room realistically for seriously involved research.

²¹⁷ There are, of course, exceptions where anthropologists have been self-funding, have received large grants aimed at research, or have worked within institutions which actually promote, or enable, fieldwork. Paul Stoller, for example, is one contemporary anthropologist who has remained committed to ethnographic research, who has found funding for 'long term' fieldwork, and who has advocated a form of "radical empiricism" (Stoller: 1989a). Other notable exceptions include Napoleon Chagnon, whose work on the Yanomamo, although politically and theoretically questionable, has always been based on extended field research. The late Ladislav Holy, in an interesting innovation, also used an appointment as head of the Livingstone Museum, Zambia to enable extended field research

In particular, I would argue, that anthropology has become more inter-textually-based as a result of such practical realities, and closer to what Malinowski originally called 'armchair theorising' and other academic disciplines - such as philosophy and literary criticism. This is despite the fact that many practitioners have held on to the original charter and the commitment to 'fieldwork' in the face of practical, institutional reality and the social and political demands of academic life. Very few - such as Paul Stoller (1987; 1989b) - have actually been able to maintain the ideal of the "long conversation" advocated by Malinowski. However, on the whole, as a result of this institutional reality, and the over-commitment and contradiction which it has placed at the heart of anthropology, I would argue that there is even a kind of mystification, or dishonesty, within the discipline. This is because many practitioners continue to talk in the name of 'the people' they have studied, and criticise 'theory' and 'literature-based' approaches in terms of 'ethnographic reality', but they do so without maintaining, or producing in the first place, the kind of close, personal relationships, and the ethnographic "feeling" essential to such a claim to giving 'voice'. This scenario has developed not because institutionalisation, or professionalisation, are essentially corrupt, or corrupting, nor because specific individuals have deliberately manufactured more comfortable careers for themselves protected against the rigours and face-to-face politics of 'fieldwork'. I believe, rather, that genuinely 'ethnographic' ideals still animate many anthropologists work; what I am saying, however, is that such ideals have been for many impossible to realise in the contemporary context of anthropology, and that this has had an effect upon it as a practice and the kind of knowledge it produces, which has not been fully recognised or engaged with.

into the Toka. This was an interesting attempt to fuse Malinowskian ethnographic ideals with the kind of institutional position necessary to produce authorised accounts.

This point leads me to a second quotation, this time from Edmund Leach, regarding the nature of 'education' in general. Leach wrote that:

"...our education, which lays so much stress on tidy, over-elaborate classifications, makes us think that society ought to be organised like a watch rather than like a jellyfish. This bias produces conservative-minded people who take fright whenever they come up against the fluidity of real-life experience." (Leach, E. (1967): 77-78).

Again this remark applies to anthropology's historical and political relationship with the modern state, its chosen location within the university and its role of 'education'. 'Education' necessitates the production of lectures, journals, books and text books for 'courses' which attract students, as well as the teaching and administrative demands mentioned earlier. Such tomes, if they are to pass as 'education' must be made to particular 'academic' models, and be understandable and re-producible within certain terms to university students arriving from school. The compiling, teaching and organising of such a syllabus again makes it very unlikely that anthropologists involved in such tasks and activities will be able to maintain the close relationships advocated by Malinowski as the key to his 'science'.

As it stands at the moment, most anthropologists, at least in Britain, rely principally upon a period of 'fieldwork' while studying for a doctorate as a 'student'. 'Fieldwork' typically lasts for a period of one year, or two years usually at the most. During this time anthropology students would normally be subject to a great number of financial and institutional commitments, which normally include writing proposals for grants, reports to funding bodies and seeking 'permission' from national/local governments and authorities for work to be carried out within their territory. Some anthropologists have spent even shorter periods 'in the field', and many rely upon very short excursions into 'the field' throughout their careers for 'information' and 'data', if they return at all (which some do not) during careers which may last up to thirty five years. The value of such 'field trips' -

especially those of a very short period of time - is highly questionable. This is because, surely, the knowledge gained through such brief and clearly superficial excursions cannot be based on the kind of close human relationships which are necessary to knowing anybody, or anything, at all - as we all know from our daily experience of our own social worlds, and from experiencing just how difficult it is to actually find out about someone, or something, even if s/he, or 'it', is in very close proximity to whoever it is who wants to know. During very short 'field trips' it is only natural that the concerns and interests of the anthropologist should remain firmly rooted 'at home', concerning 'research interests', 'career', 'girl/boy friend' and 'family', and, of course, the contemporary curse of having to produce endless 'publications'²¹⁸. As such then, I would argue that anthropology has come to reflect not the "natural intercourse" of enforced, and sometimes arduous (in terms of the human/political challenges faced) 'fieldwork' and representation of 'the native's point of view', but rather has come to reflect the nature and demands of modern 'education', and life within the modern bureaucracies of the university system and professional societies. This practical, political and institutional reality, which has developed along with the history of anthropology, is the reason, I would suggest, for the transformation in the use of the term 'science' - which I presented earlier in terms of an opposition between Malinowski (populist) and Levi-Strauss (agnostic) - and amounts to what Weber called a process of 'routinisation' in the face of increasing 'rationalisation' and 'bureaucratisation' within the discipline, which followed

²¹⁸ Contemporary anthropology and anthropological careers seem to be based more on short, very theoretical, articles in journals and books on theory, or history of anthropology, than upon the production of extensive ethnographic 'monographs' of old regarding specific peoples, places, practices etc. Theoretical sophistication and being well-read, even in philosophy and literary/cultural criticism, seems to get one further than long-term commitment to a specific area of social life or people within the existing anthropological career structure.

on from Malinowski's 'charismatic' depiction of 'modern ethnography' as 'science'²¹⁹.

This politics of anthropology as "...a socially organised practice", and the demands of modern professional bureaucracy upon the discipline can be detected within another remark by James Clifford (Silverman, D. (1975): ix). Clifford wrote that:

"Since Malinowski's time, the 'method' of participant observation has enacted a delicate balance of subjectivity and objectivity. The ethnographer's personal experiences, especially those of participation and empathy, are recognised as central to the research process, but they are firmly restrained by the impersonal standards of observation and 'objective' distance....the subjectivity of the author is separated from the objective referent of the text." (Clifford, J. and Marcus, G.E. (1986): 13).

This "delicate balance of subjectivity and objectivity", and Malinowski's radical, people-centred commitment to 'participant observation', have been surrendered under pressure to the more mainstream, bureaucratic commitment to "...the impersonal standards of observation and 'objective' distance" which predominate, of course, within other 'social sciences' and other textually based disciplines (Clifford, J. and Marcus, G.E. (1986): 13). In this process of 'routinisation', as I have stated, the discipline has shifted away from Malinowski's ideal and radical notion of 'science' and have, I would argue, returned more and more each decade to the 'armchair theorising' which was initially the 'significant other' at the heart of 'modern ethnography'. During this process of 'routinisation', Clifford's "delicate balance" and Grimshaw and Hart's "uncomfortable divide" within the discipline have been stretched to the limit, and anthropologists have struggled to match their disciplinary ideals with practical institutional reality. As a result, I would argue that the greatest development within the discipline has not been realised in terms of an increased commitment to experiencing and representing 'the native's point of view', but has rather been governed by the

²¹⁹ For a general account of Weber's ideas, see Gerth, H.H. and Wright Mills, C. (1948).

increasing bureaucratic and professional demands of academic life and specialisation, which has resulted in "...an established network of vested interests" and "...a flourishing professional organisation" as Talal Asad has written (Asad, T. (1979b): 89; 90).

It is in this sense (because of the practical, political and institutional reality of modern anthropology) that I would argue that anthropological journals most often reflect the politics and career-structure within the discipline, as opposed to 'the native's point of view' which is so often difficult to find amongst the wads of academic discourse. This, I believe, represents a rejection of the original commitment to a radical, people-centred approach and the potentially political, liberalising and popularising function of such research and writing. Such commitment, surrounding complex and political human relationships, can, these days, be too easily cancelled out by a professional 'career' surrounding inter-textuality, theoretical sophistication and literariness, which, if it continues to employ Malinowskian notions of 'ethnography' to justify and legitimise such 'careers', is quite simply a deliberate mystification²²⁰. In this respect, I believe that the often cited belief that Writing Culture has led to the "production of texts by means of texts [inter-textuality]" is not a position from which to criticise that volume alone, because the production of written texts, and the social function of such texts, has always been at the heart of anthropology as a discipline and all academia (Fardon, R. (1988): 5). The challenge of Writing Culture was not, I believe, issued in terms of statements concerning the centrality of textuality within anthropology, for after all 'taking notes' and 'writing up' were always the main aims of anthropologists even if such had not been fully and openly

²²⁰ In this regard, I believe, that at least one valuable aspect of the 'new ethnographic criticism' is that it has forced anthropologists, through 'critique' as well as 'experimentation', to reflect on what exactly they consider to be 'ethnography', or 'ethnographic', (e.g. 'dialogue' as opposed to 'meta-theorisation'; 'experience' as opposed to 'theory'; 'writing' as opposed to 'the facts'). This is in opposition to accepting such terms as clichés and purely as forms of legitimation and authorisation for discourse.

recognised within the discipline and the ramifications of such investigated in terms of contemporary notions surrounding authorship, power, reading and writing. The challenge lay instead in statements concerning the politics, experiences and relationships surrounding such textual production, known very generally and vaguely as 'ethnography', and by a political desire, or in Fardon's term a "mission", to try and re-direct the discipline back towards a liberal ethico-political commitment to a particular form of people-centred 'ethnography' (Fardon, R. (1988): 13). Within this project, known in some cases as the 'new ethnography', the ethnographer, as a creative human being, was seen to engage with his/her subjects as a human subject, and to write partially and politically in ways which evoked the voices of such subjects ('the native's point of view') through the relationships and understanding produced by upholding 'dialogue' and 'inter-subjectivity' as the basis from which to produce such social and human 'knowledge'.

I believe that:

1. a process of 'routinisation' of discourses and practices has taken place within anthropology in order to suit the circumstances and conditions of modern 'education' and the 'bureaucratic' lifestyle of the university.
2. that there has been little honest reflection on the actual practical meaning and uses of terms - such as 'science' - which have become convenient, empty vessels through which to pour any old removed, distanced and inter-textual work.
3. that 'science' as a discourse within the discipline has become "...subordinated to the needs of a power elite...", which has "...become closed and atrophied, shutting itself off from the sources of its own renewal in human creativity", and at the same time has become victim to contemporary forms of discourse which wish to break with the past and dominant traditions. As such, 'science' as a meaningful term, or project, is

in need of greater definition and re-invigoration (Grimshaw, A. and Hart, K. (1995): 53).

Furthermore, crucial to this process of "shutting itself off" has been anthropology's claims to 'scientific' knowledge and authority, and its rejection of 'art' and 'literature' as models and resources within the discipline, criticism of which formed the critical project of Writing Culture²²¹. The resistance within Britain, therefore, towards anthropological work, such as Writing Culture, which criticised the notion that anthropological knowledge took its authority because of its 'scientific' reflection of 'reality', has been caused, I would argue, not because of any detailed and complex understanding of the nature of 'art', or 'literature', but rather represents the reaction of a "power elite", or "...an established network of vested interests", towards any challenges to the discourses, values and institutional ancestors which, and who, continue to set, and hold, the ground upon which anthropology as "a socially organised practice" and anthropological careers exist (Ibid.: 53; Asad, T. (1979b): 89; Silverman, D. (1975): ix). And this is despite, of course, a torrent of theoretical departures and historical interpretations within the British discipline which have themselves seriously challenged the value and worth of such 'scientific' (in the 'agnostic' sense) discourses and practices in both practical and political terms.

