Trippin' The Body Electric. Towards a Discourse on a Technological Body-Subculture: The Case of Rave

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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Abstract

This thesis is an analysis as to whether or not Subcultural Theory may be utilized to understand how self-identification is configured within a subculture such as rave. Typically, subcultural membership requires various performative rites that express and maintain a group sensibility and identity. Rave, however, is a subculture that involves a relationship to space and technology that changes the nature of group affiliation within the subculture. This thesis focuses on how a body immersed in subcultural practices, and organized around varying technologies, must look toward an analysis of individual and subjective adaptations of those technologies. In essence, rave allows for identification that is shaped and altered by the participant, but only at each moment of interaction with the technologies of the club. Highly individualistic, dynamic, and technology-driven, the rave subculture offers the potential to examine the body as the site for identification, and escape, within an abstracting technological world.

Cet these est une analyse qui cherche à repondre la question, 'Est-ce-que la theorie sous-culturel peut etre utiliser comme méthode de comprendre l'identification personel configurer à l'intérieur des RAVES'? L'adhesion sous-culturel demande typiquement des derniers sacraments variants qui exprime et maintiens la sensibilité et identité d'un group. Les 'RAVES' par contre, font part d'un sous-culture qui entraine une relation spatiale et technologique qui change la dynamique du group l'intérieur d'un sous-culture. Cet these met en point comment un corps qui est plonger dans les habitudes sous-culturel, et organizer par des technology variants, doit fair une analyse d'individuel et d'adaptation subjective à ses technologies. En essence, les 'RAVES' accorde au corps une identité former et changer par le participant, mais seulement avec l'intéraction avec les technologie du club. Individuel, dynamic et pousser par la technologie, la sous-culture des 'RAVES' nous offre la chance d'examiner le corps comme s'il était un emplacement pour l'identification, en plus q'un echappement à l'intérieur d'un monde technologique retire.

Introduction

Preface

The rave subculture is a culture that is identified through its members' unique relationship to varying technologies at the party. As such, rave comes to exhibit characteristics of membership rites, and subcultural longevity, that differ from other musical subcultures. The purpose of this preface is to develop an understanding of technologies associated with rave in order to begin an analysis of rave as an enduring, distinctive, and potentially liberating subculture.

Any form of technology is valued by its functionality, that is, the way that it is oriented and adapted by a social group. In Jacques Ellul's book, *The Technological Society*, Ellul emphasizes the importance of the functionality, or technique[1], of a technology. According to Ellul, technique is the continual process of making sense of the environment. Technique is a way for people to order and utilize technologies based on how they see their lives ordered and influenced by those technologies. These groups in turn, act to create meaning out of their interaction with technology through the way they perceive themselves and the spaces they inhabit. Thus, the logic of any environment is found by the ways in which people come to organize themselves within them.

With the need to characterize and shape a technology along social lines, a technological subculture such as rave must be defined by how revelers actively pursue interaction with the technological environment. Technology is a cultural phenomenon in how a social group both defines the need for that technology in their society, and how this definition will subsequently affect the use of that technology. Typically, social definitions are given a perceived functionality by a given social group.

For this thesis, rave will be used as a cultural case study to analyze how group

members' define themselves, and define their cultural and social group, through interaction with the various technologies found at shared events. A raver's[i] interaction with the music, equipment and other ravers, defines the relevance of the technological artifacts of the party (i.e. turntables, light shows, speaker systems). This thesis will look at how rave works through both the physicality of technology (i.e. machinery), and the mindset of those revelers who come to find personal meaning through the usage of that technology. Rave is the case study of this thesis. Through an examination of how ravers interact with space, environment, and the many technologies involved in a rave event, one may begin to develop a model for a technological-body subculture. In order to analyze sociability and individuation within the rave subculture, one must analyze how ravers come to interact and adapt to the varying technologies of the rave party.

The Rationality of Technology

Within the Western capitalist model, the notion of technology has historically been associated with that of the machine and industry. An examination of technology in the modern day, however, must concern how machines enter into a social discourse of utility and how they work to facilitate the emergence of cultural formations. Culture, as one of the arenas for social actors, either in groups or through individuals, plays an interesting role in the rationale of a technology. Principally, what becomes important when looking at a technological subculture is how that culture defines itself through the way its members interact with the technologies found in their environment.

The rationality of the machine has previously been viewed as machines being capable of doing the work of humans with greater efficiency of time, capital, and labour[2]. The machine is the logical substitute for the human body. The problem with the use of a

[i] Raver = one who participates in raves

rationality discourse is that it is closed in the ways that it can be used to examine a situation – all issues must fit within notions of logical necessity to be rational. The questions of pure rationality become further complicated when carried over to the social realm, where relations may not be rationally perceived. Thus, technology as a social discourse is paradoxical, as the functionality of a technological artifact may not be the same as the social utility of that artifact.

The problems with rationality and logical efficiency may be transferred to the analysis of cultures and subcultures, particularly rave. Subcultures must fit within notions of logical organization in order to be categorized and labeled. In order to use rationality in the discussion of technological effects on subcultural organization, however, there must be space opened within the rationality discourse that allows for interpretations based on social importance rather than pure functionality or reason.

Technology as a physical artifact is often given meaning in the creation process by those who are its creators. That meaning however, may potentially be altered when placed within a social context. Whether physically manifested or ideological, technology holds its social relevance through the culture in which it is placed, where actors can construct the utility of various technologies. Subcultures represent smaller cultural groupings whereupon technological utility may be more concentrated.

Within the approach of culture as an organizing tool, notions of cultural affiliation take on a certain type of technical orientation, or rationality. To be in a culture requires varying performative rites to express and maintain group sensibilities and identification. Much of the analysis of technology and society that currently exists seems to favour notions of societal change and adaptation of technologies. This thesis, however, will focus on how a body immersed in subcultural practices, and organized around

technology, must start looking toward an analysis of individual and subjective adaptations of technologies. The importance of the group is still present, but in examining a culture dominated by technologies of abstraction, one may see where group conventions and group entry rituals are arrived at through an understanding of the primacy of individual acts of socializing.

This thesis is concerned with the means by which one can interpret the body culture[ii] of rave through its placement in the technological order. The technological order refers to the prevalence of technological apparatuses for the continuation of the social order. What will be demonstrated here is that the rationality of a body immersed in sound, pharmaceutical, and environmental technologies[iii] will ultimately be interpreted by how that body enters into various technologies and relates to that experience subjectively. Thus, the logic and rationality of a technological body culture are not predefined, but comes through experiencing how the technologies of an environment affect those who inhabit that environment. Rather, what must be understood is that the experience itself is still a type of rationality. Indeed, to be immersed into technology requires a specific type of logic, given that the body is how we configure ourselves as a social being within particular spaces. Furthermore, the technologies of the body are the connection to not only our own corporeality but also to how corporeality is placed within a social context.

The ultimate purpose of this thesis will be two-fold. First, it will try to determine whether one can use 'traditional' subcultural/popular music theory, or a theory of spatiality, to investigate a technically oriented cultural group of youth affiliation like rave.

[ii] Body culture refers to cultures that come to be expressed through how the body is highlighted as the defining characteristic of a group sensibility.

[iii] Especially electronic media which come to be a 'techno-scape', or a technological environment encompassing the way physical space is contextualized

Second, it will analyze how cultural identities come to be increasingly founded within the corporeal, through immersion into the techno-scape. Increased immersion into the techno-scape will ultimately result in the accentuation of a body culture.

This paper will examine the work of early subcultural analysts of popular music (e.g. Hebdige, Clarke, Hall), and compare this theoretical framework to postmodernist thinkers such as Jean Baudrillard, Frederic Jameson, and Christopher Stanley and his notion of nomadic laws. Through the work of these latter thinkers, we can see how cultural understanding must increasingly be viewed through the ways cultural actors recognize their surroundings as actively occurring in the present, and the type of meaning that that grants. Thus, postmodernity will be understood as the absence of 'grand-narratives'; an approach that looks at culture as not assuming homogeneous mass-relations but in how individuals come to make sense of their various relationships to, and in, society.[iv] This type of analysis is useful in order to understand the cultural formation of the rave subculture, which is distinctly active, individualistic, and highly technological.

The research for the rave portion of this thesis comes from academic readings of rave culture and partially from my own rather informal experience of attending various raves and dance clubs. The primary function of this thesis, however, will be to provide a theoretical analysis on the characteristics of the rave culture within a technological society.

The Body and Reason

Subculture will be discussed in relation to corporeality as a particular example of a body[v] culture utilizing technologies of varying types. In order to view subcultures as

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[iv] Jameson (1991), Muggleton (2000)

[v] In this thesis, 'body' will connote a present body, and 'corporeal' will describe the body as physicality – thus both are used to mean similar ideals

corporeal/technological cultures they must first be examined in terms of how the interaction between the body and technology are understood in light of a particular culture's notions of rationality and irrationality, and the way in which others outside of that culture view and interpret those ideas. Moreover, an analysis of subculture within the information age must incorporate those activities deemed socially and culturally irrational in order to understand how the body is organized within a discourse of technology and rationality. In this way, one is able to explore whether the irrational is solely the counter of rationality, or instead simply placed as an "other" because of discursive practices. From this, one is able to question whether the notion of rationality itself must be expanded, or whether a space exists within the logical perquisite of rationality to discuss a body in culture.

By looking at the work of Baudrillard and Jameson, one can argue that within the information age, social relations that are mediated by various technologies are distanced from any true sense of physicality. Instead, social relations are dependent upon the means by which increasingly abstract physical signifiers are reflected upon the body. Thus, to look at rave as a technological subculture is to look at how the body is continuously mediated through abstracting technologies, particularly the media-scape (same as techno-scape) and the fashion-scape.[vi] It is when the body is made illusory through mediation, that there may be a reification of corporeality: physicality despite and because of abstraction and virtuality.

[vi] fashion-scape – meaning the world of stylized images, which come to be the aesthetic norm of the dominant culture (will be used with technoscape and mediascape as terms to indicate the highly mediated world that we are immersed in)

As the role of technology becomes increasingly pervasive in our daily lives,[vii] it similarly branches into a relationship that is on the one hand, symbiotic (cyborg), and on the other, abstracted (virtual). The cyborg occurs when the body merges the organic flesh with the technological, requiring the immersion of the body into any technology that creates a link to one's surroundings. In our interactions with the environment, we can begin to self-realize an individual corporeality through how we individually experience and mediate the spaces of our society. The cyborg is the physical union of the biological and the inorganic. Furthermore, the cyborg is also the intellectualization of how one's identity changes through the reliance on varying technologies that act as our mediators in any interaction with our environment. For instance, the body functions through the sound technologies of the club (i.e. speakers, particularly the bass) to enhance the feeling of unity with the environment. Ultimately, the cyborg concept is important as the means by which the individual is brought into the foreground at the moment of interaction and reception with their environment.

The virtual, on the other hand, comes to be represented by the momentary interactions of space and body. It does not necessarily entail an analysis of lost 'meat[viii]', but instead an examination of the body as out of place, abstracted by a lack of physical signifiers. The role of the individual in the technology/information age is to be able to mediate an environment that is increasingly technical, but also virtual. Presence is not about place, but about one's relationship to their environment and the way the techniques of that society imprint that individual. With immersion into the media-scape, we accept virtuality as movement, that is, disappearance is the rational result of displacement from a

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[vii] i.e. the way our bodies as the conduits of our social experiences are affected by immersion into the abstraction of the media-scape

[viii] Meat here referring to the flesh and bones of the organic

rooted sense of self-identity, a point that will be further discussed in the last chapter, using rave as a case study.

The rave subculture is transgressive of both technology as symbiosis and technology as abstraction, given that the subculture works within both the cyborg and the virtual. With rave, it is apparent that any division between the cyborg and the virtual is in effect, tied closely together and indeed essential for an understanding of cultural and individual affiliation and awareness. With this unification of the physical and intellectual, subculture becomes the transgression of the physical into a new corporeality that is at once both virtual and present.

This thesis has been broken down into the following chapters: **Chapter 1** is an analysis of subculture as identity marker and how this marking, expressed through the body and space, works toward a sense of group identification. **Chapter 2** explores the process of "image-seen-as-the-reality" within a social, cultural, and in particular, corporeal relationship and the impact that this relationship has on the postmodern subject. This section will begin the discussion on rationality as the primary agent in the split between the mind and the body. **Chapter 3** will look at the body itself as a technology, and will examine the rationality of corporeality. Expressed through motion, dance is a corporeal activity that is wrapped up in varying notions of rationality. As such, this chapter will explore the relationship dance has to corporeality as a means of placing rationality within the irrational. **Chapter 4** will place the rave culture within the context of virtuality and the body politic of technological rationality by examining how rave is a discourse against both culture as a fixture, and group-identity marking.

Chapter 1: Subcultures in Space

Section 1: Subcultures, Community, and Discourse

The primary objective of this thesis is that of determining whether or not subcultural theory accounts for the phenomena known as "rave." In particular, we will be looking at the theorization of subcultures undertaken by the members of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Birmingham, England in the 1970s and early 1980s. The work of the CCCS on subcultures will be the central focus here, inasmuch as this work was among the first, in an academic context, to deal with subcultures as cultural phenomena in which the body, music and style are predominant features.

The work of the CCCS theorists on subcultures grappled with the question of how youth identities developed within a society increasingly mediated by market forces. In essence, the question posed by the CCCS research was this: how do youth experience cultural distinctions and make sense of social, cultural, and political situations through the practice of consumption, a practice increasingly seen as "active"? In large measure, subcultural analysis represented a move away from the discourse on counter-cultures that had emerged in the 1960s in relation to the Hippy movement. The counter-cultural discourse had been preoccupied with ways in which cultural activity might be viewed as transpiring outside the market, within a culture of non-consumption.[i]

Although there has been an extensive amount of work on youth culture since the CCCS' early works, this paper will build upon the research of the CCCS, arguing that a discussion of rave requires an analysis of youth as involved in a market system. At the same time, this thesis argues that many of the foundations of the CCCS' subcultural analysis may be problematic in dealing with a technological culture such as rave.

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[i] Roszak 1969, McKay 1996

Because rave presents many of the attributes of a market-driven culture, the usefulness of a traditional subcultural analysis is in question, and will be taken up in this thesis. Rave culture is not only a style culture but requires a wide-scope analysis of space and technology - and how style is configured by space and technology - so that an understanding of why rave must be analyzed outside of conventional subcultural theorization may be discussed.

This is not the first theoretical work on the rave culture, but what this paper will endeavor to do is blend many discussions of technology, space, and individualization into previous analyses of subculture in order to place rave within a model of a technological-body subculture; a model that differs from traditional subculture. Rave should still be analyzed through traditional subcultural tools as it does begin to open an examination of 'otherness' in lifestyle; a way in which youth come to define a culture outside of that set by the dominant order. Alternatively, the reason traditional subcultural theory is used and discarded is that rave raises questions of the body that are taken up and examined by CCCS members, but rave also entails an analysis of how the body relates to technology that is not adequately addressed by the work of many CCCS members.

Subcultural Theory

If culture offers the context through which individuals find meaning, through collective values, beliefs and ideals, then subcultures, as defined by CCCS theorists such as Stuart Hall and John Clarke, are sub-sets of a culture, "smaller, more localized and differentiated structures, within one or other of the larger cultural networks."[3] Thus, subcultures come to reflect group conventions, norms and beliefs that represent a way of life different from that of the larger culture. Typically, the larger culture comes to be defined as the dominant, or parent culture, associated with the hegemonic beliefs and values of its time. For the writers of the CCCS, the choice of different cultural options is an explicitly political act.

Within the CCCS' conceptualization, subcultures typically involve a high investment by their members in various symbolic indicators. These become important means through which a group differentiates itself from other subcultures and, most importantly, from the dominant culture itself. The deployment of these symbolic indicators is rooted in leisure activity, which offers the freedom to consume and display symbols. Leisure represents time away from the demands of conformity made within the dominant culture. For youth, the pressure to conform may come within the realm of work, or within various institutions such as schools. Leisure, in contrast, provides the time in which one may escape one's class, or social position, by being able to wander the streets, to consume in ways that direct one towards aesthetic possibilities normally outside one's social position.

For CCCS theorists, the freedom of consumption was primarily geared around building group solidarities. Consumption, in leisure, is the primary means by which a group may demarcate itself, both from other groups and from the dominant culture as a

whole. In the work of the CCCS, style is the most important component of leisure; it is through style that subcultures mark their differences from the world around them. John Clarke has argued that "leisure is the site of the subculture, the formation 'outside' of the everyday."[4] What becomes apparent, however, is that leisure spaces are constructed by the way styles are used to create an 'other' identity to who one is within social and economically defined relations - whether that identity is truly reflective of the bearer's personal sensibilities, or not. The marks of style may serve to offer an identity distinct from those roles typically prescribed for subculture members based on their positioning within the social order. Here we confront one of the principal problems of the CCCS analysis. If all subcultural activity is seen as political insofar as it is taken to be external to the dominant culture, then we must presume that the political positions of subcultures are distinct from (or even oppositional to) those of the dominant culture. Style is exercised as an immediate indicator of otherness; it is instantaneous identification. What should be explained is that English theorists have placed the discussion of otherness as a political stance: otherness comes to reflect issues of class and thereby how class affects social and cultural positioning. The general assumptions, however, made within this formulation are essential for this discussion of rave as a viable subculture.

Since the work of the CCCS, it has become vital to examine the ways in which subcultures render style political. We might suggest that, at the level of the body, style is used to construct particular personal and social identities. These, in turn, render the body an element within the realm of politics. We act politically, then, both in terms of how we insert our bodies within social groups, and in the ways in which we mark ourselves within those groups.

The Reason of Style

The process of marking the body stylistically is inseparable from the ways in which an individual associates him or herself with the aesthetics of a group: "what makes a style is the activity of stylization – the active organization of objects with activities and outlooks, which produce an organized group-identity in the form and shape of a coherent and distinctive way of 'being-in-the-world'."[5] Here, the CCCS is describing stylization as an active process of organization, finding a specific type of rationality in the group expression of style. Style is rational because through it, signs and symbols that exist in the market are consciously appropriated, altered, and reconstructed, where their power comes from an already present political or social value. In order to be re-contextualized, a symbol's original identity must be recognizable by members of society. The rationality of style stems precisely from the fact that symbols always function within a particular socio-economic logic. Thus, for a symbol to have power it must have status as both an economic and social artifact.

This process of actively selecting objects and re-appropriating their meaning is exemplified by the Lévi-Strauss concept of 'bricolage,'[6] which Dick Hebdige, Stuart Hall and John Clarke adapt to subcultural analysis. Hebdige describes the concept of bricolage as the appropriation of "another range of commodities by placing them in a symbolic ensemble that served to erase or subvert their original straight meanings."[7] With bricolage, one may see the purposeful manipulation of symbols contextualized by attaching ulterior group values and beliefs onto pre-existent objects that carry with them a certain symbolic meaning and value. For the CCCS, bricolage is the principal process through which subcultures, as style cultures, acquire the status of politicized groups.

CCCS theorists described the styles of many English subcultures of the 1960s and

1970s as constituted, not merely to produce a group identity, but as to respond aggressively to the gaze of others upon them. Style is aggressive, because it is forcefully attracts the voyeurism of others, drawing their gaze towards the subcultural member. Within the CCCS theoretical framework, subcultures act as quasi-exhibitionist cultures, marking themselves for the sheer purpose of being seen as noticeably different. Subcultures work through attempts to hold group identity by forcing those outside the subculture to see them as 'other' to the conventions of mainstream culture. Thus, visual stability comes to be important, for constant changes in style create confusion as to the social language of that style. Consistency stabilizes the identities posited by viewers in the rituals of looking. An exhibitionist subculture creates various rituals of dress and behaviour in order for those outside to read and understand the rituals, or signs, of that culture. In order to maintain a group identity, the stylistic identity of a subculture must persist long enough for the group to be recognized as representing otherness. In this respect, the choice of style is rational and strategic. Style is used as the basis of group norms, but must also reflect those values and norms outside the group.

Political resistance in style, both as public display and as an act of stylistic expression, must be symbolic. CCCS theorists such as Clarke and Hall describe stylistic resistance as not working against the system, but as acting symbolically; they regard the symbolic dimension of subcultural resistance as ensuring that subcultural groups will be short-lived.[8] A subculture will only exist as long as the symbolic imagery of the group can hold the members together. In the fleeting power of symbolic resistance, the function of style holds solely a rhetorical and symbolic value. As part of the symbolic order, style does not solve social problems in any real way, but creates symbolic forms of identification:

> Subcultures solve at an imaginary level the problems which remain unresolved at the concrete material level, and this is why the solution is necessarily symbolic. Style enables the young working-class person to achieve in image what they cannot achieve in reality.[9]

Symbolic unity cannot guarantee the political purity of a group for longer periods. Once a symbol loses its political and social value, its commodity status will come to the forefront.

