

Trance and visibility at dawn: racial dynamics in Goa's rave scene

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The geography of music has recently turned to questions of embodiment and materiality to account for the sensuous specificity of music. Extending this work, this article emphasizes the constitutive work that embodied experience of music and space does for social differences such as race and gender. It criticizes what is perceived as a limited conception of embodiment in non-representational theory. Using ethnographic evidence from the rave tourism scene in Goa, India, it is argued that precisely during the scene's most mystical and hedonistic moments (what will be called the 'morning phase'), racial dynamics are at their starkest. It is crucial to understand that racial difference is emergent and not automatic. The article then suggests a Deleuzian musicology which conceives music not as form, language or ideology, but as force. Accounting for the richness of musical materiality involves examining the networks of power and inequality through which it necessarily operates.

Key words: music, race, tourism, embodiment, non-representational theory, Deleuze.

Introduction

The basic premise of this article is that corporeal difference needs to frame the analysis of music and space. The interesting thing about music is that it changes people and circumstances, and it changes different people in different ways, according to differences in race, gender and class. Hence music is always bound up in power struggles; in fact, I suggest it is precisely its rather mysterious effect on the body that makes music political. Allowing for the richness, the potentiality of music, consists of explaining why certain notes, certain timbres

do such different things to different people. The hiphop on the street will get some bodies dancing and irritate others. The Messiaen recital will draw some bodies together but excludes many others. Music has the capacity to arrange and politicize social formations, just like money does, or disease.

To discuss these ideas, it seems appropriate to pick a place where there are widely differing groups, co-present and enjoying the same music. One such place is the village of Anjuna in Goa, a tiny coastal state in southern India, where thousands upon thousands of foreign and domestic tourists gather every winter to

dance to what is known as Goa trance. The moment in Goa I focus on, is dawn, when the racial dynamics between foreign and domestic tourists are at their most visible. I discuss five key aspects of this moment: the massive presence of male Indian urbanites; the mysticism surrounding sunrise; the ‘visual economy’ that is inherent to subculture; cultural competence and its ‘sticking’ to the phenotypical body; and the neurochemical workings of LSD. This will lead me to conclude that music is a physical force, going beyond and underneath the human realm to achieve its effects. I will support this conceptualization of music with the materialist philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. Music acts as an operator arranging bodies and things, which more often than not lead to in-between tensions which cannot be reduced to the form or experience of music.

Another likely candidate for theorizing the interplay of music, embodiment and space, is non-representational theory. Proposed by Nigel Thrift (1996) as a catch-all term for a heterodox range of approaches emphasizing material process and practice over semiotics and cognition, it now seems to stand for any (British) geographical work influenced by actor-network theory and theorists writing broadly in the wake of Deleuze. The human body is conceived by these geographers as a series of nitty-gritty foldings from its physical surroundings (I check my watch—I feel the rain—the bus arrives). However, this cluster of theorizations opts to downplay Deleuze’s critical force by presenting embodiment and experience as unproblematic. That is, it effectively gives scant attention to the *differentiations between* bodies, and therefore to the actual politics that arises in spaces like those of dance. Non-representational theory then misses the richness and potentiality of music, precisely what is most socially relevant about it. I criticize non-representational theory’s

take on music more fully towards the end of the article, after working through the case study of Goa’s rave scene.

Goa’s rave scene

Goa’s rave scene is mythological in global dance culture. The tiny Indian state’s own brand of electronic music, Goa trance, was concocted during the 1980s by the *Goa freaks*, white travellers hibernating every year in the northern villages of Anjuna and Vagator. Electronic pop music with particularly hypnotic and mind-expanding qualities would be picked up in Europe by Goa’s deejays, who then ‘turned on’ the crowds tripping on LSD at full moon parties on Anjuna Beach. Anjuna’s peculiar blend of druggy hedonism and vague interests in Eastern spirituality spurred a scene quite distinct from the techno and house scenes of Detroit, Chicago, New York and Ibiza. Since Goa trance became widely available on CD around 1995, Anjuna attracted many thousands of party enthusiasts every tourist season (November to May), either backpacking around India or partying for months at a stretch, many clubbers arriving by charter flights from the UK. Since about 1999 Goa trance has become much darker, more minimal and aggressive, now usually called psy-trance. More or less ‘underground’ psychedelic trance scenes developed not only all over Western Europe, but also in California, Israel, Japan, Australia, Slovenia, South Africa, Brazil and Russia. Anjuna remains a kind of counter-cultural Mecca, especially for Israeli youths just out of the army, even if anti-rave public opinion, profound corruption, gang politics and erratic police crack-downs always threaten to dissolve psy-trance’s ‘mother scene’.

