



LUNDS UNIVERSITET



GENDER, DRUGS AND TECHNO MUSIC

**Investigation of the motivation of drug consumption
among raving communities in Skåne region**

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Abstract

Rave parties are referring to legal, illegal and semi-legal dance parties organized in various venues with the main focus on electronic dance music (EDM) performed by the DJ. These types of parties are typically described through strong community ties, which form the rave culture, and demolition of hierarchal structures among the participants, which allows the transgressive force to exist in this particular context. In the same time, the rave culture is strongly connected to drug consumption in the eyes of the general population.

Addressing this concern, given thesis through intersectional analysis will investigate the motivations of the consumption of psychoactive substances among ravers on the example of Skåne region, Sweden. Gender has shown to be a significant factor that influences the patterns of drug consumption as well as the power dynamics among rave participants and, thus, it is included in the research as the main perspective.

Drawn on ecological system analysis, this thesis explores how specific characteristics of the rave community organization can influence drug consumption among its participants, and systematize other leading factors that affect the substance use in this particular social group. Situated knowledge was recognized as a main epistemological approach of the given study. Hence, this research is intended to provide a space for presenting the voice of Swedish rave community that was previously underrepresented in local academical discourse. This thesis argues that rave party experience and drug consumption do not have linear correlation even though specific characteristics of the rave culture and the context in which Swedish raves exist can affect the patterns of the drug use. In the same time, personal factors and peer influence have shown a more significant impact on how the person is using drugs. As a result, the study argues that the constructive dialog between state authorities and the rave community representatives can lead to more effective changes in drug consumption situation in Skåne region.

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Introduction

Dark room, repetitive beats and a group of people, mostly youth, dancing all night barely talking to each other on the dancefloor. After the whole night of dancing at so-called rave parties, they're stepping out of a smoky bunker and leaving into a bright morning. That is, if they wouldn't be caught by the police, of course. What makes all these people go to such kind of places, and dance the whole night even ignoring the possibility to have problems with the law? And the other interesting question here is why police are chasing these gathering, trying to shut down any of rave events and even have created a special police force for that? Drugs, you would say? Yes, you hit the nail right on the head! In 1996, in Stockholm County, even special police force, Ravekommission (rave commission), was launched with "the aim of reducing the use of drugs by young people in Stockholm County (...). The Commission shall pay particular attention to the presence of drugs in so-called rave parties", says police chief Gunno Gynnmo (Eriksson & Sparr, 1998). The commission consisted on these times of 28 people (just to compare, Street Violence Commission has only 4 people (Eriksson & Sparr, 1998)). So why is it that some weird underground parties became a greater risk for social security than street violence?

With such concern from the side of Swedish authorities toward raves being a place of "wide-spread drug use" (Linton, 1998), there is limited number of research on the topic on drug use among ravers, particularly in Sweden. There is, however, a long history of researches of underground club cultures from cultural, sociological and media perspectives. For instance, some researchers are looking on raves as festal rituals – "meaningless bodily expressions" (GAUTHIER, 2004), comparing to ayahuasca ceremonies in Amazonian tribes and peyote pilgrimage in Mexican indigenous communities (John, 2005). They state the similar transgressive nature of these events and the centrality of the community of it.

Another example, Maria Pini, who was one of the inspiration for me to choose this topic for my research, both practically and theoretically discuss the special place of rave culture in women's liberation from a heteronormative discourse of modern European society. For her informants (females exclusively) raves were the place, where they can feel free and "lose it" without fear of aggressive behavior that they usually experience in mainstream clubs (Pini, 2001). Participants of the research also mention interconnections of rave environment and the use of the most popular drug in the rave community – ecstasy. From the experience of these women, specific attributes of this substance are playing an important role in creating "lovable" aura. Also, some women were mentioning autoerotic sensations they usually don't experience in every-day life.

Thus, the gendered distinction in experiencing raves could definitely be noticed, however, it left me with some of the questions. How different is male involvement in the rave scene compared to that of mainstream clubs? How actually

important it is to consume specific substances to feel this ritualistic liberation from preexisting structural power relations?

Based on my interest presented above, the research question of my project is what is the motivation of the psychoactive substances use among ravers in Malmo, Sweden, and how it differs in relation to gender perspective?

As it follows from the foregoing, the goals of my research are:

- To theoretically explore in what ways rave parties are creating the space of resistance to gendered power relations and consider this framework throughout the research;
- Practically, through interviews and observations, understand how transgressive force is functioning on raves and what place the community, specifically in Sweden, plays in this process;
- Using system ecological theory, to explore the motivation of people consuming psychoactive substances on raves in Skane region from the gender perspective;
- In conclusion, reflect upon the place of drug consumption in rave culture.