My final quotation comes from Judith Okely, and it suggests a strategy, or a particular kind of response, to this highly political scenario. Okely wrote that "There is a need for more explicit recognition of fieldwork as personal experience instead of sacrificing it to a false notion of scientific objectivity." (Okely, J. (1975): 171). This statement expresses my own personal commitment throughout this research and writing to a kind of

²²¹ See Clifford's introduction to Writing Culture (1986) for a re-analysis of the place of 'literature' within anthropology. Nigel Rapport (1994) is a British social anthropologist who has also tried to reconfigure 'traditional' distinctions between 'anthropology' and 'literature' in his work.

anthropology which focuses upon a human subject/s, which in some sense lay beyond the walls and interests of the academy, and not just upon academic writings, 'issues' or 'debates'. This kind of anthropology emphasises the humanity and subjectivity of the ethnographer, the political nature of all knowledge of the social world, and the need for anthropologists to engage with such through the adoption of a particular 'ethnographic' position, which ideally should be essentially removed from the biases and prejudices of respectable, dominant, 'public' social life about which so much is already known and re-worked daily. This, of course, necessitates a personal, political commitment against academic and professional 'routinisation', and a rejection of the benefits of belonging to a self-concealed and self-reproducing 'power elite', as well as a more honest re-assessment of the position, role, funding and status of anthropology and anthropologists. Another major aspect of this work has been to suggest - along with many others who have advocated 'personal anthropology', 'auto-anthropology', 'indigenous ethnography', 'native anthropology' and the importance of human subjectivity within the discipline - that by applying their own subjectivity, personal experience and history as a source of human, ethnographic knowledge (that is instead of rejecting such as mere "dross" in the name of a de-humanising and authority giving notion of 'objectivity', e.g. 'agnostic science'), that anthropologists might just encounter very different kinds of experiences and relationships with their subject/s and end up producing knowledge, which although not 'scientific' in the Olympian sense, is, however, 'scientific' in the Malinowskian sense of being based upon the real, engaged and personal experience of subject/s within everyday life²²². This personal commitment to 'ethnography' began, for me, with an interest in popularising and levelling forms of social history, and was further inspired by the 'fieldwork' centred approach advocated by the Department of

²²² For 'personal anthropology' see Pocock, D.F. (1975); for 'auto-anthropology', see Okely, J. and Carraway, H. (1992) (ed.s); for 'indigenous ethnography' see Huizer, G. and Mannheim, B. (1979) (eds.); Clifford, J. (1986); and Marcus, G.E. (1994).

Social Anthropology in St. Andrews under Ladislav Holy, and was sparked even further by a selective and partial reading of Writing Culture with its critique of 'authority' and 'meta-theorisation' (read 'armchair-theorising'). These positions and commitments, which have guided me in this work, I believe, amount to a firm re-statement of Malinowski's original project of learning 'the native's point of view' and appreciating "...the lure of his own romance", but without the arrogance and superiority of imperialists who presumed that they themselves could never be considered as mere 'natives', as opposed to superior 'experts', and with the hope that just for a moment the anthropologist, or a reader, might experience "...a feeling of solidarity with the endeavours and ambitions of those natives...[and] Perhaps through realising human nature in a shape very distant and foreign...have some light shed on our own [reflexivity/human tolerance]." (Malinowski, B. 1922/1987): 25).

As I mapped out in the introduction to this work, it is just such a humanising task - in the face of what I claim to be de-humanising discourses on 'drugs', 'victims', 'addicts', etc. - and the ethico-political desire to produce some kind of tolerance towards the practices of fellow human beings which I have aimed at within this work, and which will stand out, I hope, as its 'ethnographic' contribution despite so much necessary talk of methodologies, theory and strategies. The original knowledge which I felt I possessed and could express in terms of raving, and in comparison to those other 'public' accounts which are daily deployed in 'the war against drugs' and theories/accounts of 'drug (ab-)use', was a knowledge of raving as a human social practice (historical, ethical and political) as experienced from the position of human subject, and dependent upon the complex, often latent, and very rarely spoken, knowledge and skills of a human participant, and not that based on an essentially different, distanced and removed form of observation and reflection no matter how nice and sophisticated such knowledge can become with respect to the interests of a particularly narrow power elite. I

have tried as hard as possible to maintain and represent a sense of that former engaged humanity with all its partiality, enthusiasm, complexity, its positioned and political nature, and its basis in human experience, emotion and relationships within this work. It is, I would hope, in this humanist and humanising sense that this work and project as a whole will be accepted as a contribution to the discipline.

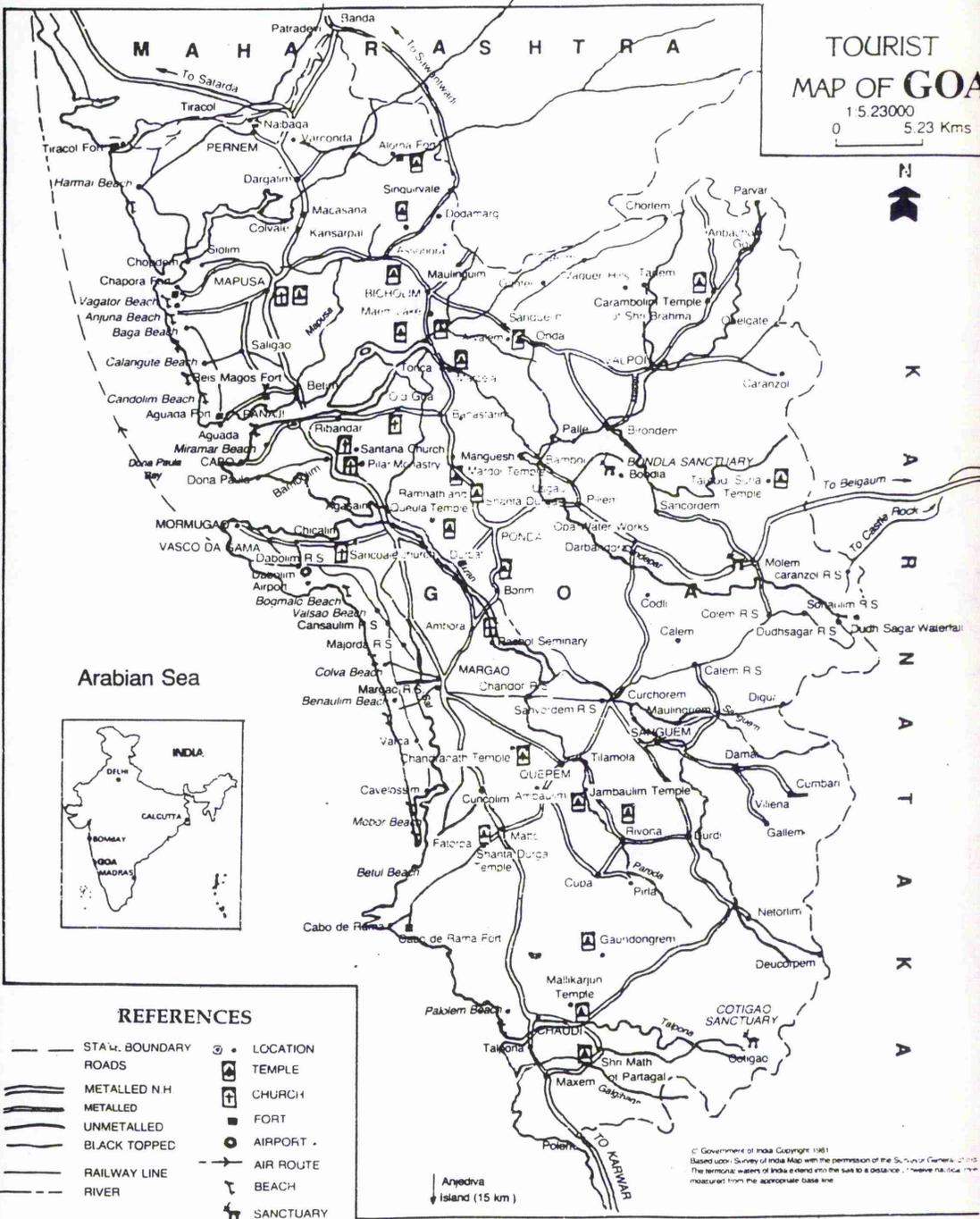
As a final reflection upon this work I can only offer myself and you the reader the very human consolation which can be drawn from the words of a 'fictional' character, Cinna, who appeared in Levi-Strauss's Tristes Tropiques, and who said that "It is nothing, I know, but this nothingness is still dear to me since I opted for it." (Levi-Strauss, C. (1989): 500).

TOURIST MAP OF GOA

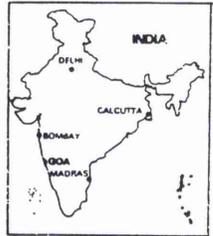
1:5,23,000
0 5.23 Kms



K
A
R
N
A
T
A
K
A



Arabian Sea



REFERENCES

- | | | | |
|-----------|----------------|---|-----------|
| — — — — — | STATE BOUNDARY | ⊙ | LOCATION |
| — — — — — | ROADS | ⊙ | TEMPLE |
| | METALLED N.H | ⊕ | CHURCH |
| | METALLED | ⊕ | FORT |
| | UNMETALLED | ⊕ | AIRPORT |
| | BLACK TOPPED | ⊕ | AIR ROUTE |
| — — — — — | RAILWAY LINE | ⊕ | BEACH |
| — — — — — | RIVER | ⊕ | SANCTUARY |

© Government of India Copyright 1981
Based upon Survey of India Map with the permission of the Survey General, 1980
The terminal waters of India extend on the sea to a distance of seven nautical miles
(measured) from the appropriate base line

