Contemporary British History

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/fcbh20

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To cite this article: Ben Jones & Geo Walker Churchman (2024) 'It was like a big union': emotional communities, working-class subjectivities and the popular memory of acid house and rave, Contemporary British History, 38:4, 680-699, DOI: 10.1080/13619462.2024.2410551

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2024.2410551

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Published online: 18 Nov 2024.

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CONTEMPORARY BRITISH HISTORY
2024, VOL. 38, NO. 4, 680–699
https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2024.2410551

‘It was like a big union’: emotional communities, working-class subjectivities and the popular memory of acid house and rave

Ben Jones and Geo Walker Churchman

School of History and Interdisciplinary Institute for the Humanities, Faculty of Humanities, University of East Anglia, Norwich

ABSTRACT
This article deals with the competing histories, mythologies and popular memories of the acid house and rave scene in the UK from the late 1980s to the late 1990s. We explore its cultural importance through an analysis of the feelings articulated by commentators across the political spectrum, from the disgust and anxiety expressed by contemporary journalists at the *Daily Mail*, via the popular memory of rave as resolving the issue of terrace violence, through to the more recent publications of former participants, particularly Simon Reynolds, Ed Gillett and Jeremy Deller, which argue that acid house should be best understood as a challenge to the politics of Thatcherism. Throughout, we argue that the post-structuralist modes of feeling dominant in the 1990s were and still are highly influential in the formulation of how acid house was conceptualised, written about and received in the British media. However, turning to the important and moving set of oral histories captured by the Blackburn Acid House Flashback project, we argue that neither a postmodernist framing of subjectivity nor the popular memories that circulate about the scenes can fully do justice to the particularity of these experiences.

KEYWORDS
Affect; deindustrialisation; hooliganism; post-modernism; 1990s

Introduction

This article is concerned with delineating the histories of a specific music scene, rave, from the late 1980s through to the mid-1990s. As recent regional[1] studies of rave and acid house have highlighted, most histories of the movement have tended to repeat a series of simplifying stories about its origins. In the first part of the article, we map the contours of the ‘popular memory’ of rave via some of its foundational myths: from the well-worn story of the ‘Ibiza four’ to Ecstasy’s alleged impact on organised football violence. These myths, which privilege the roles played by a small group of white, metropolitan men have, as Caspar Melville points out in his history of rare groove, acid house and jungle in London, led to a ‘whitewashing’ of rave, which his research challenges.[2] The historiography on rave is fairly limited, the foci narrowed by the repetition of the popular myths for reasons we

CONTACT Ben Jones B.Jones5@uea.ac.uk School of History and Art History, Room 3.31, Arts and Humanities Building, University of East Anglia, Norwich, NR4 7TJ

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explore below. Besides Melville, notable exceptions include Peder Clark's recent work on Ecstasy and women's pleasure in Manchester, which complements earlier work by Maria Pini on rave and female subjectivities.[3] Ben Jones has, in addition, recently demonstrated the centrality of fanzines to acid house's nascent emotional communities.[4] We also explore both the potential and the limitations of Andrew Hill and Henry John's influential interpretations of rave as a collective political response to Thatcherism–an interpretation that that has been expanded and restated by Ed Gillett in his recent book *Party Lines*.[5] We develop an alternative framework for understanding rave by looking at how different theorisations of emotion and affect from the late 1980s to the early 2000s could be brought to bear on both popular and academic narratives about acid house. We argue that the *feeling* of being part of the rave scene was absolutely central to its meaning and suggest that this is clear through our analysis of the language used to describe experiences on the dancefloor, particularly in the wonderful oral histories captured by the Blackburn Acid House Flashback archive.[6]

In this regard, the article is a departure from much previous work which frames the music as a response to Thatcherite politics. Our contention is that this focus on feeling can tell us a great deal not only about rave but also about the broader cultural and intellectual history of affect and emotions in the 1990s and early 2000s. We argue that the legacies of postmodernist thought which had much currency in the nineties privileged ironic distance and cynicism over genuine and spontaneous articulation of emotion, in a way that meant that it was difficult for the positive aspects of acid house culture to find expression outside of the communities in which these parties were taking place. Finally, we attempt to draw these sections together through the concept of 'emotional communities', which we suggest is one way of understanding the feelings, affinities and politics, either explicit, semi-articulated, or implied, that the warehouse party or dancefloor engendered.[7]

Firstly, we want to think about the work that the ascription of certain types of feeling to rave *does* politically, in the belief that this can contribute something to the historiography of the 1990s more generally. It is a well-established claim in contemporary theorisations of emotions and affect that the dominance of certain kinds of emotions points towards, typifies or even creates a particular political situation (often a predicament). Major publications in the field–Sianne Ngai's *Ugly Feelings*, Lauren Berlant's *Cruel Optimism* and Sara Ahmed's *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* — all make these claims in various ways.[8] The narrative of rave as a reformulation of the emotional orientations attributed to working-class masculinities in the wake of deindustrialisation, or resistance to post-Thatcherite anomie, are both quite clear visions of rave that sense radical potential in the feelings associated with it. Equally, the scene's characterisation as a threat to the very fabric of the English countryside and norms of middle-class femininity which dwell there clearly demonstrate its potential to disrupt standards of propriety and property in the middle-England imagined by the journalists and readers of the *Daily Mail*, as we explore in the second section of the article.

For exponents of this form of popular memory, the emotions associated with rave can be understood as what we call, following Ruth Leys, 'cognitivist' theorisations of affect.[9] These tend to privilege the importance of political and cultural narratives in contextualising interpersonal relationships in the 'feeling' of feeling.[10] 'Non-cognitivist' theorists of emotion, by contrast, tend to make a claim for emotion as a pre-linguistic, pre-subjective spontaneous grasping of a situation which goes beyond (or perhaps before) a rational

feeling which adheres to the contours of what is appropriate for the situation. What is intriguing about the popular memory of the emotions of rave in this period is that they imply an account of feeling that is cognitivist — which we here take to mean narrativized, historicised and social — *and simultaneously non-cognitivist*, pre-linguistic and pre-rational as well. We argue here that the distinction between cognitivist and non-cognitivist approaches offers a helpful point of departure to enrich our understanding of the feeling of rave and opens out onto a broader vista some of the rich and complex ways of framing emotion that were being developed in the 1990s.