What is significant for the story below is that Anjuna also attracts thousands of domestic tourists during high season, i.e. the end of

December. In fact, it is the white hippies lying naked on Goan beaches during the 1970s that became tourist attractions for domestic tourists, mostly middle-class males from Bombay. Goa's 'hippie' and permissive image is still alive and well, and trance music has been gradually consolidated amongst the young urban upper classes in India over the 1990s. It is they who bring in most of Goa's tourism revenues. The inevitable signs of commodification and corruption through the influx of Indian and foreign capital are everywhere, also in Anjuna's relatively *ad hoc* tourism economy. Many local families have directly or indirectly lived off party tourism for decades now, the parties usually being instigated by gangs of local boys, restaurant owners, foreign deejays and drug dealers. The poor locals are hit hardest by the commodification and police action, but there are few efforts to regulate the scene in any sustainable way.

I have been to Anjuna during four consecutive winters (1998–2002) for doctoral fieldwork, trying to find out how to conceive its strange and discordant intersection of cultural flows. I focused on the party phenomenon, but very soon found out its hard core is violently hostile to any investigation, whether from the media, police, government, industry or academia. Most of my material therefore came from covert participant observation—I had to be doing stuff *amongst* the research populace to develop a perspective adequately sensitive to the messy processes I was trying to map. This amongst-ness of course meant that I myself was implicated in those processes. Though non-representational theory has done much in conceiving this 'amongst-ness', this unsayable but real to-and-fro-ing of subjectivity and environment (e.g. Dewsbury 2003; Thrift 2004), it largely refuses to consider corporeal specification. I was conscious of my own racial and subcultural conspicuousness within Goa's

scene: half-Indian, half-Belgian, used to clubbing but not very fond of Goa trance, wearing kurta pyjama trousers but no tattoos or fluoro gear, wary of drugs, most of the times alone and looking around. My easy and frequent attendance at parties made me 'foreign', and so did my clothes, rented motorbike and shaved head; but my skin was dark. As I found out that I didn't fit the scene's categories (no I'm not an undercover cop, no I don't speak Hebrew), I also found out the little fetishisms and paranoias underneath.

Most of what follows is barely talked about in Anjuna, certainly not amongst the long-staying hard core of Goa freaks. Unlike what tends to be done in non-representational theory, the non-discursive will not be relegated to a realm beyond politics. This is, then, far from neutral description. The ethnography was from the beginning guided by the theorization of music tourism and spatial politics. I have often drawn Anjuna's racial dynamics *out*, into conversations with locals, the more critical tourists, activists, academic colleagues, friends and some of Anjuna's hippie elders. Though they agree on the racism, they might not use the same vocabulary. I will generalize without apology, but only to show the untold *tendencies* towards racialization lurking in the scene, not to argue for the absence of play and unpredictability that other analysts (for instance, non-representational theorists) might detect. The way I interpret Anjuna's rave tourism is always-already part of a collective and ongoing effort at making sense.

The morning phase

I will use the key moment of Anjuna's rave tourism to say a thing or two about what role music can play in the dynamics of race. This moment is what I call the morning phase of parties, from dawn until when the music stops

(usually between 10 a.m. and 2 p.m.). Parties are held outdoors, on or near the beach, in the forest, on hills and on fields. There is traditionally no entry charge, so parties spill out with tourists, motorbikes, taxis, 'chai mamas' selling tea and snacks on mats, vendors offering water and cigarettes, beggars from out of Goa, even dogs and cows. The dancefloor at night is full of domestic tourists, mostly groups of males; the mat area is full of white tourists smoking chillum (traditional Indian hash pipe). Then, when it starts getting lighter in the east, the social force of the morning phase becomes literally apparent as the Indians leave the dancefloor and the white tourists gradually take over the party. By the time the first rays of sun pierce through the coconut trees, the dancefloor has become almost entirely white.

The savvy freaks arrive just before dawn; Anjuna novices quickly learn that an Indian-free dancefloor is only guaranteed after sunrise. This often makes the night a dull affair. With no lights except UVs, very loud psy-trance, but only a handful of Indian males and lost charter tourists trying to make the best of it, there's something missing. A question newcomers often ask is 'Where is everybody?' Isn't this Goa? Where are the freaks, where's the party? Guidebooks of course don't mention the morning phase. It takes but a few parties to notice that the atmosphere, the togetherness, smiles, psy-trance anthems and cosmic energy that websites talk about (e.g. www.chaishop.com) are in Anjuna only mobilized many hours after the music starts. The Goa freaks, for whom the party is supposedly *meant*, happily let the entire village stay awake through the night for what is effectively just the build-up of the party.