Cover Printed by Rahul Offset Printers, Mercus - Go

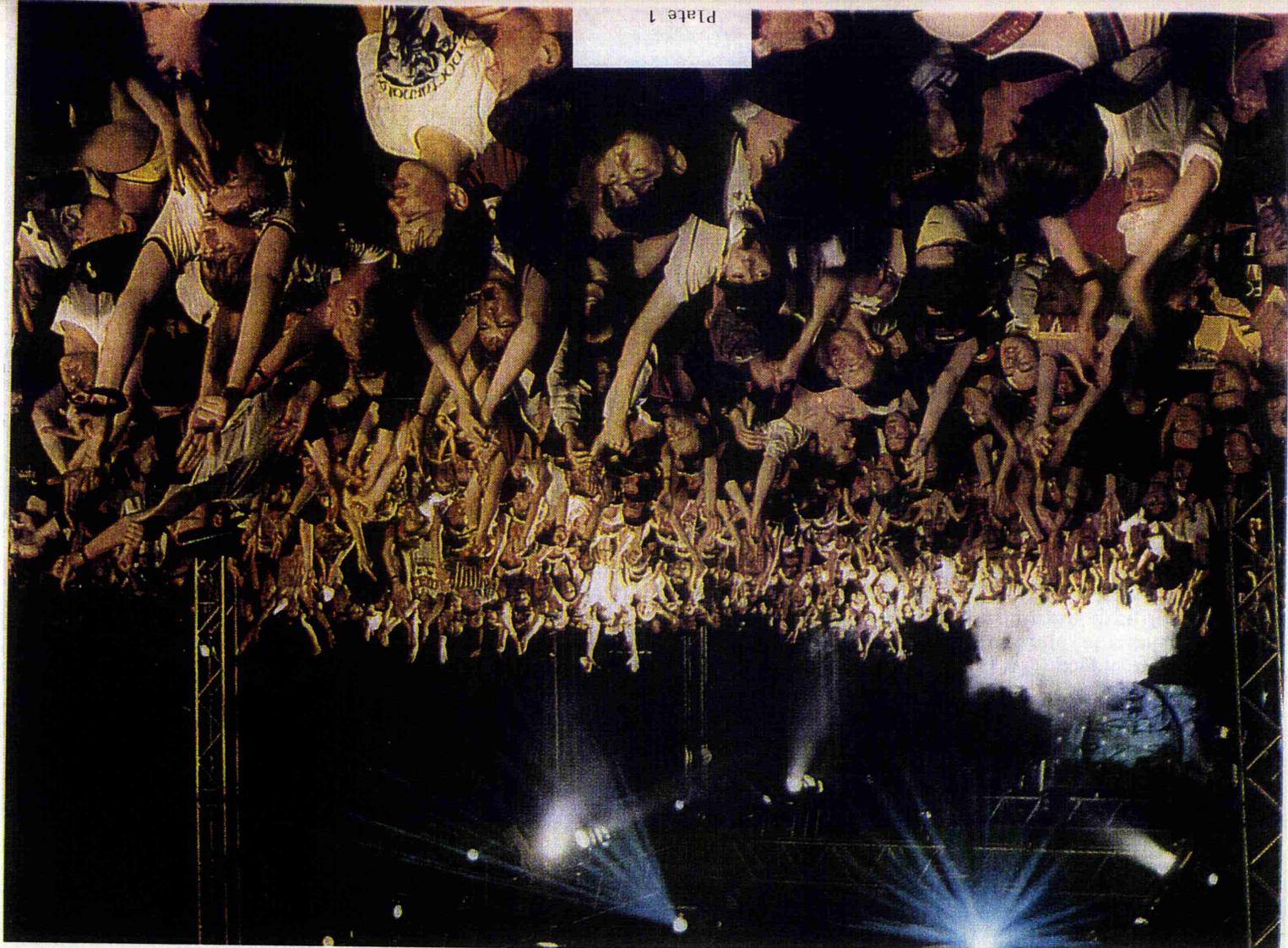


Plate 1



Plate 2

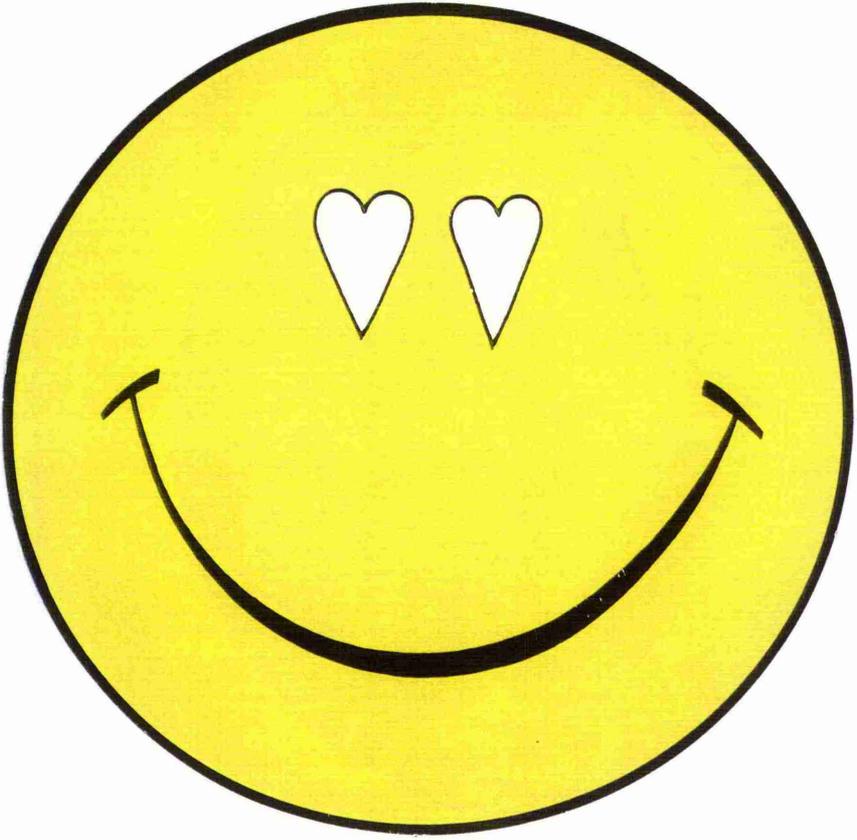
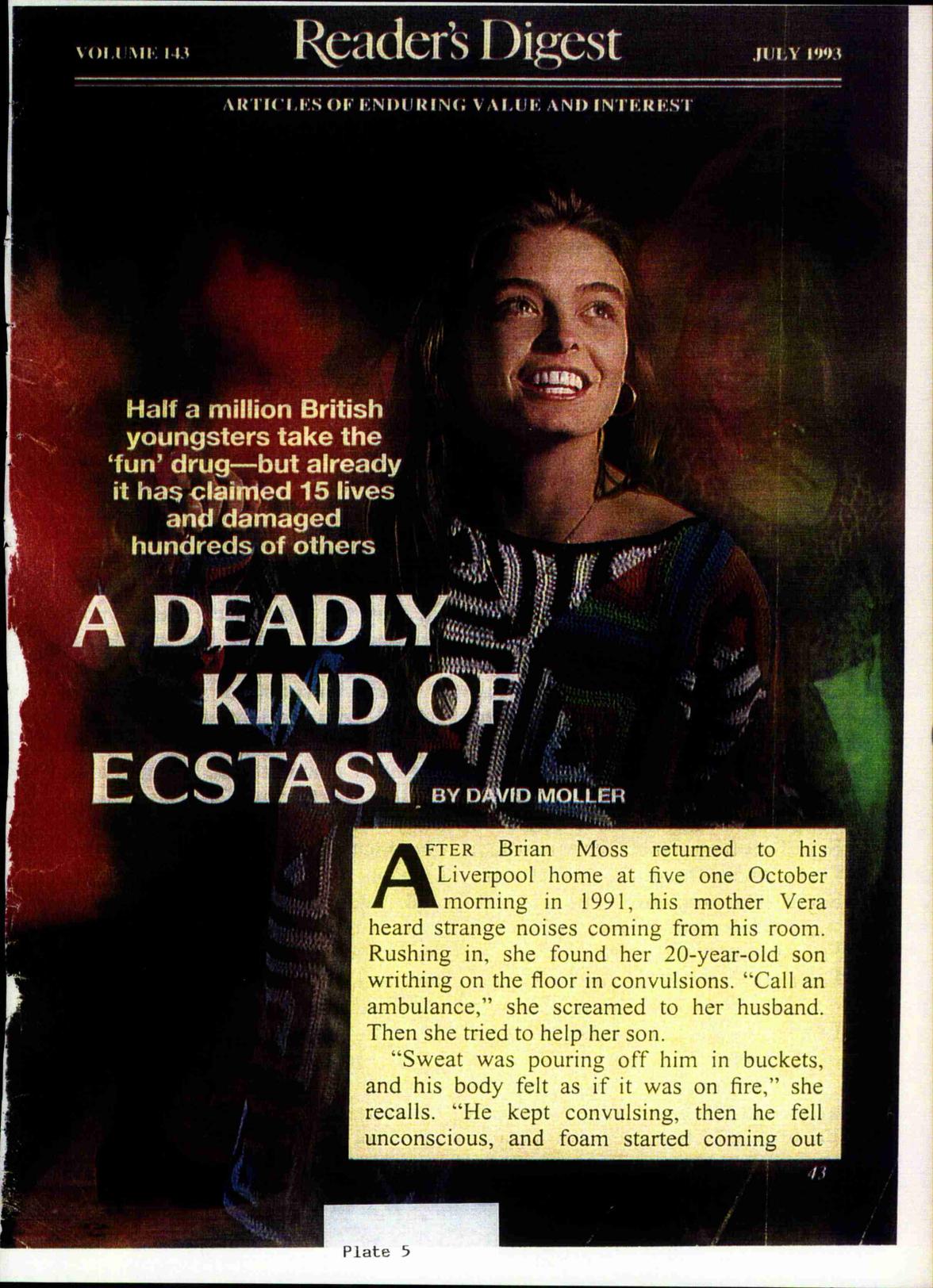


Plate 3



ARTICLES OF ENDURING VALUE AND INTEREST



Half a million British youngsters take the 'fun' drug—but already it has claimed 15 lives and damaged hundreds of others

A DEADLY KIND OF ECSTASY

BY DAVID MOLLER

AFTER Brian Moss returned to his Liverpool home at five one October morning in 1991, his mother Vera heard strange noises coming from his room. Rushing in, she found her 20-year-old son writhing on the floor in convulsions. "Call an ambulance," she screamed to her husband. Then she tried to help her son.

"Sweat was pouring off him in buckets, and his body felt as if it was on fire," she recalls. "He kept convulsing, then he fell unconscious, and foam started coming out



KU CLUB HUDDERSFIELD



EVERY FRIDAY

RAVING SERIOUSLY
IMPROVES YOUR HEALTH!

GENUINE 14K BONESHARIN SOUND SYSTEM
AMAZING LIGHTING AND VISUAL EFFECTS
FRIENDLY SECURITY

UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT
THE CALTON
CALTON ROAD EDINBURGH

SATURDAY 22nd AUGUST

EUPHORIA

GUEST DJ'S

BASS GENERATOR

★ DJ D.A.D. ★

RESIDENT DJ'S

★ MARC SMITH ★

★ THE WAXMAN ★

★ EGGI ★ ★ M.B.S. ★

11.30 p.m. - 5 a.m.

£6 admission

Plate 8

THE EDGE PRESENTS EVERY SATURDAY

activity. 3. ... (f. as foll. + -ATE³)
sublimate² a. & n. Sublimated (substance);
CORROSIVE sublimate. [f. l. sublimare SUBLIME² +

-ATT.²]
sublime¹ a. Of the most exalted kind, so distinguished by elevation or size or nobility or grandeur or other impressive quality as to inspire awe or wonder, aloof from and raised far above the ordinary, (sublime mountain, scenery, tempest, ambition, virtue, love, thought, beauty, genius, poet, etc.); (of indifference, impudence, etc.) like that of one too exalted to fear consequences; Sublime Porte; hence or cogn. ~LY² (-mill) adv., sublimity n. [f. l. sublimis]

sublime² v.t. & i. 1. = SUBLIMATE¹ 1; undergo sublimation. 2. Purify or elevate, become pure, as by sublimation; make sublime. [ME, f. OF sublimare or f. l. sublimare lift up, in med. l.

WITH D.J.'S PAUL RITCHIE JAMIE PATON MATT MILLER

11 - 3.00 £4

85-87 COMMERCIAL STREET, DUNDEE (0382) 22367
MANAGEMENT RESERVE THE RIGHT TO BE SELECTIVE



Plate 9





BANTALIA

...takes you

ONE STEP BEYOND

...on **Saturday JULY 25th 1992**

In The Heart of The Midlands at

CASTLE DONNINGTON

INTERNATIONAL RACE CIRCUIT

ALL NIGHT 9PM → 7AM
GATES OPEN 4PM

...after the **HUGE SUCCESS** of
BOURNEMOUTH

BANTALIA

takes you

ONE STEP BEYOND

with the **MONSTER** of RAVES at

CASTLE DONNINGTON

BRINGING TOGETHER 25,000 party people

...for the Worlds **LARGEST OUTDOOR**

ALL NIGHT PARTY...

HISTORY IN THE MAKING!!!