Affect, community and poststructuralism: emotions and the 'death of the subject'

Simon Reynolds's work is a good example of both cognitivist and non-cognitivist approaches to understanding acid house. With the characteristic passion of the late-convert, the influential music journalist argues: 'It's no coincidence that Ecstasy escalated into a pop cultural phenomenon at the end of the go-for-it, go-it-alone eighties (the real Me Decade). For Ecstasy is the remedy for the alienation caused by an atomized society'.[11] In the introduction to his important history *Energy Flash*, he argues 'When large numbers of people took Ecstasy together, the drug catalysed a strange and wonderous atmosphere of *collective intimacy*, an electric sense of connection between complete strangers'.[12] Again, here: 'part of what makes rave so rewarding and addictive are the "superficial" but touching rituals of sharing water, shaking hands, having someone a tad worse for wear lean on you as if you were bosom buddies'.[13] He also quotes Richard Smith, writing about his memories of one of London's most hedonistic gay clubs, *Trade*, who 'came up with the brilliant phrase "a … communism of the emotions".'[14] This kind of thinking strongly demonstrates both a commitment to the radical potential of feeling and also to the ways that feelings need to be understood in the collective emotional community of rave. The feeling is fundamental.[15]

However, while Reynolds clearly foregrounds the political possibilities of the feelings of rave ('the communism of the emotions'), he is also drawn towards a characterisation of acid house as generating affect which is anti-subjective, pre-linguistic, and fundamentally not articulatable in language. There are numerous examples of this kind of thinking in *Energy Flash*. Reynolds is plainly influenced by Deleuze and Guattari quoting Achim Szepanski's assertion that the 'sped-up squeaky voice' tracks of the UK rave scene in 1992 sounded like 'a serious attempt to deconstruct pop-music. One dimension to this was using sampled voices like instruments or noise, destroying the pop ideology that says that the voice is the expression of the human subject'.[16] The pressure that the subject (that 'autonomous bourgeois monad') is under is clear in numerous places in Reynolds's work. We like this example, which describes the rush of ecstasy as: 'a particular physical sensation that's hard to describe: an oozy yearn, a bliss-ache, a trembly effervescence that makes you feel like you've got champagne for blood. All music sounds better on E'.[17] Notice the extent to which Reynolds describes this 'difficult to describe' sensation. Although it is a 'particular physical sensation' that is difficult to describe, *it is described*, and described not in physical but in emotional terms: both 'yearning' and 'bliss' are not usually thought of as physical, but as emotional feelings.

This aspect of Reynolds' work draws on a major current in the 1990s discourse on emotions. These formulations, strongly associated with post-structuralist theory popularised in the 1980s and 1990s, tend to see emotion as a pre-linguistic, pre-subjective 'intensity' that cannot simply be attributed to a given subject's assessment of a given situation.[18] Notable among theorists of this stripe are Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari and Frederic Jameson.

The refrain that rave and the 'death of the subject' are intimately connected reappears throughout Reynolds's work, and this, we want to argue, has implications for popular understandings of how emotions work. If the subject dies so does emotion. Rei Terada's study of emotions in post-structuralist thought confirms this intuition: 'Concepts such as anxiety and alienation (and the experiences to which they correspond, as in Edward Munch's *The Scream*) are no longer appropriate in the world of the postmodern'.[19] In Reynold's hands, this desubjectivising, non-cognitivist account of emotion contributes to his sense of the pure exhilarating intensity of acid house.

However, in other hands, this sense that rave allowed its participants to experience themselves as somehow desubjectivised was seen as indicative either of the nullity of the genre or of the profound threat it represented to standard codes and norms of behaviour. We now turn to two less sympathetic contemporary commentators to briefly examine how house music and ecstasy were represented by journalists in both the broadsheet and the popular press. Our first case study, David Toop, conjoins the post-structuralist framings of the emotions associated with acid house with a sense that the scene's participants have been in some sense been duped by the scandal associated with rave as imagined in the tabloid press. He adopts a similarly post-structuralist framing of the emotions associated with the scene to Simon Reynolds, yet here the sense is that the desubjectivised emotions of the dance scene are firmly placed within the experience of the punters rather than the writer himself. In contrast to the ravers themselves, Toop adopts a stance of world-weary superiority tinged with a distinct scepticism as to the meaningfulness of the participants' engagement with the music. The article begins:

> Every season has its craze. Rick is a Croydon soul boy, still faithful to the once fashionable uniform of white T-shirt and distressed jeans with a two-inch rip up the ankle seam. Acid House is not his music but as a freelance club organizer he knows that this is the acid summer of love and is shrewd enough, perhaps reckless enough, to bring it to north London on a Wednesday night. 'It'll last until September', he says with authority. Tottenham's Websters club, host to Rick's Buzz: Aceeed House Syndrome, lies just behind the police station. There are a few punters on the dance-floor who know the form – hands in the air and moving in a convulsive robotic version of Idiot Dancing – but they are outnumbered by the shy and bewildered, some of whom have doubtless heard sensationalist reports of drug-crazed, love-suffused trance dancers and are waiting for the action to happen.[20]

What follows is a well-informed account of the fusion of US house music (emerging from Frankie Knuckles' Chicago club, The Warehouse) and repurposed 1960s psychedelia:

> It was a record by Phuture called 'Acid Tracks' that first suggested, perhaps erroneously, the connection between the weird hypnosis of instrumental House and a revival of interest in the drug of the Sixties, LSD. By early summer, the Acid House trend was gathering strength. Although House music has long been popular in the Midlands and North of England, it has been resisted in London until recently. Now, London has once again taken possession of

> a music and manufactured a trend. [. . .] In June, a DJ named Nicky Holloway started a club called Trip, at the Astoria, in London's Charing Cross Road. [. . .] Holloway's club followed the example of Paul Oakenfold's Spectrum and Danny and Jenni Rampling's Shoom Club. All of them had spent time in Ibiza and found that exposure to a more European style of DJing, with its eclectic disregard for rules, had led them to relax their streak of British purism and play records simply because they liked them. They christened this rather banal discovery of 'having a good time' Balearic Beats. As a music, Balearic Beats doesn't exist. It is simply a type of record with a certain feeling.[21]

Toop's tone vacillates throughout the piece. Unlike journalism produced by the *Daily Mail* (analysed below), the article at times demonstrates a genuine attempt to understand the music's origins and dissemination. He identifies crucial components in the popular memory of acid house which emerged from below: from the 'Soul Boy' promoters and its early provincial popularity to the centrality of the Ibiza connection in the subsequent development of the house scene in the capital. Ecstasy was, as Toop acknowledges, an important part of the acid house experience, and the 'certain feelings' engendered on the dancefloor. His attempt to convey what the effects of this combination of drugs and music were contained a mixture of reading and keen observation: 'In the recently published book *Storming Heaven: LSD And the American Dream*, Jay Stevens concludes: "Ecstasy didn't create insights so much as remove barriers and eliminate the native fear of appearing emotionally clumsy and foolish". At Websters there are a few individuals who don't mind looking emotionally foolish but their stimulus seems to come from the excitement of the records. One tall, gaunt boy looks in the grip of possession, however, while his friend impassively gazes out over the other dancers. Eventually they storm out'.[22]