At dawn, the increase in density of white bodies happens almost indiscernibly. While it is still dark, groups of Israelis have appeared at

one edge of the dancefloor. They pass chillums, share acid and Ecstasy tablets, start dancing and laughing, spurring each other on. Other freaks on the mats stand up when there's a build-up in the music's intensity and quickly finish their chais. There is much commotion on the road as the Enfield 350cc motorbikes come thudding in. People greet each other, welcome each other with a chillum—reiterated encounters establishing one's status. As the shapes of the landscape become sharper, the music gets louder, the whole dancefloor becomes visible and quite all of a sudden, the domestic tourists have left. The handful of Indians who remain are used to ingesting chemicals and can feel comfortable around so many white people. In Anjuna, the morning phase is the key moment not only for sociability and hedonistic spirituality; it is also the most racially segregated moment. More than that: the segregation and spirituality are fully entwined.

Music and the emergence of race

How and why does the racial dynamics between white and Indian tourists arise at parties in Anjuna? What are the material conditions for race to become a differentiating factor when the sun starts shining on dancing bodies? I will discuss five components in this sensuous configuration of music and race. Each has its social, neurochemical, practical, economic, cultural and environmental aspects, and each is fully necessary for racial difference to emerge within Goa's rave tourism. Race *emerges*: it is not a given. Thus, what this account accepts from non-representational theory is the insistence on distributed agency and sensuality. Where it goes one step further, however, is addressing a tougher issue: how, given this conception of

non-conscious agency, can social order evidently generate itself?

Drunk Indians

The anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1966) calls 'proxemics' the study of the use of space across and in-between cultures. Indians and Europeans, for example, have differing incorporated ideas of privacy, intimacy and crowdedness. This can lead to conflict. Proxemics of a party in Anjuna quickly shows that there is much tension between the few white girls present and the many male domestic tourists, who are often drunk, given the familial and legal restrictions on alcohol at home. In the Indian patriarchal imagination, fed by Western media, the scantily dressed white girls in Goa are by definition promiscuous. The only way girls can completely avoid groping and brushing is staying away from the dancefloor and the area around the bar. The day after, you hear foreign tourists complaining sharply about 'the Indians'. 'The Indians' (or more precisely, racialized sexism in India) are the main problem foreign girls and their boyfriends mention about Goa.

The hard core of Goa freaks know better, of course: they just do not deal with proxemics. They only come after the Indians leave. When someone says 'The party is shit', 'You can't even move', you should know they mean it is full of domestic tourists. Fortunately for the Goa freaks, the alcohol makes domestic tourists burn out by around 5 a.m. Deejays told me they deliberately play their hardest tracks to tire 'the Indians' out, to prepare the dancefloor for the Goa freaks. Psychedelic trance has since about 1999 become much darker and more repetitive, making it difficult for those unaccustomed to clubbing (i.e. most domestic tourists) to participate. The last few

years, however, upper-class Indians have massively taken to Ecstasy and clubbing and there are more women amongst them. Though the nuisance of bumping and touching is thereby diminished, Goa freaks still only grudgingly accept Indians during morning phase. Indians are simply seen as not legitimately belonging to what was originally, and what is elsewhere, an all-white scene.

Solar mysticism

Psy-trance discourse draws heavily on exoticist clichés to account for the spiritual dimensions of rave (e.g. Tramacchi 2003). It thereby betrays a particularly white not universal appreciation of music, drugs and dance. DJ Goa Gil, a fifty-something Californian legendary in Goa and probably the world's most famous Goa trance deejay, likes to associate the unfolding of a good party with the gradual liberation from what in psychedelic discourse is perceived to keep human beings imprisoned: matter. The early night is earth, middle night is water, the late night (between 4 and 6 a.m.) fire. Dawn is water, and the morning phase is ether. Each stage in the transcendence of body is accompanied by a specific emotion and subgenre of psy-trance (Goa Gil 1995). This is illustrated in an excerpt from my interview with Swiss DJ Andi, another Anjuna old-timer:

Andi: The sunrise was always the the high, the highest point of the party. When the whole night you have danced, everybody was sweating, was dirty, was, was, but everybody happy no, and then in the morning the light come, the sun come, everybody sees, starts to look at each other, and ... *Wow!!* Big smiles, you know...

I: Yeah, big smiles on the faces.

Andi: Yeah, yeah.

I: The first rays of sun, pshew...

Andi: Yeah, yeah.

I: I know what you mean.

Andi: And then then then again the music was eh... eh, lower, no, to prepare the people. And then the sun comes, and *wrrow*, then then the symphonic stuff comes you know, really the the *nectar* of the sound is playing no...

I: Epic.

Andi: Yeah yeah.

I: Epic. Yeah. Epic trance.

Andi: And the people eh flying into the sun...

Treating Goa trance's solar mysticism as 'discourse' alone would neglect the direct physical effect the sun's heat has on the temperature, humidity, sociability and chaos on the dancefloor. This is something non-representational theory can help to elucidate. While feelings of transcendence are real, however, it is necessary to remember that only *some* bodies 'fly into the sun'—the Goa freaks. It is precisely the mystical connection with the heavens that sets them apart. The fact that there is so much talk about it only confirms their separation from the rest.