Notions of political purity presume a body politic untainted by the market. The contradictions of subcultural theory stem from the fact that while style serves to found aesthetics of fashion, it is also a means by which one may express one's identity as a political being. In the process of brandishing anti-market styles, the user attaches onto him/herself that anti-market sensibility. What must be understood is that although subcultures are hedonistic, they come to define their place in a political environment by the way they wish to escape from the conventions of that politicized environment. To argue that subcultural styles provide a means by which to be truly political would seem to highlight the contradiction of the CCCS's work on the transitory quality of working class subcultures.[10] Although politics attract certain group members where there is affiliation of members to other causes that are political (i.e. activism from punk members), subcultures seem to mainly provide a means of escaping social and political problems. Thus, subcultural affiliation is not about politics per se, but instead comes to involve a charged hedonism. Subcultures are politically charged because they work to politically set themselves outside of the dominant culture. Alternatively, subcultures are hedonistic because they are oriented around escape and pleasure. Ultimately, subcultures are not necessarily geared toward changing a political system, but are instead about finding a means of discovering pleasure and escaping from the political into the realm of leisure.

Market and Resistance

The role of style in those processes by which subcultures demarcate themselves from the culture(s) around them functions to make questions of purity and authenticity central to their internal processes. Although subcultures presume the capacity to create, through stylization, an aesthetic that is unique and symbolically powerful, the movement of style, from novel intervention to commodity within a fashion-scape, problematizes the authentic status of style. Authenticity, as the sustaining of a cultural-group position outside of the political order, cannot occur outside of market forces, and must therefore recognize itself as commerce-driven.

In any conception of style as politics, one confronts the relationship between resistance and the market. Hebdige describes subcultures as falling within ritualized patterns of consumption in order to mark a particular group sensibility:

> Cultures of consumption – even when, as with the skinheads and the punks, certain types of consumption are conspicuously refused – and it is through the distinctive rituals of consumption, through style, that the subculture at once reveals its 'secret' identity and communicates its forbidden meanings. It is basically the way in which commodities are *used* in subculture which mark the subculture off from more orthodox cultural formations.[11]

When looking at subcultures, one must not forget that these are cultural formations with a logic that is embedded within that of the dominant, or parent culture:

> Even where youth sub-cultures have seemed most distinctive, different, stylistically marked out from adults and other peer-group members of their 'parent' culture, they develop certain distinctive outlooks which have been, clearly, structured by the parent culture...certain themes which are key to the 'parent culture' are reproduced at this level again and again in the sub-cultures, even when they set out to be, or are seen as, 'different'.[12]

Any subcultural analysis is primarily concerned with the ways in which groups identify themselves within a marketplace that is invariably tied to the dominant culture. The contradiction seems evident: subcultural affiliation comes from trying to find a space to work out meaning outside of the dominant cultural sphere, but that is bound to the same system.

The work of the CCCS acknowledges that artifacts are purchased through the market, but argues that their recontextualization builds upon an object's cultural value within the dominant system. The value of those to the dominant system is what gives the object a power for subcultures. The ability to appropriate and change the value of an existent object toward the beliefs of a subculture is a power that is generated through entrance into a marketplace of exchangeable value. The problem is how one may claim that this is a political process, and not merely an escapist one. To this end, escape may take the form of the enhancement of physiological and psychological experience, as in the use of drugs within subcultures. Drugs work to enhance a sense of escape by physiologically removing users from their surroundings or immersing them within them. Although subcultures are not the only drug users (and not all subcultures are drug users), drugs work to further mark the subculture as an escapist culture.

Escape becomes problematic when one tries to separate culture from economics, which is particularly significant when one looks at how some subcultures utilize the market in order to create symbols of group identity. The result of engaging in the cultures of consumption that Hebdige describes earlier is the conception of culture as only consumption, defined in terms of how these cultures enter into the market:

> The failure of the style to generate an alternative must...be partly understood in terms of the forces opposed to it...their subversion of commodities took place at the point of consumption; the suppression of their work experiences in the pursuit of subversive leisure-time left the productive mode, on which, 'in the last analysis', the commodity-form depends, completely untouched.[13]

Increasingly, to look at subcultures within a market system is to examine a relationship between the market and culture that is symbiotic rather then separate.

Alternatively, economies serve to form the boundaries by which subcultures may come together. Because economic and cultural constraints act upon the items appropriate

for subcultural affiliation, these constraints encourage the production of a subculture's own, stylized artifacts. For example, the "do-it-yourself" (DIY) ethic of early subcultures such as punk presumed an anti-market sensibility, as was evident of the hand-written t-shirts with anarchist slogans sold at concerts by both the band and the venue owners. The problem came, however, when self-made objects like the t-shirts would enter into the larger market and become subcultural commodities. Commodification occurs through the market's appropriation or re-appropriation of stylized artifacts in order to serve the growing demand for the stylistic cultural markers. The dynamic of this relationship produces the tension between subcultural authenticity, as the essential core of a group sensibility, and the subculture's status as a commodity-culture.

Where rave differentiates itself from subcultures such as punk is that rave has actively participated in the symbiotic relationship between subcultural identity and the market. Rave has not identified itself as pre or post commercialization, but as actively commercial from the beginning.

What follows is a brief discussion of the counter-cultural position, as another way of conceiving a politicized cultural formation. The politics of the counter-culture presume a distinction between a DIY subculture and a market culture. Here, rave will be discussed in terms of its relationship to the market and to practices of consumption.

Subculture vs. Counter-Culture

Central to the CCCS' conceptualization of subcultural theory in the early 1970s was their view of subcultures as class cultures, and of the role of class in differentiating and distinguishing particular group identities. Class distinctions came about through the way in which social class worked to facilitate particular kinds of group formations: "working-class sub-cultures are clearly articulated, collective structures – often, 'near' or 'quasi'-

gangs. Middle-class counter-cultures are diffuse, less group-centred, more individualized. The latter precipitate, typically, not tight sub-cultures but a diffuse counter-culture *milieu*."[14] Within this comparison, working class subcultures are collective, pleasure-seeking affiliation groups, whereas middle class cultures work in many ways to escape the system and to disappear (into communes, for instance). These middle-class cultures, however, still hold the potential for political power. The CCCS saw the politics of the working class primarily in symbolic terms; their power existed only in their use of style as resistance.

Theodore Roszak argues that what middle-class subcultures oppose are not just political systems, but systems that are technocratic – systems governed by technology.[15] Thus, to be part of a middle-class counter-culture requires taking a stance in opposition to technology, for technology is seen as the means by which the reigning political order exercises its power (i.e.: war, increased adaptation of information systems over industry and factories...etc.).

Along these lines, George McKay argues that the anti-big-technology attitude of the Hippies (as McKay's example of a middle class counter-culture) gave birth to the DIY movement, which looked away from consumption through the market, and toward self-production.[16] For McKay, to escape the market through self-production is political. We may take from these claims, for our analysis of rave, the distinction between working class politics, as exclusively symbolic, and middle-class politics, as actively desiring to transform political structures.

Rave is an interesting case of a move away from notions of a counter-culture. In many ways the discourse around rave culture has linked it closely to the Hippy culture, not merely in an aesthetic sense, but in the belief that the outlook of ravers aspires to the

utopianism and collective assembly once put forward by the Hippy counter-culture. However, I would argue that rave is neither a counter-culture, nor a post-Hippy culture. Although certain ravers may indeed believe in the hippy ethos of utopianism and liberation, these individuals are in the minority. Indeed, such views are more typically associated with rave culture outside that culture, such as in the press, for example. Rave is a consumption-culture, and thus more closely resembles a subculture in the manner by which the CCCS conceived subcultures.

Community

The notion of subculture presumes that groups use their commonalities as a way of differentiating themselves from others. Maffesoli borrows from Weber in suggesting that the rise of capitalism and subsequent rise of the bourgeois class brought with it an ethos of individualism. To Maffesoli, capitalism is essentially a means by which individuals may accumulate wealth and status.[17] Maffesoli never extends this argument to describe individualism as detached from economics, but comments instead that on the postmodern stage we must look again toward the group, the 'neo-tribe', and away from the individual. With the increased dominance of the market, Maffesoli argues that the tribe becomes the only way in which a sense of community, which is still of primary importance for individuality, may develop. Accordingly, people within society feel the need to seek out collectives, to find ways of integrating with groups: "we only have value in so far as we are tied to a group...it matters little whether this link is real or imagined."[18] In this way, community is defined by how individuality is given over to collectivity.

Maffesoli further argues that community is, in fact, a construction against reason: "the community ideal of the neighbourhood or the village acts more by permeating the collective imagination than by persuading the social reason."[19] For Maffesoli the

traditional community is represented by the fantasy of the collective, in other words, the fantasy of an enduring community feeling and affiliation. Moreover, Maffesoli argues that neo-tribal communities are short-lived, oriented and situated in the immediacy of the emotional ties that bring members together. Collectivity, therefore, is built on the notion of short-term allegiances, where group bonds are based upon the ideal of the community, rather than a true organization of members sharing beliefs and values.

Within the concept of neo-tribalism, community affiliation comes to be increasingly concerned with emotions, a quality the CCCS never truly examined. Membership in the neo-tribe is bound up with one's cultural sensibilities and the ways in which one establishes hierarchies of values and issues.[20] Of particular interest in Maffesoli's analysis is his claim that these tribes are increasingly transient and weak. The tribe is held together by the emotional, rather than the political bonds of what is believed to be a shared group sensibility, which exists only as long as the emotion of the group does. Through the emotional bonds, the neo-tribal formation is a short-term one, for membership has less to do with holding to a true group aesthetic sensibility, than in maintaining a group style:

> [neo-tribes] 'exist' solely by individual decisions to sport the symbolic tags of tribal allegiance. They vanish once the decisions are revoked or the zeal and determination of 'members' fades out. Neo-tribes persevere only thanks to their continuing seductive capacity. They cannot outlive their power of attraction."[21]

The advantage of looking at the neo-tribal community is that the neo-tribe is consciously ordered as a symbolic organization; it does not solve problems, but provides a space in which to escape them. Yet, what is perhaps most attractive about this concept is that a group does not have to be political to find a sense of collectivity-as-community, but can find an understanding of its own placement in the political realm through acts of

symbolic allegiance that are consciously short-term.

Although Maffesoli's concept of the neo-tribe is a potential step toward a discourse on a technological subculture based on the short-term allegiances of group interaction, there are problems that must be raised. First, Maffesoli assumes that neo-tribes are group driven and not individualistic. Collectivity is not the only desired characteristic of youths participating in raves, a point which will be discussed further in a later chapter. The second problem is that neo-tribes are based increasingly on a pseudo-tradition, a tradition that is constructed by the group through the ways in which information and knowledge are organized to bring about a sense of group solidarity. Emotion, over structured group sensibilities, is what creates the ephemerality within these tribes. Within this context, ephemera translate into the short-lived, transitory manner in which these neo-tribes find a group sensibility, and then move on to other groups. Purely emotional ties, however, do not account for how some subcultures (or 'tribes') still manage to hold together.

The problem with the concept of community is that it comes to be linked with a sense of ascriptive, or assigned, membership, as roles come to be defined through historical precedent. Although Maffesoli tries to move away from the notion of lineage and ascription, the community must be examined in terms of how affiliation is formed through a sense of tradition. Tradition is expressed through the way that a group holds to a shared history that culminates in the members marking themselves in the present by their awareness of their inclusion in a particular group. To this end, tradition is the process of placing a group discursively within a geographical and temporal space, what Marshall McLuhan refers to as, "the sense of the total past as *now*".[22] As such, tradition is the act of continually configuring a group as holders of a specific sense of importance,

whereby they belong to the particular spaces that they inhabit at the moments in which they do so.

Knowledge and Discourse

Knowledge hierarchies are central to any organized and structured subculture or community. Placement within these groups comes from one's understanding of the distribution of knowledge, that is, those who have more information and can exhibit that information will typically have a higher status within the group. Where style physically distinguishes members, language and discursive practices serve to intellectually demarcate different levels of membership status. The power of language within such a context comes from the ways in which terminology is related to a constructed history. Thus, words have power and meaning only in terms of how those words have been constructed and viewed collectively as important through time. Discourse is the practice of exercising power through language. When one speaks and uses the language codes developed through time, they exercise the power of that language. As such, discourse is the way we place ourselves in social and physical contexts, through codes and rules set by group affiliation which function to construct a coherent group space. The intellectualization of space, therefore, is not determined solely by the physical qualities of that space, but in how that space is contextualized and given meaning by the discursive patterns of the group that inhabits it.

Tradition, as a constructed historical lineage of knowledge and information retrieval, pertains not to the past, but rather to the way it shapes relationships across spaces existing in the present. Knowledge is not solely a manifestation of power through information, but worked out through conventions of behaviour:

> Each 'site of assembly' constitutes a nucleus of material and cultural conditions which regulate

> what may and may not be said, who may speak, how people may communicate and what importance must be given to what is said. An utterance is legitimated or disregarded according to its place of production and so, in large part, the history of political struggle has been the history of the attempts made to control significant sites of assembly and spaces of discourse.[23]

In other words, each cultural space is made specific to the group that inhabits it through defined conventions of behaviour. Typically, these conventions are expressed by particular group members. To act out of place distances the individual from the group.

Knowledge is not found solely in the exchange of data, but through the ability to know and hold to group conventions and codes of conduct. Thus, language acts as a socially cohesive agent. Alternatively, codes of conduct do not necessarily have to be verbal, but can also be expressed through any agreed upon code of conduct. Indeed, notions of rationality become problematized when one looks at non-verbal forms of interaction that are exemplified by dance cultures. If dance involves no particular linguistic communication, is it rational?

Once space and corporeal relations are seen as configurations of discursive patterns, one can begin to see how space comes to be organized through the ways in which a group orients itself within these spaces intellectually. Michel Foucault claims that although there is nothing intrinsic or inherent within architecture that creates power, architecture comes to be imbued with power through forms of social discourse.[24] If we look at how we organize space with power hierarchies of information, then architecture, as physical space, is only made relevant by how we discursively organize and claim that architecture as powerful. The verbal construction of space comes to be as important as the physical act of identifying spaces and acting to mark those spaces as part of one's subcultural lineage. These ideas will be developed further in the next section, which examines the relationship between physical space and group formation.

Section 2: Space

The work of CCCS members seems to point to a subculture's relationship to space as one of conquest – the winning over of spaces, and the reclamation of places. Subcultures' association with spatial politics, however, involves not only the claiming of streets, but also of how streets mark those who pass through and inhabit them. Spatial marking is especially evident through the ways that space defines both social havens and those arenas in which one's policies are expressed and demarcated. Ideas of sociability are worked out through the ways in which groups define those spaces that they inhabit, claiming them as in some way particular to a group and others as not. When subcultures inhabit a public space, it is the political act of re-assigning territory defined by the state through its re-identification by subcultural members. This section is concerned with the ways in which space is utilized for expressing a group's sensibilities.

In the work of Georg Simmel, we can see that the abstraction of physical space does not occur solely within the natural landscape, but to the city dweller as well. Ironically, immersion within the cityscape creates an increasingly abstract intellectual relationship in how one can physically interact, not only with the city infrastructure, but also with other members of society:

> The metropolitan type – which naturally takes on a thousand individual modifications – creates a protective organ for itself against the profound disruption with which the fluctuations and discontinuities of the external milieu threaten it. Instead of reacting emotionally, the metropolitan type reacts primarily in a rational manner, thus creating a mental predominance through the intensification of consciousness, which in turn is caused by it...the reaction of the metropolitan person to those events is moved to a sphere of mental activity which is least sensitive and which is furthest from the depths of the personality.[25]

The act of incorporating the cityscape into one's sense of identification involves the separation of the emotional self from the intellectual self. Subcultural theory may be more pertinent to this paper if it is concerned with the ways in which groups, as they

come to understand and order the metropolis, are themselves molded and brought together by geography. The results of this molding and affiliation will, in turn, mark the space of the streets.

To look at how the city constructs our sensibilities requires a focus upon how the city mediates the possibilities for sociability, creating new means for finding social meaning in the detritus of rural conviviality. If the close-knit relation of friends and family, idealized by the small town, characterizes rural conviviality, then Simmel's comment that the city works against a convivial relationship by separating the emotional and the intellectual is applicable here: "the essentially intellectualistic character of the mental life of the metropolis becomes intelligible as over and against that of the small town which rests more on feelings and emotional relationships."[26] As such, to be in the city is to increasingly form ties to other social members that are based primarily on how those relations meet the rational need of companionship, which ultimately abstracts emotional ties. Although Simmel wrote much of his work at the turn of the twentieth century one cannot discount his relevance to a discussion on late-twentieth cultures within the city. Subcultures are still located within the city, and thus require an analysis of how the city itself – as the site for gathering differing personalities whose's only relation is space – is an agent and device in cultural affiliations. Conviviality, which seems to find its strongest relevance to the rural, is replaced by notions of sociability within the city.

Kalle Toiskallio, in discussing Simmel's notion of sociability, comments that within the city one has the ability to find others who shares one's personal beliefs:

> Through sociability one adjusts oneself to the postmodern urban social world. In its broader meaning, sociability is an ideal form of society that frees itself and its members from the need to consider the hard questions of one's responsibility to his or her society or vice versa.[27]

Within subcultural analysis, one must look at how sociability represents a means of social

cohesion through an ordered and coded set of rules of behaviour and style to protect the group identity. Simmel himself adds that within the social context, the community and subculture are necessary to hold together a cohesive grouping:

> The most elementary stage of social organization which is to be found historically, as well as in the present, is this: a relatively small circle almost entirely closed against neighbouring foreign or otherwise antagonistic groups but which has however within itself such a narrow cohesion that the individual member has only a very slight area for the development of his own qualities and for free activity for which he himself is responsible.[28]

Along with subcultural theory (and, in particular, that put forward by the theorists of the CCCS), notions of sociability help us to examine how the group comes to mark spaces as particular to group sensibilities, and to note a possible movement away from individuality. The relationship of groups marking space has been the focus of subcultural theories, but what has not been analyzed is the increasing effect of armoring *against* the city itself.

Intellectual abstraction comes to exemplify the ways in which we shield ourselves from the oppressive weight of the city as a purely rational organism. By immersing ourselves in the urban realm, we actively seek to create a space in which we may find a sense of self. Scott Bukatman argues that with immersion comes the increased cohabitation of technology as environment, including the way individuals as biological organisms must adapt to that environment. Adaptation comes to involve immersion into the techno-scape, which requires a "mental armour, in which the subject attains invulnerability by aligning itself with the rationalistic predictability of the machine."[29] We have come to accept an abstract connection to our environment that, in turn, comes only through the way in which we integrate ourselves to the spaces that surround us.

Rather than examining the ways in which we mark the city through our sociability, the analysis of a technologically dependent culture must focus instead on the

ways in which city-dwellers who are surrounded by, and immersed in technology, seek to shelter themselves from the city. When we come to understand how various technologies create intellectual abstraction and distance from the emotional bonds one may hold, then we may understand that it is in the sheltering process that we internalize an identity that is founded through attempts to defend ourselves from this inundation. We know who we are once we recognize how we cope to an environment that seems to continuously require our input in some form or another.

With the process of armouring, there emerges a more individualistic approach to the urban. In this respect, we need an approach to subcultures that sees spatial practices as individualizing and not necessarily group oriented. An analysis of space must be concerned, therefore, not with the marking of space as a political act (as in classical subcultural theory), but with individual acts of protection and sociability within urban life. Instead of examining space as a place of social interaction, we must look at space as reflexive, that is as bound up with the ways in which we understand ourselves, moving within space, and the ways in which we move spaces through how we think about them. For instance, to locate a place involves not only knowing where that place is geographically, but also thinking of that space in what is the best, easiest or otherwise most favourable way to get there, which may not necessarily be the most rational.

The city is known by the ways that we fragment it and immerse ourselves within it. The next chapter expands upon the notion of virtuality and the city as reflection, and deals with the ways in which individuals relate to spaces through emotion rather than rationality.

Chapter 2: Image as Time and Space

In the previous chapter, the concept of sociability was introduced to provide an understanding of how society holds to group values and beliefs. This chapter turns away from the group, and instead examines how a technological subculture, like rave, must be understood through the way that one's environment is experienced individually. Through an examination of individual experience, one may come to understand the group.

In the relationship to the city, as the site of both sociability and corporeal abstraction, the individual is shaped through his or her relationship to an environment that is abstracted by the world of images. For both Simmel and the CCCS, the city comes to represent a closure of emotion, for given the constant inundation of various abstractions (i.e. the media technologies that surround us), the city dweller must react against the city by giving into the rationality of the city as the place of intellect over emotion. The urban increasingly comes to be abstracted as a reflection of the intellectual, rather than the physical. Space does not necessarily hold to its physical properties, but comes be conceived through processes of interaction and incorporation. The more we intellectualize space the lesser value the physical/concrete characteristics of that space hold.