As it comes from the foregoing, motivated by the relevance presented above, the purpose of this study is to investigate how the rave community in Skane region is consuming psychoactive substances, with the focus on the motivation of consumption analyzed from different perspectives. As rave culture being highly associated with drug consumption among general population, my special interest in this research is to understand what specificities of this subculture determines specific patterns of drug use. Moreover, the additional intention of conducting this research is to include the voices of the Swedish rave community in the academical discourse. There is a significant lack of researches about the rave community specifically in Sweden. Taking into the account concerns of state authorities about wide spread drug use on these parties and the fact that there is no researches about drug use specifically on rave parties in Sweden, it creates a gap between research-based knowledge and practical approaches to deal with situation recognized as problematic. As I choose situated knowledge approach as an epistemological ground of my research, I recognize that all the knowledge is partial and deny objectivity as a goal. Given research is intended to present the voices of stigmatized community giving them a space for self-presentation. My role as a researcher in this study is centered around the analysis of the statements gained from my responders with careful examination using elaborated theoretical framework.

Given study has an intersectional nature as it is intended to investigate particular behavior of particular social group. While main focus of the research is on the motivation of drug consumption of ravers, it is important to investigate the specificities of the functionality of rave community in Sweden to be able to understand why ravers create specific cluster of drug users, as well as why the patterns and motivations of the consumption are different from other groups of drug

users. Gender perspective is included in the research as it recognized by both theoretical and practical researches, as well as proved by data gained in this research, to be an influential factor that affects psychoactive substance consumption and the formation of the community ties.

To achieve stated goals and serve the purpose of this study, given research is composed of 5 parts: theoretical chapter, an overview of previous researches, methodological considerations, data analysis, and discussion with conclusion. Theoretical chapter is intended to form a theoretical framework of this research and is combined in 2 parts: theoretical examination of the rave culture formation and presentation of ecological system theory. As it was stated before, the examination of the rave culture specificity is crucial in understanding the patterns of drug consumption among this social group. Theoretical analysis of the rave culture in this research is presented with the aim to understand how values and the nature of this community can influence the drug consumption among its members. Coming from the lack of sustained “rave theory” as separated part of academical knowledge, theoretical framework in regarding of raves is formed by the combination of existing researches on raves and post-modernist theories. Presented texts should be understood as a theoretical ground that will be used further to analyze data on rave community formation gained during the research. This subchapter presents raves as heterotopian spaces and explores the location of resistance within the hegemonic discourse. It also explores the place of identity within the rave spaces and how gendered identification is formed there even in conditions of opposition to the mainstream discourse.

Ecological system theory, presented in the second subchapter, should be understood in terms of a theoretical tool used to elucidate the whole picture of drug consumption patterns according to specific social environments. The practical use of the theory in relation to investigation of problematic behavior of individuals is presented in the concluding part of the subchapter.

The previous research chapter presents the background that is necessary to understand the situation with drug consumption trends in Sweden, as well as in European context in general. It is dedicated specifically to drug consumption situation as it is the main focus of given research and present statistical interrelations of the aspects of gender, race, socio-economic status and patterns of drug consumption.

Methodological chapter presents and discusses the chosen research design, ethical considerations and my positioning in the field, including concern on how this position could influence the process and results of the project. The data was collected through the method of semi-structured interviews. Participant observation was used as an entrée point of the research to find the gate keepers and better understand statements expressed by the responders. Positioning myself in-between of insider/outsider in relation of the investigated community have helped me in establishing the rapport with participants as well as expanded my access to the field.

Further analysis of the collected material was proceed in a form of ethnographic content analysis with categorization in 3 main themes that emerged during the interviews: rave community organization and functioning, drug experiences and safety. Analytical chapter presents collected data combined in these 3 themes – subchapters. Analysis of the data is happening with the consideration of theoretical framework presented earlier and necessary theoretical tools. Participant observations then, as well as the data from previous research, were used to define the context and test the results. Each of the subchapters have a special place for analysis from gendered perspective as it is the main viewpoin of given research. Separate subchapter on analysis of the rave community values, organization and gender division was absolutely necessary to present the context and highlight the specificities of the rave community that helps to understand peculiar motivations and patterns of substance consumption among this particular social group. Second subchapter in its turn presents ecological analysis of motivations of consumption with special focus on gendered perspective. The last subchapter on the safety of rave participants was not planned from the beginning of the research process, however, as this topic was regularly raised in every interview, I felt my obligation to present the matter that was so important to my responders in a separate part.

While all the data was collected and carefully examined, the discussion part is coming in a form of compilation of theoretical knowledge and framework presented in given research, previous research data and, as the most influential, data collected during my investigation. Discussion chapter present the systematic summary of all knowledge gained throughout development of this investigation. Conclusion, in its turn, wrap up the results of the research presenting the interrelations of drug consumption and environmental factors including the settings of rave spaces and community.

With this short overview, let's get started.

1. Theoretical Overview

1.1 Theorizing the Dancing Crowd

S: I should be able to be feminine if I want to. Like, people shouldn't think, "oh, he is gay". But... I do it in raves, and nobody thinks I'm gay there.

M: but what is feminine?