In *Excesses*, Alphonso Lingis (1983: 70–86) uses Nietzsche, Artaud and Jane Belo's *Trance in Bali* (1960) in arguing for a 'general economy of trance'. Far from being mere madness or destruction, the theatrical and ecstatic self-stabbing in Bali's *rangda* ritual serves to discipline the villagers into their society. The expenditure of energy in this ritual may be gratuitous, but only insofar as the sun, too, ceaselessly squanders its energy and enables the wonderful orderings of

living matter on the planet (such as this precarious society on an Indonesian island). In the anthropology of trance, expenditure of energy is always contextualized within a social formation. Perhaps more than in Bali, trance in Goa ritually distributes solar energy into social relations and configurations of commerce and pleasure. But trance in Goa is as much about social and cosmological inclusion as about inequality and the policing of difference. Quite simply, sunlight makes bodies *visible*. There is no communal feeling of connectedness without seeing who is dancing around you, and how they are dancing, with whom, where—and who *is not* dancing. Far from becoming-ethereal, the morning phase makes bodies matter more than ever: solar mysticism is inconceivable without an economy of vision.

Visual economy

The body's many senses are interrelated in 'inner' time and 'outer' space; music is experienced non-linearly through the guts and the legs, through posture, smell, touch and sight. Musing on Merleau-Ponty, Lingis could well have been writing about fractalizing experiences of Goa trance on LSD:

A tone is not an event localized in a line of time already extended. It extends a specific kind of duration in a space it opens; its attack and its after-effects materialize a pulse of duration in a musical space whose scope and volume show through the visual shape of the concert hall which it interferes with and which does not define it. The sensory flux does not present itself as so many space-time points successively filled and emptied and filled again, but as a sphere in which points pivot, edges extend levels, spaces open paths, colors intensify themselves by playing across a field, tones thicken

and approach and thin out and recede and send their overtones into one another. (1998: 29)

Music comes to 'mean' to a considerable extent because listeners *see* its effects on others around. You sense the sweat on the saxophonist's brow, the deftness of the deejay's fingers, your dance partner's feet. Being amidst bodies all moving to the same beat will strengthen the listening experience of that beat. But you will also see that different bodies relate differently to the music, and thus you will appreciate, at least unconsciously, how the music helps place bodies into social groups.

In Anjuna, the 'tourist gaze' is not at all about gazing upon local culture (Urry 1990), but about tourists glancing at each other. There is a constant collective monitoring into which tourists quickly get drawn, at parties, on the beach, in bars, and on the road. Bodies become *sorted* into a grid of categories: white/brown, male/female, cool/square, known/unknown, etc. Who is that passing a joint to the deejay? Is she Indian—she does look dark, but then she's dressed pretty cool, and I think I saw her on an Enfield yesterday . . . she must be Israeli then. As in all subculture, Anjuna's visual economy can be interpreted as a panoptic prison in which the inmates guard each other.

Under the bright Goan sun, bodies are differentially distributed in space and time according to their physical characteristics. The emergence of racial differentiation during morning phase can be considered the starkest actualization of Anjuna's visual economy. In popular bars, Indians are usually in the dark corners, while the Goa freaks dance conspicuously in front of the deejay. In public places, you never listen to music alone—you are there for everyone to see, and you have to deal with that.

It is not that the distribution happens as if human bodies are balls in a lotto machine. The feelings, prejudices, expectations, ways of

moving and thinking of bodies are crucial to understand why they contribute to the sub-cultural panopticon and how they get distributed. Goa freaks, backpackers, charter tourists, domestic tourists and locals more or less 'know their place' in the visual economy and negotiate that place in practice. This means, of course, that bodies sometimes do not co-operate with the visual economy and escape the grid: a domestic tourist in the limelight, a paranoid Goa freak, a smooth-dancing local boy. These are exceptions; that is, the tendency towards the grid is stronger than the tendencies towards chaos. It remains plain to see who usually 'wins' in the visual economy and thus keeps it in place: the Goa freaks.

Cultural competence and phenotype

Sarah Thornton's useful adoption of Bourdieu for subcultural studies (1995) can help clarify how differences between domestic tourists and Goa freaks are highlighted within Anjuna's music culture, resulting in the former giving up the dancefloor to the latter at dawn. For what the majority of domestic tourists lack is what Thornton calls 'subcultural capital'. To the elite of the subculture, Indians simply 'don't fit' in the psy-trance scene. All-male, moustached, shirt in trousers, clearly new to the music, jumping, shouting, clapping, hugging, bumming cigarettes and getting drunk, these domestic tourists literally embody what Goa freaks attempt to flee from: mainstream modernity. This is Bourdieu: through the differential experience of cultural products (trance music, clothes, tourist services), unequal relationships between bodies are reproduced.