To carry Simmel's hypothesis over to the present day, the more we feel inundated by media technologies, the more our social relations are seen to be tied to the city - creating and projecting the abstraction of physical space onto the techno-scape. Thus, understanding of the urban is complicated by a techno-scape that has no fixture in time and space, and seems to abstract how one may interact his or her environment.

Navigation and Abstraction

We internalize a meaning of our environment only in how we recognize each moment of interaction within that environment. Knowledge of the city and of those who inhabit that city is arrived at by finding a connection to the metropolis as a techno-scape. Any connection to the environment is found in how one organizes and navigates their spatial relations to physical spaces that are made illusory. Navigation, therefore, brings a familiarity and intimacy of place and environment that lead to an abstraction of the geographic context. In essence, one may know some areas so well that he or she no longer needs to think about how to navigate those areas or how these areas are organized and rationalized as part of urban planning, but will simply know that they exist. Knowledge of space holds a particular relevance for that person; it is a power for that person to define that space based on their experience.

Through one's personalized navigations increased familiarity with space brings an increased compartmentalization of the city as a whole: one is no longer connected to that space as an entirety, but is instead more intimate with his or her individual places of navigation. Space is abstracted from its physical location and is oriented in how one processes and tracks that space as they walk through it. Thus, navigation is an act of individuation.

In an analysis of spatial fragmentation and appropriation, one must look at the way that space is individualized. Through experience, space is made personal, and therein lies the potential for a spatial politics. Michel de Certeau comments that the city is to be experienced and the only way that that may occur is to join the *Wandermanner*, the walkers or practitioners who "make use of spaces that cannot be seen."[30] Spatial experience comes out of the daily negotiation of the environment and how this

negotiation serves to alter that space. Spatial negotiation, however, is physically determined, as it develops through the way in which a walker internalizes their spaces of navigation. Moreover, physicality cannot be completely abandoned, given that it is through the body that we experience our environment.

A contradiction exists between the physical space of the environment and one's personal form of navigation, in that how one experiences a place is not entirely perceived by notions of spatial organization.[31] Instead, experience is given over to how one's body passes through space. In this way, the body is the means by which we experience the city as the body is itself present at the transgressive act of walking. Thus, spatial appropriation is the subjective interpretation of the experience of walking, over the logic of urban planning as a static method of organizing space.

In walking, we place ourselves in the various spaces of the city and mark those spaces by our transgressions. Henri Lefebvre comments that the act of transgression, or walking, is indeed a corporeal act, for one's sociability is measured by the presence of his or her body in a social environment:

> The relationship to space of a 'subject' who is a member of a group or society implies his relationship to his own body and vice versa. Considered overall, social practice presupposes the use of the body: the use of hands, members and sensory organs, and the gestures of work as of activity unrelated to work. This is the realm of the *perceived* (the practical basis of the perception of the outside world, to put it in psychology's terms).[32]

Through interaction, social spaces are organized in accordance to how bodies construct them. Thus, tactility, in relation to the way the body interacts with physical space, is crucial.

When reduced to a relationship founded on corporeal experience, the body as a transgressive agent must be examined through the ways that tactility operates through urban experiences. The first time space is interacted with by the traveler is when that

space holds a physical and tactile sensation for the traveler – it is when the space is new for the walker. With the continuous encountering of the same space, the perception of that space changes to where it is located in one's path, as opposed to its physical properties. Thus, the body as the agent for discovery, is both won over by space at the moment of first encounter, and simultaneously wins over those spaces with familiarity.

The meaning behind physical space becomes increasingly unsettled as one's incorporation of, or incorporation by, those spaces becomes further abstracted from any true sense of physical connection. One may no longer feel the spaces, in a strictly physical sense, but is aware of them only in the way one understands where that space fits within his/her traveling routes. Once space is experienced, then that space loses the physical and tactile connection it once had for the experiencer. Thus, one may argue that we abstract/intellectualize space, but only after we have physically experienced it.

As such, space is similarly abstracted in a temporal sense as the walker conceptualizes him or herself in physical spaces at the moment of their navigation, despite the previous physical and discursive identity of that same space. With increased navigation, there is a subsequent loss of knowing the space as a space conceptualized through its history. The origin of the space comes to relate only in how the experiencer sees it at the moment of interaction.

Despite the physical nature of walking and crossing spaces, space is abstracted from the larger planned system of the city. What must be understood is that abstraction of space, as the way one experiences a space as opposed to the way it is laid out in a city map, is not necessarily something that is sought after, but is instead the result of any continuous act of transgression. Once we are familiar with a place or geographic site, than we have come to internalize that space as holding some personal meaning and

relevance; it is a relevance and meaning that may not necessarily be sought after. Thus, any space may have completely different meanings for different people, depending on how their interactions and experience of that space have been internalized.

Rave is an interesting subculture when viewing the transitory nature of spatial interaction. Rave is a subculture that is defined primarily through abstraction, through the way that ravers interact with the club space and music at the moment of interaction. The actual architectural and geographic aspects of the club come to be of little concern until the event itself, and even then they hold little importance for the ravers.

The history of rave is a history of the abstractions of origin; the abstraction of physicality as the prime means of subcultural affinity. Much of the literature on rave suggests that it originated with British DJs (mainly in Manchester) in the mid-eighties playing Chicago 'Acid house' and Detroit 'Techno' in "a sort of updated disco"[33] style. English DJs, while on vacation in Ibiza, Spain, found clubs promoting 13-hour dance marathons and became attracted to the Balearic beats and the drug Ecstasy[ii] (exported by vacationing Americans), which would play a crucial role in the development of raves. Soon, these DJs carried the style, sound, and drug of Ibiza to clubs in England, culminating in the revival of the 1967 Hippy "Summer of Love", with the aptly named "The Summer of Love, 1988."[34]

The movement from America to Ibiza to England, and then back to America, demonstrates how raves open an analysis of spatial fragmentation. Through rave, space is defined in how a raver moves through the clubs and how they negotiate spaces when trying to locate rave parties. In the need for constant mobility, rave spaces are physically

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[ii] Balearic – a music style. Ecstasy – although discussed in more detail in the last chapter, Ecstasy, or E, works on the serotonin of the brain, increasing one's feeling of joy. E also works to increase tactility as the whole body becomes a transceiver of vibrations, particularly the bass from speakers.

dislocated, particularly by the de-centred nature in which rave parties are organized. Raves have held with them a sense of placelessness, where the party would occur in a place for one night, and then move on to another. Movement creates a personal connection to the spaces of the club, spaces that are created only through interaction with the environment and other ravers but it is a connection that is knowingly temporary as ravers are aware that the party will move on.

Space as Surveillance and Social Control

Before continuing with rave, we must discuss how the revelers has come to represent a different type of spatial mobility; one that comes to define the rave culture as an abstracted, spatial culture.

Whether a planned model, or experienced through one's personal investigations, space is abstracted through the way it is individually accessed and constructed. The relationship between planned and experienced space is further heightened when one considers the role architecture plays. Architecture, within the postmodern vein,[ii] reflects how space is planned for various civic needs – political, health, and social. Alternatively, the planned role of architecture in a space may not be what the political order, or a social member, perceives it to be.

Architecture is made relevant and political in how it is configured within power relations by those who utilize and categorize spaces. As such, architecture is placed within a discourse of power through surveillance in the ability to watch and label space, and by extension to watch and label those who travel those spaces. Power is thereby exercised through the interactions that occur in the spaces we inhabit. Thus, in the act of

[ii] Postmodern here as the notion of using a vernacular, regional and individual-based ideology for contexualizing the world

walking and appropriating space, we are not only placed in the surveillance of the dominant order but also in the surveillance of other walkers who are equally appropriating those spaces for themselves. Rave is interesting in that it comes to involve patterns of spatial appropriation that are increasingly less visible, and thereby escape regular patterns of surveillance.

There is another facet to surveillance as a means of spatial appropriation, and that is social control. With social control, space is not necessarily experienced, but can be categorized as an "other", whether that be dangerous or in some other way undesirable. These spaces are built around danger and the manifested desire to remain away from them. For instance, to walk into a 'bad part of town' is to walk into a space that holds various myths and stories that structure movement within that space.

Frederic Jameson argues that the more one looks at space as providing a reflection of the walker, then not only is there a process whereby that walker fills that space with personal meaning, but that meaning is in turn interrupted onto the space itself. Thereby, changing the meaning of the space within its social context changes the identity of the space:

> Recent architectural theory has begun to borrow from narrative analysis in other fields and to attempt to see our physical trajectories through ...buildings as virtual narratives or stories, as dynamic paths and narrative paradigms which we as visitors are asked to fulfill and to complete with our own bodies and movements.[35]

The more we place ourselves within space and architecture, the less our role within that space is physically determined. It is the image of the body that is policed and surveyed in one's transgressions of urban spaces for it is the intellectualization of how a body may come to utilize a public space that has dominated postmodern architecture. Interaction of our tactile senses with the urban brings with it abstraction and ultimately the illusory

image of the body. Thus, in trying to experience a physical space that has been politically defined (re: discursively) and empowered, the body is transformed from being understood through physicality, to being present at the level of the image.

To use any cultural analysis of winning over the streets through inhabiting space, requires a discussion on the construction of the street in terms of accessibility. What must be studied first is the way that space is the site of surveillance. Once the body is placed within the cityscape, urban planning and surveillance will ultimately involve corporeal planning and surveillance. Lefebvre comments that space lends itself to the polemics of power when enacted through notions of social control and social order:

> ...(social) space is a (social) product...thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power; yet that, as such, it escapes in part from those who would make use of it. The social and political (state) forces which engendered this space now seek, but fail, to master it completely; the very agency that has forced spatial reality towards a sort of uncontrollable autonomy now strives to run it into the ground, then shackle and enslave it.[36]

Space is on the one hand a construction of discursive power dynamics, but on the other hand, space is also a means of resolving power relations in the physically present environment. Power comes from the ability of the dominant culture to hold and stabilize their definitions of urban spaces at every instance in which one encounters those spaces.

Alternatively, power can also come from the way that those who are marked as outside the dominant culture may appropriate space. When space is given over to less desirable groups, as labeled by the political order, that group is marked by their interactions within the space, and in contrast to the dominant order:

> The very act of ordering and classifying [the city] as a visible problem renders it powerful. For once it is classified as other, and the other marked as a violent and deviant outsider, then [they]...are automatically positioned as dangerous and polluting spectacles.[37]

Thus, in securing power through spatial classification, the political order serves to equally label both the group and the space as "other."[iii] In this scenario, power struggles for space and identification are integral to an analysis of subcultures, as subcultural affiliation is in many ways defined through patterns of spatial appropriation and demarcation.

Christopher Stanley expands this point, noting that political marking not only serves to empower the subculture, but serves to create a sense of restriction for the group within that space as "external labeling and classification serve to restrict the scope of the activity so that it becomes static and therefore open to regulation."[38] Regulation, in this sense, refers to how power is exercised upon those areas and people deemed as problematic and unsafe in regards to the general populace. Thus, regulation is a means for the political order to hold on to constructed definitions of power within primarily urban spaces.

Alternatively, regulation may also be used to further solidify the notion of a group outside the dominant culture. In gaining attention as an other, or if it is in some way extraordinary, the group often becomes empowered: "the spectacle is spectacular solely because its context comes from its place within the urban – either as something that is 'worked out in the urban spaces and practices' or as the fantastic other."[39] In being noticed, the group is truly remarkable, not because of their internal politics per se, but in the fact that they hold a social fascination as an "other". Thus, recognition not only situates but also *fixes* the group identity to both the viewing public, and to members within, as the opinion of the outside come to impact on how members view themselves.

Thus far, power has been divided into two categories: power of the dominant political order to construct spaces and groups, and power as being labeled and identified

[iii] Here as defined by the political order and thus, given an identification in contrast to the political order

as different, or as "other". There is one other power that must also be discussed in any examination of a technological subculture, namely the power in transience – mobility as the power of non-categorization. Although there is a power that comes from 'hiding in the light' (as per Hebdige), what one must examine is the way that law has become less concerned with stability and fixity and has shifted focus to the characteristics of motion. Regulation has now been organized around those groups that do not remain in one spot, but locate themselves in continually shifting spaces. These groups can be seen as escaping the regular sites of subcultural activities, as the streets no longer hold the same meaning. What comes to be important instead are the places given over by the authorities. Hillegonda Rietveld notes that there is a need for groups to escape the surveying eye of the public, for in disappearance lays the potential for individuation outside of the dominant culture:

> It is...of importance that unlicensed carnivalesque celebrations, so much part of the heart of a community and yet so threatening to a centralized government which aspires to survey all human activities, are held outside of the public eye, outside of the reach of scare mongering or unveiling press: 'the TAZ (temporary autonomous zone – areas outside immediate state control) is in some sense a *tactic of disappearance*'.[40]

The places of least surveillance hold power primarily in their physical distance from the public eye, in their ability to hold to a group affiliation, not as an other, but as truly outside public and state concern.

Underlying all three understandings of spatial categorization is how power is worked out through the relationship of dominance and subordination at the time power is exercised. As spatial politics are constructed through notions of power relations (defined at the moment of interaction), these relations affect the body. The identification granted or enforced in these spaces is exercised upon those who inhabit those spaces. Thus,

through its interaction in political discourse, the body becomes a categorized, grouped, and defined image that is mediated by its spatial relations.

Rave is a subculture that comes to exemplify all three powers. Rave occurs at sites that authorities have given over, but have labeled as either undesirable or non-operational. Rave is also defined in the way that it is an other culture; a form of youthful congregation that comes to differ from forms of entertainment deemed socially acceptable by the political order. What is of primary importance with raves, however, is how revelers work within the third power relation – the power of movement. Rave is a mobile subculture, moving from venue to venue to escape surveillance. Thus, power comes from a reveler's ability to enjoy him/herself without influence from authorities. Rave is the figurative and literal escape from the public eye.

Surveying the Illusory Body

The social perception of the city is discovered through relations of power, as discursive and physical, that are worked out in a space where the image of the body is the central means of identification to urban spaces. The body as the object of surveillance is contextualized as a "body-as-image" in the media-scape:

> Living bodies, the bodies of 'users' – are caught up not only in the toils of parcellized space, but also in the web of what philosophers call 'analogons': images, signs and symbols. These bodies are transported out of themselves, transferred and emptied out, as it were, via the eyes: every kind of appeal, incitement and seduction is mobilized to tempt them with doubles of themselves in prettified, smiling and happy poses; and this campaign to void them succeeds exactly to the degree that the images proposed correspond to 'needs' that those same images have helped fashion. So it is that a massive influx of information, of messages, runs head on into an inverse flow constituted by the evacuation from the innermost body of all life and desire...were it not for the eyes and the dominant form of space, words and dispersed fragments of discourse would be quite incapable of ensuring this 'transfer' of bodies.[41]

Within immersion into the techno-scape, the body is turned inside out: body as urban, as shelter, but ultimately as its image within a technologically mediated environment. Arthur and Marilousie Kroker add that the body, within the techno-scape, must adapt and change

in the way that it interacts with the urban and social spheres, as immersion is the only means by which the corporeal can exist in the techno-scape:

> *Semiotically*, the body is tattooed, a floating sign, processed through the double imperatives of the cultural politics of advanced capitalism: the *exteriorization* of all the body organs as the key telemetry of a system that depends on the *outering* of the body functions; and the *interiorization* of ersatz subjectivity as a prepackaged ideological receptor for the pulsations of desiring-machine of the fashion scene.[42]

The exteriorization of the body organs is the process of placing the body directly into the techno-scape where identity is based on how interaction to the environment develops one's sensibilities. Through increasing segmentation and abstraction in the urban, the body is slowly transmogrified into its own image for the fashion-scape. With immersion, the body may also be thought to lose its narrative standpoint, as subjectivity is lost to the world of images and fashion: space is no longer where an actual body is found, but where the imaginary and desired body may be located. The city is the space of corporeal disappearance, for the city is where the body is abstracted in the way individuals experience, fragment, and abstract the geographic context.

Alternatively, to look at the rave subculture is to examine a technological subculture that works against this passivity. Within the subculture there is an immersion into the media-scape that calls for a new body-narrative standpoint, and thus, a new subjectivity. What follows is an examination of the rationality of the image as the means upon which we come to develop a subjective identity within the techno-scape.

The Rational and the Image

> "[Iconoclasts] predicted [the] omnipotence of simulacra, the faculty simulacra have of effacing God from the conscience of man, and the destructive, annihilating truth that they allow to appear - that deep down God never existed, that only the simulacrum ever existed, even that God himself was never anything but his own simulacrum – from this came their urge to destroy the images."[43]

With the disappearance of stability in the control mechanisms of order, there is an increased virtual presence. One must now look at the way the body is contextualized within the relationship to virtuality.

Thus far, this thesis has examined how we come to rationalize our environment. The discussion of reason is a discussion of a mind-body dialectic, where the separation of the body and the mind involves an analysis of the body as the place of experience and the mind as the site of reason. In essence, the mind is culture and the body is nature as production.[iii]

The industrial age has placed the focus increasingly on the mind, on reason and culture. The body is merely the site for production, but a production that has become automated and mechanized. What has happened in the post-industrial age, or information age, is that the production of objects has been geared around the re-production of information and desire. Desire is the unwarranted want of 'things' based primarily on how they fit within notions of taste and feeling. To produce desire, therefore, is to engineer and orient emotions.

With the move away from the production of objects to the reproduction of things, it is information that further separates the mind and the body. Information comes to be engineered to further accentuate the image of the body not merely as a manifestation of mental desire, but as the replacement for the actual physical body within our culture.

Advertising, for instance, is the process of compartmentalizing and fragmenting the body into parts to be sold. In fact, it is this fragmented body as an image of our own 'true' body that is reproduced in the fashion-scape. Thus, the body is constructed as an

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[iii] Natural in reference to the way the body facilitates production (whether physical or intellectual)

object of information, subject to discursive practices that define its value within the techno/fashion-scape.

Although this section is not a historical overview of production, it is important to note the shifts from craft-oriented production to mass-production, and the relationship that this has had with regard to how consumers connect to objects[iv]. Reproduction has shifted from the properties of objects themselves, to how these objects are imbued with constructed auras (not to counter the Benjamin argument) and ideals that come to play a pivotal role in the object's utility and consumability.

Reproduction becomes the process of creating a simulation, where an image orients the reality and veracity of physical objects. With the simulation we move into the territory of Jean Baudrillard's extensive work on the notion of simulacrum and his "image-as-reality" discussion. Baudrillard suggests that through the process of a simulated reality, the reproduced takes over the 'real' image and replaces it as "hyper-reality."[44] The more one accepts the body as being under surveillance (whether by the political order, or by advertisers for the fashion-scape), then one may accept the concept of "body-as-image". In the information age, we no longer understand ourselves through physicality, but in the ways we are placed within notions of predictability and susceptibility to the world of the image. What is important in the fashion-scape is not a produced body, but a reproduced body; a body that is constructed through its momentary placement within a highly mediated environment where the illusory is predominant.

The image of a 'thing' takes on a more believable life than the actual object itself. It is the desire of the image as perfection that grants it the authority to orient desire. The

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[iv] The last two paragraphs have made rather sweeping generalizations about the history of mechanization and production, but generalizations that are useful to understand where this relationship stands today.

image as idealized is seen only when the originating biological body is viewed as flawed and imperfect. To the notion of the image as perfection, performance artist Stelarc adds,

> Images are immortal. Bodies are ephemeral. The body finds it increasingly difficult to match the expectations of its images. In the realm of multiplying and morphing images, the physical body's impotence is apparent. The body now performs best as its image[45].

The image is the desire for the perfection of the 'natural' body, a perfection that, ironically, cannot be achieved by the natural body alone. Thus, perfection is sought through the malleable and transformative qualities of the image, which not only orients desire, but embodies what we want and need: "if desire produces, its product is real. If desire is productive, it can be productive only in the real world and can produce only reality."[46] Desire is the production of the imaginary into reality, particularly when the imaginary comes out of a constructed sense of perfection and desirability.

Images of beauty and prosperity are the images we wear through the items we consume. With the increased inundation of the image comes a disruption of temporal "locate-ability", for the image is the past and future proffered as an attainable now:

> The subject can no longer locate[s] itself in time and space. Since the production of meaning requires the sign to connect the present to the past or the future, the disappearance of temporal structure in culture leads to a breakdown in the chain of signification: 'the breakdown of temporality suddenly releases this present of time from all the activities and the intentionalities that might focus it and make it a space of praxis'.[47]

The image is presence (as lived and current) within the techno/media-scape, but presence oriented by the level of interaction: "everywhere socialization is measured by the exposure to media messages. Whoever is under-exposed to the media is desocialized or virtually asocial."[48] Thus, spatial configuration is oriented around image reception, as we can no longer place the body in a space that holds to a notion of temporal stability.