Plate 14a



Plate 14b



Plate 15a



Plate 15b



Plate 16a



Plate 16b



Plate 17a

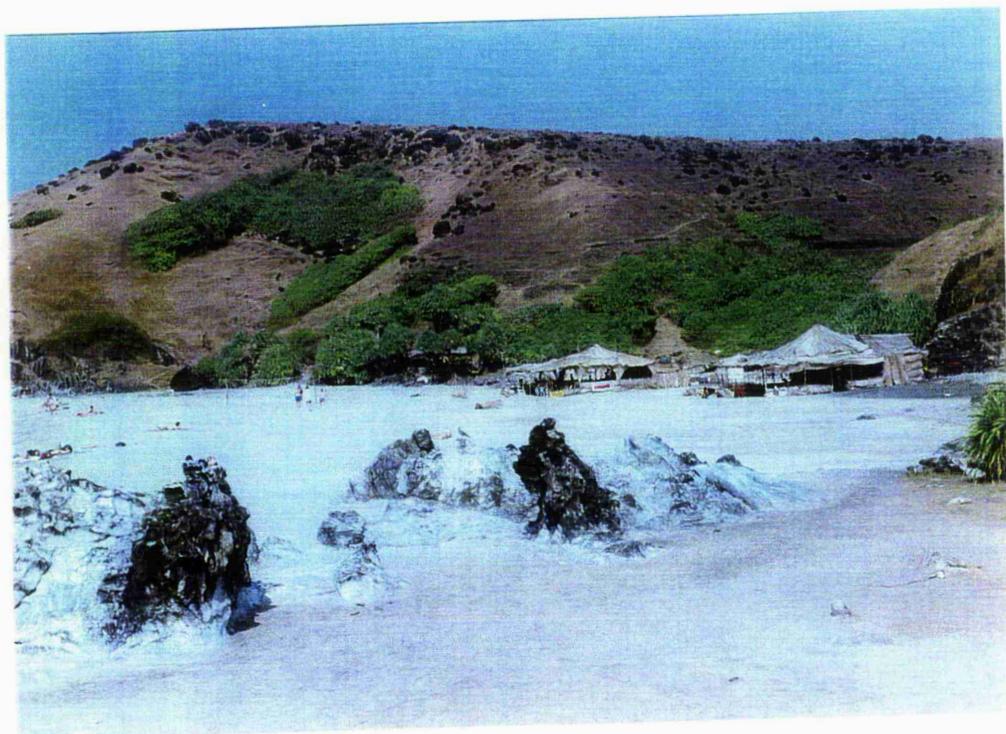


Plate 17b

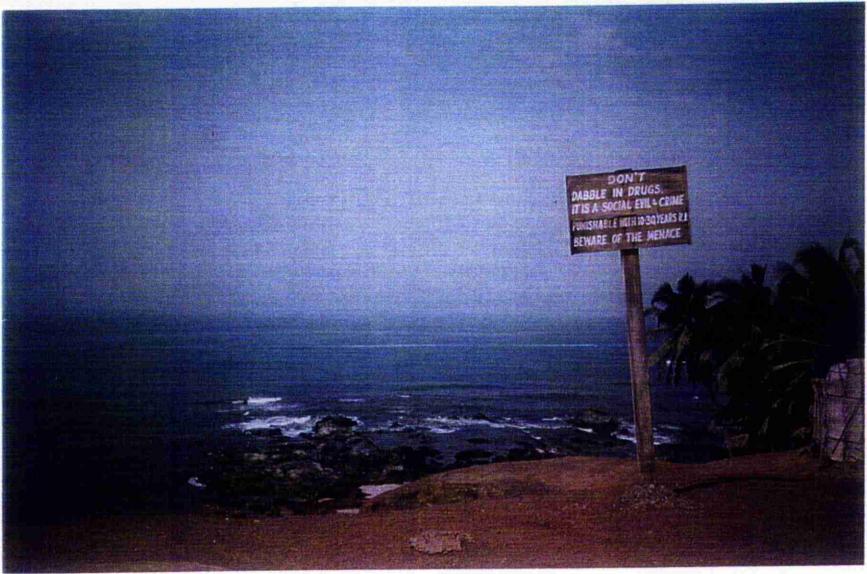


Plate 18a



Plate 18b

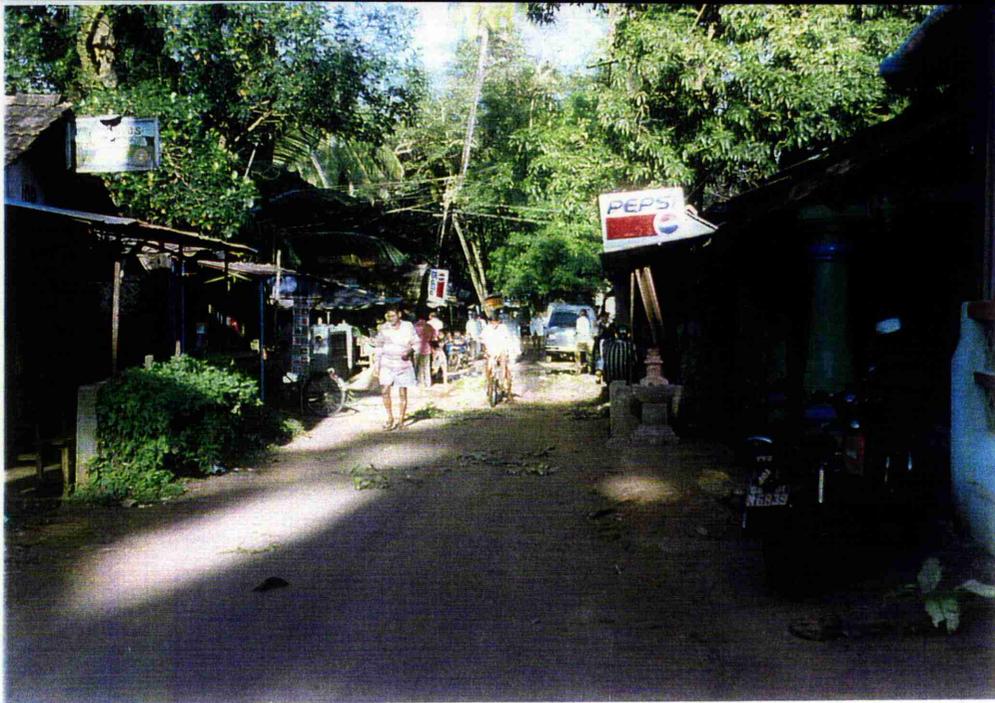


Plate 19a

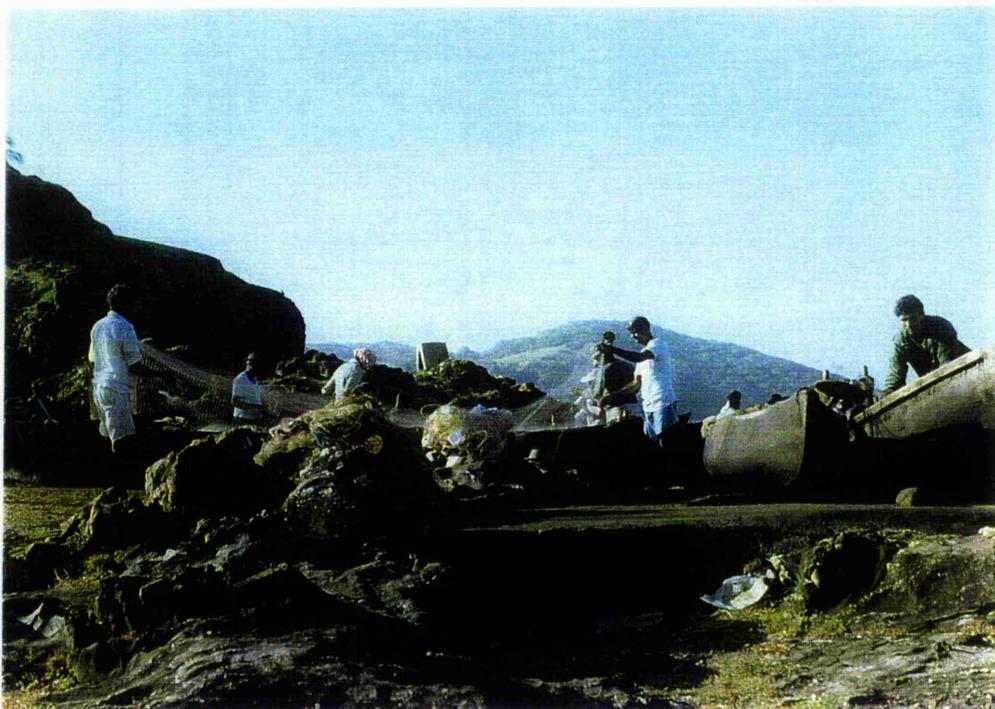


Plate 19b

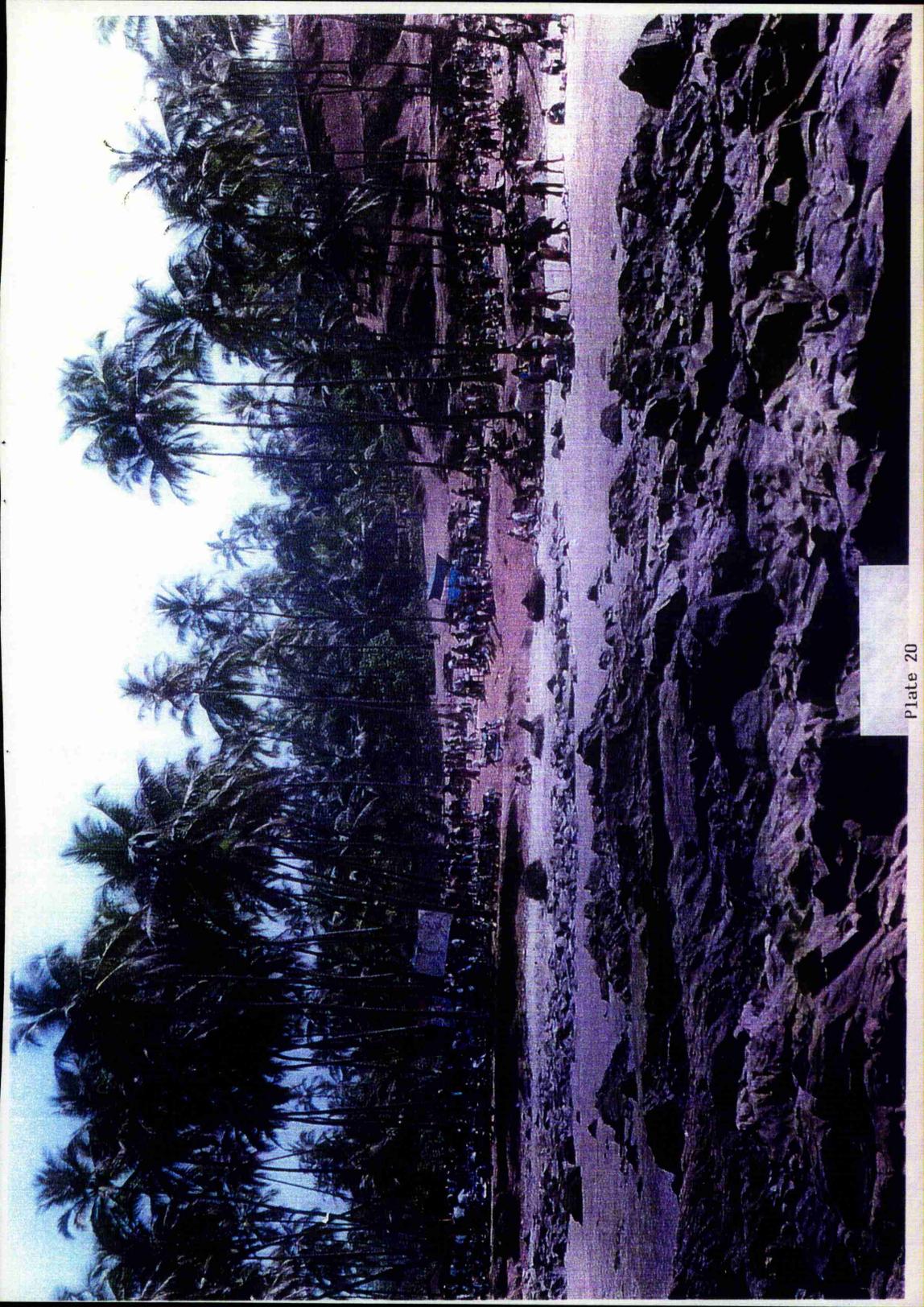


Plate 20



Plate 21a

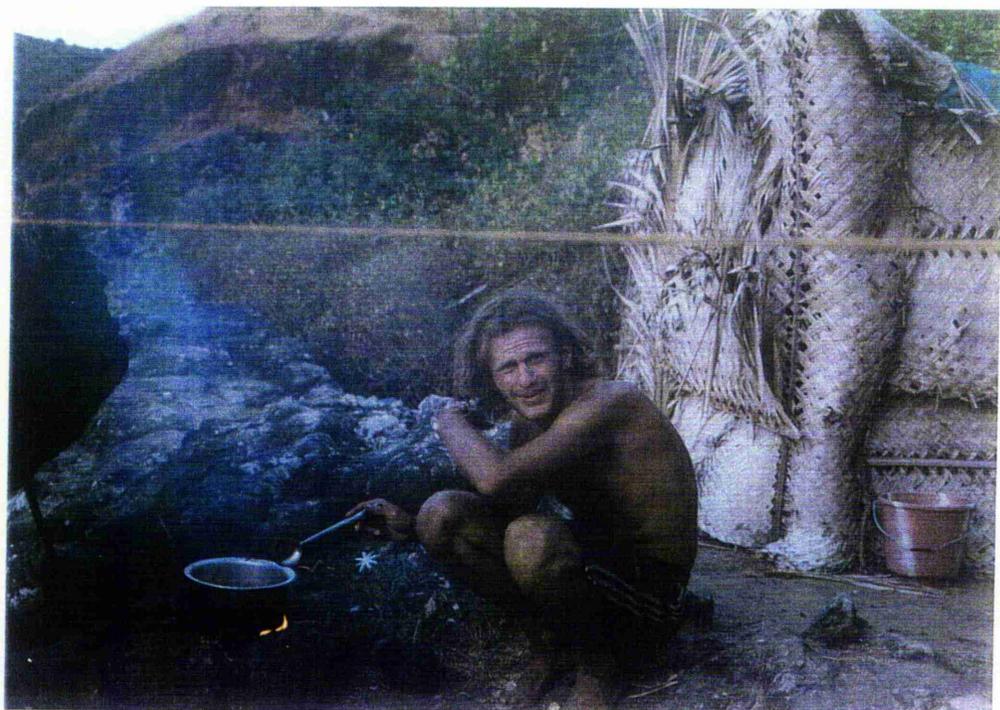


Plate 21b





Plate 23a

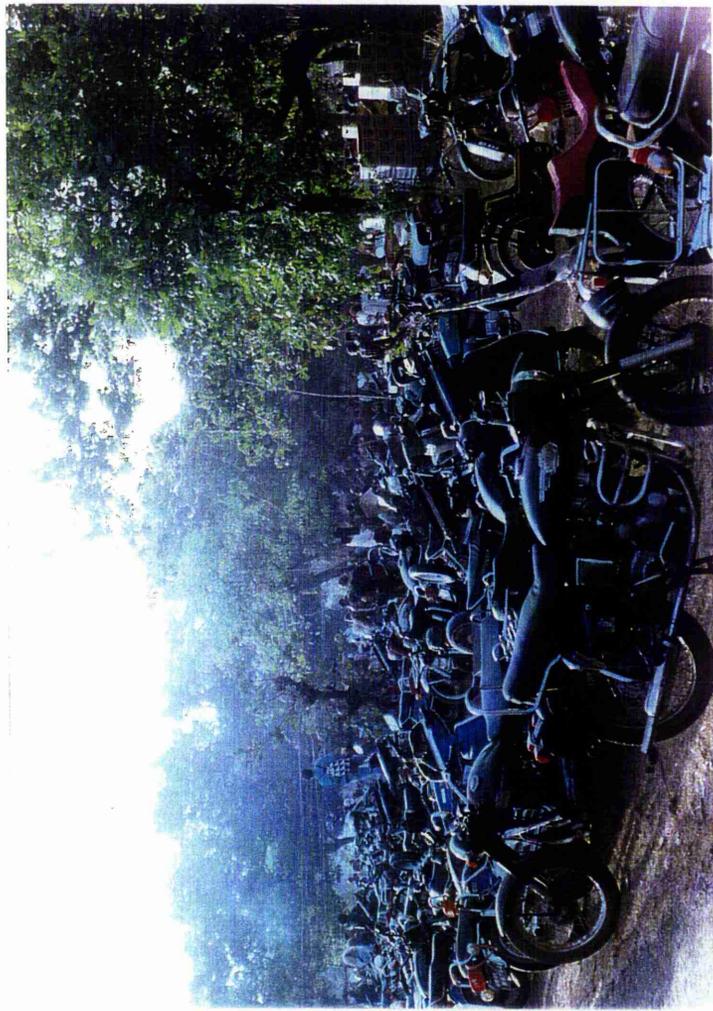


Plate 23b



Plate 24a

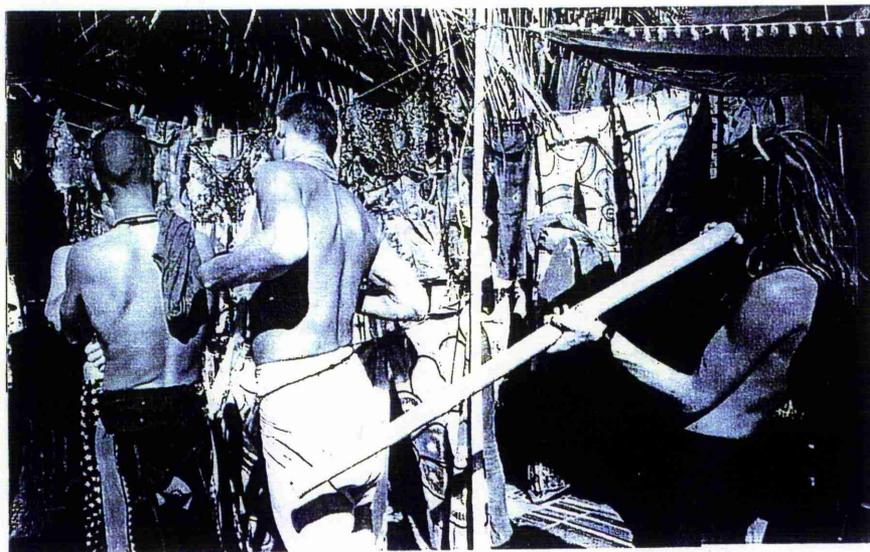


Plate 24b



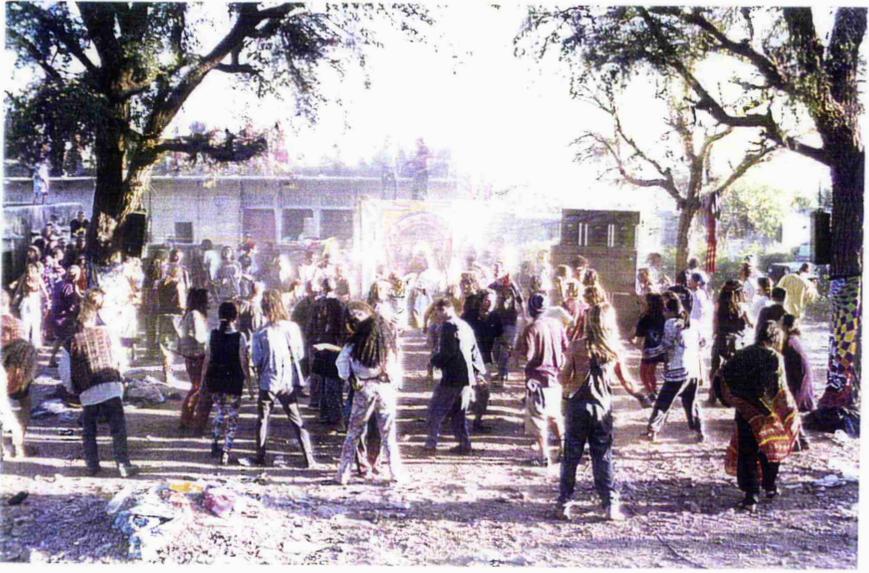


Plate 26a



Plate 26b

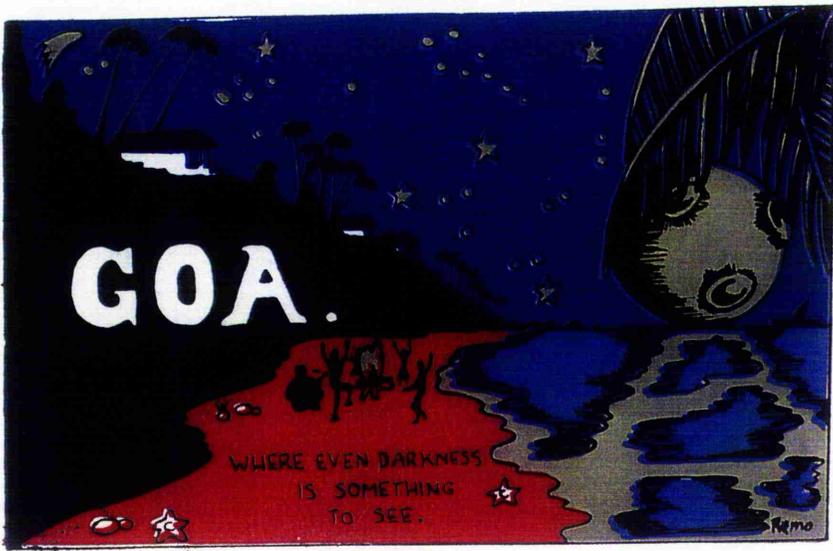


Plate 27a

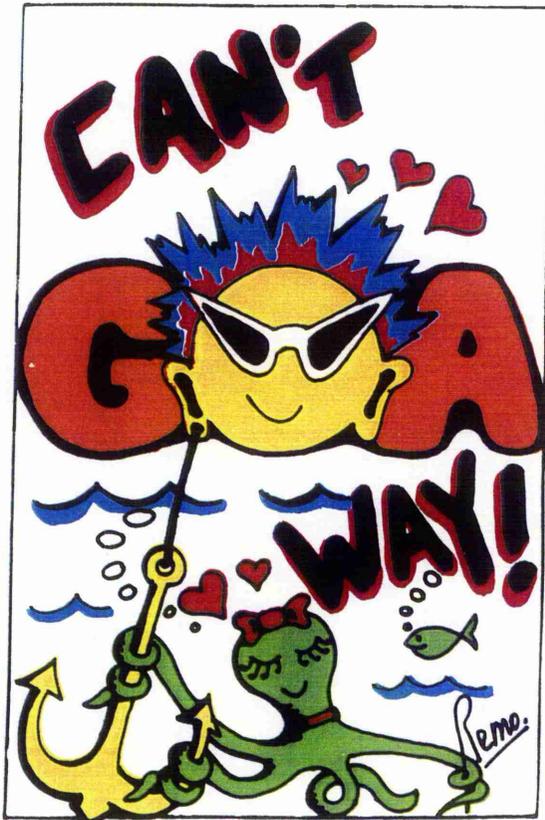


Plate 27b

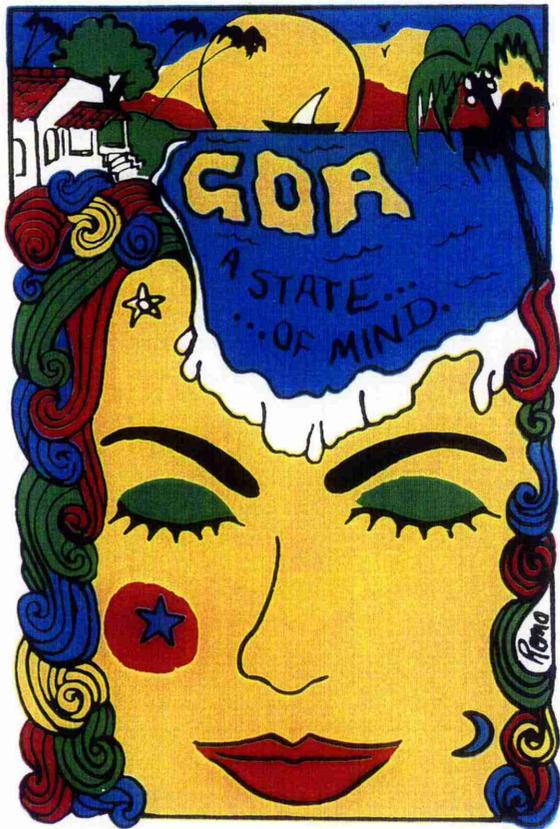


Plate 28a

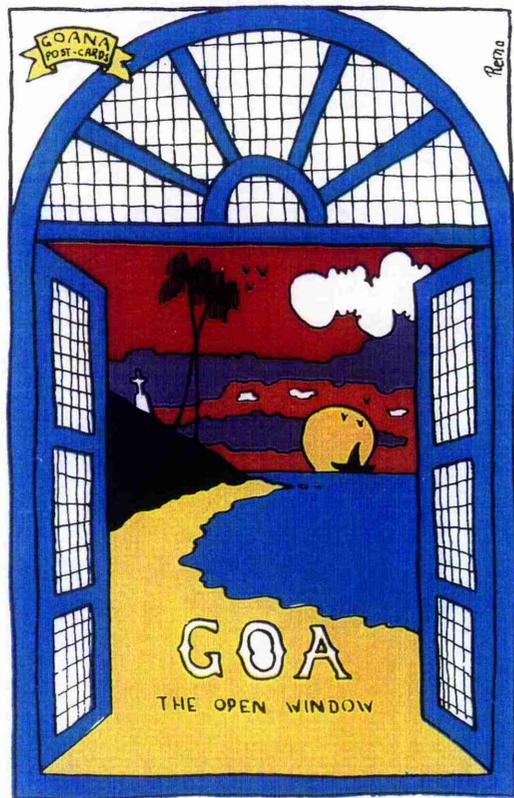


Plate 28b



Plate 29a

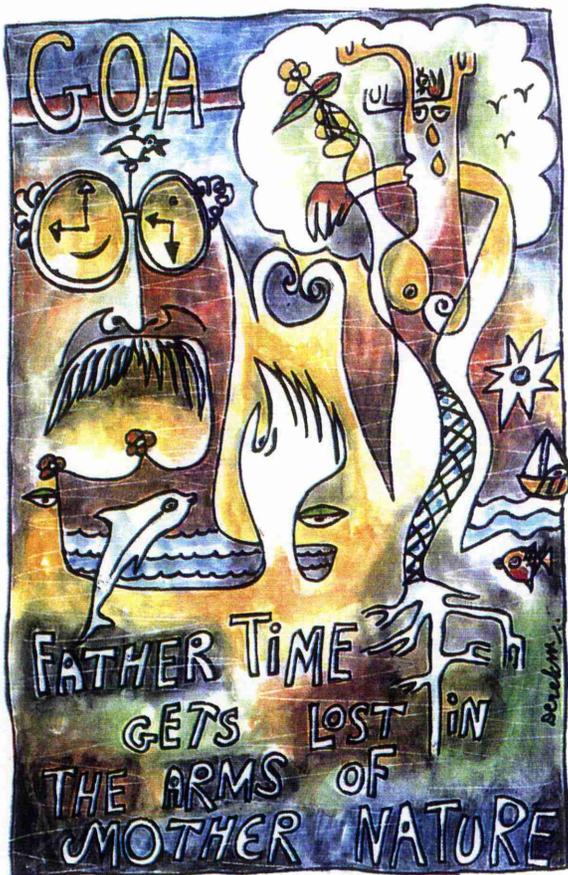


Plate 29b

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- Abbott, A. and Concar, D. (1992) 'A Trip into the Unknown.', in New Scientist, Vol. 135, No. 1836, 29 Aug., 1992.
- Ahmed, A. and Shore, C. (1995) (ed.s) The Future of Anthropology: Its Relevance to the Contemporary World. London; Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: The Athlone Press.
- Althusser, L. (1993) Essays on Ideology. London: New York: Verso.
- Antonil (n.d.) Mama Coca. Hassle Free Press.
- Anthony, W. (1997) 'Class of '88: Genesis Sunset.', in D.J., No.186, 29 Mar.-11 April, 1997.
- Ardener, E.W. (1971) 'The New Anthropology and its Critics.', in Man 6: 449-67.
- Ardener, E.W. (1985) 'Social Anthropology and the Decline of Modernism.', in Overing, J. (ed.) Reason and Morality (A.S.A. Monograph 24). London: Tavistock.
- Asad, T. (1972) 'Market Model, Class Structure and Consent : A Reconsideration of Swat Political Organisation'. Man, vol.7.
- Asad, T. (1973) Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter. London: Ithaca Press.
- Asad, T. (1979a) 'Anthropology and the Analysis of Ideology'. Man 14.
- Asad, T (1979b) 'Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter', in Huizer, G. and Mannheim, B. (eds.) The Politics of Anthropology: From Colonialism and Sexism Toward a New View From Below. The Hague; Paris: Mouton Publishers.
- Asad, T. (1986) 'The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology.' in J.Clifford and G.E.Marcus (eds.) Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.
- Bakhtin, M. (1968) Rabelais and his World. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.
- Baldinger, S. (n.d.) 'A Decade on the Rave.', in OUT magazine, New York.

- Barley, N. (1986) The Innocent Anthropologist: Notes from a Mud Hut. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Barth, F. (1965) Political Leadership Among Swat Pathans. London: Athlone Press; Humanities Press.
- Barth, F. (1974) 'On Responsibility and Humanity: Calling a Colleague to Account.', in Current Anthropology, vol. 15, no.1, Mar. 1974: 99-103.
- Baudrillard, J. (1988) Selected Writings. M.Poster (ed.). Cambridge: Polity.
- Benson, R. (1996) 'Rave New World', in The Guardian, Tuesday, 21 May, 1996.
- Bloch, M. (1977) 'The Past and the Present in the Present', Man, vol.12.