If a group's lifestyle can be read off from the style it adopts in furnishing or clothing, this is not only because these properties are the objectification of the economic and cultural necessity which determined

their selection, but also because the social relations objectified in familiar objects, in their luxury or poverty, their ‘distinction’ or ‘vulgarity’, their ‘beauty’ or ‘ugliness’, impress themselves through bodily experiences. (Bourdieu 1984: 77)

There are many object-signs that exhibit an affective connection to psy-trance culture and therefore contribute to the delineation of white from non-white: tattoos, piercings, hats, jewellery, sunglasses, bandana, the Enfield motorbike. Importantly, it is precisely the borrowing of artefacts from India such as flipflops, silver anklets, garlands, the bindi, the lungi and the *Om*-sign that demonstrate the foreignness of the body doing the borrowing. White feet can dance without shoes; no domestic tourist would go barefoot in public. Only whites associate the ancient spirituality of *Om* with the trippiness of psychedelic trance music. This is orientalism not just as ‘discourse’, but as embodied practice.

An indispensable bodily marker in any beach scene is the tan. Morning phase discloses who has been in Goa longest, and who is therefore the coolest. This coolness is only available to white bodies. Richard Dyer writes:

A tanned person is just that—a white person who has acquired a darker skin. There is no loss of prestige in this. On the contrary, not only does he or she retain the signs of whiteness (suggesting, once again, that skin colour is not really just a matter of the colour of skin), not only does tanning bespeak a wealth and life style largely at white people’s disposition, but it also displays white people’s right to be various, literally to incorporate into themselves features of other people. (1997: 49)

When white men take off their shirts during morning phase, or white women wear a bikini top, it is to maintain their tan, to connect skin to sun, to them a completely legitimate way to be

(un)dressed at a musical event in the tropics. Domestic tourists are not used to doing such things; heat and open space are for them not associated with exposing flesh. And so they seek the shade or their bed, leaving the sunlit dancefloor to the beautiful bodies of the Goa freaks.

In Anjuna’s economy of vision and sub-cultural capital, what biologists call *phenotype*—the physical characteristics and behaviour of an organism—is crucial to a body’s positioning. For the human organism, phenotype is heavily overlaid not only by dress and other bodily adornments and technical artefacts, but by cultural stereotypes and social relations, which are geographically and historically specific. And as the tan shows, phenotype itself is contingent. I expand on a non-reductionist theorization of human phenotype elsewhere (Saldanha forthcoming). What needs to be noted here is that racial stereotypes and social relations heavily depend on phenotypical variation to be reproduced. Seeing white girls again and again in bikinis; seeing Indian men again and again calling to white girls. But appearance is not everything. The differentiation of bodies can happen even on the molecular level.

LSD

Here is DJ Andi again:

Andi: In Goa, trance means trance which is designed to be danced, and to be listened to, while you’re tripping. You know. And and and everybody else has to stand back. Because who is dancing the whole night, who is dancing the longest, is the people tripping.

I: Yeah, tripping. They survive. If you take Ecstasy after some time you’re burnt out, you can’t do it any more.

Andi: Yeah. The coke people they come in the morning, they get their line, they do maybe one

hour jumping around, then they go home fucking, so this is not the real thing no.

I: [laughs] Yeah. That's another trip.

Andi: So the people really giving, putting energy in the party and making it happen, is the acid.

I: Yeah, the real dancers are the acid people.

Andi: Yeah.

Goa trance was from its inception geared to LSD. The spiralling, morphing, squelching, echoing melodies are powerfully enhanced by LSD's weird neurochemistry. Placed on a repetitive beat, these soundscapes keep bodies on acid dancing for many hours without a hint of thirst or tiredness. Even after psychedelic trance became more minimal and eerie, it was the acidheads that could fully appreciate its relentless darkness. In Goa as elsewhere in the world, these tend to be white.

'And everybody else has to stand back': being capable of aligning one's brain and legs to the intrusions of hallucinogenic molecules and very loud psy-trance (let alone enjoying it) is a privilege. This privilege, in addition, performs a spatial division between the competent and the novices. The charter tourists and domestic tourists on Ecstasy, cocaine or alcohol drop out. 'Pure' psy-trance is when there is a crowd uniformly on acid, locked in a fantastic bubble of bodies graciously and crazily commanded by the beat. Psy-trancers will later talk about such a party *ad nauseam*. In short, it is only within a particular material and discursive context that psy-trance becomes authentic.