The rave culture is found within conventions of an illusory world. The attachment to a space, or a coherent body aesthetic, comes to be lost within the crowds of revelers.

The intensity of interacting with bodies, lights and the music of the club space work to fragment a sense of the group of ravers into imaginary individuals. Rave is a culture that is bound to the market and the images proffered of youthfulness. Where this is different than the subcultures discussed by CCCS theorists like Hebdige and Clarke, however, is that the rave culture is purposely and consciously aware of this relationship. Rave is in many ways a culture of surface and superficiality that enacts and simulates notions of subcultural affiliation as a play on identity construction. Furthermore, rave is a technological subculture that places importance on how individuals interact and understand their relationship to a world of images: images of style and of community.

For revelers, style is not worn in order to create a link to the subculture, but is instead established before there is a sense of subcultural affiliation. The style of ravers is one that is structured from cultural conventions already in existence, outside the subculture. It is the emulation of stylistic conventions as opposed to an appropriation, or bricolage relationship. As such, what defines the rave subculture is the abandonment of style as the primary form of subcultural interaction and demarcation.

'After the Masses'[49]

Postmodernist thought, as expressed by theorists such as Jameson and Muggleton, is both a disruption of a historicism that appropriates a homogeneous past, and an approach by which the lived experience of each individual becomes increasingly central. Thus, postmodernism can be addressed through the debate between technological subculture analyses based on individuality and against the CCCS approach to subcultures as collectives.[v]

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[v] Hebdige (1979), Clarke (1976), Hall (1976)

With the increased importance of reproducibility, the image as reality comes to the forefront. Objects, as bearers of a constructed origin, are predominantly valued through their ability, or desirability, as exchangeable commodities in the market. In fact, objects are generally less about use value than about exchange value. Exchange value, in essence, represents the value of an object at the moment of transaction. Object consumption and projection is based on momentary and fleeting desires particularly when mediated by the accelerated advances in technologies of the media-scape.

Through the image-making process, we lose a sense of connection to a wider reality, as images are increasingly tied to subjective interpretation. Thus, value is derived from the reader's ability to form a connection to a particular piece or object at the moment of exchange. In other words, once an object is seen, it is given meaning. However, it is a personalized meaning that draws upon the experience of the reader.

Meaning is increasingly related to how the constructed, or symbolic, value of an object purports to personal aesthetics and emotion, rather than how that object fits within larger social classifications for that object. Symbolic value, as the root to subcultural resistance (according to the CCCS) comes to be taken over by 'affect', or feeling. Style, as an identity marker, has more to do with personal feeling than placing markers within cultural sensibilities. As David Muggleton argues, "style is now worn for its look, not for any underlying message; or rather, the look is now the message."[50] In a postmodern formulation, style as symbolic is less about the symbolic and more about the simulation. Style is the notion of self-construction at every moment of exhibition: every time you display yourself to others, you create an identity for yourself that is measured by how others perceive, and more importantly how you gauge that public perception.

Increasingly, attempts to connect a style to an historical moment or period seems somewhat problematic given that at present, stylistic conventions appear to come more from irony than appropriation. It is the image of a 'thing', without having any true link (whether representational or not) to that actual 'thing'. Furthermore, Muggleton comments that style is superficial in the way it is used as a benign referent to a mythical past, for

> In postmodern terms, subcultures *are* 'purely aesthetic codes', for styles have become subject to time-space compression, a dislocation from their original temporal-spatial origins. [quoting Iain Chambers] 'The firm and exclusive referents that once guided the teddy boys or the mods in their distinctive options in clothing or music are apparently no longer available'.[51]

The "homologies", as the CCCS would term the relationship fashion, music, and social class have in reflecting group values, are not reflected in the choice of fashions.[52] Postmodern technological subcultures, however, are situated in cultural and economic relations that are increasingly established in the present and bound by personal tastes and personal aesthetic affiliations.

Jameson describes our relation to the postmodern era as "the emergence of a new kind of flatness or depthlessness, a new kind of superficiality,"[53] which lends itself to market fragmentation, as it holds solely to the power of exchange. Style is superficial and depthless, for it links to a sense of current fashion and personal tastes. These tastes may have a type of collective ethos attached to them, but these collectives are increasingly smaller and smaller. It is the end of the masses, for with postmodernism comes "the 'triumph of the act of the fragment': a loss of totality, a necessary and therapeutic loss of wholeness."[54] The image as perfection lasts only until the moment of consumption, and although this is not new, what is interesting is that there is a cultural dependence on the transitory nature of one's connection to the illusory within the rave subculture.

The individualized and personalized style of the postmodern must still be understood through notions of larger cultural values. The proliferation of styles found within our highly mediated environment does not necessarily mean fast-moving fashionability, but instead comes to exemplify increased diversity within style subcultures. Often, diversity is found within the same style culture. The increasingly diverse sub-genres of rave for instance, all come with stylistic characteristics that are set against perceptions of what a 'raver' is to look like (as defined by the mainstream media). Thus, increased stylistic choice works to identify each sub group within the subculture as different and individual, but as still part of the larger culture. The style adheres to a larger group belief, but comes to increasingly define segmentation within that group.

Increasingly, individuality is linked to the expansion and segmentation of the market, which allows for increased availability of things that create the depthlessness in style:

> The acceleration in the emergence of new fashions has been matched by an accelerated turnover time in consumption...with the advent of 'specialized consumption' and 'market segmentation', 'lifestyle enclaves' are said to be losing their correspondence to, and indeed superseding as a basis for social stratification, modernist grids of class, gender, age and ethnicity.[55]

With media inundation of the images of fashion, style comes to be less about group affiliation then individual desires. Notions of class and gender distinctions come to be further complicated as the fashion-scape moves to cater to personalized aesthetics. Although this may seemingly be a contrast to the political and economic order as homogenizing forces, it is important to note that the fashion-scape is still founded within the larger economic order, and thus works to preserve the dominant political culture.

The image is the final product, which ends at the point of purchase. With instantaneous loss in value, an object's desirability comes to be worked out directly in

relation to the market. Abstraction brings a need to identify oneself outside of a corporeal existence, and find self-identity within the instantaneity of the abstract space of the techno-scape. Within this formulation is the opportunity for a new subjectivity, as living in the present brings about the erasure of a past that may be limiting in how one's status is constructed.

Ephemera, to describe the way things become short-lived, seems the main feature of the postmodern, for we individually construct meaning by how objects work to satisfy notions of instant gratification. This is not an argument to suggest that one does not think about the future, but it is a claim that one may be more inclined to buy on the basis of how an object represents a progressive present, something that is state of the art; and therefore not connected to a real future, nor a real past.

Similarly, technology is wrapped in notions of ephemera. One may whole-heartedly believe in progress, to the point that they cannot accept a technology that is static, for our social understanding of technology places it in a dynamic relationship with its human actors. Therefore, one must alternatively look at a technological subculture as similarly involved in a discourse of dynamism; which is of particular interest when we examine the rave subculture.

As a technological subculture, rave is instrumental in exemplifying the issues discussed in this chapter. With increased individual and corporeal experiencing of the urban, there is a renewed surveillance by the power apparatus. To examine a technological body-subculture, like rave, is to analyze how movement and non-fixity have worked to change the nature of surveillance and to simultaneously change the nature of the body within the urban. The body as image is the result of a body in constant motion, for it is the abstraction and de-centring of the primacy of the corporeal through its

attachment to the techno-scape: the simulated image as the reality of a corporeal relation that disappears from social categorization, and takes on a presence of virtuality.

The body exists as its virtual presence by how that body comes to be identified. Rave is also a postmodern subculture, for it represents the ephemera of technological subsistence and immersion. Rave has existed thus far because it is actively in flux: the electronic music genres are constantly changing as the interests of ravers change. Rave is the immersion into the techno-scape of an illusory body that is centred around escaping restrictive surveillance, while working to re-orient corporeal categorization as subjective and individual.

Earlier in the chapter, the city was discussed in how individuality may be understood. Although the argument has seemingly moved to a discussion of postmodernity and simulation, the city is still the central site whereupon individuality may be perceived. The city is where the image is made real, for in the relations of city-dwellers comes the abstraction of individual members in how they interact with one another and the technologically mediated environment in which they find themselves.

The Image as Simulated History

Although the image is the final product, it must be understood that the consequence of the illusory world is the erasure of the past. Baudrillard argues that the simulation occurs through the death of the past – the death of the reference an object has to a past:

> By crossing into a space whose curvature is no longer that of the real, nor that of truth, the era of simulation is inaugurated by a liquidation of all referentials – worse: with their artificial resurrection in the systems of signs, a material more malleable than meaning, in that it lends itself to all systems of equivalences, to all binary oppositions, to all combinatory algebra.[56]

With the increased and constant exposure to the media-scape, one may come to be distracted by the image as the reality itself,[57] as the ability for an image to act as a

reference for a true past is complicated by the accelerated recycling of images in the techno-scape. Images are rotated and recycled through pop culture so quickly that the relationship an image has to an object in time becomes abstracted, as the image, and thus the object itself, exist only in the time of its appearance. In essence, Baudrillard argues that what occurs through the simulation is a loss of a temporal connection between style and fashion. The image is not historically constructed, but formed through how it may adhere to personal values and beliefs at the moment of exchange and interaction.

Retro as Recycled Imagery

> "There is in this hatred of the present or the immediate past a dangerous tendency to invoke a completely mythical past...[**166**] one should totally and absolutely suspect anything that claims to be a return.... History protects us from historicism – from a historicism that calls on the past to resolve the questions of the present."[58]

History, as the constructed sense of a past, pertains solely to how objects and space become constructed in the present: "the producers of culture have nowhere to turn but to the past: the imitation of dead styles, speech through all the masks and voices stored up in the imaginary museum of a now global culture."[59] In acknowledging the fate of the real, we accept the simulation as not only a copy, but as the complete replacement of the actual. The substitution of history with presence does not necessarily entail a death of traditions, but the conscious appropriation of the image-world as the real world itself at the moment of interaction. It should be noted that adherence to the simulacrum as the hyperreal of an object without a temporal identity, is performed as both pastiche of a mythical past and as parody. Thus, the history of the simulation is a history granted only in how it is discursively situated as part of history, and not truly connected to the past.

Only when we accept the simulacra as presence, can we understand that: "this omnipresence of pastiche is not incompatible...with a whole historically original

consumers' appetite for a world transformed into sheer images of itself and for pseudo-events and 'spectacles'."[60] Events and pseudo-events are relevant at the time they are experienced, for one may understand them to exist only when they can know about them. Rave is no exception to this case, as it is a subculture experienced by how it exists for only a moment, and then vanishes to re-emerge in a new location.

Alternatively, there is an understanding for ravers that they also exist between these moments. The preparation for the next rave is a time between existing for the moment – the joy an upcoming rave brings as an escape from the work/school-week brings with it an appreciation for the moment in which one will interact with the elements of the party itself. It is the bliss of knowing that one will be in bliss come the party. In this time between moments, the rave culture may change and mutate, for outside the event rave takes on a meaning that may differ from the feeling that comes from the moments of interaction at the event itself.

With the increased power of exchange value adhering in some way to a constructed sense of the past, there is the potential for a 'retro-ification' relationship. It may be suggested that retro, as the process of an idealized past resurging in the present, fits within a ritualistic process of historical erasure. The ritual of symbolic intake into the culture may change that culture's orientation, but only because of the acceptance of those signs and images as a way of forming a history and tradition that can be appropriated by subcultural members. Baudrillard comments that in the absence of true referents, we construct referents, and a pseudo-lineage merely as a way to hold to a sense of a history: "it is into this void that the phantasms of a past history recede, the panoply of events, ideologies, retro fashions – no longer so much because people believe in them or still place some hope in them, but simply to resurrect the period when *at least* there was

history."[61] The danger comes when the ritual of a constructed past is repeated too quickly and the recycled images come from the present, thus representing a complete loss of any history.

One may see a sense of virtuality in recycled pastiche; it exists as a moment detached from those signifiers that serve to orient the identity of the recycled object as part of a cohesive past. The image of an object replaces the true history of the object, and the means by which it serves to generate subcultural meaning. The Roland TB-303, for instance, is a bass and drum synthesizer[vi] that was popular in the early eighties, and brought back in the nineties by DJ's. The low cost of the TB-303, plus the distinctive sound that it generated, where quickly taken up by the rave subculture, for the: "bassline is a paradox: it's an amnesiac hook, totally compelling as you listen, but hard to memorize or reproduce after the event, whether as pattern or timbre. Its effect is mental dislocation."[62]

The fetish quality of old instruments, like the TB-303, works within the formation of presence, for it functions only in how it relates to the dancer at the time of dancing. In addition, the fetish of old instruments may be related to how the particular sound is related to a present musicological and technological categorization. For example, analog synthesizer instruments are being digitally coded and played because the sound has various qualities sought by current DJs and performers. The capturing of a time's sound is a false nostalgia, as the final product is consciously understood and heard from the standpoint of someone hearing it in the present – the sound is only a harking back to a particular music style of the past.

[vi] Source for more information: www.tb-303.org

Similarly, the appropriation of the Hippy motif in early raves is a sense of recapturing a time and trying to place it within a current social climate. Although the use of the Hippy style will be discussed in more detail in the last chapter, the image of the Hippy as free loving and escapist was attached to the rave culture as both superficial and ironic.

The next chapter revisits the body, but within a technological framework. The concept of the cyborg will be analyzed as carrying the potential liberation of a body immersed into the techno-scape. Now that we can see how corporeality is illusory and thus abstracted through immersion into the techno-scape, we must look to when liberation may occur. Although immersion into the illusory techno-scape is superficial, there is a place whereupon liberation, and thus politics, may be situated.

Chapter 3: The Body as Technology. The Body as Rationality

In the previous chapter, it was argued that the examination of space and corporeality involves an analysis of a body understood through its utilization and interaction with that space. As such, to examine how a body becomes attached to the spaces it inhabits involves an analysis of the body as space and environment. To this end, the cyborg concept becomes integral for this thesis. Through the prevalence of the image, the body as a natural and organic entity is dissolved into the imaginary body of the techno/fashion-scape. When the body is understood through its abstraction in the environment, then the cyborg can be the way to potentially release the self from that abstraction.

In analyzing the relationship between the body and the technological environment, Krokers ask why the concern for the body exists, unless it has already disappeared.[63] Although the issue of a body immersed in one's environment brings with it questions of a body as non-present, this thesis is concerned with looking at methods in which the body of a technological subculture member, involved in abstraction, maintains its position as the central point of analysis.

Perhaps the Krokers earlier question may be better served if asked in a different manner: why such a recent concern for the body as a cultural entity? Jonathan Benthall argues that the body has only become a subject of Western focus in the last few decades, for historically speaking, our "theological and philosophical tradition...has devalued it."[64] With the emphasis on the mind (philosophy) and soul (theology) before the body, the West has only recently placed corporeality as discursively important.

A distinction should be made between style and the body. To this end Scott Lash cites Foucault, in arguing that through science and medicine, the body has come to be placed in a realm of importance as a biological entity: "*modernity* witnessed the advent of

the clinic, the disappearance of the signifier, as doctors came to know the body and its organs as 'in-themselves'."[65] The increased surveillance of the body in space gave birth to the surveillance of the body as an object, with primacy placed on how the body is the center for identity discourses. The utilization of a Scientific Method[i] to approach issues in accordance to rationality, held that the body was something that could be analytically studied in its physical manifestation. Through scientific and philosophical intervention, the body has been configured within particular types of intellectual study that organize the body through systems of rationality. With surveillance came the distancing of theological concern of morality and the soul, and the growth of an analysis of the body as configured by its placement within a social, political, and environmental context. Thus, the body shifts from being subjected by theology and morality to being the objective subject of a rational scientific process.

Alternatively, the study of style is not one of recent interest, for in the history of the Western world there has been a fascination with style and social position. The history of style, however, is not necessarily the history of the body. The body, as the 'thing' that fashion masks and even celebrates, has become of central importance only in more recent analyses of style. The focus on style by the CCCS, for instance, had been on how the technology of style covered and marked the body,[66] but not in how the reverse occurred: the body worked to orient stylistic symbols. For the purpose of this chapter, the cyborg concept will be utilized to examine how a technological subculture like rave places the genesis of style and self-identity upon the body.

If one is to allow that individuality may be expressed through corporeal actions, such as spatial navigation, than the cyborg concept is useful for a technological subculture

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[i] the process of arriving at answers through a logical and verifiable/quantifiable method

like rave. The cyborg is the effect of corporeal immersion into the environment. Thus, the cyborg is how the body experiences the spaces it occupies, and how that experience can be made subjective. Rave is a technological subculture in its appropriation of technologies of sound light and drugs that call for the corporeal immersion of each raver.

Earlier in this thesis, it was argued that we construct corporeality along socially discursive categories: power comes from those who can define the characteristics of being in power. One's placement within the social order becomes expressed by whether one is a power-holder or power-subject. Although not necessarily worked out through a model of diametrically opposed power groups, power relations do occur on the discursive level of identity construction within a social and political environment. Power, however, is equally marked at the physical level of the body.

When one speaks of gender as a basis for corporeal relations, it is a socially constructed category. Male and female are terms defined through historically constructed categories of physicality, represented through notions of a sexed body. The sexed body in turn, influences the discourses through which gendered bodies are perceived within a social environment. Once we examine the body as in some way outside of a rational discourse (rational being linguistic), than we reduce the body to pure embodiment, and all the tradition baggage that a sexed body carries. Thus, liberation must be looked at in how one may break, or at least question, these historical constructions.

Section 1: The Body in Technology/Technology in the Body

"A body is designed to interface with its environment."[67]

Paul Virilio argues that technology seeks to invade the human body, as it has the planet: "subsequent modes of technology no longer aspire to invade the world – the world of time and space is to all intents and purposes a thing of the past. Rather, technology now

aspires to occupy the body, to transplant itself within the last remaining territory – that of the body."[68] To accept the view that technology occupies the body is to then say that the cyborg concept is of particular relevance, as the cyborg represents the union of the organic with the technological – human with machine, where information is personalized and exchanged. This exchange of information could range from prosthetic limbs to drugs.[69] Thus, technology can be either worn or ingested, creating a symbiotic relationship between the user and the 'object': the relationship is essentially one upon which the user internalizes his/her need for the object to maintain stability, and the object is seen as the agent for stability. Thus, the cyborg is not style, but the incorporation of technology as both a physical apparatus and as a state of mind.

With incorporation the subject becomes the technology as subjectivity is measured in how one comes to be in a continual state of immersion with one's surroundings. Once we make sense of our spaces, we can than understand how we move within those spaces, and become part of that environment. Marshall McLuhan argues that the cyborg is a condition that came out of the increased interaction with the environment:

> To behold, use or perceive any extension of ourselves in technological form is necessarily to embrace it...by continuously embracing technologies, we relate ourselves to them as servomechanisms.... Physiologically, man in the normal use of technology (or his variously extended body) is perpetually modified by it and in turn finds ever new ways of modifying his technology.[70]

The city is ideal to the cyborg concept because it is the nucleus of the technological society. The city is the place of technological-overload, but furthermore, the city is the place whereby that overload is met with abstraction, virtuality, and ultimately immersion into differing aspects of sociability. Only within the overload of the techno-scape do we immerse and come to understand ourselves, and those around us. The cyborg is the model

by which one may protect and arm oneself against the environment of the cityscape, and simultaneously it is the way to engage with that same technological society.

Technological determinist thought claims that although there is a natural state, it is a state that is constantly involved in change, for there is always a process of adapting to a environment – whether biological or cultural - that is defined by technology. Immersion affects the natural, which causes change. The degree of change, however, is dependent upon the intensity of immersion and how consistent human interaction is in that environment. It is from here that one may expand the notion of the cyborg, for the cyborg must eradicate notions of the natural as the sole condition of existence. To look at humanity as involved in a process of constant production is to look at human production as the procedural act of denying the natural, and thus encompassing, in some way, a unnatural aesthetic: "[humanity] does not live nature as nature, but as a process of production. There is no such thing as either man or nature now, only a process that produces the one within the other and couples the machines together."[71] Technology is natural in how it not only facilitates interaction with one's environment, but in how this interaction is thought to be a normal evolution of urban life.

Urban life is measured by one's ability to incorporate space and make that space mobile. We move space as we move along it, for in every act of walking comes the recognition that our spaces of travel can be understood as abstract from physical signifiers, and in turn become their own signifiers. Our environment takes on a sense of virtuality as human agents use technologies to resist notions of spatial stability.