However, this well-informed curiosity stands in contrast to a cynical, seen-it-all-before posture which owes much to the strong sense within postmodern thought that it is at this point impossible to create a genuinely new and aesthetically authentic form. The ironic observation that the punters at Websters' 'don't mind looking emotionally clumsy and foolish', the mordant division of the party goers into the jaded hacks who 'know the form' expected at these kinds of parties, and the inauthentic newcomers who are only present because their expectations of the event have been mediated by an engagement with the kind of sensationalist media noted above, and the strong claim that the label 'Balearic Beats' is both a 'banal' recognition of having a good time and the assertion that it does not cohere as a specific type of music, all gesture towards the 'exhausted' modes of postmodernist commentary. The emotions of the people observed by Toop are robotic, possessed, clumsy, foolish, and even bewildered, but never compelling serious attention, worthy of genuine note.

Ultimately, Toop can only conclude on a note of wry bemusement. While Toop's tone distinguishes him from the narratives of the moral panics propounded by the *Daily Mail*, his reference points for thinking about both aesthetics and emotions belong to a kind of popular postmodernism concerned with pastiche and repetition. For him, Ecstasy and acid house seemed to have evoked a range of feelings in those he observed, who appeared, variously: foolish, excited, possessed, impassive, perhaps even angry, but never serious, authentic or engaged.

Moral panics in 'Middle England': the Daily Mail and acid house

In the paragraphs that follow, we map the representation of acid house as moral panic through its appearance in that avatar of middle-England's illiberalism: the *Daily Mail*. While for observers like Toop the Balearic scene elicited from participants a sense of desubjectivised, inauthentic emotional response characterised by robotic gestures and 'idiot' attitudes, and from observers a sense of wry and ironised amusement, the *Mail's* emotional orientation towards rave was from the beginning intensely invested and intensely negative. Characterised by deeply felt anxieties about the dangers of drug consumption and disruption to the English countryside, in a number of respects acid house fits comfortably into the moral panic framework established by Stan Cohen in his classic account, one which has been liberally applied to youth subcultures, from the Teds of the 1950s, to the football hooligans of the 1970s and 1980s. For Cohen:

> Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnosis and solutions [. . .] the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible.[23]

Readers of the *Mail* were first alerted to the menace of acid house in early November 1988 via a report on police clampdowns on acid house parties in the South East: 'At Sevenoaks, Kent, police called in reinforcements when they found up to 250 people partying in a derelict house. Sixty officers fought to control the crowds. One officer needed ten stitches in a head wound and others had medical treatment.'[24] The following week under the banner headline: 'Yard Chiefs Will Battle Drugs Craze', David Gardner upped the ante: 'Two youngsters, both Acid House fans, have died in recent weeks after taking tablets of Ecstasy and LSD, and it is clear that what started out as a music-orientated fashion has been transformed into a lucrative drugs racket by pushers'.

There were five similar reports in December 1988, but 1989 was the year that the *Mail* devoted significant copy to the developing rave scene, with 50 articles published over the course of the year; by the early 1990s a discernible pattern had developed in the *Daily Mail's* reporting of the threat posed by rave to middle-England's political imaginary.[25] In the first instance, the drug-fuelled parties of 'New Age Travellers' threatened peaceful villages. Simon Sebag Montefiore 'joined the Hippie convoy' to Newton, Powys: 'Once it was a verdant hillside. Now an army of 20th Century no-hopers has turned it into a mire of Nihilism—Mud, Drugs and a vision of Hell'.[26] Detective Chief Inspector Alan Burrell advised readers on 'How to Stop this Happening in Your Village', while Linda Lee Potter conveyed the warnings of a concerned mother: '"Drug addicts aren't just in the deprived inner cities", [. . .] "They're in leafy suburbs, picturesque villages, here in your street, in your road".'[27]

The second major trope in the *Mail's* reporting (probably the dominant one) was the threat posed by Ecstasy to middle-class femininity. In the 'Femail' section of the paper, producer Howard Huntridge described his daughter's descent:

> Many of Suzanne's friends were ardent nightclubbers, and she had slowly found herself sucked into the drugs culture, knowing which pubs or clubs to hang around, how much the drugs cost, and who was dealing them. I listened in horror as my daughter described an underworld existence I had never suspected. I couldn't believe this was happening in Doncaster. It sounded more like New York than a provincial English town.[28]

Unsurprisingly, the *Daily Mail* was vocal in its support for law-and-order solutions such as the police's Pay Party Unit (established in September 1989) and 1994's Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, which criminalised unlicensed parties where the music played was 'wholly or predominantly characterised by the transmission of a succession of repetitive beats'.[29] By this date, however, the 'moral panic' around raving had receded, as changes in British licencing laws saw rave culture commercially incorporated and (legally) monetised. As Chas Critcher noted: 'It is no accident that arcane restrictions on night-club licensing hours were lifted at just the time that the perceived problem of raves was at its highest. Starting in London, night-clubs were given licences until the early hours [...] This double strategy–"-cracking down on illegal raves while allowing night-clubs to stay open longer" – was successful'.[30] More recent publications on acid house, such as Ed Gillett's informative 2023 history *Party Lines: Dance Music and the Making of Modern Britain*, concur.[31] By the mid-1990s then, rave culture seemed to have been more or less successfully incorporated into the commercial mainstream, with clubs such as London's Ministry of Sound and Liverpool's Cream well on their way to becoming multi-million-pound profit-making ventures. The final spikes in tabloid sensationalism accompanied the death of teenager Leah Betts and the revelations of abuse by the 'rave vicar' Christopher Brain at the Nine O'clock Service in Sheffield, both in 1995.[32] By the very end of the 1990s and into the 2000s, a series of valedictory publications began to formulate a new mode of understanding what had happened in the moment of acid house. Like their predecessors, these writers drew on the available discursive formations of emotion, memory and community to formulate the dominant 'popular memory' of the scene.