The musical masterpiece or the user's favourite cocktail 'itself' is not slowly diluted with technical methods, rituals, and discourses 'on' the object ... The verbal and technical virtuosity of the users are

co-produced in the same experience as the pleasure and the 'purity' of the drug. Only to an expert user is there 'pure' heroin, or 'pure' Bach. (Gomart and Hennion 1999: 238)

For the Goa freak, acid is homologous not only to Goa trance, but also to India. Travel, drug-taking and immersing oneself in art, especially music, can be seen as belonging to a structure of feeling or state of mind particular to white romanticism. The yearning for a transcendence of one's embodiment by connecting to the exotic, the sublime and the psychotropic is as obvious in psychedelic trance discourse (www.chaishop.com, but also in my conversations with Goa freaks) as it was in earlier countercultures. Timothy Leary, the main popularizer of LSD in the 1960s, was convinced that for a Westerner India itself could be as conducive to enlightenment as LSD was:

The impact of a visit to India is psychedelic. You are flipped out of your space-time identity. Indian life unfolds before you a million-flowered-person-vine-serpent coil of life ancient, wrinkled, dancing, starving, laughing, sick, swarming, inconceivable, unreasonable, mocking, singing-multi-headed, laughing God-dance. (1981 [1968]: 115)

Goa freaks connect very differently to drugs, music, the landscape, celestial bodies, Indian culture and Indian poverty than domestic tourists or locals do. For freaks, Anjuna is psychedelic paradise, a place for continuous partying and chilling-out. They are clear about why they are there: to transform themselves, at least for some time, into gorgeous party animals and beach bums. They are so serious about this project of self-transformation that people who are not that committed to psy-trance—especially 'drunk Indians', but also charter tourists and

backpackers—are looked down on. However, as parties are traditionally in the open air and free, no body can be barred from entry (though commodification is changing this). To ensure subcultural purity, the morning phase, while always the crux of parties, has recently become a near-exclusive event for the Goa freaks, who are almost all white. A vehement distrust of all Indians, a mystical reverence for the sun, a visual economy differentiating between phenotypes and tastes, subcultural capital and experience in drug-taking are five factors explaining why the dancefloor becomes white at dawn in Anjuna. Music weaves some bodies together, and excludes others. Music is not a representation or a formal system. It is physical, affecting the body directly, akin to taking drugs or getting a tattoo. Music is a force.

Dance, power and non-representational theory

The problem of what music does to bodies has received much attention in the geography of music. Writing against the tradition within geography of privileging the faculty of sight and of static models for understanding space, the geography of music has emphasized the dynamic, visceral and localized aspects of soundscapes—which include the relationship between sound and politics (e.g. Smith 1997). I will now address the possibilities of non-representational theory informing a theorization of the materiality of musical space. I want to suggest that non-representational theory stops short of addressing materiality in its non-dualistic complexity.

From Thrift's writings it can be deduced that 'non-representational theory' is the theorization of how the human body actively expresses the unrepresentable relationalities of social space. It seems a natural candidate for theorizing the

ambient complexities of an event such as psytrance parties in Goa. Indeed Thrift (1997) has himself written on dance as a quintessential moment in which the body is *itself*. Dance is play: intensive, ever-changing, pointless. However, by insisting on the in-itself-ness of embodiment, Thrift refuses to conceive how dance relates to configurations of power.

[T]o state that dance can be used to subvert power or to combat it is to sorely miss the point. Play eludes power, rather than confronts it and for two reasons. First, because, as a world of virtual forms, it cannot be commanded in the way that is true of work, since it is not made up of fixed means-ends relationships. Second, because, as a world of virtual forms, it can be described by words but ultimately it cannot be written or spoken. (1997: 149)

Dance/play 'itself' eludes power because it cannot be commanded. But it is unclear to me why power should only operate through command. Nobody commands me to buy a Big Mac but I still reproduce a multinational's power. What is unclearer still is why power (and labour) should only be a matter of speakability, and why by consequence everything non-representational lies outside power's reach. Ultimately, no 'world of virtual forms' can be written or spoken, whether of music, of learning to swim, or of rape. Unspeakability certainly does not make a corporeal experience exempt from power relations. On the other hand, the description or rationalization of dance (by me, by Thrift) does not amount to its suffocation, but to an opening-up of its virtualities. Henceforth, dance will be different, more than it was before—it will be an object of geographical inquiry.