- Bloch, M. (1983) Marxism and Anthropology. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bloch, M. (1975) (ed.) Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology. London; New York: Tavistock Publications.
- Borofsky, R. (1994) (ed.) Assessing Cultural Anthropology. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Botelho, R. (1994) On A Goan Beach. Panjim, Goa: Star Types.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990) The Logic of Practice. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Boxer, C.R. (1963) Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1419-1825. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boxer, C.R. (1980) The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825. Delhi; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buford, B. (n.d.) Amongst the Thugs!.
- Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (ed.s) (1991) The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality. London: Harvester Wheatsheat.
- Burke, P. (1978) Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe. London: Temple Smith.
- Callaway, H. (1992) 'Ethnography and Experience: Gender Implications in Fieldwork and Texts.', in Okley, J. and Callaway, H. (eds.) Anthropology and Autobiography (A.S.A. monographs 27). London: Routledge.

- Campbell, A. (1989) To Square with Genesis. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Carey, J. (1994) 'Introducing Exodus: the battles, the raves, the regeneration.', in Squall: necessity breeds ingenuity, No.8, Autumn, 1994.
- Castenada, C. (1973) The Teachings of Don Juan: a Yaqui Way of Knowledge. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Certeau, M. de (1988) The Practice of Everyday Life. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chagnon, N. (1997) Yanomamo (5th edition). Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College.
- Champion, S. (1995) 'Goa.' in Return To The Source: Deep trance and ritual beats. Free booklet with the L.P. and C.D. of the same name in association with pyramid records (1995).
- Clifford, J. and Marcus, G.E. (1986) (ed.s) Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.
- Clifford, J. (1986) 'Introduction: Partial Truths.' in Clifford, J. and Marcus, G.E. (ed.s) Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.
- Clifford, J. (1988) The Predicament of Culture. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Cohen, A.P. (1989) The Symbolic Construction of Community. London; New York: Routledge.
- Cohen, A.P. (1992) 'Self-Conscious Anthropology.' in Okley, J. and Callaway, H. (ed.s) Anthropology and Autobiography (A.S.A. monographs 27). London: Routledge.
- Cole, B. (1995) 'Is Goa Trance the New Acid House?: Trance Trippin'.', in i-D, No. 146, Nov., 1995.
- Collin, M. (1995) 'Rough Justice.', in i-D, No. 146, Nov., 1995.

- Comaroff, J. (1985) Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: the Culture and History of a South African People. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Concar, D. and Abbott, A. (1992) 'A Trip into the Unknown.', in New Scientist, Vol. 135, No. 1836, 29 Aug., 1992.