Constructing rave's dominant myth: 'the Ibiza Four', 1987–1999

In the years either side of the tenth anniversary of 1988's 'Second Summer of Love', a trio of influential books by Simon Reynolds, former *i-D* editor Matthew Collin and ex-editor of *The Face* Sheryl Garratt established the broad contours of the popular memory of acid house and rave.[33] These histories depended partly upon the authors' lived experience, partly on early published accounts of the kind found in the tabloid and broadsheet press, and partly on coverage in the lifestyle and music magazines for which they all worked. More particularly, there was a heavy reliance on the reminiscences of key actors who had been instrumental in establishing the scene. Collin, Garratt and Reynolds pay homage to the central role of African-Americans and queer people of colour in the invention of acid house/rave's major musical antecedents and tributaries: Detroit techno, New York garage and Chicago house. Yet all three also perpetuate the dominant myth of a scene and subculture 'invented' by four straight, white London lads: the 'Ibiza Four'. Following Angus Calder, we take 'myth' to mean a partly true story which elides the messy complexity surrounding

a particular event.[34] The 'Ibiza Four' is acid house's origin myth. It features in all the major journalistic accounts cited above and is reproduced in the more recent oral histories, arguably reaching its apogee in Alon Shulman's recent 30th anniversary account of *The Second Summer of Love*:

> In 1987, four friends from London, Paul Oakenfold, Danny Rampling, Nicky Holloway and Johnny Walker, took a week-long holiday to Ibiza. What they experienced there – and recreated back home – would give rise to a new global music and counterculture movement … Ecstasy and what would become known as acid house had arrived and given an entire generation a voice, while the powers that be struggled to smash the scene. The ongoing battle between the youth and the establishment had begun.[35]

Like all such origin stories, the 'Ibiza Four' narrative mythologises and simplifies a rather more complex reality. Yet it can also tell us something about the racial and sexual dynamics of British society both at the time and in its multiple retellings since. It is difficult to disagree with Caspar Melville's conclusion that the Ibiza Four myth has contributed to a whitewashing of rave.[36] His book identifies alternative roots for acid house in the warehouse parties, shubeens, sound-systems and pirate radio stations of Black London, but even a cursory consideration of the myth itself reveals some uncomfortable racial dynamics. Oakenfold had been invited to Ibiza by his friends Trevor Fung and Ian St Paul, friends from Carshalton, who were running The Project bar in San Antonio. Neither Fung nor St Paul were white. Fung had previously collaborated with Oakenfold in their aborted attempt to bring the Balearic sound to London in 1985, and St Paul worked with Oakenfold in setting up a hugely successful Balearic night at Streatham's Project Club on their return to England in the autumn of 1987.[37] St Paul set up 'Spectrum' in 1988, which was, alongside Shoom, arguably the first 'acid house' night in the capital. Simply expanding the Ibiza Four to encompass the other two key players makes the origin story less erroneously and homogenously white. The inclusion of the originator of the Balearic sound, Amnesia's Argentine DJ Alfredo Fiorito would make it less British. Why not a multiethnic 'Ibiza Seven'?

The myth's metropolitan bias also obscures pioneering provincial developments. Some scenes in the north and midlands developed independently, and indeed earlier than the more famous efforts of Oakenfold, Holloway and the Ramplings in London. Artist Jeremy Deller goes out of his way to point to the racist exclusions which led to house incubating in the sound-system culture of Moss Side's Black communities. This began to be reflected in the music policies of clubs such as The Garage in Nottingham and Nude in Manchester as DJ Justin Robertson recalled: 'In Manchester house music was *the* black music, not swingbeat or R&B […] From about 1986 the real sound of the underbelly of Manchester was house music'.[38] Here is a good example of how popular memory functions to produce dominant narratives.[39] Such prominent myths are sustained by power relations which privilege white, metropolitan, straight, masculine subjects. They do not, however, go uncontested and their very dominance, can, moreover tell us a great deal about contemporary inequalities, and about perceptions of social change, as we explore further below.

The messy contours of an emotional community: rave in Blackburn, 1988–1991

In an attempt to show how the specificity of lived experiences complicates both the popular memory of rave and the moral panics engendered by hostile press coverage at the time, we now turn to the incredibly moving archive of oral histories of the rave scene in Blackburn, gathered by Joe Fossard, Jamie Holman and Alex Zawadzki for the British Textile Biennial in 2019. This fantastically rich collection consists of interviews with 39 ravers aged 13 to 32 at the time they participated, and also includes the memories of a police officer involved in operations to manage the parties, a civilian photographer working for Lancashire police, and a woman who lived locally to one of the major venues, Munroe's, but did not consider herself to be part of the scene as such.

Twenty-one miles north-north-west from the original 'Cottonopolis' Manchester, Blackburn had been one of Lancashire's most important cotton towns in the Nineteenth Century. In 1920, on the eve of a major slump in British textile manufacturing, the town employed 39,000 weavers–more than anywhere else in the world.[40] The industry never fully recovered from the inter-war crisis and cotton exporting districts such as Blackburn were particularly hard-hit as production shifted to India. Despite a brief 1940s revival in textile production, the arrival of immigrants from the Indian sub-continent to work in the mills and legislation designed to protect the industry, by the early 1950s Lancashire's cotton manufacture was in terminal decline.[41] Between 1966 and 1994 the north-west region as a whole lost 517,000 manufacturing jobs: at −62.2% it was in percentage terms the largest manufacturing decline of any region in the UK.[42] Deindustrialisation led to the abandonment of a huge number of industrial buildings: this, along with Blackburn's location within easy reach of the conurbations of Manchester and Liverpool and smaller centres like Bolton, Rochdale, Blackpool and Preston meant that it was in these unpromising economic circumstances that one of the country's largest and most innovative rave scenes was incubated.

We investigate the Blackburn archive in detail to complicate the narrative propounded by the artist Jeremy Deller, whose work *Everybody In The Place* suggests that the defeat of the miners in 1984/5 and the coming of rave signalled the end of industrial Britain.[43] While Deller insists on the centrality of the miner's strike to the history of the 1980s and 1990s, he seems unsure about the precise nature of the connection with rave. Indeed, in response to one of the students questioning the link between the strike and the rise of house music (the film was coproduced with a class of secondary school students), Deller was ambiguous: 'As a human being you cannot not be affected by what happens around you. So, if for a whole year you're watching that kind of thing on TV and it's upsetting you it will change you. But it's just an idea I have about it. That it affected, that the miner's strike *in*fected the rest of the '80s'.[44] He goes on to explain:

> In post-industrial Britain you have all these spaces that are ready for something else. In Blackburn there were parties that were very different. They weren't expensive to get into and they were using factories and places where people had worked until very recently. In the industrial revolution you'd have been in a building very noisy with machinery, very hot and quite dangerous. Then within a generation people are paying to go into these buildings to socialise and to be deafened by choice. So, you're basically dancing in places where your ancestors maybe worked [. . .] In 1984 someone's dad would have been stopped going to picket somewhere but in 1988 the destination was pleasure, not the picket line.[45]

As Deller acknowledges, the violent policing and draconian legislation to prevent free parties, and especially the movement against the 'New Age Traveller' convoys and sound-systems had obvious parallels with the state's repression of organised labour.[46] The 'Political' meanings of dancing, off-your-face in a disused mill or warehouse were less clear. Deller concludes by drawing connections between the feelings engendered around music in the predominantly black, gay Chicago house scene of the 1980s and Stoke-on-Trent's rave scene of the early 1990s: 'This footage of these young people almost breaks my heart. There's something very heroic about living in the moment like this [. . .] In going out and being at one with all the people around you and sort of living it [. . .] Its about feeling part of something and that's what those clubs do for people'.[47] In the final section of this article we investigate what these feelings meant for participants in Blackburn's rave scene, mentioned by Deller above.