As discussed in chapter 2, within environmental instability is a notion of space as unrecognizable, for one can know only of the space as they encounter it at the moment of navigation. Through interaction, the environment is not understood by notions of fixity,

but in how immersion operates on one's ability to find subjective meaning through the individualization of space at the time of immersion.

Rave is a culture that is in many ways determined by the technologies of the club, such as the sound system and lighting effects. The type of sound system may not be capable of sending out the right volume for the "vibe" of the party to last for the entire night. Rave, however, is also a technological subculture that is very dependent on the way that each raver works to not only internalize the vibe, but to translate the music into something they can experience at the level of the body. Although the dance floor may not allow for much mobility, there is movement possible. Dancers may move closer to the speakers to experience the sound on the body, or may move toward the DJ booth to be in contact with the DJ.

Alternatively, the environment is moved by each dancer depending on how he/she wishes to feel the vibe, whether through the corporeal rush of having one's body vibrate to the bass, or being in the presence of the DJ. Each form of music reception is altered by the way the dancer moves within the space.

The Cyborg and Subjectivity

The cyborg is the result of the union of the organic and the environment, for the more we experience space, the more we immerse ourselves into the environment. To look at the cyborg as the way the body engages space is to claim that the cyborg is our means of entering into the social realm. To accept this would be to claim as well that once we constitute the cyborg as social, we must than state that the cyborg is our politics,[72] as we are political creatures through the way we enter into the social realm and relate to others and ourselves. One is political in the way that he/she understands their role as a product of the environment, and how this understanding is translated back upon

the spaces they inhabit, and other societal members. Taken this way, the politics of the cyborg allows us to constantly explore and change our identity and placement within the environment, for it is measured by how one continually interacts with space, and the result of those momentary identifications through interaction. Thus, the cyborg is the act, not the result, of immersion.

In the act of immersion comes the potential for liberation from the social order. The cyborg concept represents liberation at the immediate level, as identity is found in how one defines him/herself in the present. What must be specified is that the cyborg is politics and may not be how one becomes a political being. The nature of the cyborg is one that allows for an understanding of liberation and a departure from a sense of corporeal fixity within society. However, individuals may not actually be liberated – the cyborg is where one may begin to think about how liberation is possible.

Stelarc claims that it is in the present that we come to end the heritage of biological dominance, for in the present we come to discover the self as existing in a time and space of self-awareness and as such, change may occur: "evolution ends when technology invades the body. Once technology provides each person with the potential to progress individually in its development, the cohesiveness of the species is no longer distinction but the body-species split."[73] Although the body has been the subject of historical discourse, it is with the cyborg concept that the body may become the object of presence, instead of being a subject of history. Power, in the corporeal comes from the disappearance of the body as history, and the recontextualization of the body as the integration of technology and immediacy. Therefore, in embracing the abstraction of historical disappearance, the body is reworked through its immersion into the techno-scape. In the movement away from historically constructed roles, the cyborg is given the

power to potentially develop new discursive forms of self-reflexivity, both physically and intellectually.

The cyborg works mainly by opening new discursive arenas that allow one to work outside of the inherently problematic social categories of 'male' and 'female'. Instead, the cyborg concept enables one to expand the categories of gender to encompass an a-historical approach to identity construction. Once we open up the notion of social relations to include how these relations are mediated by individual interactions with the environment, there exists the possibility of discussing a potential liberation.

Interestingly, Simmel argues that interaction with the city, as a detached intellectual relationship, no longer holds to traditional notions of community: "when released from our historical bonds, individuals seek 'to distinguish themselves from one another'."[74] Not only is this social detachment a contrast too much of his article on the metropolis, but it also expresses how individuality, as a product of the urban, comes from the release of historically polemic social and political relations. In the above citation, Simmel discusses how alienation functions as a means of freedom. To be alienated in the urban is to experience social freedom,[75] for the absence of prescribed social relations provides a space for identity freedom where one may be whatever they desire. With increased immersion into the urban comes the potential for increased individuality and subjectivity (although both may be mutually exclusive). Thus, alienation is a form of abstraction, as it allows for the incorporation of identities and acts of social engagement that are worked out through the continuously dynamic process of living in the urban.

To argue that rave is a subculture of gender neutrality would be rather difficult, given that rave represents a relationship to technology that orients identity at the moment of interaction. Gender and sexuality come to be interpreted through how one sees

him/herself in that moment of interaction. The cyborg concept and rave will be discussed further in the next chapter, but it should be stated now that the relationship between rave and the cyborg is dependent on how revelers orient themselves at moments of immersion into the technologies that make the rave party possible.

Rave is not a culture that works outside the techno-scape, but rather, is located directly within it. Each reveler reflects the imprint that environment has upon them toward other revelers. This reflection shows other revelers how one is feeling about a track, or about the other technologies they may be interacting with, particularly drugs.

To immerse oneself into the media-scape is to realize that the technologies of illusion, proffered through the industries of production, are extensions of ourselves. We have accepted the image as reality, and the image as the way we relate to our environment. Thus, immersion places the body into an environment that works through information exchange, where the subject becomes the data of the techno-scape:

> By putting our physical bodies inside our extended nervous system, by means of electric media, we set up a dynamic by which all previous technologies that are mere extensions of hands and feet and teeth and bodily heat-controls – all such extensions of our bodies, including cities – will be translated into information systems.[76]

We personally relate to the city in the way that we translate the information of the city – as in the images of the techno-scape - back to the outside world. Translation is how one may reflect their personalized understanding of their placement within an environment back to anyone who may inhabit that environment as well. The ties to the techno-scape work to build a subjective identity that is not bound to historical constructions but to momentary interactions.

In many ways, the body as communication is a body politic akin to the ideas highlighted by CCCS theorists, such as Hebdige, who argued that a body that was static

was open for interpretation.[77] Unlike the CCCS interpretation, however, the cyborg analysis is not an examination of how identification comes from a pre-given set of meanings for those who don particular styles to identify themselves as part of an already established group in society. Instead, the cyborg demonstrates how style exposes more subjective identity formations. For the cyborg, style is surface, as it reflects merely what the bearer wants the style to symbolize, and not a sense of group attachment or affiliation. Style is affect, and the subject of individual forms of self-identification:

> The self which has no real corporeal existence, only an affective existence as a temporary, always mobile, almost mathematical, site for the remapping of experience...not Species, but 'mechanic assemblages;' not the inert dualism of nature/culture, body/imagination, but the *romance of the doubling*.[78]

The body is always in transition. Thus, the cyborg is how corporeality is expressed and simultaneously how the body displays style as an internalized and constructed sense of subjective identification at each moment of awareness. The body is the site for culture in that one's corporeal identity is what the individual uses to form connections to other social members. In coming to identify and define our place in society, we not only define ourselves, but how we may be defined by others.

Alternatively, the cyborg may also work to ground the body. The cyborg ensures that traditional bodily rhetoric must still play a part in the situating of the corporeal. When bodies are gendered, the corporeal is subjected to historically discursive patterns. Once immersed in the techno-scape, however, the historical construction of the body is met with the potential for identity construction based on the moment of interaction. Alternatively, the cyborg is constituted by a past, as the cyborg: "is a function of historical categorizations as well as of an individual daily phenomenology."[79] The cyborg is an identity based on historically constructed gender relations and how these

relations come to be internalized and expressed at each moment of experience. With the potential for liberation in instantaneity, there must also be the recognition that in the same instant there is the potential for further suppression.

What is perhaps most attractive about the cyborg concept is that it allows for an opportunity to potentially expand the range of identification possibilities outside of a corporeal rhetoric that the Krokers argue is part of a non-technological society:

> In technological society, the body has achieved a purely *rhetorical* existence: its reality is that of refuse expelled as surplus-matter no longer necessary for the autonomous functioning of the technoscape. Ironically, though, just when the body has been transformed in practice into the missing matter of technological society, it is finally free to be emancipated as the rhetorical centre of the lost subject of desire after desire: the *body as metaphor* for a culture where power itself is always only fictional.[80]

What comes from identification as presence, is a new subjectivity where identity is defined through interaction with the environment at the moment of reception, or at the moment of exhibition. Thus, with the cyborg there is the opening of a discursive space in which an individual may find subjectivity.

With the body as presence, one may start developing a sense of the body as a language of instantaneity where "technologies of subjectivity undergo fantastic acceleration, to the point of terminal velocity where what remains is a spectral space – the disappeared body trapped in a twilight zone between inertia and a violent psychosis of speed."[81] Subjectivity comes through speed as well as through the intensity and instantaneity of information reception and transmission by the body. With immersion comes the prominence of the corporeal in subjectivity, for when one dons the artifacts of pure speed, or information, they are then entering into the techno-scape. As McLuhan suggests, instant immersion into the techno-scape has the effect of blinding the subject into compliance:

> With our central nervous system strategically numbed, the tasks of conscious awareness and order are transferred to the physical life of man, so that for the first time he has become aware of technology as an extension of his physical body. Apparently this could not have happened before the electric age gave us the means of instant, total field awareness.[82]

McLuhan seems to suggest that immersion is a consequence of technological inundation. What is not discussed is how immersion may be a voluntary act, or how individuals may enter into the techno-scape conscious of their movement.

The cyborg is the process of speed as identification. The artifacts of speed are the techno-scape of our environment (e.g. lights, music, drugs in the club environment). The body is less about the way its organs are placed, and more about what Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari call the 'Body without Organs',[83] a body that is not a body, nor the image of the body, but the production of a moment - the composition and production of desire as an instance. Movement within the rave culture is not only in how ravers' avoid authorities in hidden venues, but with movement in the clubs. Rave is a subculture in which the body is identified primarily through how it moves through the instantaneity of the music, and the effect of the drugs. Thus, the body in rave is a body determined by how movement is internalized by the dancer, and by how those around the dancer influence that dancer's movements. The body as an instance will be further investigated in the next section that looks at dance as a prime example of the body in motion at varying moments of instantaneity.

Section 2: Dance

> *...you don't have speed, you are speed*, demonstrating in the quest for progress something which would no longer be discontinuous, a final abolition of differences, of distinctions between nature and culture, utopia and reality, since technology, in making the rite-of-passage a continuous phenomenon, would make of the derangement of the senses a permanent state, conscious life becoming an oscillating trip whose only absolute poles would be birth and death...[84]

The cyborg, as the discussion of a body moving through the techno-scape, has placed corporeality in a position of primacy, for it is through motion and speed that a body can

be seen, and consequently can disappear. The activity of dance highlights immersion into the techno-scape through motion.

Dance is about intensities and the ability to place the body within the dualistic relationship to its environment: on the one hand, a body that lives experience through its immersion in the music, and on the other hand, a body that disappears, as it loses its connection to the environment that holds and relates the self as a recognizable self. Disappearance, however, does not involve the loss of self-identity, but the process of immersing oneself to the sonic-environment:

> Dance involves the loss of contact with one's own earthly root (or 'culture') and an ecstatic movement outward towards difference and alterity – or at least community... it is not any final product which is of major concern but the seduction of the dance itself, its ability to seduce one into the loss of one's own identity or self-hood.[85]

Dance presents a means of detachment and abandonment from the 'real-world', and the placement into virtuality.

To expand on the first point about dance as lived experience, one may claim that the pleasures of dance are corporeal. Dancing is the way a body is expressed "through an open-ended series of repetitions, a shifting *intensity* of involvement",[86] and how these intensities are performed at the level of the body. Dance, particularly in the rave culture, is defined by the intensity of dancing the whole night and not by being stationary in the club environment. Integral to the discussion of dance is how the space is conducive to the activity. For instance, the dance club is about continuity, and musical tracks connecting through repetition. Dance, therefore, must be looked at in the way dancers situate themselves in the venue space for the entire night. The dance space works to hold and reflect corporeal intensities, disorienting the dancer so that they can only experience the music and lights. Thus, the corporeal is highlighted by the fact that the environment

caters to how the body will react and act to the technologies of the club, but not to the physical environment per se.

Dance as Rational/Irrational

To look at how individuality may come out of dance spaces is an examination of how individuality is not simply discussed, but felt. Commenting on the work of Andrew Ward, Gilbert and Pearson state that the problem with finding support for a rational critique of dance is the lack of theoretical work performed on dance: "at the heart of the refusal to write about dance – failing to deal with the dance, even in books supposedly concerned with its culture, is a depreciation of the 'non-rational' that renders the activity of dance itself invisible, incommensurable with the 'verbal forms...prioritized in logocentric western societies'."[87] Gilbert and Pearson suggest that dance occupies a critical space beyond the grasp of reasoning.

One reason that dance has been labeled as irrational is its basis in emotion. For the CCCS corporeality expressed through dance is problematic, as dance has traditionally been characterized as an emotive act. As such, dance is subjected to an emotional whim that reduces dancing to irrationality; the irrationality of dancing for the pleasure it brings, and for the fleeting emotions it raises.

Another reason for characterizing dance as irrational, and the subsequent absence of academic work, is that dance is seen as a non-linguistic form of communication. Dance highlights the corporeal and the senses as the way one experiences dancing. Therefore, with dance, communication is brought down to the level of the body, and the senses:

> We consign everything to do with our bodies to the domain of the 'natural'. That is to say, that territory which is beyond the reach of culture. Always and everywhere the way 'we' talk, sit, squat, lean against a wall....and so forth is seen as *the* way the body *'naturally'* behaves. This is

> not only because one's physical self is existentially omnipresent, it is also because 'the body' is inevitably caught up in a symbolic congruence with 'the social body' of one's society; a congruence which is so complete that it has the effect of blinking us to the cross-cultural relativity of corporeal experience.[88]

Corporeal experience questions the rationality of the mind/body split, for nature is experienced, as it is how one may know and perceive through corporeal interaction with the environment. On the contrary, culture suppresses the natural body and the experiential dimension of corporeality: "the cultural codes of polite society increasingly came to be directed towards the control and privatization of the body."[89] The body is natural, and that which is outside the body is interpreted as cultural and intellectual.

With the industrial age, the body, as the irrational half to the mind, is seen as 'primitive' – the primitive avatar for the cultured, mind-centric human, whose function is to be productive, and whose product is culture. The problem, however, comes when dance is seen to move away from the rationale of a body as productive. The discourse around dance is that it is irrational primarily because it is a non-productive action outside of leisure.

What must be looked at, however, is how the intensity of dance is about the pleasure in making disappearance as enjoyable as possible. Dancers attend parties, not because of an overriding politics necessarily, but because of the pleasure from the release of social requirements. In the wake of the intensity of movement is the immersion into release, which ultimately is the way of achieving a subjective identity. Thus, the reasoning for dance is its ultimate tie to the concept of pleasure.

The rationality of pleasure is release. Dance music pushes the dancer to release, to feel the music, thereby enabling the dancer to feel joy. In this way, dance represents the freedom from the confines of pure rationality. Irrationality, as the other to the mind-

centricity of social utility, would imply that dance serves no logical purpose. The very fact that dancing provides release, however, is a purpose in and of itself.

'Sexing the Groove' – Dance and Sexuality

With its physical emphasis on corporeality, dance culture includes within it the central sign of corporeal pleasure and hedonism: sexuality. When one considers that dance music is experienced at the site of the body through tactility, sex comes to be viewed as a function of dance. Embedded in this understanding of the physicality of dance is the rationality of a body that has been previously subjected to a discourse of gender and gendered politics. These gender politics are based on a corporeality that is prescribed before entry into the dance club. Iain Chambers describes the rock 'n' roll dance halls of the Fifties and Sixties in the following way:

> While dance halls provided a public stage for male postures, with the dancing itself it tended to be girls present who cast the sounds of pop into a further social act. Dancing involved rigid ground rules that had been persuasively laid down elsewhere, outside the walls of the dance hall or youth club. Consequently, girls tended to arrive in groups and couples and danced amongst themselves, while the majority of boys lounged around the walls, talked and smoked, stared down alien males, and conserved their masculinity.[90]

The club as the site for what is typically masculine subcultures,[ii] reflected group dynamics that were formed before entry into the club space. This point will be returned to in the next chapter, which examines how rave starts, a potential movement away from this type of gendered distinction within a dance space.

The Marginality of Dance

The attraction of dance to youth subcultures is varied, and what follows will be an analysis of some of those attractions. First, dance is a body culture. The body is the prime canvas upon which youth project and exhibit a found identity to, or against, others. Second, as a result of the corporeal dimension, dance has been described as socially

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[ii] Mods, punks, and even disco

irrational and inappropriate, thus categorizing participants as similarly irrational, or "other" to the rational organization of society. Marginal groups, either ethnically or culturally speaking, who are already categorized as "other", find dance a means to set and accentuate that identity through corporeal celebration. Empowerment comes from the ability of being labeled as "other". Third, cultural analysis around dance claims that dance can have a purpose when it is thought that youth will grow out of it.[iii] Thus, dance is not a life goal, but represents an escape for youth. With maturity, these youth are supposed to abandon dancing and move on to a life in the working world. Thus, inherent within the analysis of youth and dance is how the activity is short-lived.

Through style, the body is purposefully marked as marginal and "other", thus a body culture like dance accentuates this categorization by placing the body in a position of primacy. CCCS theorists found corporeal rationality only in style. As such, dance was the activity of an established identity group and becomes the means by which that identity is further solidified, but not created. To this end, style is the act of identifying, where in the rationality of stylistic choices the subcultural member will then place their affiliations and sensibilities.

Furthermore, dance can be viewed as a means of courtship and sexual encounters. In this way, dance is sexualized, and rational solely through the potential for encountering others. Presence, as a feature of what may be called a highly technology-driven dance culture like rave, occurs solely through mobility. Thus, fixity and exhibition, as the way sexuality in the dance club was displayed, become complicated by the key features of rave: motion and disappearance.

[iii] i.e. Thomas (1995), Pini (1997), Gore (1997)

Dance is a physical activity. In fact, it is a physical activity that foregrounds both motion and the body. Thus, sexuality comes to be similarly prominent. What has not been discussed though, is how dance plays with notions of gender. If gender is a social construct, then how does a physical act such as dance fit within notions of construction? Phrased in another way, if dance is non-verbal, then would an examination of gender demonstrate that dance does not fit within this type of analytical structure? Dance does play on gender roles; roles of constructed knowledge that can be analyzed in accordance to the ways in which displayed bodies communicate. Dance is corporeal communication, rather than a focus on linguistic exchange.

Dance as Knowledge

Dance culture plays into subcultural formulations of knowledge groups, but where knowledge for Simon Frith is about bands and style,[91] dance knowledge is about corporeality. Will Straw argues that knowledge holders in dance are identified in the way they dance and move in accordance to the music played: "the culture of dance music embeds the most blatantly physical of practices within elaborate configurations of knowledge and information."[92] Gilbert and Pearson comment that within disco came the often-occurring phenomenon of 'free styling', where dancers (typically male) would refuse a partner and instead dance alone:

> Freestyle dance remained the beating heart of disco, powering its rhetorics of social, romantic, sexual and somatic emancipation. Freestyle required neither a partner or training, nor did one need inherent grace or skill. Freed from the technical and social demands of previous generations of ballroom or dancehall, anyone, regardless of gender, sexuality, age, or ability could participate.[93]

Freestyling represents an example of how physical relations are established with one's body at the center of the club space. Performative rites such as freestyling marks the

disco culture as one that was very concerned with the body but was still primarily concerned with a body that was exhibited and watched.

The body is the place for rhythmic and corporeal proficiency. For this type of information exchange to occur, there is a need for an observer/observed relationship to exist: corporeal information can only be passed on when there is someone to see it. Increasingly, it becomes apparent that with immersion into the techno-scape, gendered relations in rave as performed on the dance floor, begin to diverge from the characteristics of traditional dance cultures. Thus, we may see within the analysis of the rave dance culture a shift away from a sexualized body towards a continuously experienced sense of subjectivity.

With immersion, the rave dance culture is presence. Techno, one of the musical genres of rave, is about finding a way to incorporate the body into the musical environment. Furthermore, dance is about experiencing the music through the body at the moment of reception:

> When the spectator, critic and ordinary community member make sense of dance, their involvement will be exclusive of precisely that which is crucial about dance, and this is that it is embodied experience. The body is the vehicle for sensing the inherent meaning of dance. The body is not involved in being a critic or the member of an audience.[94]

To discuss dance as rational or irrational, regardless, involves the activity of dancing itself. It is only through the experience of motion that the rationale of dance, and ultimately the body in dance, can be understood.

Thus far, this paper has argued that to look at any type of technological subculture involves moving away from traditional notions within Subcultural Theory that favor a group sensibility over individualism, and similarly, fixity over mobility. Within a

technological society, a body as technology must be looked at in how that body is immersed into the urban environment, or techno-scape, where technology moves from notions of utility, to an illusory relation to social members. To study a culture like rave, one must understand that movement into immersion is framed through the potential for subjective interpretation. The body, as the core of subjectivity is thus placed in a position of prominence.