- Cosgrove, S. (1988) 'Forbidden Fruits', in New Statesman and Society, 2 Sept., 1988.
- Crapanzano, V. (1980) Tuhami: portrait of a Moroccan. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.
- Crick, M. (1989) 'Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility.', in Annual Review of Anthropology, 1989, 18: 307-44.
- Crick, M. (1992) 'Ali and Me: an Essay in Street-Corner Anthropology.' in Okley, J. and Callaway, H. (ed.s) Anthropology and Autobiography (A.S.A. monographs 27). London: Routledge.
- Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1984) Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia. Preface by M. Foucault. Trans. from French by R. Hurley, M. Seem, and H.R. Lane. London: The Athlone Press.
- De Souza, T.R. (1991) 'Goan Culture and Identity Historically Speaking.', in Separata do Boletim do Instituto Menezes Braganza, No. 162.
- Dilley, R.M. (1992) (ed.) Contesting Markets: Analyses of Ideology, Discourse and Practice. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Donner, F. (1982) Shabono. London: Bodley Head.
- Dumont, J.-P. (1992) The Headman and I: Ambiguity and Ambivalence in the Fieldworking Experience. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press Inc..
- Durkheim, E. (1984) The Divison of Labour in Society. Trans. by W.D.Halls. Basingstoke: Macmillan
- Durkheim, E. (1982) The Rules of Sociological Method. Intro. by S.Lukes. London: Macmillan

- Dreyfus, H.L. and Rabinow, P. (1982) Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dwyer, K. (1982) Moroccan Dialogues: Anthropology in Question. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Eco, U. (1987) Travels in Hyperreality: Essays. Trans. by W. Weaver. London: Pan Books.
- Edwards-Jones, I. (1993) 'Now raving is by invitation only.', in The Guardian, June, 1993.
- Eisner, B. (1994) Ecstasy: The MDMA story. Berkeley: Ronin Publishing.
- Equinox (1994) Rave New World. An edited transcript of the Channel Four Television programme. Channel Four Publications.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1950) 'Social Anthropology: Past and Present.'. The Marett Lecture, reprinted in Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1969) Essays in Social Anthropology. London: Faber.
- Fabian, J. (1983) Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Fabian, J. (1991) Time and the Work of Anthropology: Critical essays, 1971-1991. Chur, Switzerland; Reading: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Fanon, F. (1967) The Wretched of the Earth. Preface by J.-P.Sartre. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Fanon, F. (1986) Black Skin, White Masks. Trans. by C.L.Markman. London: Pluto.
- Fardon, R. (1985a) (ed.) Power and Knowledge: Anthropological and Sociological Approaches. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Academic Press.
- Fardon, R. (1985b) 'Introduction: a Sense of Relevance.' in Fardon, R. (ed.) Power and Knowledge: Anthropological and Sociological approaches. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Academic Press.
- Fardon, R. (1988) (ed.) Localising Strategies: the Regionalisation of Ethnographic Accounts. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.