As George Revill (2004) has also argued, dance and embodiment should then not be opposed to language, labour and power relations as is done in non-representational

theory, but treated as components circulating the same material assemblages of interactions. More than non-representational theory, it is critical dance studies that understands the complexity of this circuit. For example, Susan Manning (2004) traces the racial dynamics of black modernist dance in the USA. As Jane C. Desmond writes:

We can ask who dances, when and where, in what ways, with whom, and to what end? And just as importantly, who does *not* dance, in what ways, under what conditions and why? Why are some dances, some ways of moving the body, considered forbidden for members of certain social classes, 'races', sexes? (1997: 32)

Music is force, intervening in the rhythms of the body without the mediation of signs. Non-representational theory is correct to argue for the directness of sensory experience against language-centred cultural studies, while keeping clear of psychoanalysis and subjectivism. But for a theory prioritizing connection, process and heterogeneity, it is peculiar that an in-itself-ness of embodiment is self-consciously posited. If the body is 'expressive', what does it express if not social relationships? Bodies in Anjuna make unspeakable connections to cosmic forces and become segregated through unspoken prejudices about other bodies' phenotype. They therefore 'express' race. It is imprecise to say that the social allows bodies no escape. Rather, the social both escapes and constitutes itself because it is embodied. Precisely because trance music is mystical, opposed to command and multi-sensory, it leads to the emergence of race, gender and class distinctions amongst the bodies present at a party. These emergences demonstrate the creativity of corporeal matter (especially as it tunes into music). Attending to the real multiplicity of experiences in the world is analysing how power relations can create

themselves from differential embodiments. Non-representational theory assumes it knows what experience is and leaves it at that.

In point of fact, the downplaying of the multiplicity of experience in non-representational theory is reminiscent of 1970s' humanistic geography. Keeping in line with the implicit white male standard of phenomenology, humanistic geographers such as Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) shied away from illuminating the many different ways a place (or artefact, or soundscape) can be experienced. The inability or refusal to account for how experience can consolidate power relations (how mysticism can consolidate race) leaves the richness and creativity of cultural practice unexplored. In the final section, I will try to respect this multiplicity of the musical event and retrieve critical potential from non-representational theory's blunting of Deleuze.

Music as force

What makes a material increasingly rich is the same as what holds heterogeneities together without their ceasing to be heterogeneous. (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 329)

Deleuze and Guattari frequently invoke music in *A Thousand Plateaus* to account for the creative potential of all of life: 'musical form, right down to its ruptures and proliferations, is comparable to a weed, a rhizome' (1987: 12). Indeed Brian Massumi in his foreword suggests reading the book like you would listen to a record, non-linearly, intuitively, in bits and pieces. For this is how music works: it mobilizes bodies, objects, flows, entire landscapes by unhinging potentialities that no one knew were even there. Massumi's later work (2002) provides a suggestive framework for conceiving this techno-cultural affection of the human body, though he does not mention music.

Ronald Bogue (2003) has recently elaborated on the Deleuzian affinities of music and biology, and a collection *Deleuze and Music* has just appeared (Buchanan and Swiboda 2004). It is this emerging Deleuzian musicology (none of which is based on ethnography) that this article seeks to contribute to.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 347–348) contend that music, more than other art forms, succeeds in plugging humans into primordial, proto-human modalities of becoming.

Of course, as Messiaen says, music is not the privilege of human beings: the universe, the cosmos, is made of refrains; the question in music is that of a power of deterritorialization permeating nature, the elements, and deserts as much as human beings. The question is more what is not musical in human beings, and what already musical in nature. (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 309)

What Deleuze and Guattari discuss as ‘the refrain’ (1987: 310–350) evokes this primordial ‘music’, the asymmetrical oscillations and polyrhythms of matter that go into the consolidation of any ‘territory’. The bird’s song is a refrain, its species being and sexual being resounding through a demarcated section of the forest. All human music is an intensification of the refrain, in that it defines spaces and belongings through the repetition of difference: the national anthem, Muzak, samba, Goa trance. Psy-trance music in Anjuna is not a succession of forms. It is a spatial-temporal event. Psy-trance actually *arranged* and *transformed* the physical setting through which it unfolded and penetrated, territorializing bodies, taking them elsewhere, setting up relations of mysticism, misunderstandings and inequality.

So just what is a refrain? *Glass harmonica*: the refrain is a prism, a crystal of space-time. It acts

upon that which surrounds it, sound or light, extracting from it various vibrations, or decompositions, projections, or transformations. The refrain also has a catalytic function: not only to increase the speed of the exchanges and reactions in that which surrounds it, but also to assure indirect interactions between elements devoid of so-called natural affinity, and thereby to form organized masses. (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 348)

Music may be one of the most mobile and massive of refrains. Certainly in Anjuna’s rave tourism it seems to be a force crucial to the social economy, extracting energy not only from alcohol, tattoos and media stereotypes but from the sun itself to do its differentiating work. In the assemblage of pleasure and intercultural intensity that is a psy-trance party in Anjuna, it seems to be the wildest force that keeps the components in place: the music, however programmed, monotonous and heavy it is.