'It's changed me, my whole perception of life': remembering Blackburn's rave scene

Many of the interviews bear out some of the popular memories of acid house delineated above, especially in terms of the overwhelming sense of the 'togetherness' of the scene mentioned by Simon Reynolds and Jeremy Deller, and the stark contrast it offered to the pervasive violence associated with football hooliganism. The archive also demonstrates the ways in which media narratives about rave were limited, both by a preoccupation with the threat that acid house supposedly posed to young women's safety and decorum, and by a postmodernist sensibility which framed the people who engaged with the scene as decentred non-subjects whose spurious sense of agency was a mirage created by a 'manufactured trend'.[48] For the ravers in Blackburn, however, this sense of agency was not remotely spurious: while many framed the moment in reference to the 1960s counterculture, the organisation of these parties was understood as a major political achievement which was part of a claiming of agency and autonomy that contrasted with the commodification and violence of what was on offer on the high street in Blackburn and the surrounding area.

The memories recounted by the contributors to the Blackburn Acid House Flashback archive are overwhelmingly positive: a striking number of the contributors speak in terms of this being the most important thing that ever happened in their lives. Reynolds's and Deller's narratives of togetherness and oneness certainly have a great deal of truth to them: the vocabulary used by these speakers emphasises, again and again, how profound, in fact almost spiritual, an experience the raves were for them. Take, for example, this memory from one convoy leader and organiser, Jane. Jane was centrally involved in the organisation of the parties and is here speaking about the first moment when the music begins:

> The lights would go out in the party and you'd wait about 30 seconds it'd be complete silence you'd have 10,000 people in the party and then you just see one light where the Technics decks were on . . . you know, it was where the needle was going on the record and then just as the needle started crackling on the record you just feel this wave like of people cheering. It's like this wave that just went right through you. It was the most amazing feeling . . . and that for me, that moment, them few seconds was just probably the best part of the whole, you know, thing for me . . . just where it was ready to take off. And a feeling of relief as well.[49]

You can hear this togetherness in the way Jane talks about 10,000 people focused solely on the 'one light' on the decks and the instantaneous wave of cheers as the needle connects with the record. The sense that this moment is one of take-off is also interesting, implying both a sense of the potential for a launch into flight, and simultaneously that the movement itself would take off, become significant.

This sense of the profundity of their experiences is widespread in the interviews. Take Steven and Sigi's contribution, where one speaker says: 'But yeah, it's changed me . . . my whole perception on life',[50] while for another partygoer, Damo, 'This whole new scene was just incredible to me I couldn't even believe it was happening it didn't seem real'.[51] Kreft, an organiser and DJ (called Tony in the interview title) says that his first experience of acid house, 'Was just a new horizon of just I want this. This is me . . . it was me . . . it was . . . you could have put me name on it'.[52] A significant part of this profundity is framed by the fact that the partygoers did not simply see themselves as out for a good time but felt that they were part of a significant social movement. In Mark and John's interview, for example, Mark observes that: 'I felt part of something, a social movement'.[53] Damo's interview also highlights this sense that the politics of the movement were a significant part of it: 'You very quickly felt like you were part of something that was that was happening. But you weren't only part of something: it was *yours* it was a very strange thing to be involved in'.[54] The strong sense of ownership over the parties and kinship with other party-goers and organisers sit alongside a feeling that this ownership was not articulated through commodification or commercialism, but rather agency over the scene itself and belonging within it — and it is perhaps this tension between different types or kinds of belonging that Damo flags in his sense that it was a 'very strange' thing to involved in.

The sense that the interviewees were part of a movement was frequently framed in reference to the counterculture of the Sixties. For example, Cono says: 'It was just like probably being close to going to Woodstock every weekend as you could get, you know, I loved it and I'll never, I'll never regret it. Never never one minute. I've lost some brain cells for it, but still the best time of life and then — that's it.[55] John and Mark concurred, with Mark noting that 'I threw myself into it. Absolutely totally, hook, line and sinker . . . For me, it felt like, you know, it was our Sixties. It was our Summer of Love'.[56] However, while some media commentators such as David Toop may have interpreted this in terms informed by a postmodernism alive to the redolences of pastiche and retro and, relatedly, a depoliticised anomie, it is obvious that the Blackburn ravers didn't see the parties in this way. The Sixties are a cultural reference point, but there is little to suggest nostalgia for a lost era; rather, these comments are assertive in the speakers' sense of ownership over the movement and the fact the parties belonged to them and to their own moment: firmly situated in the working-class town of Blackburn in the north west of England in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

This positivity is striated with a number of practical concerns. It is noticeable how many of the scene's organisers spend much of their interviews mulling over the technical challenges of putting on a party. There is a consistent emphasis on, and real pride taken in, the skill and ingenuity with which they built audio equipment and lighting for the venues (sometimes to cater to events of up to 10,000 people), found power sources, and evaded police interference. Some of these contributors suggest that the scene gave them career opportunities that they never would have dreamed would have become

available to them, speaking with pride about the entrepreneurship that the parties engendered, with many participants and organisers going on to run their own businesses selling records, DJing and promoting events. This demonstrates any simplistic division between the entrepreneurship promoted by the Thatcher governments, on the one hand, and that which evolved on the rave scene on the other, needs to be complicated.[57] Matthew Collin uses the term ‘working class bohemians’ to describe such entrepreneurs, which arguably captures something of the creative non-conformity of the scene.[58] While David Wilkinson’s important excavation of the ‘proletarian counterculture’ of the 1960s and 1970s opens up a potentially rich line of inquiry into the under-researched classed dynamics of the early Nineties rave scene and New Labour’s obsession with the ‘creative industries’ in the latter part of the decade. Equally, while it might broadly be possible to interpret the memories contributed by participants in Blackburn to a narrative centring deindustrialisation and Thatcherism, in the way that Jeremy Deller does throughout *Everybody In the Place*, it is important to remember that many of the contributors to Acid House Flashback were barely out of school or college in 1988, and so would not have had direct experience of, for example, the struggles of the miners’ strike three to four years previously (although they would no doubt have been affected by it through news media and perhaps personal connections).