It is at this point that there must be a focused analysis of the rave culture: the case study for this thesis. Rave is a technological subculture that is bound within relations of time and space; where the corporeal is illusory and virtual, but a corporeality that is simultaneously the most prominent agent for interaction with the environment. Rave is also a subculture that is locked within the cyborg concept as freedom, through disappearance and virtuality. Rave is the pleasure of escape through the speed of corporeal motion and experience into the techno-scape of the club and dance environment.

Chapter 4: Rave

This chapter aims to examine rave within the postmodernist vein that was outlined in chapter 2. Within a postmodern framework, rave can be seen not only as a part of a fragmented culture, but also as having been born because of this fragmentation. Steve Redhead locates this fragmentation in the rupture of a totalizing narrative of a group sensibility:

> The separation of 'youth' and 'pop' in the 1980s and 1990s eroded the rock ideology (though not rock music) which postwar subcultural theory is predicated upon. The fragmentation of the audience(s) for popular music and its culture in the 1990s makes *Subculture* theory outdated. It does not mean there are no subcultures any longer: these abound in youth culture today, but are frequently grounded in market niches of the contemporary global music industry – techno, bhangra, gangsta rap, ambient, jungle – even when they 'originally' came from the 'streets'.[95]

Halfacree and Kitchin add that in looking at youth cultural groups today, one must examine the increasing number of youth cultures that have become smaller, while also remaining in the periphery in contrast to the dominant culture. These youth cultures are not easily categorized by public discourse of particular music scenes and their related group sensibility, defined by society. Unstructured and heterogeneous, the notion of subcultures as representing a group's beliefs is problematic as "we are left with a culture of the margins around a collapsed center."[96] The postmodern subculture is identified by the way in which it moves away from the group as the central means for individual identification and how the subculture is instead located within the opposite: group solidarity and identification as formed through individual diversity and experience.

Within the postmodern model, youth affiliation has more to do with group sensibility, worked out through relations of similitude than to the practice of group solidarity and commitment through opposition to other socially marked groups. Where group affiliation was worked out through appropriation of objects that project the group identity outward, a postmodern analysis moves to explore how individuals seek

membership within smaller groupings with more specific interests. Group demarcations hold less significance and applicability to postmodern subcultures. Thus, an emphasis on the notion of group affiliations worked out (perhaps violently) through differing group affiliations is difficult. Gilbert and Pearson argue that what defines the youth of the postmodern era is the lack of discriminatory practices that led to such polar opposite subcultures as Mods and punks[i]:

> There is no discrimination on the part of today's youth; discrimination as *affiliation*, as the active intervention in the formation of identity. We would suggest rather that the various acts of discrimination and identification made by audiences, fans and consumers are often more supple and malleable than the shorthand categories still used to categorize and encapsulate them. If simple homological ascriptions *ever* did justice to the complexities of practice, then they are even less certain today.[97]

Increasingly, the postmodern subculture is less concerned with the ways of identifying a group in contrast to the dominant culture than being oriented by the type of loose group formations agreed upon by individual members.

Style is surface; it is the way we enter the market for the pure play of identity construction. Through a postmodernist analysis of style, one may see how individuals construct themselves, for themselves alone. The resilience of the rave subculture comes out of the fact that it is a self-constructed subculture, and expressed as an intentional play of styles and fashions. The sense of deliberate play with style maybe found within rave's equally deliberate interaction and immersion into the marketplace. Within the dichotomy of style as comfort and style as commodity, rave has seemingly found an existence that moves comfortably between the two. Rave neither is an anti-market aesthetic, nor is it

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[i] both subcultures held to various stylistic identity markers, which ran counter to those of the other subculture – this often lead to clashes between group members who found group affiliation was developed in distinguishing who the group was against as opposed to who was similar

completely a commercial culture. Rather, rave locates itself between these opposite ends of the spectrum by constantly shifting and finding its meaning by mediating the two.

This chapter breaks rave down by sexuality, ephemera, the market, and a new subjectivity, in order to examine how a technological culture is requires individuality, immersion, and abstraction. Rave, as a body subculture, involves itself directly with the technologies of the environment of the club: lights, drugs, music, and other revelers, as the way in which a new subjectivity may be examined. The potential for a new subjectivity exists through the focus upon corporeality in the techno-scape. What must be addressed is that much of the literature used for the arguments, particularly concerning style, city versus rural raves, and regulation of raves, all come from British sources. While the accounts of occurrences during raves are taken from Canadian sources, at raves held in Montréal. The discrepancy in reportage should not affect the nature of the argument about rave as a technological body-subculture, as the varying sources would seem to confirm that rave promotes a sensibility that crosses geographic boundaries.

To examine rave as a technological body subculture, an analysis of rave must be performed at the event itself. It is in the moment of reception that rave can be seen as a cultural formation that speaks of a new corporeality, one that works toward displacing historical conventions of a discursively gendered body.

Rave as Politics?

To analyze a new corporeality, one must invariably examine the politics that are at work. Thus, this section will analyze how rave positions itself in terms of a political discourse. With the growth of raves in England in the early 90s, and in particular the drug Ecstasy (or 'E'), there came a process of vilification in which the rave culture was perceived as a

"folk demon."[98] Reports of drug-related deaths and sexual assaults at raves began to appear in English newspapers. Despite the bad press, rave was still hugely popular. Rave became big business, and its excess in the use of the drug Ecstasy brought about an increased criminal element: drug dealers and organized crime. Claiming to be acting in the publics' best interest, police closed down raves. These tensions between the party-goers and authorities became essential in defining the rave culture, for with this constant pressure, parties soon moved illegally to empty warehouses, and open areas – areas which were believed to be outside of legal concern.

Forced out of the city-centers, raves came to differentiate themselves from many popular dance events in three ways: first, raves represented a way of moving out of regulated clubs by allowing for all-night parties without high entrance fees. Second, raves allowed access to youth who were not able to enter into regular clubs due to age restrictions. Lastly, illegal raves presented significant profits for the organizers by avoiding rental fees for spaces, hiring staff, and buying alcohol. The low over-head costs allowed organizers to reap huge profits.

Characterized as a different type of dance culture, outdoor raves soon became the focus, not only of the police, but also of the State. Many local authorities adopted the Private Places of Entertainment Act, which became the relevant by-law during the late Eighties and early Nineties for the police in England. It was argued that the outdoor parties disturbed "the peace of other people, encourage drug distribution, fraud and extortion and [were] a safety hazard (meaning both in terms of fire on premises or drug induced drivers filling up the roads at night time)."[99] Thus, power was given to the police to stop raves because of the belief that raves presented an act of deviance.

With increased state intervention, raves became mobile. State regulation forced raves in England to be in constant motion as police threatened to stop raves and arrest organizers and revelers. Regulations like the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act of 1994, where the state allowed police to stop ravers en route to a party and confiscate any equipment that may be used for a rave,[100] exemplifies what Christopher Stanley argues is the birth of a nomadic policy:

> Regulation [as] the application of a governmentality which represents a law which has become dangerously (negatively) nomadic. It is a law of movement which seeks to control paths across space....a nomadic law which has evolved because law is essentially antinomadic thus attests to the inevitability of the failure of surveillance as a control mechanism.[101]

If regulation indicates that surveillance is a failure as a mechanism for social order, then that failure exists because those within that social realm have changed. Ravers are not the subcultural members of punk or the Mods, but nomadic travelers who define themselves through how they disappear from the political and public surveillance. In chapter 2, surveillance was examined in terms of how it allows for a new type of spatial politics, as space is adapted and surveyed by those who pass through it – space is the subject of individual acts of navigation. The issue regulators face is that laws can no longer assume a static, display-oriented subcultural ideology. Laws must be nomadic, in that the rules to categorize subcultures must first look to ways of defining the spaces subcultures move between, and then understand why those subcultures inhabit them. Surveillance must be as mobile as the objects they survey; namely subcultures.

Instead of taking place in the clubs, raves came to inhabit those spaces that had been 'given over'[102] by the authorities: sites of infrequent traffic that incur very little surveillance. Rupa Huq argues that rave brought with it a new kind of economics and politics based on the appropriation of those spaces that had been abandoned:

> Rave can be seen to have affected an unconventional sort of urban regeneration. The sites of cultural production are principally located in disused warehouses in the desolate landscapes of industrial estates. A new kind of cultural production in the failed industrial zones that have been deserted by industry.[103]

The city is the site for subcultures principally because the city is the site where youth hangout and can meet to exchange information about their cultural affiliations.

Rave can be seen as escape; escape as movement away from the city center, and movement away from conventions of subculture as an exhibited form. Rave is about escaping to areas outside of regular traffic; of being unseen and unnoticed. Thus, the politics of raves came to be leisure, escape, and hedonism. Until rave was located and fixed, its power came from invisibility. It seems, however, that rave was a type of uncharged politics – a surrendering to leisure versus the charged politics of the CCCS subcultures where 'power' was enacted through the belief of symbolic exchange as resistance. Both approaches to youthful politics are ultimately superficial politics, but only rave seems consciously so.

Although not directly a political culture, rave cannot be placed outside the realm of politics. Rave is a play on notions of counter-cultural sensibilities, as seen with rave's stylistic attachment to the Hippy culture. The Hippy appropriation seems to work with the belief of rave as following a Hippy ethos: a pseudo-middle class form of retreat through drugs and 'tuning out'. For the working class youth, who were the earliest attendees of rave, the drug culture of rave represented a way to escape the drudgery of factory work, and simultaneously the working class life itself. With the philosophy of 'tuning out', the Hippy culture seemed a good model for escapist tendencies of early ravers. As has been argued earlier, however, the argument that rave is a direct play on a Hippy ethos, seems very constructed.

It has been argued that the use of abandoned warehouses can also be seen as a way of recapturing spaces of employment. With the closure of factories, which were the most likely sites of employment for many working class youths (particularly in areas of England), the appropriation of these spaces by these same youths has been viewed as the reclaiming of the sites of employment. This recapturing of factory sites seems a rather romantic notion, for it would be more likely that these spaces are used for their relative exclusivity and non-existent retail costs.

Increasingly, raves seem bound by a sense of uncertainty in the market. Escape is an act of politics only in the way that the space of the city is altered. The emergence of rave in England during the late eighties came at a time of economic instability. Although this paper will not detail the economic flux in England in the Eighties and Nineties, suffice it to say that England suffered through various recessions and changes in social welfare that ultimately affected the market. Jonathan Keane comments that set within a time of economic insecurity escape came out of leisure as the potential to find joy outside of the political realm:

> Faced with an unstable labour market, the young's fantasies of a better life, so crucial to individual and social development, became stunted by short term anxieties. Disconnected and demotivated they began not to look forward at all. Instead they looked to buy their happiness in the immediacy of the consumer present. Leisure became their religion, and for a time, their saviour.[104]

Keane portrays rave as coming out of a political environment of uncertainty and economic instability. Rave, as a leisure-oriented activity, is momentary escape for it lasts for only as long as the party does.

Politics takes place solely at the level of individual bodies, for each raver's expression as a political agent comes from his/her decisions to choose particular styles

that are reflective of independent tastes, and to actively inhabit and disappear from particular spaces. Space is political by the fact that bodies inhabit them.

The rave culture does not exclude a group style, but when there is a group aesthetic at work it is centred around how each individual member independently decides he/she wants to fit within the group's stylistic sensibility. Although style will be focused upon later, what must be analyzed is how the body is active in the subcultural orientation of rave. The next section will look at sexuality as a particular type of political play that focuses on how the body may release the individual from notions of a constructed identity.

Sexuality and Rave

> It is the agency of sex that we must break away from if we aim – through a tactical reversal of the various mechanisms of sexuality – to counter the grips of power with the claims of bodies, pleasures and knowledges, in their multiplicity and their possibility of resistance. The rallying point for the counterattack against the deployment of sexuality ought not to be sex-desire, but bodies and pleasures.[105]

Foucault suggests that in looking at sexuality what occurs most often is a focus upon desire instead of the body as the first site of sexuality. The body is perceived as the place where desire is enacted. Desire affects how the body is worked and displayed, and similarly how it enters into a discourse of production: the desired body is a product of the media-scape. Dance is both the culmination of corporeal desires, and the potential release of those desires through a body in motion.

Rave is a dance culture, and dance has traditionally been looked upon as highly sexualized by cultural analysts such as those within the CCCS. With rave, and even disco, however, sexuality is translated by the entire body, and not merely by a specific part, such as the "rock 'n' roll pelvis".[106] For rock, the pelvis is the ultimate sexual symbol, but rave's jerky twisting and thrashing is a whole body movement:

> Rave dancing doesn't bump and grind from the hip; it's abandoned the model of genital sexuality altogether for a kind of polymorphously perverse frenzy. Its dance of tics and twitches, jerks and spasms, the agitation of a body broken down into individual components, then reintegrated at the level of the entire dance floor.[107]

In essence, rave comes to represent an expression of sexuality that is not like other subcultural forms.

There are various criticisms against this argument, however, most prominently that it is a very 'white', popular culture, argument. The belief that this is the first time a musical genre offered a whole-body experience is to ignore the rich history of rock, blues and various other musics that have long been part of an African tradition; a tradition that has placed the whole body as the central characteristic of the music.[iii] Similarly, the distinction between rock as pelvic, and dance as corporeal also does not look at the last twenty (plus) years of rock 'n' roll, in which various dance forms[iv] present corporeal activities that have defined rock music. The jerky twisting and thrashing of rave dancers is one that comes out of punk and grunge as much as it comes out if disco. What is still worth saving of the distinction between the dance and rock corporeal histories, however, is that dance blends the corporeal fixation of rock with a sense of spatial dislocation that defines rave as a particularly relevant and distinct subculture.

Without the centrality of the DJ, who is typically hidden from the crowd, there is no center, but only a mass of dancers surrounded by speakers and other dancers. The whole body moves as a reaction to the facelessness of the performance - not body parts reacting but the whole body moving to the way they 'feel' through the music. Furthermore, Lori Tomlinson suggests that with the threat of AIDS, rave was a deliberately asexual culture.[108] Thus, the consciously achieved non-sexuality in dance

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[iii] Criticism by Will Straw

[iv] e.g. pogoing, slam-dancing and moshing

culture would seem to present a case toward a rationale in dance by breaking away from its supposed corporeal functional dimension: sex. In particular, rave moves away from the functionality of sex as a male construction where women are typically oriented as the sexual objects.

Raves represent gendered relations of masculinity that fall outside those found within 'traditional' dance clubs. Maria Pini, in commenting on the appeal of raves for women, argues that rave represents a sense of lost masculinity:

> In many ways, open displays of 'happiness', auto-erotic pleasure, 'friendliness' and enjoyment of dance are traditionally more closely associated with femininity, and gay male culture. In this sense, rave can be read as a challenge to heterosexual masculinity's traditional centrality, and for this reason alone is worthy of attention.[109]

By moving away from notions of the club as a sexual environment, raves work to create a space within which socially defined and enacted notions of masculinity and femininity may be discussed and interpreted.

Furthermore, with the dominance of Ecstasy (or 'E') at raves, pre-defined gendered relations are called in question. Describing the effects of E, Steve Redhead writes:

> If, after punk, disco represented a return to the 'male gaze', and more traditional notions of sexual relations, acid house [or rave] offered something of a departure. In a dance which 'requires no experience whatsoever', there is a fracturing of the 'male gaze', which has commonly structured the body in dance in pop history. Instead of, as usual, the female body being subjected to the ever-present 'look', the dancers (not just on the dance floor, but everywhere in range of the beat) turn in on themselves, impeding the meanings previously associated with exhibitionist dance. In acid house and connected scenes, dancing no longer solely represents the erotic display of the body.[110]

From this description, E represents a form of introspection and self-analysis. The site, as the specific place for the potential for sexual encounters, is replaced by a sense of atomized individuals sharing a space – a space that is only meaningful in regards to the music and the effect of E.

Techno as Body Music and a New Subject

> For those exposed to the strobs and rhythms, hooks and speeds of the rave scene's night's, autonomy is no longer the issue. Spectators see only the surface, but ravers are already part of the scene, in the machinery. Beyond representation lies total immersion; the end of the spectacle.[111]

To focus on the body is to include how that body perceives its environment. Thus, the way that music is understood and 'felt' at raves is of paramount importance for an understanding of the primacy of corporeality. Techno is a type of music that is listened to through the body, with the skin acting as an ear, picking up the tactile-acoustic rhythms and timbres of electronic music.[112] It is a music that is 'felt' as much as it is heard. Once we look at music as experienced, then we may expand our use of culture to include the body, for culture ultimately involves understanding how the experience of a body can orient the space that the body inhabits. Therefore, if music comes to relate to how the body experiences and understands space, then music, and ultimately a body influenced by music, must be examined through an analysis of cultural impact.

Tomlinson argues that techno seems to be a part of a new type of youth culture in the Western world that is formed directly through youths' relationship to the techno-scape: "techno is the ultimate teenage slang, a language elders can't comprehend."[113] The techno-culture is one where there is an understanding of a body experiencing space. What is at the root of this language is the fact that youth are immersed into the techno-scape, and thereby grow up in a 'techno-world'.

Central to the configuration of the cyborg concept is configuring the self as living within a technological environment: "technology [as] our new nature."[114] Once we place a subject within a technological world and claim that that world is the central means of discovering subjectivity, then one must accept that interaction with the environment fuels

self understanding. Rave is a subculture that re-orients notions of space, environment, and subjectivity, a point which will now be discussed further.

In analyzing rave as a non-sexualized culture, there must be a move toward the examination of how the body is further configured within the space of the rave event. In this way, we can begin to examine the possibility for a new type of discursive subjectivity through a technological subculture such as rave.

To discuss the notion of interaction and subjectivity within the rave culture, two different first hand observations made at raves will be recounted. The first involves the use of glo-sticks. Within the rave environment, there exists a sense of exhibition whereby a dancer with glo-sticks is asked by another dancer to give them a 'light-show'. The dancer with the glo-sticks then dances only for the 'spectator' in an effort to place them in a trance with the streaming lights. Although the light show does still fit within notions of performative values, the relationship is a communal one in which both revelers are agents who equally participate (the 'spectator' asks, and does not solely gaze). In addition, the light show relationship exists between men and women, men and men, women and women, without the expectation for sexual encounters. The light show is not a sexual relationship nor is it embedded in sexual connotations, but rather, it is an appreciation for the glo-stick bearer's dancing ability.

With the nature and speed of thousands of revelers crowding small areas it is impossible to be a true spectator. There are simply too many people dancing to allow one to just stand around and watch, while not be absorbed into the crowd. Georgiana Gore similarly argues that the sense of spectatorship is lost at raves:

> Participants are no longer constituted as dancing subjects by the gaze of the spectator/other, since subjectivity collapses through focusing on the intensities created by trance-inducing movement and incorporated sound, and on the deterritorialization which results, rather than on the dramatic

> effects produced through performing visually pleasing, 'aesthetic' dance movements in time to a music located outside the body.... in the anonymity of raving, 'there is no performance, no stage, no play of identification and seduction, no otherness'.[115]

The light show relates to the concept of a lost spectatorship, in that spectators are actively involved with other dancers. Although the light show does require one to see the dancer, the relationship that forms is an interactive one where the viewer engages the dancer.

Rave represents a new subjectivity of immersion, where identity is found through the momentary acts of disassociation. It is a subjectivity that comes from living the moment and not being subjected by a mastering gaze, for with total audience immersion, one cannot look at a spectator/experiencer model, as all must experience the corporeal sensations of the party (albeit at different levels). Space is further abstracted as it holds no relevance for the dancers, and shrinks points of orientation for a reveler to the physical area they inhabit, as the rest of the dance floor is unrecognizable and lost to the overwhelming crowd.

The notion of a lost gaze at raves becomes essential for a non-sexual environment, particularly for females within dance culture. The absence of a sexualized environment is complicated by my second observation made during raves: massaging. During raves, massages are administered, generally by males, to both male and female dancers (but to females predominantly). Initially, many participants considered this a communal act, as massages were meant for people who were dancing for a long time. Within the last couple of years, however, the massage has increasingly become a means of sexual invitation. To allow someone to massage you is to consent to them holding and caressing you.

Although not a cultural feature, the massage highlights a sexualized environment that should be discussed, as it seems to question the assumption of a non-sexualized space.

Earlier, the concept of the cyborg was brought forth which alluded to presence as liberation. The cyborg may in fact represent a problem for notions of gender in the rave scene. Pini argues that the cyborg is a dichotomy, for it "is something which both seeks to invent new languages, and at the same time describes a present social condition."[116] With presence, the cyborg opens up a space for discourse and simultaneously reveals what social relations are already in existence. With no future and just presence, the cyborg would seem to preserve the present condition for a subject.