The assemblage holds by its most deterritorialized component, but deterritorialized is not the same as indeterminate (the refrain [of birds] may be narrowly connected to the presence of male hormones). A component of this kind entering an assemblage may be among the most highly determined, even mechanized, of components, but it will bring ‘play’ to what it composes; it fosters the entry of new dimensions of the milieu by releasing processes of discernibility, specialization, contraction, and acceleration that open new possibilities, that open the territorial assemblage onto interassemblages. (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 336)

As an extremely deterritorialized component, music is a privileged way into understanding human assemblages. Sounds become ‘music’ when they stitch together bodies, feelings, money, images, nostalgia and futurism. Ian Buchanan (2000: 175) notes that in terms of musical taste,

'Deleuze is very much like Adorno, utterly modernist'. Deleuze would probably find psychedelic trance infantile. But he would have to admit that if music is about affect and 'rhizomatic' connection, psy-trance is pretty musical. A Deleuzian musicology cannot be modernist insofar as it cannot exempt cultural forms from their social, corporeal and technical implications; indeed the machinic nature of music is exactly what makes it interesting from the perspective of Deleuze and Guattari. Unfortunately, Bogue's otherwise suggestive 'rhizomusicological' commentary (1991) on Olivier Messiaen remains modernist in this respect, not telling us in what ways the social is literally implicated in the becomings of Messiaen's music.

Deleuzian musicology not only incorporates formal criticism in the sociology/geography of music, but also neurochemistry, evolutionary biology, acoustics and engineering. Aden Evens (2002) understands music as the body's active 'contraction' of sound within a whole constellation of technologies, beliefs and creativities.

An E-string bowed on a violin vibrates at once the string, the body of the violin, the other strings, the body of the violinist, the air around the violin, the material of the room, and the bodies of the listeners. (Evens 2002: 171)

The question now remains how this E-string vibrates beyond the room—with state subsidies, social class, pedagogy, artisanship ... Deleuzian musicology should not make the same mistake as non-representational theory does. If it is interested in the heterogeneous effects music has on bodies and things, it evidently has to include reterritorializations and the emergence of social distinctions.

Thinking the affects of bodies through music demands not only a keen sense of music's rich relationship to all of the body's senses, but also

an attention to all the novel physical connections that the presence of music enables between a previously unimaginable range of heterogeneous components (e.g. the connection between music and LSD, dawn, bikes, sexism, internet, beach...). It is precisely these connections that differentiate bodies and make aggregations such as race, gender, poverty and nationality emerge and persist. Music's effects *tend* toward the political. If music is non-representational, neither reflecting nor transcending but shaping social reality, especially through dance, then the geography of music is the study of the interplay of sound, embodiment, space and politics.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Ben Anderson and Fran Mort for inviting me to contribute to this special issue. Thanks to the three anonymous referees and Rob Kitchin for suggestions and criticisms.

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Abstract translations

Transe et visibilité à l’aube: les dynamiques raciales dans le milieu du rave de Goa

La géographie de la musique s’est penchée récemment sur les questions de la représentation et de la matérialité pour rendre compte de la spécificité sensorielle de la musique. Cet article permet d’élargir le champ de connaissances en attirant l’attention sur les travaux fondamentaux qui montrent que l’expérience matérielle de la musique et l’espace contribuent aux différences sociales liées à la race et au sexe. Il jette un regard critique sur ce qui est perçu comme étant une conception restreinte de la représentation dans la théorie non représentative. Des données ethnographiques sur le milieu du tourisme rave à Goa en Inde montrent que l’épisode la plus mystique et hédoniste (nommé la «phase matinal») du rave est celle où les dynamiques raciales sont les plus frappantes. Ce qu’il faut comprendre de la différence raciale est qu’elle se manifeste de manière spontanée et non automatique. Par la suite, l’article propose une musicologie deleuzienne qui conçoit la musique non pas comme une forme, une langue ou une idéologie, mais comme une force. Tenir compte de la richesse de la matérialité musicale comporte l’examen des réseaux de pouvoir et d’inégalité au travers desquels elle doit forcément composer.

Mots-clefs: Mots-clefs: musique, race, tourisme, représentation, théorie non représentative, Deleuze.

Trance y visibilidad al amanecer: la dinámica racial en las fiestas rave de Goa

La geografía de música ha pasado al tema de encarnación y materialidad para explicar la especificidad sensual de la música. Ampliando este trabajo, este papel hace hincapié en el trabajo constitutivo

que la experiencia encarnada de música y espacio hace para diferencias sociales como raza y sexo. Critica lo que se considera como una concepción limitada de encarnación en la teoría no figurativa. Uso pruebas del turismo de rave en Goa, India para sugerir que durante los momentos más místicos y hedonistas de una fiesta rave (lo que se llama la fase de madrugada) la dinámica racial es más marcada.

Es muy importante entender que la diferencia racial es emergente y no automática. El papel sigue por sugerir una musicología Deleuziana en que la música no es ni forma, ni lengua ni ideología sino más bien una fuerza. Para explicar la riqueza de la materialidad musical hay que examinar las redes de poder y desigualdad por las cuales opera.