Listening to the archival recordings, it is hard not to get the sense that despite Deller’s interpretation, the miner’s strike may have been of relatively peripheral concern to the ravers. Thatcherism is mentioned by a number of participants but largely framed as an emotional orientation towards others rather than in terms of the specifics of the miner’s strike. More broadly however we sense that Deller is correct in his feeling that the feelings engendered by the strike and its policing had an important, if amorphous afterlife. While some participants in the project do mention Thatcherite politics, they are made in terms of a sensibility of selfishness and individualism, such as in Daryll’s point that ‘We were in Thatcher’s Britain. Thatcher didn’t give a shit about anybody. Same as Johnson don’t give a shit about anybody now. It’s all about take take take’.[59] For Daryll, this contrasted strongly with the parties, where one of the best memories was ‘The camaraderie. The fact that people all . . . it didn’t matter where you come from. Everybody had each other’s back. If you went to a party and it went off it was us and them’.[60] Even though Daryll frames this camaraderie specifically with reference to resisting police interventions, the connection he forms is between his own experiences of state injustice of being a young working-class man arrested for ‘something you haven’t done’, rather than between police violence and the miner’s strike. Another participant, Jay, does draw this connection explicitly, but nonetheless the overwhelming sense throughout these interviews is that acid house constituted a rejection of Thatcherite feeling (or rather, lack of it) rather than a response to the specificities of the miner’s strike in particular.[61]

This observation leads to an important point about the well-established narrative that acid house offered a kind of emotional community which stood itself in opposition to the ‘greed is good’ mantra dominant in the 1980s, a point which Reynolds returns to repeatedly in *Energy Flash*. While there is no doubt some truth to this conceptualisation, engaging with the Blackburn archive reveals this notion to be focused on the metropolitan experience of acid house in London, reflecting a subject position close enough to have direct experience of, if not actually be participating in, the centres of power in which Thatcherite accumulation was first articulated and then gleefully enacted. This London-

centric narrative implies a certain level of choice, as if the scene offered an opportunity to turn away from the seductions of Thatcherism and the way of living with which its participants had previously engaged. This, however, is clearly not what was happening in Blackburn, which was a world away from these kinds of opportunities. While some of the ravers do describe the scene in terms of a resistance to cultural norms and as an antidote to 'all that angst of you know, the miner's strike and football violence and all that stuff in 80s that weren't great', there are only rare instances where this is explicitly articulated in terms of Thatcherism and not in a personal narrative in which the speaker turns away from this mode of thinking about selfhood towards the more communitarian ethic implied by the party scene.[62]

Working-class masculinity, territoriality and subjectivity

A dominant narrative which is lent somewhat more credence in the Acid House Flashback archive is that the party scene dissolved the problem of football violence. In keeping with the focus of rave's impact on masculine subjectivity, one of the most enduring myths was that Ecstasy engendered the end of football hooliganism. Simon Reynolds and DJ Mark Moore reproduce this part of the story succinctly:

> One of the most striking changes was the way that the territorial rivalry between different areas of London – largely expressed through supporting different football teams – was dissipated. Almost over night the Stanley-knife wielding trouble-maker had metamorphosized into the 'love thug', or as Brit-rapper Gary Clail later put it 'the emotional hooligan'. 'You were getting a lot of the football firms down at Spectrum and The Trip' says Moore. 'The bouncers were quite close to the street and they kept saying 'Its gonna kick off in here', 'cos of there being rival firms in the same club. But they were all on E so they were just hugging each other, they couldn't be bothered to fight'.[63]

Such chemically-induced truces could be fleeting, certainly for the hard-core, as any number of the slew of recent hooligan memoirs testify. Nevertheless, ecstasy did have an impact on lessening organised football violence, even as it opened up further opportunities for organised criminality, as Mark Chester, member of Stoke's 'Naughty Forty' testified: '[the rave scene] ... frustrated me: I was one of those who bemoaned the fact that it took lads away from the match and the rivalries we enjoyed. There seemed to be a definite dip in terrace activity but it never went away completely'.[64] A number of other hooligan autobiographies attest to the prolonged pause in terrace violence between 1988 and 1992.[65] Moreover, the persistence of the 'end of hooliganism' myth can, we think, tell us *something important* about the impact of rave on violence and territoriality in working-class districts.

However, even here the story is more complicated than the popular memory implies. Many of the participants comment on how spectacularly acid house affected the issues of territoriality in Blackburn, with a number commenting on the absolute centrality of violence as an everyday part of life, especially in social worlds centred on going out (this is not always framed in terms of football violence, although it often is). One participant, Gary, describes this:

> I remember when I went to art college in Blackburn. I'd have been seventeen years old in 1987. I used to go to walk to college with a bat in my bag because it was dangerous to... it

> was like running the gauntlet walking through Blackburn for a Darwen kid at that age. It was volatile and it was rough and it was ruthless. And so you had to watch your back . . . and then when Acid House came along that night at C'est La Vie's. . . It literally changed overnight. It just. . . it just stopped years' worth of gang violence between different areas.[66]

Another contributor, Daryll, from Blackburn, describes going to visit a woman he was seeing in Darwen:

> It was very singular you kept to your own. You were from that neck o' the woods, you might branch out a little bit because you might see a girl from out your territory . . . But that's, that's how we were. I can remember sneaking into estates n'that, and I'm thinking I'm gunna get leathered going home here, you know, pulling your trolley up like that, wandering downstairs and going . . . I'm gunna get a pasting. She were worth it. You didn't mind. But then when you look back you think . . . what do you mean, you didn't mind? You were getting a kickin . . . because you fancied somebody, and it's stupid.[67]

Both of these contributors saw an absolute difference between the before and after of the rave scene, which is largely borne out by other interviewees. Interestingly, though, neither of these speakers here frame this in terms specifically of football violence, but as an aspect of the territoriality of life in Blackburn, and in particular, the rivalries between Blackburn and adjacent Darwen.