Furthermore, Pini argues that the cyborg can work to either liberate males and females, or further embed notions of gender relations. The massage is a physical act whose rationale seems to call into question how the rave culture may challenge notions of polar and gendered sexual relations. If the cyborg is a moment, is this a moment that should be preserved? Although messaging is not a cybernetic activity, is it an expression of cultural sensibility? If the massage is sexually erotic, can there be liberation for a culture that comes to include this type of activity?

Perhaps a better question, in the hopes of trying to save the notion of the cyborg concept is, does rave claim to be liberation? Although not commonly a strategy for liberation, this thesis is looking at rave as opening a space where one can begin to discuss the body as the place of liberation. Corporeality is still present, but it is a body that is now involved in the rhetoric of escape and disappearance. Within the cyborg concept corporeality disappears as the subject of an objective discourse. It is here that one can see the politics of rave, for it is the politics of the cyborg. Although there is no true group political positioning per se, it is in the individual acts of immersion where the cyborg is formed and new subjectivities may emerge. Thus, it is in immersion that a new political

subject may develop. The cyborg is not an end, but a way of continually thinking about the self within the social order.

Escaping the Body

In recognizing immersion, there lies the acceptance of disappearance from the former self. When looking at the relationship of presence to the way music is interpreted, the result is an eruption of identity construction, a case of "little deaths and partial identities,"[117] where interaction brings with it disruption and resurgence of self-identification. Christopher Stanley suggests that it is the movement of rave parties that draws in the dancers, for immersion is the act of being in motion with one's surroundings:

> There is no possibility of discussion-relationships, only the movement in and out between an internal realm (which in fact means the displacement of self) and an external realm (the collective atmosphere of the rave). There is an element of excitement in the sense of partaking in a festival which is marginal but more significantly in the excitement of movement which the music inspires....the music does not ask you to engage with it but rather to chase it, to lose it or to establish a transcendental relationship with it.[118]

Movement is the ability to immerse oneself in the sonic environment and exclude prescribed corporeality from the space of the dance floor. As Stanley claims in the above, movement guides the rave culture, for it is the way in which one loses him/herself as a societal being, and wins the potential to re-identify themselves outside of those societal roles that had previously marked them.

Once we can look at a virtual body, corporeality may be re-analyzed through the potential for disappearance. Identity is expressed in the way individuality is worked out through the separation of a social-identity from a corporeal identity:

> To understand the pleasures of the dance floor we must move to a different logic of tourism where one comes to hide from the specter of a former self to disaccumulate culture and disappear under the dry ice and into the body. This is the jouissance of Amnesia, where nobody is but everybody belongs.[119]

Dance is a means of disappearing from the notion of the body as its assemblages, and reforming through acts of self-awareness performed by participating on the dance floor.

Disappearance, however, must be examined as the incorporation of the speed of movement, with the technological apparatuses that intensify the experience. Virilio argues that with the incorporation of speed into the techno-scape the result is "the disappearance of consciousness as the direct perception of phenomena that inform us of our own existence."[120] Thus, disappearance occurs at the corporeal level, where one must continually re-contextualize their understanding of the environment at each moment of interaction and perception of space. Although disappearance may be a fantastic proposal, disappearance can only occur through immersion in the intensities of the music, one's fellow revelers, and the environment of a club, or party venue. Thus, participation is the only way that any kind of new discursive subjectivity can be considered.

Drugs and Disappearance

Within the rave subculture, there is a relationship between the drugs of subcultural choice, and how that drug enters into cultural sensibilities. Drugs are one of the most important technologies at a rave, is they are engineered specifically to have an affect in lieu of the music and lights; all are involved in how a reveler will come to enjoy the evening. E, as the main drug of choice for the rave culture, is no exception. E works by producing an excess amount of the neurotransmitter serotonin that triggers the cells that store emotional information; the user, in essence, becomes 'ecstatically' happy.[121] Similarly, with the chemical effects of E, a dancer will stand closer to the speakers to 'feel' the music against their body. If the ear is the site for musical reception, then the body acts as an ear. Dancing, therefore, is the body reacting to how it receives the bass and rhythms of the sonic-scape. Listening with the body represents an act of disappearance, for listening is the complete immersion into sound, and results in disappearance from the significance of the place of reception.

Many who have written on the subject of E have described its effects as promoting a feeling of communal belonging, where those who choose to partake in the drug, feel a kinship with those around them. The communal feeling is occasionally expressed in what is described as non-sexual hugs and utterances of love. This is a rather naïve expression of the drug's effects. Instead, E seems to function as a selfish drug, for it heightens one's own bodily senses, emotions and perceptions. Dancers on E[v] are extremely aware of their own space, thus making those around them irrelevant. In essences, E works to provide a shell around the user, allowing them to intensify the way they perceive and feel their environment as a completely tactile space.

Community comes from a dancer's acceptance of other revelers as part of the environment. Collectivity works only in the way the group can hold the dance environment together. Thus, collectivity exists as another technology in a dance club - lights, speakers, drugs: all work to hold the whole together. Foucault, on writing on the 'technologies of the self', argues that those technologies that promote individuality work by permitting, "individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality."[122] Individuality can only occur through immersion into one's environment, whether immersion occurs with the sound system and visual effects, or with a group of others. Whether in the media-scape or the club, space acts to reflect individual tastes.

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[v] The discussion on E thus far has assumed that all revelers are on a pure pill. This is not the case in truth. However, this paper will continue to discuss E in this general way, for although a discussion of the various other drugs is important, it is not part of this paper.

The Experience of E

One of the more rational activities for ravers is found in how they live by the highs and lows of a drug's effects. Thus, embedded within the culture is an intellectualization of drug use. Revelers know when the drug will wear off, and will prepare to take another dose to compensate for the potential psychological and physiological loss. It is a rationality of effects, and the overall measurement of system equilibrium.

On the other hand, there is a sense of open experimentation within the rave subculture. With one-time consumption, the user can still feel a sense of bliss as it does not necessarily come from repetitive action. In fact, with repeated use it takes a lot more to feel the same initial effect from the drug. To partake in drug consumption does not entail having to be a true subcultural member, but can involve infrequent experimentation. Hillegonda Rietveld suggests that E is a drug tailored to electronic beats and sounds, rather than manufactured for use outside this environment:

> Its empathic quality means that one can lose one's identity in the music and in the social space; for this reason, when under the influence of the drug ecstasy, this purpose-made music of loss and escape is perfectly 'understood' on a subconscious level by those who would not normally enjoy house music.... as an entactogenic drug, MDMA makes the skin subtly sensitive, creating a higher sense of tactility.[123]

Experimentation is enough to enter into the culture, as the drug's effects work to heighten the feel of the music and the space and the moment of interaction. Reynolds similarly argues that techno is a musical genre geared toward the enhancing of physiological effects:

> An immediacy-machine, stretching time into a continuous present. Which is where the drug/technology interface comes into play. Not just because techno works well with substances like MDMA, marijuana, LSD, speed, etc., which all amplify the sensory intensity of the present moment. But because the music itself *drugs* the listener, looping consciousness then derailing it, stranding it in a nowhere/nowhen, where there is only sensation, '*where now lasts longer*'.[124]

Rave is a subculture that exists in the present but only because it is a technological - subculture that enhances and intensifies that present. Perhaps what we are looking at

within this context is a movement not only away from subcultures, but also away from the focus of subcultural practice as a long-term commitment. Rave seems to open an analysis of 'ordinary' youths[125] who are involved in the subculture, not to belong to a group or find group affiliation, but to just attend parties.

Within the rave culture, however, drug intellectualization and experimentation is subject to what Pini describes as the 'policing of negativity':

> A key aspect of [the] 'governing' or 'managing' of experience is brought out...in a theme of 'positivity', which is simultaneously a 'policing' of 'negativity'. The 'ethics of pleasure' ... stress[es] the importance of the right attitude, which includes avoiding the power of 'negative vibes' to 'bring you down'.[126]

The negativity of the party is exemplified by the bad trip. Bad trips have an effect on all ravers, for it is an affront to the belief in hedonism and escape. At raves, very few people will attend to a reveler who is obviously having a bad trip; although, whether this is a general sense of apathy or the policing of negativity would be hard to argue. Similarly, along with an aversion to a discussion of bad pills at the rave itself, ravers also do not typically want to hear that someone else is not feeling the high. Thus, embedded in the notion of the rave party is the maintenance of a certain physiological state, which is helped by how the self-belief in the purity and quality of the music and a drug's affect work together.

A discussion on the effects of E on a dancer must also include an analysis of techno music. Sampling, as a pastiche of random sounds from the media-scape onto a track, is the ultimate form of presence: "an electronic soundtrack of sampled sound, a collage of woven fragments, is underscored by a hypnotically insistent beat which provides the bottom line for the body: the minimal 'information' required for the dancer to be consumed in the 'communication'."[127] With sampling there is a loss of a temporal

stability as tracks are part of neither the past nor the future but come to exist in a moment. Sampling works through the ways in which noises are appropriated from various sources without temporal or spatial restriction. In this way, all that exists is how the noise sounds upon reception. In essence, sampling is a form of sonic-bricolage. In the intemperate and unstable spatiality of sampling, the relationship between the individual and the sonic-scape is one of incorporation: we become part of the sampled milieu, whether as producers or readers.

The sampler-self is the acceptance of the relationship between information in the media-scape, and of individual reception. We become the canvas upon which the sounds and noise of sampled music are projected. Thus, to identify oneself as part of a sampled environment, where we only understand our relation to the environment through the reception of partial information, than we have become what the Krokers call the 'sampler-self'.[128] The sampler-self is a "trajectory of hallucinatory possibilities, with no history to inhibit its future, no encrusted identity to suppress its desire, no bodily organs to undermine its contingency."[129] The sampler-self involves becoming aware of the self at the moment of reception. Rave is essential here, for it is a way in which the sampler-self is prominent, as the reveler is forced into the techno-scape, which is expressed through both the music and the drug.

When expressed through the music we can see the essential role E plays in the rave scene. E works to further intensify the tactile-acoustic space of the body. Arthur Kroker argues that the dislocation experienced by listening to sampled beats serves to disorient the listener:

> Sounds appear from nowhere and they decay rapidly. They move across the field of our bodies, and then disappear. They have no real presence, only a virtual and analogical presence. Sounds without history and without referent.[130]

Indeed, sampled music genres like techno amalgamate sounds and noises from the spaces of our history and present; spaces that come to be re-contextualized as the present of rave. Musical reception comes from immersing the whole body into the musical space, where the body does not move to the music, but through it. Thus, the music and drugs of the rave subculture increasingly function within a symbiotic relationship.

Insinuated in the earlier discussion on experimentation is that techno, in particular 'Ardcore, a techno genre, has been geared around intensifying the effects of the drug. Increasingly, rave music is an accompaniment for drug consumption. The beats-per-minute match the heartbeat of a dancer on Ecstasy:

> The music's emphasis on texture and timbre enhances the drug's mildly synaesthetic effects, so that sounds seem to caress the listener's skin. You feel like you're dancing inside the music; sound becomes a fluid medium in which you're immersed. Rave music's hypnotic beats and sequenced loops also make it perfectly suited to interact with another attribute of Ecstasy; recent research suggests that the drug stimulates the brain's 1b receptor, which encourages repetitive behaviour. Organized around the absence of crescendo or narrative progression, rave music instills a pleasurable tension, a rapt suspension that fits perfectly with the sustained pre-orgasmic plateau of the MDMA high. [131]

The DJ controls the rhythm of not only the music, but also the impact of a drug's effects through use of faster or slower beats. Thus, the DJ is integral to drug and musical reception, by pushing the dancer to either dance all night, or to burn out. Although the DJ does not control the volume of the music, it is DJ's use of quick beats, and heavy bass-riffs that provide the 'feel' of the music on the body, and allow the dancer to continue moving the entire night.

The DJ

The role of the DJ within rave culture is key to the way a party's vibe is expressed. The history of the techno DJ, however, is fraught with relations of DJ anonymity and exclusivity. With scratching and other forms of on-site music production, the role of the

DJ lay squarely in creating an atmosphere that was conducive to dancing. Similarly, the DJ was responsible for creating a musical space in which a body in motion would remain in motion: the DJ was to keep dancers dancing all night. Over time, the popularity of rave parties increased, which created a booming market for party production and promotion. As the number of parties grew, the DJ quickly became the central promotional draw. Thus, the DJ as an anonymous entity who was responsible only for the music gave way to the DJ as a headliner and the core promotable of a party.

The DJ moves along a discursive line of ephemera to virtuoso: DJ as an unknown to DJ as curator. Despite the increased popularity of raves, one can argue that the DJ as creator of a particular type of "body-and-space" relationship can still be attributed to the subculture. Dancers move and 'feel' the music and the club space by the way revelers come to internalize the music.

Furthermore, the DJ is abstracted as an individual for he or she is related to revelers only through the music. DJ's also rarely mix and spin in a booth that is close to the dance floor; instead, he or she performs on a raised platform, away from the dancers. Thus, the DJ maintains a certain sense of anonymity and facelessness, for the only time one is aware of the DJ's physical presence (and seemingly vice versa), is after the set where the music will momentarily stop and a light will turn on in the DJ booth. The DJ is aware of the audience, but only as a swarm of bodies: individual reactions to the DJ are difficult to see. Although this would play within notions of collectivity in raves, it is how the dancers interpret the DJ's actions, that seem more relevant for the way in which the subculture functions.

With invisibility the DJ enhances the sense of participation as dancers have only the sound system and other dancers to look upon and connect to. The DJ as figurehead is

acknowledged only when dancers raise their arms to the podium and either whistle or shout to the DJ. These gestures, however, seem to not be directed at the DJ per se, but to a beat composition – there is no connection to the DJ's physicality, but only to his or her current mix or track, and ability to keep the party going.

Rave as Placeless: From History to Geography

> The indeterminacy and instability of these spaces-events do not betray a fixed space of the other, rather a moveable space of otherness in multiplicity and plurality in the formation of identity, desire and ethics. These spaces-events are nomadic, disruptive, disordered, deregulated in the sense that they are ambivalent.[132]

Techno Music and the City: The Place of Placelessness

The re-focus on the history of rave at this point in the thesis is important in order to reintroduce the emerging urban and commercial relations that occur within the rave culture. When looking at the history of rave music – techno and house - particularly through its roots in Detroit and Chicago, one sees the history of a city coming to represent that of a cultural movement. Rave came to represent particular types of sonic-scapes, where the city dynamic ultimately came to impact on how the music affected the youth of those cities. In Detroit, the social and cultural affects of post-industrialization came to signify the emergence of a techno scene:

> Geo-social context was vital but complex: techno was not the sonic representation of a city-splitting, but a newly-opened space within which European glimpses of robot-cool future collide with rather more dystopic social impetus, within a zone of pleasure in which the rhythm brought relief; a reterritorialization within a zone of urban crisis rather than an act of illustration.[133]

Techno began, not solely as dance music, but as a soundtrack to an urban environment. Rave musics, however, have been placed within urban, political, social, and particularly pharmaceutical relationships through E, that it is rather difficult to contextualize the notion of the urban without examining all the ways of immersing oneself into that urban-scape.

The sense of placelessness was intensified by the music itself. Traditional rock is structured by the verse in that a story is created and surrounded by musical accompaniment. Techno, as a catchall phrase for various rave musics, on the other hand speaks to a sense of creating an environment. Techno does not have the same verse structure as rock music but creates a sense of architecture, with sounds continually interwoven throughout tracks, building a coherent whole. Place is created in the song, thereby displacing physical space as secondary to musical space: "as instrumental music, techno is closer to the plastic arts of architecture than literature, in that it involves the creation of an imaginary environment."[134] The music is oriented around spatial construction, although it is a space that seems to be attached to how the track is structured in order to understand the space the dancer inhabits. Through techno, there is neither a connection to any actual architecture, nor a monumentality of place that stands against time – techno is space created only in the moment of interaction. In essence, techno is flow: it moves and constructs itself through the ways it is instantaneously heard and felt. This model is complicated, however, by rave 'anthems' which hold positions of popularity for both DJs and dancers, for what are sometimes months after tracks are first heard.

Although not a focus of this thesis, the Internet has also played an important role in the growth of the rave culture. The notion of interconnectedness without center is the key feature of the Internet as its characteristics allow for transcendence across all borders without changing the message. The Internet allows for not only more access to information about raves, but also for more participation in raves. Chris Gibson comments that ravers do not only use the Internet to connect to others about parties, but also come to use the net for the creation of their own tracks:

> Unlike within other youth subcultures in [New South Wales], such as 'alternative' genres that retain scepticism towards new technologies (and consequently refrain from subcultural use of internet sites), ravers have been quick to embrace new modes of production, with accessible mixing and sampling technology now downloadable from 'shareware' internet sites. These techniques are currently being explored to increase exponentially the potential realm of material that can be sampled, spliced, overdubbed and mixed with pre-recorded music (on vinyl, compact disc and digital audio tape DAT).[135]

The sense of anarchy that occurs through the new technology, however, seems more relevant for DJs than an overarching characteristic of the subculture revelers themselves. Instead, with increased global interaction there has been an increase in the focus of discussing local parties. For most youths the Internet serves more as a bulletin board upon which events and information of relevant issues are posted. The Net becomes an international zine of sorts, allowing for access from anywhere, but by no means the site for an international community of ravers.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, state intervention, forced raves into confined areas, placing them into sites of high surveillance and restriction. To maintain the party as an openly drug-experiment experience and all-night dance environment, raves had to be hidden. Thus, a new type of spatial politics emerged. Huq comments that rave was a culture of instantaneity through the one-time events:

> The unlicensed rave, unlike the traditional rock concert, is non-linear. Place and time are not fixed, being at the mercy of police pressure. The raver dances like there is no tomorrow because tomorrow quite literally just ain't going to happen. Rave staple, techno music, is the ultimate 'be-there' joke: mood music rendered meaningless when divorced from its surroundings. Few would listen to nine hours of uninterrupted techno at home yet it makes perfect sense at a rave.[136]

One-time rave parties resulted in a disruption of space as the site of cultural permanence. Unlike the subcultures described by CCCS theorists, rave was not determined by its location, as the location served only to bring the people to the site of the music. Rave was therefore a decentralized form, where 'day-of' events were seen as focusing on more than the physical centrality of the club. Rave typifies Stanley's discussion of the mobile subculture, which challenged the ways of marking space as a subcultural practice.

Rave is epitomized by the absence of stability. Growing out of relations formed through state sanctions in England[vi], rave is a mobile subculture. Once placed in contest with the authorities, raves began to search for sites outside of public view. Placelessness became essential for the culture as a way to maintain a party atmosphere without having the music cut, and reveler's arrested. Thus, placelessness is how the rave culture finds viruality. By allowing a reveler to immerse him/herself into the technologies of the club space, that reveler's immediate surroundings are the only places of connection they can make in that space before the party ends. The space is only relevant for that evening, and the importance of space moves to another site of interaction in the following week.

Placelessness is short-lived. Intrinsic in having no set place is that the party only lasts for a very short period of time. The "one-off" events were believed to adhere to a sense of neo-tribal relations, as community came to be defined by the ephemerality of the emotional connection intensified by the fact that the night only existed as a night and would disappear soon afterward:

> The efforts of self-construction generate them; the inevitable inconclusiveness and frustration of such efforts leads to their dismantling and replacement. Their existence is transient and always in flux. They inflame imagination most and attract most ardent loyalty when they still reside in the realm of hope. They are much too loose as formations to survive the movement from hope to practice.[137]

To claim that rave has maintained a certain spirit of placelessness would be problematic, given than even early in the scene there was still a sense of a spatial politics at work. When compared to disco and Northern Soul dance club cultures that acted as a forum for the exchange of tastes around style and music, rave has typified a different group dynamic. With rave, style has figured less prominently in the development of the

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[vi] Although one can argue that the move away from the Yuppie dance clubs in New York, and Chicago to Ibiza is where we see the initial mobility of the culture, it is not the rave subculture at that point, and therefore not mentioned as central in this paper.

subculture. Placelessness is not only created through techno music, but in the way that ravers communicate personal aesthetics and expressions.

Style and Corporeality

Within a postmodernist framework, style is seen increasingly through the development of personal aesthetics. In discussing how the postmodern condition shapes fashion, Muggleton argues that "in contrast to a modernism purity, functionality and utilitarianism, to be fashionable in postmodernism is to involve oneself in aesthetic play, with the focus on hedonism, pleasure and spectacle, 'a return to ornament, decoration and stylistic eclecticism'."[138] In keeping with Muggleton's description, rave as a subculture of individualized style choices is certainly postmodern.