- Fenton, B. (1996) 'The Goa Way.' in D.J., issue 157, 1-14 Feb., 1996.
- Fernandez, J. (1965) 'Symbolic Consensus in a Fang Reformativ Cult.', in American Anthropologist, No.67, 1965.
- Firestone, S. (1972) The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution. London: Paladin.
- Firth, R. (1975) 'The Sceptical Anthropologist? Social Anthropology and Marxist views on society.' in M.Bloch (Ed.) Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology. London; New York: Tavistock Publications.
- Firth, R. (1981) 'Engagement and Detachment: Reflections on Applying Social Anthropology to Social Affairs.', in Human Organisation vol. 40: 193-201.
- Fish Curry and Rice: A citizens' report on the Goan environment. Mapusa, Goa: The Other India Press.
- Fortes, M. and Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1940) (ed.s) African Political Systems. London: Published for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures by Oxford University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1991a) Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason. Trans. from French by R.Howard. London: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1991b) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Trans. from French by A.Sheridan. London: Penguin.
- Foucault, M. (1980) Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977. C.Gordon (Ed.). Trans. from French by C.Gordon. Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Foucault, M. (1982) 'The Subject and Power.'. Afterword in Dreyfus, H.L. and Rabinow, P. Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Foucault, M. (1981) 'The Order of Discourse'. Inaugural lecture at the College de France. Published in Young, R. Untying the Text: a Post-Structuralist Reader. Boston; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Foucault, M. (1991) 'Governmentality.' in Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (Ed.s) The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality. London: Harvester Wheatsheat.
- Fraser, N. (1989) Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Friedman, J. (1992a) 'The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity', in American Anthropologist, vol. 94: 837-857.
- Friedman, J. (1992b) 'Myth, History and Political Identity', in Cultural Anthropology, vol. 7, no.2: 194-210.
- Gardiner, M. (1987) Footprints on Malekula: A Memoir of Bernard Deacon. London: Free Association Books.
- Geertz, C. (1973) The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books.
- Geertz, C. (1983a) Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology. London: Fontana Press.
- Geertz, C. (1983b) ' "From the Native's Point of View": On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding.', in C.Geertz (1993) Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology. London: Fontana Press.
- Geertz, C. (1988) Works and Lives: the Anthropologist as Author. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Geertz, C. (1986) 'Making Experience, Authoring Selves.', in V.Turner and E.Bruner (ed.s) (1986) The Anthropology of Experience. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Gerth, H.H. and Wright Mills, C. (1948) From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gittins, I. (1992) 'The Prodigy', in New Musical Express, 3 Oct., 1992.
- Gramsci, A. (1988) Prison Letters. Trans. by H.Henderson. London; Chicago: Pluto Press.
- Grant, L. (1995) 'All about E.' in The Guardian Weekend, 18 Nov., 1995.

- Green, T.H. (1995) 'U.K. Sound Systems: Life after The Act.' in D.J., issue 151, 26 Oct., 1995.
- Grimshaw, A. (1992) Servants of the Buddha: Winter in a Himalayan Convent. London: Open Letters.
- Grimshaw, A. and Hart, K. (1995) 'The Rise and Fall of Scientific Ethnography', in Ahmed, A. and Shore, C. (eds.) The Future of Anthropology: Its Relevance to the Contemporary World. London; Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: The Athlone Press.
- 'Half our children are on drugs.', in Daily Record, 4 Nov., 1996.
- Hall, S. and Jacques, M. (ed.s) (1983) The Politics of Thatcherism. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. (1991) (ed.s) Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Postwar Britain. London: Harper Collins Academic.
- Hannerz, U. (1996) Transnational connections: culture, people, places. London; New York: Routledge.
- Harris, M. (1994) 'Cultural Materialism is alive and well and won't go away until something better comes along.' in R.Borofsky (ed.) Assessing Cultural Anthropology. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hastrup, K. (1992) 'Writing Ethnography: State of the Art.', in Okley, J. and Callaway, H. (ed.s) Anthropology and Autobiography (A.S.A. monographs 27) London: Routledge.
- Hastrup, K. and Hervik, P. (1994) (ed.s) Social Experience and Anthropological Knowledge. London; New York: Routledge.
- Hastrup, K. (1994) 'Anthropological Knowledge Incorporated; Discussion.', in Hastrup, K. and Hervik, P. (ed.s) Social Experience and Anthropological Knowledge. London; New York: Routledge.
- Hayes, E.N. and Hayes, T. (1970) (ed.s) Claude Levi-Strauss: The Anthropologist as Hero. Cambridge, Mass; London: M.I.T. Press.

- Hebdige, D. (1993) Subculture: The Meaning of Style. London; New York: Routledge.
- Hebdige, D. (1987) Cut'n'Mix: Culture, Identity and Caribbean Music. London: Routledge.
- Henman, A., Lewis, R. and Malyon, T. (1985) Big Deal: The Politics of the Illicit Drugs Business. London: Pluto Press.
- Hirst, P. (1989) After Thatcher. London: Collins.
- Hobart, M. (1988) 'Who Do You Think You Are? The Authorised Balinese.', in Fardon, R. (1988) (ed.) Localising Strategies: the Regionalisation of Ethnographic Accounts. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.
- Holy, L. and Stuchlik, M. (1983) Actions, Norms and Representations: Foundations of Anthropological Inquiry. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huizer, G. and Mannheim, B. (1979) (ed.s) The Politics of Anthropology: From Colonialism and Sexism Toward a View from Below. The Hague; Paris: Mouton Publishers.
- Hulme, P. (1986) Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492-1797. London; New York: Routledge.
- India: A Travel Survival Kit (1993), 5th edition. Lonely Planet Publications.
- Ifeka, C. (1985) 'The Image of Goa.', in De Souza, T.R. (ed.) (1985) Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions. New Delhi.
- Jackson, M. (1989) Paths Towards a Clearing. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Jarvie, I.C. (1964) The Revolution in Anthropology. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Jones, S. (1988) Black Culture, White Youth: The Reggae tradition from JA to UK. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education.
- Jordan, T. (1995) 'Collective Bodies: Raving and the Politics of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari.', in Body and Society, Vol. 1, No.1: 125-144.

- Keesing, R.M. (1976) Cultural Anthropology: A Contemporary Perspective. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Keni, C. (1990) 'Hippie Girl.', in Goa Today, January, 1990: 38-42.
- Kirby, T. (1993) 'Drugs at heart of crime wave amongst young.', in The Independent, 13 May, 1993.
- Knauft, B.M. (1994) 'Pushing Anthropology Past the Posts: Critical Notes on Cultural Anthropology and Cultural Studies as Influenced by Postmodernism and Existentialism.', in Critique of Anthropology, Vol. 14(2): 117-152.
- Kohn, M. (1992) Dope Girls: The Birth of the British Drug Underground. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Kuhn, T.S. (1970) The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.
- Kuklick, H. (1991) The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology, 1885-1945. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kundera, M. (1992) Immortality. London: Faber and Faber.
- Kuper, A. (1975) Anthropologists and Anthropology: The British School, 1922-1972. Hammondsorth: Penguin.
- Kuper, A. (1988) The Invention of Primitive Society: Transformations of an Illusion. London; New York: Routledge.
- Lacey, H. (1995) 'Voting with their feet.', in The Independent On Sunday, 24 Sept., 1995.
- Lamphere, L. and Rosaldo, M. (ed.s) (1974) Woman, Culture and Society. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Leach, E. (1967) A Runaway World? Oxford University Press.
- Leary, T.F. (1968) The Politics of Ecstasy. New York: Putnam.
- Levi-Strauss (1989) Tristes Tropiques. London: Cape.
- Levi-Strauss, C. (1966) The Savage Mind. London.

- Lewis, I.M. (1968) History and Social Anthropology. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Lewis, I.M. (1971) Ecstatic Religion: an Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism.
- Lizot, J. (1985) Tales of the Yanomami: Daily Life in the Venezuelan Forest. Trans. by E. Simon. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowe, R. and Shaw, W. (1993) (ed.s) Travellers: Voices of the New Age Nomads. London: Fourth Estate Ltd..
- Lyotard, J.-F. (1984) The Postmodern Condition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Macey, D. (1993) The Lives of Michel Foucault. London: Hutchinson.
- Mair, A. (1992) 'Out of their heads.', in T.L.N., 1992.
- MacCormack, C. and Strathern, M. (ed.s) (1980) Nature, Culture and Gender. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MacDonald, M. (n.d.) 'Fashionable young find East End ecstasy.' Source unknown.
- Macdonell, D. (1986) Theories of Discourse: an Introduction. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Mahajan, A. (1986) Goan Vignettes. Delhi: Three Crowns.
- Malinowski, B. (1922/1987) Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagos of Melanesian New Guinea. London: Routledge.
- Malinowski, B. (1944/1969) A Scientific Theory Of Culture And Other Essays. London; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Malinowski, B. (1945) The Dynamics of Culture Change. New Haven: Routledge.
- Malinowski, B. (1967) A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term. London: Routledge.
- Marcus, G.E. and Cushman, D. (1982) 'Ethnographies as Texts', in Annual Review of Anthropology, 11.

- Marcus, G.E. and Fischer, M.J. (1986) Anthropology as Cultural Critique: an Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marcus, G.E. (1994) 'After the Critique of Ethnography: Faith, Hope, and Charity, but the Greatest of These is Charity.', in Borofsky, R. (ed.) Assessing Cultural Anthropology. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Marcus, T. (1996) 'The New Acid Reign.', in i-D, No. 151, April, 1996.
- Marcus, T. (1996) 'The Real Goa Story: Mars needs women.', in Mixmag, Vol.2, issue No.59, April, 1996.
- Marshall, G. (1994) Spirit of '69: A Skinhead Bible. Scotland: S.T. Publishing.
- Marton, Y.(1994) 'The Experiential Approach to Anthropology and Castenada's Ambiguous Legacy.', in D.E.Young and J.-G. Goulet (ed.s) Being Changed: the Anthropology of Extraordinary Experience. Ontario: Broadview Press.
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1984) Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy. Intro. by L.S.Feuer. London: Fontana/Collins/
- Mascarenhas, A. (n.d.) Goa From Pre-Historic Times. Pamphlet. Goa.
- Mascarenhas, A. (1958) Goan Life and Outlook. Lisbon.
- Mascarenhas, A. (1981) 'A Tourist's History of Goa.', in Boletim do Instituto Menezes Braganza. Panjim, Goa.
- Mckenna, T. (1992) Food of the Gods: the Search for the Original Tree of Knowledge: a Radical History of Plants, Drugs and Human Evolution. London: Rider.
- Mckenna, T. (1991) The Archaic Revival: Speculations on Psychedelic Mushrooms, the Amazon, Virtual Reality, UFOs, Evolution, Shamanism, the Rebirth of the Goddess, and the End of History. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.
- Mcrobbie, A. (1994) Postmodernism and Popular Culture. London: Routledge.

- Melechi, A. and Redhead, S. (1988) 'The Fall of the Acid Reign.', in New Statesman and Society, 23 Sept., 1988.
- Meta, G. (1990) Karma Cola. London: Minerva.
- Miner, H. (1956) 'Body Ritual among the Nacirema.', in American Anthropologist 1956: 503-7.
- Moller, D. (1993) 'A Deadly Kind of Ecstasy.', in Reader's Digest, Vol. 143, July, 1993.
- Moore, H.L. (1989) Feminism and Anthropology. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Moreton, C. (1995) 'Goa dance and LSD craze sweeps clubs.', in The Independent on Sunday, 29 Oct., 1995.
- Morrison, S.A. (1997) 'Politics of Dancing.', in D.J., No. 182, 1-14 Feb., 1997.
- Murphy, R.F. (1994) 'Words and Deeds', in Borofsky, R. (ed.) Assessing Cultural Anthropology. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Narayan, K. (1993) 'How Native is a "Native" Anthropologist?', in American Anthropologist, 95, 1993: 671-686.
- Newman, R.S. 'Konkani Mai Ascends The Throne: the Cultural Basis of Goan Statehood.', in South Asia 11 (1): 1-24.
- Nisa (1982) Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman. Ed. by M. Shostak. London: Allen Lane.
- Nietzsche, F. (1993) The Birth of Tragedy: Out of the Spirit of Music. Trans. by S. Whiteside. London: Penguin Books.
- Norris, C. (1991) Deconstruction: Theory and Practice. London; New York: Routledge.
- Odzer, C. (1995) Goa Freaks: My Hippie Years in India. New York: Blue Moon Books.
- Okely, J. (1975) 'The Self and Scientism', in J.A.S.O. 6, 3: 171-188.
- Okely, J. (1983) The Traveller-Gypsies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Okely, J. and Callaway, H. (ed.s) (1992) Anthropology and Autobiography (A.S.A. monographs 27). London: Routledge.