There is also another complicating factor in the narrative that acid house resolved the issue of football violence, which is that while the violence of terrace culture was abhorred by the contributors to the project, some took pride in the subversive style of the casuals. As Gary (of baseball bat fame) put it:

> It was interesting the cultural differences between acid house in London and acid house in Blackburn. The whole casual scally thing was always subversive . . . you know . . . it was kind of these things that we were wearing were objects of aspiration, but it was almost like they weren't meant for us . . . . We're not supposed to wear this but we're taking it anyway.[68]

While Gary sees casual culture as subversive, it is not possible to read this solely either in terms of resistance to or an articulation of Thatcherite aspirational culture. Ownership of designer clothing, of things that 'we're not supposed to wear' may be oppositional in subcultural terms, but could the same be said of the violence articulated by Gary elsewhere in his interview?

The final point we would like to make about the archived memories concerns the thorny notion of how the very substance of subjectivity is conceptualised. As discussed, postmodern thought sustained a strong interest in the notion of subjectivity, or more accurately, its demise, much of which was associated with the work of thinkers such as Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault. Although disparate in a vast number of ways, a central similarity between them is their emphasis on the non-coherence of the 'bourgeois monad self' conceptualised by liberal thought as sovereign, singular and agentic. Much of the writing on acid house, particularly in Simon Reynolds's work, is framed in this way, with his interest in the modes by which the experience of raving seemed to melt subjectivity into a series of 'intensities' shared between the crowds themselves. Fascinatingly, a number of the participants in the Acid House Flashback project also reflect on how their experiences allowed them to change their sense of their own subjectivity

in very concrete ways. Take, for example, this commentary from Simon, a raver who was 17 when he began partying in Blackburn:

> I mean, the ones I do [raves he's organized], I'm getting there, but you know 5,000 people in a room like . . . you could feel each other's presence. Do y'know what I mean? Yeah. It's . . . You can't explain what it is. But everybody feels the same and you've only got to look at somebody and you can see in their eyes that they're feeling exactly the same as you . . . I think drugs neutralise everybody. It takes away your walls, it takes everything away. It makes you who you are as a real person. And that's what's left. And that's what you enjoy that night. With no, no, whatever troubles you've got . . . they've gone. Nothing. You're there as a blank person and you're enjoying what's going on at that moment.[69]

On first reading, there appear to be a number of similarities with a broadly or popularly postmodernist, anti-cognitivist understanding of emotion and subjectivity in this line of thought. Simon emphasises the absence of selfhood and the way that the drugs 'neutralise' a sense of selfhood to bring about a sense of togetherness in a way that seems of a piece with the thinking discussed above. However, on closer inspection, the conception of selfhood here retains a strong sense of the individual subject at the heart of the experience. Simon's sense is that the 'falling away' of the 'walls' of subjectivity, rather than leading to a fundamental break in one's sense of coherence and personhood, actually allows you to become more truly 'who you are' as a person. Our argument is that this conceptualisation is not so much informed by the ideas about subjecthood that were contemporary at that moment, but rather through a vision of working-class masculinity in which the 'walls' of subjectivity are boundaried by the territory it is incumbent on them to protect, or perhaps even be interpolated into regardless of a sense of protection or not. Rather than the trappings of individual personhood falling away into post-structuralist incoherence, Simon suggests that it was the everyday accoutrements of masculine personhood that were fundamentally incoherent, and that in the capacity to leave this behind lent to him by acid house he and those around him were able to achieve a sense of coherence and peace, both individually and within the community in which they lived, which had previously been absolutely striated with territoriality and violence.

Conclusion

Our focus on the memories of individuals engaged in the Blackburn rave scene enables, as we have argued above, a fuller, and more complex understanding of the feelings evoked by rave and the politics this engendered.[70] As we have seen, the affinities generated by thousands of people dancing together were sometimes difficult to articulate, but were definitely strongly felt. They stand in stark contrast to the moralising panic and inchoate, ugly feelings which rave generated in the tabloid press. All the Blackburn interviewees were pointedly asked if they had 'darker' memories of the acid house period. Few had, and those that did framed them exclusively in terms of the fear of violence: either the violence of organised gangs (from the cotton towns or the cities of Manchester and Salford) muscling in on the scene in the early 1990s or they recalled the trauma of seeing the police beat fellow partygoers.[71]

The effervescent explosion of rave in Blackburn had burned away localised, deep-seated territorial rivalries and the everyday violence that accompanied them; this was a huge part of the movement's appeal to participants. The removal of these boundaries

opened up space for the working-class youths of Lancashire to build an emotional community around house music in their stead. In short: class and localised knowledge and experience made a huge difference to the way ecstasy and rave impacted on subjectivities. Local habitus and collective expressions of working-class politics were there for the reworking. Middle-class, metropolitan ravers, like Simon Reynolds, focused on the postmodern dissolving of the bourgeois-self were hardly likely to reach for the language of solidarity to describe how they felt: 'It was just a coming together of everybody'. 'It was like a big union', was how Steven and Sigi remembered it.[72]

Besides presenting a case study of rave and affect in a particular locale, this article has contributed to the historiography of the 1990s in another way: by historicising contemporaneous trends in the theorisation of affect and subjectivity and bringing them into dialogue with memory studies. As we have shown, the popular memory of rave involved the repeated re-telling of dominant myths: *partly true* stories which sought to make collective sense of the individual experiences of hundreds and thousands of people. As we've seen above, the 'end of hooliganism' myth can tell us a lot about the place of everyday violence in working-class communities and its temporary dissolution during the late '80s and early '90s. Finally, the testimonies we have analysed demonstrate, as Halbwachs first showed, that all individual remembering is simultaneously, inescapably *social*.[73] Whether case studies of rave in other locales will reveal similar patterns of feeling to those recounted above will very much depend on future research.

Notes

1. Title quotation taken from an interview with Steven and Sigi for the 2019 Textile Biennale project Blackburn Acid House Flashback, https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/steven%20&%20sigi-full-interview [accessed 1 June 2021]. We would like to thank the Blackburn Acid House Flashback team and everyone who contributed to it for creating such a wonderful archive. We would also like to thank David Geiringer and Helen McCarthy for organising the workshop in Cambridge on the 1990s and asking us to write for this special issue. Thanks to all the participants in the workshop, especially Becky Taylor, for a really stimulating time. A massive thank you to Matthew Worley for numerous exciting and clarifying conversations about rave over the last few years. Finally, thanks to Lucy Robinson and Matthew Taunton for very helpful suggestions and encouragement.
2. Melville, *It's A London Thing*, 146.
3. Clark, "Claire and Jose Get off Their Cake"; and Pini, *Club Cultures and Female Subjectivity*. See also Matt Annis's highly original study of Yorkshire's "Bleep Techno": Annis, *Join The Future*.
4. Jones, "Football Casuals, Fanzines and Acid House".
5. Hill, "Acid House and Thatcherism"; John, "UK Rave Culture and the Thatcherite Hegemony, 1988–94"; and Gillett, *Party Lines*.
6. See https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/.
7. On the "politics of affinity," see Bakare-Yusuf, "Rare Groove and Raregroovers". On "emotional communities" see Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*.
8. Ngai, *Ugly Feelings*; Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*; and Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*.
9. Leys, *The Ascent of Affect*, 8–20.
10. Ngai, *Ugly Feelings*, 26–7.
11. ibid., xxii.
12. ibid., xxiiv.
13. ibid., xxv.
14. ibid., xxvii.