In essence, the style of rave has been, and in many ways continues to be, a style of comfort. As such, style was functional as a reveler could be dancing for 12 hours straight (or more), with sweat and heat exhaustion often plaguing dancers. Indeed, the very notion of maintaining a specific type of bodily aesthetic (i.e. grooming and body-odor) seems problematic in light of the party context.

The predominance of sportswear at early raves in England came out of the need for clothing that allowed for movement. The use of football casuals in England, however, also came out of larger social "style wars"[139] that were already in existence. This is an interesting case, as it shows that for many English revelers, the event was one that did not require a way of dressing other than how they would normally dress.

Despite this, recent raves have been characterized by a sense of trying to create the most outlandish costume possible. The extreme anti-stylistic style of ravers can be viewed as an attempt by ravers to promote individuality through excess. The problem comes when these outlandish costumes come to be symbolic representations of the rave

culture as a whole (e.g. beaded necklaces, flares). The proliferation of consumable objects as symbolic representations of the entire culture does not mean that there is a lost authenticity, for these items were never placed as the focus of the subculture. Costumed events as exhibitionist performances, however, still fits within personal aesthetics, rather then a notion of maintaining a group sensibility through the performance of stylistic unity.

Alternatively, Rietveld argues that the sports casuals were part of a larger consumption-process where: "ravers were caught in a maze of consumerism in order to stay ahead of recuperation, in the process eating up signs of other subcultures, thereby incorporating and attracting a wide and plural cross section of British youth."[140] Rietveld includes here, football casuals, 'scally' pants, New York Hip Hop fashions, and Hippy styles.[141] The resurgence of styles and fashions from the past, combined with styles of the present, served to invigorate a market that was keyed on selling styles that were as comfortable to dance in as they were aesthetically appealing. This is still true today. The stylistic resurgence also allows for a sense of individual stylistic choice by expanding the market of stylistic possibilities.

A sense of abandonment toward a group sensibility in style, however, does not exclude the work of a stylistic aesthetic at raves. Raves of the late eighties and early nineties were stylistically themed around beachwear and even hippy-motifs, which played with a constructed lineage: "as victims of the short-term anxieties of the market, producers have no time to create the actual new. Instead they recycle the culture of previous eras, and increasingly the previous day, by simply adding a glossy spin."[142] The use of retro imagery has managed to further construct a sense of cultural placelessness, for the beach wear and Hippy motif were themes that defined how rave did not reclaim a past heritage, but instead how rave lived within a certain rhetoric of the present period.

The appropriation of a Hippy subculture was not a display of the hippy culture, but a constructed hippy mythos. It was style as parody and simulation; the ultimate postmodernist statement, for the styles held no value other then their surface imitation.

Reynolds, in discussing the work of Virilio, argues that the highlighting of the past does not enhance that past, but instead works to further intensify the present: "a switch from the extensive time of history to the intensive time of momentariness without history."[143] History is not a true recurrence of past events, but its representation in the marketplace and media-scape: "this instant recall on history, fuelled by the superfluity of images thrown up by the media, has produced a non-stop fashion parade in which 'different decades are placed together with no historical continuity'."[144] History is the discursive placement of one's sensibility; it is the link to a past that only represents how one views oneself in the present. The image as the final product whose past is perceived only in how the present deems it.

In addition, the appropriation of a hippy aesthetic is an activity not performed by the youth themselves, but by pop journalists and party promoters looking for a way to either categorize these youth (journalists), or to attract attention to a party by marketing an easily recognizable image (promoters). What becomes particularly problematic is the assumption of a collective spirit within the subculture, which the following section will argue is contrived by the same agents who attach notions of hippy-communal affiliation to raves.

Ephemera as Collectivity

> You could say that perhaps techno-rave puts an end to nearby four hundred years of the great European bourgeois individual music.[145]

Perhaps one of the most problematic aspects of rave literature is the notion of a collective spirit at rave parties. The sense of collective acts described in many of the texts on rave[vii] creates a sense of an immersive group spirit.

Earlier in this paper, Maffesoli's notion of the neo-tribe was introduced in order to discuss how the individual is lost within the social. Collectivity, when expressed through Maffesoli's notion of the neo-tribe, can be viewed as the immersion of individuals into the club space: it is immersion into the collective. Maffesoli argued that one could not be an individual when immersed in a crowd of potentially thousands,

> The identification of the community can be completely disindividualizing by creating a diffuse union that does not require one's full presence for the other (referring to the political); it establishes rather a relationship in the emptiness – what I would call a *tactile relationship*. Within the mass, one runs across, bumps into and brushes against others; interaction is established, crystallizations and groups form.[146]

Despite the appeal to a sense of collective unity, problems arise when analyzing rave as a collective. The first problem would seem to come when looking at the absence of individuality. Collectivity can only be understood when one looks at how individuals make up the group. The second problem arises when the notion of community through tactility is used to describe how raves are linked to a notion of "tribal-as-primitive" cultural formulation.

With movement toward rural locales, rave came to be misinterpreted, both by those in the scene and the press as rekindling a sense of 'primitivism', whereby "the...imagery of rave was transmuted into an appeal to the exotic Other of Native America, the belief in dance as ecstatic ritual and spiritual activity, the name playing on

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[vii] Melechi (1993), Rietveld (1993), Redhead (1993)

the cultural implication of 'primitivism' attributed to certain pop music forms and the youth cultures that adhere to them."[147] The rural rave is interesting in that it fluctuates between notions of both primitivism and the pastoral. Primitive in the way raves assume a tribal aesthetic, and pastoral in the locating of the countryside as the place of freedom. Rave's attraction to the country is one filled with the rhetoric of escapism. The collective comes to be increasingly involved in a joint sense of escape (by revelers), rather than an expression of a unified affiliation.

The escape into the rural also represented an historical move away from the city as the cultural-center, and therefore a move away from the clubs that many thought were increasingly segregationist, and the epitome of consumerism. An escape into the rural represented how the body was placed in the foreground, for the 'natural' of the rural was highly idealized as the counter to the constructed urban. The urban comes to include particular types of corporeal immersion that distances the dweller from truly connecting to others. The rural is the way in which the shells may be removed, and a true sense of community may be fostered. Although escape and liberation may have been in some ways true as many earlier events did try to maintain this ideological stance by waiving entrance fees, freedom from suppression was still a highly idealized notion. These events did however, hold a rather sporadic sense of escape in the culture, as parties lasted only for a night and then disappeared, to come up again in another location.

The rural is attractive only as an other to the city. The return to nature, as the crux of the rural ideology, is a construct against what the city is perceived to be. Thus, the rural comes to be constructed as the other to the technologically, politically, and economically driven urban centre.

The only way one may escape the urban is to actively shield oneself from it. Earlier in this thesis, Simmel was used to highlight how the urban-dweller must form a protective shell in order to protect him/herself from the city. The city presents an intellectual and emotional strain on the dweller whose only recourse is to develop a metaphorical shell in which to isolate him/herself from the city. Immersion is the form by which we come to place ourselves actively within the city, to experience it and to internalize that experience in order to find ways of escaping it. Immersion is liberation expressed through the individual experiences we have at each moment of interacting with our environment, and understanding what that interaction may mean for ourselves. Rural ravers create this protective shell, but imbue it with the rhetoric of escapism and tribal affiliation. As such, the rural rave is urban protection only by physically escaping the urban, and not in truly understanding a sense of self as separate from the techno-scape.

Rural raves have not only constructed a sense of nature versus the city, but these raves have been placed within a discourse of a tribal aesthetic as well. Rural raves came to focus on trying to express a true tribal categorization. For instance, Goa Trance continues to play with the notion of connecting to a tribe-society aesthetic. The tribal relationships found in raves, however, are more connected to a notion of 'primitivism' then to a true tribal affiliation. Huq argues that the Goa tourism is an imposition of not only rural and urban values but of a sense of tribalism as primitivism:

> Imposition of value systems [as] tantamount to cultural colonization, invoking bogus motions of bohemia based on a simultaneous white fascination and fear towards blackness. This temporary and transient 'dropping out' is a conscious decision presuming the existence of a place to drop out from, one not open to citizens of the 3rd world.[148]

Primitivism here, as constructed through Western eyes, is stereotyped as an "other" juxtaposed against Western capitalist society. It is a primitivism idealized as escape from

Western capitalism. The tribal rave is an escape into something that does not truly exist, and is framed as the fantasy of otherness against Western society. Thus, neo-tribalism is a difficult concept to use, for it brings with it pre-given concepts of tribal society that increasingly are group-oriented and stereotyped.

Maffesoli, however, defines neo-tribes in not only a collective end-result model, but as groups involved in varying acts of perpetual initiation. Maffesoli suggests that the group is a dynamic formation expending constant energy in forming, changing, and disbanding:

> The 'tribes' we are considering may have a goal, may have finality; but this is not essential; what is important is the energy expended on constituting the group *as such*.... the *constitution of contemporary micro-groups in a network is the most final expression of the creativity of the masses* (italics in original).[149]

If we are to look at the group as always in a state of becoming, as Maffesoli suggests, then perhaps there is something useful in the neo-tribe for rave that can account for rave's constant cultural adaptation.

To analyze collectivity as the energy expended at each moment of interaction, we can then examine the process of entering a group environment as a continually negotiated space where the individual must mediate between the self and the group. Stanley argues that rave's individuality comes out of the collective, for it is the group that allows the individual space for subjectivity: "[ravers] rely upon the existence of a group-community for the affirmation of individual desire, without which the experience and satisfaction of desire is diminished...the raver can only experience the intensity of the dance through participating at an event."[150] Thus, collectivity is only attainable when there is a subjective interpretation of that space as a collective space. The group exists for individuals to define themselves as individuals, where they can step away from the group

identity, and find a space for self-expression. In many ways, individualization comes out of the relationship youths have to an expanding rave-oriented market.

Rave as an Economic Way of Life

In many ways, youth migration to the urban outskirts occurs today, but this escape encompasses larger patterns of spatial categorization, and increasingly intricate forms of commercial involvement. The city is still the center for technology and commerce but comes to revolve around youths and parties. Urban commerce is highly invested in how youths (and now middle-aged professionals) attend parties, both within the city-centers, and outside of them, for the rave parties bring with them opportunity for economic growth.

Both urban and rural parties are increasingly aware of their involvement in a 'commercial' relationship. Gilbert and Pearson argue, however, that the commercial relationship of rave relates more to aspects of subcultural economic capital, then to a direct link to the mainstream market: "the frequent comparison of dance musics to punk is more convincing in terms of political economy – owning and controlling the means of production, issuing records through a profusion of small independent manufacturing and distribution networks – than in an aesthetic or a subcultural sense.[151]" Although rave can be seen as holding to many aspects of a do-it-yourself aesthetic, Gilbert and Pearson's model seems to relate more to the DJ culture, than to the subculture as a whole.

Typically, the rave subculture has not been looked at as a mainstream culture expressed through different economic transactions and modalities. Rave can be looked upon as opening a new type of commercialism that has as much to do with openly embracing the market, and simultaneously expanding that market with subcultural products. The shift from a lost purity to the process of commodification has sped up so

quickly for a technological subculture like rave that there is no longer a discernable distinction between the notion of purity and commodity.

The rave subculture, as understood through a do-it-yourself (DIY) ethos, does not operate as a challenge to the technocratic class, but involves the growth of increasingly micro-industries. Although active immersion into the market is not necessarily a new type of 'grassroots' counter-cultural economics, it is rather a new type of entrepreneurship where ravers take from the market but do not re-appropriate the meaning of the objects. Rave is entrepreneurial because it has fostered an industry of selling the repackaging of existent products without changing the meaning of those products. Thus, ravers are not bricoleurs, but consumers. Rave is a subculture that positions itself within the mainstream. When one considers the agency of the participants in the market, perhaps entrepreneurship may be a more useful term then DIY to describe the types of subcultural economics that are involved with rave.

Technology has been discussed in how it fits within a discourse of progress and ephemera. With the 'death' of rave, proclaimed in the early to mid Nineties there was an assumption that rave, like 'traditional' subcultures, was founded within notions of 'purity' and authenticity. Rave, however, is a technological subculture. As such, examining technology through notions of continual change involves analyzing technological subcultures as part of a similar discourse. One may suggest that rave has never truly died, but has instead fragmented and been involved in a process of constant fluctuation.

Rave meets the criteria of a technology-based culture in how it continuously resurges, but rave also meets the criteria for a subculture in how participants find a sense of affiliation within the culture. When placed together – a culture as technology and a culture as subculture - rave becomes even more fascinating as participants actively pursue

the state of constant flux that comes from the immersion of the two conditions. With momentary interaction rave is a subculture founded by the instant; a culture that lives at, in, and for, the moment. Perhaps the fragmentation of the subculture will result in the final death of rave as the continual partitioning of the scenes will inevitably create too many scenes and the cycle will spin too quickly, creating nothing but an eternal resurgence of itself.

The Rave Lifestyle

To date, continually occurring raves, and the notion of a one-off event, have changed to weekly events. With regularity, raves are not solely given to ephemerality or escape, but come to constitute a whole way of life. The transience of rave is given over to the lifestyle of rave club culture.

Prominent within the discussion of commerce is the way drugs fit within the economics of the rave culture. Over and above the potential long term effects of drug use are the short-term costs of the habit. Within much of the popular literature on raves (e.g. magazines such as Mixmag, and Ministry), there is a belief that with prolonged use of E there is a perception of diminished effects of the drug's impact on the system. As the high begins to fade, ravers may either change the drug, or increase the dosage of their drug intake. In some cases increased dosage means taking, and spending, many times the recommended amount.[viii] For instance, at about $30 each tablet, taking five times more (very conservative) could cost $150 a night without adding cover charge and any other expenses. Although, even with increased dosage ravers may still change the drug, or mix drugs to get particular effects that could end up costing a considerable amount more. For

[viii] 'recommended' is tricky, as it typically will come from those outside the scene in pharmaceutical professions, but in many cases the studies are limited, and thus the findings would seem questionable.

youths to go to a rave every week and purchase drugs requires an investment that necessitates a large amount of planning in order to save up enough money for the weekend.

Chapter Conclusions

This chapter has broken up aspects of rave in order to analyze how it represents a technological body subculture that seeks ways in which to immerse and disappear from the ability of others to label and mark the participants. Rave is a corporeal culture, it moves away from the body as the site of youth cultural organization through sex and style, and places the body within a more intimate relationship with the environment.

What we see with rave is an immersion into the techno-scape that increasingly places the importance of self-identification on the individual. Through the self-reflexive act of integrating with technologies that are both physical (e.g. drugs) and image-oriented (e.g. lighting), a new subjective self can be realized. The cyborg and virtual identity are processes in which revelers can escape those discursive practices that act to catalogue their cultural affiliations without experiencing them. Dance, for instance, is labeled irrational because it must be experienced and cannot be described objectively. Rationality must allow for experience as a way by which to discover the reasoning for an event, or in the case of rave to understand the basis for subcultural affiliation. Objectivity, as the strict obedience to logical necessity and complete ascertainability, must hold to the experiential realm as the site by which meaning is constructed and made personal. The experience of dance has a rationale: it is the release of the body into speed and individuality.

The rationality of rave is experienced as a series of little self-rationales: each reveler finds his or her own meaning for dancing all night. Similarly, rave is escape, but escape only through the recognition and acceptance of one's placement within a transient social order, for the 'politics' of rave lasts only as long as the moment of reception in the club space.

Conclusion

Underlying the theme of this thesis has been an attempt to challenge the notion that with incorporation into the techno-scape there must be a split between the mind and the body, where it is only the mind that can understand how cultural affiliation may be expressed and enacted. Culture is distanced from corporeal relations as the body is assumed to represent non-linguistic, thus non-intellectual and irrational, discourse. This thesis has attempted to demonstrate that the process of integrating the body into space must be analyzed when dealing with culture, for corporeality expressed as the physical inclusion into a society is as important to a culture as the intellectual practices that rationalize that culture. We must see culture as conceived of, practiced, and experienced at the level of individual bodies.

Through an examination of various cultural studies texts that look at subculture, dance and rave, this thesis has also examined how corporeality is rational in subcultural affiliation. Traditional Subcultural analysis, as exemplified by CCCS theorists like Hall and Hebdige, has favoured an examination of style that claims it is the sole corporeal means of expressing identity and group association. Through stylistic choices, the body is the expression of particular group affiliations. Thus, the reason behind subcultural membership is understood through the ritual of display. Granted, style is integral for identity exhibition, but what must be analyzed is the increasing way that style is less a mark of group reflection and more the expression of individual, corporeal, projections.

Does the traditional approach to subcultural theory work within an increasingly technological society? It would seem that it does not. With the abstraction of self-expression through immersion into the techno-scape, the notion that cultural identification can come from one's stance outside and contrary to that relationship is rather futile. The

shift from lost authenticity to the processes of commodification that held so much power for the CCCS theorists such as Hebdige, Clarke, Jefferson, and Hall, cannot be used to adequately describe how rave has always located itself within the mainstream culture. Similarly, in trying to orient an identity through the group, theories of group identification (i.e. the CCCS and Maffesoli) do not account for how we work through acts of individuation - it is the group that comes out of individuals rather than the contrary. Rave is a subculture, only in that revelers share the belief of equally participating in acts of individuation. Although the main difference from a traditional subculture would be that group members are not involved in the same type of knowledge-relations. The group is not defined by possessors of techno knowledge, but with the immense crowds, rave come to be increasingly defined by a sense of self-awareness in a group that comes together for the purpose of sharing a space for an evening and dancing and getting high.

Dance, as a particular type of corporeal act, seems to have been marginalized as irrational, as though it has been abandonment of the same rational position that style has come to hold. In focusing on corporeal movement, the body has been reduced to pure physicality and sexuality within many academic analyzes, as though in basing the body in this way, serves to remove any rationale that corporeality may hold. Within a technologically framed society, one must view all corporeal acts as symbolic, and more importantly, as rational, for the body is the site upon which we ultimately define the way in which we are cultural and thus cognizant of ourselves. Thus, corporeality must be viewed as the principal agent for a discussion on culture.

Dance is the immersion of the dancer into the club environment, but where rave seems to differ is seemingly in the focus that immersion carries. To attend a rave is to involve oneself in a relationship to the club space where immersion is the only way in

which to gain an understanding of disappearance as a form of individuality. All come together to form an understanding for an individual raver of the type of identification that is possible through immersion. Dance is immersion as disappearance, and therefore as the central means through which self-identification, as a discursively different identification, may be sought. Once placed within technological relations where the music and space are significantly manufactured toward simulated effects, drugs are increasingly oriented toward altering and intensify the relationship between a tactile corporeality and to the music.

Similarly, rave is movement, both corporeally and spatially, in the way individual dancers configure themselves within club spaces. The environment, as the spaces that configure one's understanding of social relations, is abstracted by how we continually move through them. Rave is space as dance and dance as self-identification. Thus, raving is rational in that it presents the act of involving oneself in the environment of the club space for the purpose of internalizing that environment as some way of defining a self-identity.

Rationality must not be favoured upon acts in which a discourse may be expressed and shared. Instead, rationality must be defined by any activity whereupon there is recognition of the corporeal as cultural, and the awareness that it is as important as the cognitive. Although corporeal, dance and rave presents a model in which one may see a process of cultural understanding and development, which results in new types of subjectivity that come out of the interaction of such tactile and corporeal activities as dance within the club.

The postmodern subject is one that comes to accept a relationship to an environment that is increasingly open to self-interpretation. Although we shield our

emotional selves from the urban techno-scape, the subsequent abstraction of our emotions becomes displaced onto activities in which an emotive backlash is expressed. In other words, acts such as dance are expressions of emotive and corporeal nature that cannot be articulated within the rational techno-scape, except as an 'other' to the nature of the techno-scape. Rave is an emotional response to the predominance of the cognitive, but rave is also the process of integration into that same techno-scape. Once we accept ourselves as part of the society – as part of the techno-scape – we come to internalize and intellectualize how we fit within that society. The body, prominent in subcultural theory in the last thirty years, is still essential today, for it is the body that enters into the techno-scape, and ultimately the body that changes, or is changed by the techno-scape.

Culture comes out of the act of immersing oneself into the environment, and the type of identity that this immersion and integration provides. Immersion is the process through which a subject becomes political. Once a social member is integrated into a social order, he or she becomes the subject of the overarching political system. One cannot separate the political from the social, as every act of sociability is ultimately an act of politics. Essentially, what defines us as political beings is the ability to interact with others. To be a political subject does not require compliance to the dominant political regime, but instead involves the recognition that you are part of a political organization. Rave lacks the consistent organized structure required to be a political group. Similarly, rave does not necessarily create politicized individuals who will fight the system for their right to dance all night. Despite this, rave does possess a political spirit; an understanding that is shared by those who participate that they are involved in something that does center one's sense of affiliation, but more importantly, it generates an understand of self that can carry one into the political world.

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