- Okely, J. (1992) 'Participatory Experience and Embodied Knowledge' in Okley, J. and Callaway, H. (Ed.s) (1992) Anthropology and Autobiography (A.S.A. monographs 27). London: Routledge.
- Okely, J. (1993) 'Fieldwork in the Home Counties', in Haviland, W.A. and Gordon, R.J. (1993) Talking About People: Readings in Contemporary Anthropology.
- Okely, J. (1994) 'Vicarious and Sensory Knowledge of Chronology and Change: Ageing in Rural France', in Hastrup, K. and Hervik, P. (ed.s) Social Experience and Anthropological Knowledge. London; New York: Routledge.
- Ortner, S. and Whitehead, H. (ed.s) (1981) Sexual Meanings: the Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ortner, S. (1984) 'Theory in Anthropology Since the Sixties.', in Comparative Studies in Society and History, 26: 126-66.
- Overing, J. (1990) 'The Shaman as a Maker of Worlds: Nelson Goodman in the Amazon.', in Man (n.s.) 25: 602-19.
- Patterson, L. (1995) 'Psychedelic Trance.', in D.J., issue 151, 26 Oct., 1995.
- Pinto, L. (1994) 'Tourism in Goa: a Perspective.', in Herald Mirror, May 22, 1994: 7.
- Pocock, D.F. (1975) Social Anthropology. London: Teach Yourself Books.
- Pratt, M.L. (1986) 'Fieldwork in Common Places.', in Clifford, J. and Marcus, G.E. (ed.s) Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.
- Rabinow, P. (1984) (ed.) The Foucault Reader. London: Penguin.
- Rabinow, P. (1977) Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco. Berkeley; London: University of California Press.
- Rabinow, P. and Sullivan, W.M. (1979) (ed.s) Interpretive Social Science: a Reader. Berkeley; London: University of California Press.

- Rapport, N. (1992) 'From Affect to Analysis: the Biography of an Interaction in an English Village.', in Okley, J. and Callaway, H. (ed.s) (1992) Anthropology and Autobiography (A.S.A. monographs 27). London: Routledge.
- Rapport, N. (1995) The Prose and the Passion: Anthropology, Literature, and the Writing of E.M.Forster. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Rapport, N. (1997) Transcendent Individual: Towards a Literary and Liberal Anthropology. London; New York: Routledge.
- Redhead, S. and Melechi, A. (1988) 'The Fall of the Acid Reign.', in New Statesman and Society, 23 Sept., 1988.
- Redhead, S. (ed.) (1993) Rave Off: Politics and Deviance in Contemporary Youth Culture. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Return to the Source: Deep Trance and Ritual Beats. Free booklet with the L.P. and C.D. of the same name in association with pyramid records (1995).
- Robert, P. (1991) 'Postmodern Ethnography?', in Critique of Anthropology, Vol.11: 309-31.
- Robertson, R. (1992) Globalisation: Social Theory and Global Culture. London: Sage Publications.
- Rorty, R. (1979) Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rorty, R. (1989) Contingency, Irony and Solidarity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rorty, R. (1991) Objectivity, Relativism and Truth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosaldo, M. and Lamphere, L. (1974) (ed.s) Woman, Culture and Society. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Rosaldo, R. (1989) Culture and Truth: The remaking of social analysis. London: Routledge.
- Rushdie, S. (1982) Midnight's Children. London: Picador.
- Said, E. (1978) Orientalism. London; Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Said, E. (1994) Culture and Imperialism. London: Vintage.
- Salmond, A. (1982) 'Theoretical Landscapes', in Parkin, D. (ed.) Semantic Anthropology (A.S.A. monographs 22). London: Academic Press.
- Samuel, R. (1981) (ed.) East End Underworld: Chapters in the life of Arthur Harding. History Workshop series. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Samuel, R., Bloomfield, B. and Boanas, G. (1986) The Enemy Within: Pit Villages and the Miner's Strike of 1984-5. History Workshop series. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Sardar, Z., Nandy, A., Davies, M.W., and Alvares, C. (1993) The Blinded Eye: 500 years of Christopher Columbus. Goa, India: The Other India Press.
- Saunders, L. (1993) 'Ecstasy or Agony?: the heat is on.', in The Guardian, Tuesday, 7 Sept., 1993.
- Saunders, N. (1995) 'The Soul of the Raving Monster Loony Party.', in The Guardian, Saturday, 22 July, 1995.
- Saunders, N. (1995) Ecstasy and the Dance Culture. London: Turnaround and Knockabout.
- Sawyer, M. (1992) 'Apocalypse Now.', in Select, 1992.
- Schrijvers, J. (1979) 'Viricentrism and Anthropology', in Huizer, G. and Mannheim, B. (eds.) The Politics of Anthropology: From Colonialism and Sexism Toward a View from Below. The Hague; Paris: Mouton Publishers.
- Schroeder, R. (1992) Max Weber and the Sociology of Culture. London; Newbury Park; New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Sharkey, A. (1993) 'Six Chicks Go Crazy in Goa. I Join Them.', in The Independent, Saturday, 16 Jan. 1993.
- Sharkey, A. (1993) 'Peace Breaks Out in the Drugs War.', in The Independent, 16 Oct., 1993.
- Sharkey, A. (1993) 'New Tribes of England.', in The Guardian Weekend, 11 Dec., 1993.

- Sheridan, A. (1980) Michel Foucault: the Will to Truth. London; New York: Tavistock Publications.
- Shirodkar, P. (n.d.) (ed.) Goa: Cultural Trends. Goa.
- Shotter, J. (1993) The Cultural Politics of Everyday life. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Silverman, D. (1975) Reading Castenada: a Prologue to the Social Sciences. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Singh, K.S. (n.d.) People of India: Goa. Vol.xxi. Delhi.
- Sloe Gin Fizz (1994) 'The Ecstatic Cybernetic Amino Acid Test.', in Psychedelic Illuminations, issue 6, 1994.
- Smith-Bowen, E. (1964) Return to Laughter. New York: Doubleday.
- Smith, A. (1995) 'Paradise lost can be regained again.', in The Guardian, 16 Nov., 1995.
- Smith, V.L. (1989) (ed.) Host and Guests: The anthropology of tourism (2nd Edition). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sontag, S. (1970) 'The Anthropologist as Hero', in Hayes, E.N. and Hayes, T. (1970) (ed.s) Claude Levi-Strauss: The Anthropologist as Hero. Cambridge, Mass; London: M.I.T. Press.
- Sontag, S. (1982) A Susan Sontag Reader. London: Penguin Books.
- Spencer, J. (1990) 'Anthropology as a Kind of Writing', in Man 24.
- Stephenson, J. (1988) 'Night Workers: a new generation of entrepreneurs is emerging from the illegal world of London's warehouse parties.', in New Society, 20 May, 1988.
- Stevenson, N. (1996) 'Acid: the Return Trip?', in Wax, Vol.1, issue 7, Oct., 1996.
- Stocking, G.W. (1995) After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888-1951. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Stocking, G.W. (1991) (ed.) Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualisation of Ethnographic Knowledge. Madison; London: University of Wisconsin Press.

- Stocking, G.W. (1992) The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Stocking, G.W. (1984) Functionalism Historicized: Essays on British Social Anthropology. Madison: University of Wisconsin press.
- Stoller, P. and Olkes, C. (1987) In Sorcery's Shadow. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.
- Stoller, P. (1989a) The Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Stoller, P. (1989b) Fusion of the Worlds: an Ethnography of Possession among the Songhay of Niger. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Strathern, M. and MacCormack, C. (Ed.s) (1980) Nature, Culture and Gender. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Strathern, M. (1987) 'Out of Context: The Persuasive Fictions of Anthropology.', in Current Anthropology, Vol. 28, No.3.
- Sullivan, W.M. and Rabinow, P. (Ed.s) (1979) Interpretive Social Science: a reader. Berkeley; London: University of California Press.
- Shweder, R.A. (1984) 'Anthropology's Romantic Rebellion against the Enlightenment, or There's More to Thinking Than Reason and Evidence.' in Shweder, R.A. and Levine, R.A. (1984) (Ed.s) Culture Theory. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taussig, M. (1992) The Nervous System. New York: Routledge.
- Taussig, M. (1986) Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wildman: a Study in Terror and Healing. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Taussig, M. (1993) Mimesis and Alterity: a Particular History of the Senses. London; New York: Routledge.
- Taylor, D. (1993) 'A new generation weaned on drugs.', in The Observer, 26 Sept., 1993.
- 'The Hippies in Goa.', in Goa Today, July, 1982.

- Thompson, P.R. (1983) Living the Fishing. (With Wailey, T. and Lummis, T.) London; Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 'Tourism: the coming invasion.', in Goa Today, August 1987: 16-18.
- 'Tradition vs. Tourism:"another Hawaii, we don't need".', in Goa Today, April 1987: 14-18.
- Tredre, R. (1995) 'Dance Inc.', in Observer Life, 25 June, 1995.
- Turnbull, C. (1973) The Mountain People. London: Cape.
- Turner, V. and Bruner, E. (1986) (ed.s) The Anthropology of Experience. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Tyler, S.A. (1986) 'Post-Modern Ethnography: From Document of the Occult to Occult Document.', in Clifford, J. and Marcus, G.E. (ed.s) Writing Culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.
- Tylor, E. (1913) Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom. London: J.Murray.
- Wagner, R. (1981) The Invention of Culture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wagner, R. (1986) 'The Theatre of Fact and its Critics.', in Anthropological Quarterly, April 1986, 59:2.
- Welsh, I. (1996) Ecstasy: Three tales of Chemical Romance. London: Jonathon Cape.
- Wersch, J.V. (1991) Voices in the Mind: a Sociocultural Approach to Mediated Action. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Wilkie, S. (1995) 'Deadly ecstasy alert: kids snap up killer tablets.', in The Daily Record, Tuesday, 14 Nov., 1995.
- Williams, R. (1993) 'Switched-on advertisers ready for a rave.', in The Independent, 25 April, 1993.

- Willis, P.E. (1977) Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs. Farnborough, Hants.: Saxon House.
- Willis, P.E. (1978) Profane Culture. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Wilmott, B. (1995) 'Goan, Goan, well gone.', in New Musical Express, 2 Dec., 1995.
- Wood, R.E. (1993) 'Tourism, Culture and the Sociology of Development.' in Hitchcock, M., King V.T. and Parnwell, M.J.G. (Ed.s) Tourism in South-East Asia. London; New York: Routledge.
- Young, D.E. and Goulet, J.-G. (1994) Being Changed: The anthropology of extraordinary experience. Ontario: Broadview Press.
- Young, M.W. (1979) (ed.) The Ethnography of Malinowski: the Trobriand Islands, 1915-18. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Young, R. (1981) (ed.) Untying the Text: a Post-Structuralist Reader. Boston; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Young, R. (1992) White Mythologies: Writing History and the West. London; New York: Routledge.