15. Reynold's arguments here are characteristic of the theorisations and historicisation of emotions that were legitimised, mainly in the late 1980s and early 1990s, largely by feminist writers that explored myriad emotive contexts. The way gendered social attitudes produce forms of emotion, for example, and fashion literary genres that cultivate certain kinds of emotions. A non-comprehensive list might include: Barnes's *States of Sympathy*; Cvetkovich's *Mixed Feelings*; and Stern, *The Plight of Feeling*.
16. Reynolds, *Energy Flash*, 387.
17. ibid., xxv.
18. Massumi. "The Autonomy of Affect," 83–109.
19. Terada, *Feeling in Theory*, 3.
20. Toop, David, "From Acid House to the Balearics," *The Times*, August 18, 1988.
21. ibid.
22. ibid.
23. Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, 9.
24. "Acid House parties raided by police," *Daily Mail*, November 7, 1988.
25. On the discursive power of this elastic term, see Moran, "The strange birth of middle England."
26. Sebag Montefiore, Simon. "Mud, Drugs and a Vision of Hell," *Daily Mail*, July 28, 1992.
27. "How to Stop this happening in your village," *Daily Mail*, June 6, 1992; and "These fun drugs are a mother's nightmare," *Daily Mail*, September 16, 1992.
28. "I just had to save my daughter," *Daily Mail*, March 21, 1991.
29. UK Government, *Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994*. Paragraph 63 (b). Accessed February 19, 2023. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1994/33/contents.
30. Critcher, "Still Raving," 151.
31. See Gillett, *Party Lines*, especially 136–137.
32. See the *Daily Mail*, August 22, 1995; August 23, 1995; August 25, 1995; November 14, 1995; November 20, 1995. For a compelling account of the rave church movement, see Robinson and Warne, "Embracing the Divine Chaos."
33. Collin with Godfrey, *Altered State*; Garratt, *Adventures in Wonderland*; and Reynolds, *Energy Flash*.
34. Calder, *The Myth of The Blitz*.
35. Shulman, *The Second Summer of Love*, dust-jacket text.
36. Melville, *It's A London Thing*, 146.
37. Collin with Godfrey, *Altered State*, 50–52.
38. Bainbridge, *The True Story of Acid House*, 44.
39. Here we are drawing on the broad framework first developed by Birmingham's Popular Memory Group. See "Popular memory: theory, politics, method."
40. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, *How Important Was Cotton To Blackburn?* 1.
41. For the best recent account of deindustrialisation in Lancashire see Lawson, "Nothing Left but Smoke and Mirrors: Deindustrialisation and the Remaking of British Communities, 1957–1992," 20–50.
42. Barzen and Thirlwall, *UK Industrialization and Deindustrialization*, 23.
43. Thanks to Lucy Robinson for pointing this out. See Deller, *The Battle of Orgreave*, 2001. Accessed September 6, 2021. https://www.jeremydeller.org/TheBattleOfOrgreave/TheBattleOfOrgreave.php.
44. Deller, *Everybody In The Place*. Accessed via Box of Broadcasts, "Live Through This" c. 33.03 to 35.40.
45. Deller, *Everybody In The Place*. Accessed via Box of Broadcasts, "Dancing on Ruins' from c. 35.03.
46. Compare for example Worthington, *The Battle of the Beanfield*; and Harrison, *Dreaming in Yellow*.
47. Deller, *Everybody In The Place*. Accessed via Box of Broadcasts, "Redrawing the Map," c. 55.26.
48. David Toop, "From Acid House to the Balearics," *The Times*, August 18, 1988, 8.
49. Interview with Jane, Acid House Flashback. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/jane-full-interview.
50. Interview with Steven and Sigi, Acid House Flashback. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/steven%20&%20sigi-full-interview

51. Interview with Damo, Acid House Flashback. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/damo%201-full-interview.
52. Interview with Tony, Acid House Flashback. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/tony-full-interview.
53. Interview with John and Mark, Acid House Flashback. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/john%20&%20mark-full-interview.
54. Interview with Damo, Acid House Flashback. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/damo%201-full-interview. Emphasis in the original.
55. Interview with Cono, Acid House Flashback. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/cono-full-interview.
56. Interview with John and Mark, Acid House Flashback. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/john%20&%20mark-full-interview.
57. The sort of entrepreneurialism demonstrated by Blackburn's party organisers seems very different from the mass investment culture so skilfully mapped by Amy Edwards. See Edwards, *Are We Rich Yet?*
58. Collin with Godfrey, *Altered State*, 48.
59. Interview with Darryl. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/daryll-full-interview.
60. Interview with Darryl. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/daryll-full-interview.
61. Interview with Jay. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/jay-full-interview.
62. Interview with John and Mark, Acid House Flashback. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/john%20&%20mark-full-interview.
63. Reynolds, *Energy Flash*. 44–45.
64. Chester, *Naughty*, 261.
65. See for example Khan, *Khan: Memoirs of an Asian Football Casual*, 214; Allen and Naylor, *Flying with the Owls Crime Squad*, 140; and Jones and Rivers, *Soul Crew*, 86–89. For a wider discussion, see Jones, 'Casual Culture and Football Hooligan Autobiographies'.
66. Interview with Gary. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/interviews.
67. interview with Darryl. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/daryll-full-interview.
68. Interview with Gary. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/interviews. See also interview with Darryl. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/daryll-full-interview.
69. Interview with Simon, Acid House Flashback. Accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/simon-full-interview.
70. For a similarly complex, autobiographical account which covers the same period, see Warren, *Dance Your Way Home*, 164–189.
71. Interview with Tony, Acid House Flashback, https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/.testimonies/tony-full-interview; Interview with Rosie and Frenchie, Acid House Flashback, https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/.testimonies/rosie%20&%20frenchie-full-interview; and Interview with Jay. Accessed, February 22, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/jay-full-interview.
72. Interview with Steven and Sigi, Acid House Flashback. Accessed, February 22, 2023. https://www.acidhouseflashback.co.uk/testimonies/steven%20&%20sigi-full-interview.
73. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 38.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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