S: It doesn't matter

This quote is from the group interview from one of my previous study projects on raves. S, which stands for Stephan, is a typical Swedish "masculine" guy in his 20s, as he was describing himself. In this quote, he's talking about how he likes to hug his male friends, dance and get his nails done in bright colors and how he can be beaten up for that in his very small Swedish town. But times to times he's going to Malmo and let himself go with glitter, nail polish, dance and hugs. Months after finishing the project, I met Stephan on a party and saw how he transferred his open loveable behavior not only on rave spaces but on other parties as well. Not in terms of glitter and nails, though, but hugs and dances became normal attributes of his party performance even without party drugs and techno music. So what's so special about that place that allows people to open up other side of themselves and overcome the fear of rejection?

It's hard to find a research of raves that wouldn't have the word "liberation" in it. François Gauthier was seeing raves through the perspective of ritualistic acts that deprive social and cultural norms with the aim of their subversion (GAUTHIER, 2004). The idea of abolishing hierarchal power structures inside the dark smoky room of rave has been presented by almost every scholar, who have ever specified "dance cultures" in the tags of their researches (Bradby, 2013; John, 2005; Ott & Herman, 2003; Pini, 2001; Thornton, 1995). Specifically, Barbara Bradley partly criticizes this idea as it looks way more utopian on the paper as it is happening in real life (Bradby, 2013). But to understand her critique as well as the glorification of raves from other scholars I would like to explore how the abolition of power discourse is happening during raves and where's the trick in it.

Even though a lot of early studies of underground club cultures and raves specifically present rave spaces as a place of resistance of youth culture against power hierarchies, Maria Pini warns from falling into this dichotomy (Pini, 2001). Using the Foucauldian idea that the discourse always encapsulates resistance in it, it becomes clear that submission to the power and resistance to it have never been separate subjects. Early studies of raves suggest that specific features of the techno and house music, as repetitive beat, for example, as well as place and ways of experiencing it erase the differences in identities and create so-called Body without Organs (John,

2005) that allows the participants of the raves to experience temporary exclusion from the discourse itself and resist in this way. Such an explanation then falls under the Foucauldian concept of heterotopias – temporary created spaces of altered cultural norms, where they still exist, however, expressed in the alternative, twisted way (Ott & Herman, 2003). Festive tradition of explaining transgressive power of raves is trying to present rave space as the opposition to the oppression existing in the society in terms of gender, race and class structures (GAUTHIER, 2004; John, 2005). Thornton in her first widely popular study about club cultures is seeing raves through the perception of constructing the other (Thornton, 1995). While using Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, she's adding the other dimension to it – *subcultural* capital. The last one is based on the dichotomy of being "hip" or "unhip", "underground" versus "mainstream". In her discussion, ravers still hold the idea of identity that is constructed around the rejection of mainstream and being the Other to it. She is stating this resistance power of the raves, however, recognize it as an act outside the discourse and against it without explanation the roots of this resistance.

But if we adopt the idea that resistance is the attribute of the discourse, how it can still be in it and in opposition to it at the same time? Butler resolves this contradiction by building a bridge between Freud's psychoanalysis and Foucauldian structuralism. Drawing on the Lacanian idea of positioning the subject within the symbolic and the force of normalization discourse, she locates the resistance in the psyche of the subject (Butler, 2001). To make this connection a little bit more clear, let's look on the Foucault's idea of the identity of the prisoner. He argued that it is not only the power over the body of the subject what constructs the prisoner's identity, but also normalizing practices over "the soul" are what imprisons the body. Thus, the discourse affects the person in two ways: through confining the body and through the affection of the soul of the subject that, in turn, becomes "the prison of the body" (Foucault, 1976). The discourse uses the number of practices over the body of the prisoner, which includes "inspection, confession, the regularization and normalization of bodily movements and gesture" (Butler, 2001, p. 85). Incorporation of these external practices with the identity of the prisoner creates coherent individuality of the prisoner. This is basically the ideal subject of the discourse: it obeys not only by the body but also by the soul. However, the psychoanalytical tradition was always locating the force of resistance in the psyche of the person as the one that always surpasses the normalization practices to create a coherent subject. Thus, it agrees with the Foucauldian idea of resistance being the part of the discourse: the unconsciousness of the subject is always trying to resist the normalization of the body as well as the psyche.

Because the resistance is an attribute of the power and works in the discourse of power, it operates as a self-subversive force. As Jacqueline Rose argues, the psychic life is not coherent and the failure of identity is tightly incorporated in the unconsciousness (Butler, 2001). This failure to continuously repeat normalizing practices is one of the ways the psyche resist the power of the discourse. This failure to repeat cultural and social modalities can create these heterotopias that were

mentioned above. It still exists in the discursive practice, however, act subversively to it.

Raves through the notion of communion, create the place of common failure of pre-existing identities. As Ott and Herman put it, communion “refers to the sharing of common substance, to an “intimate fellowship” in which traditional hierarchies are flattened” (Ott & Herman, 2003, p. 253). The power of hegemonic discourse is supported by the repetition of particular behavioral practices that are adjusted to the overall normalizing practice. The failure of the unconscious to repeat these behavioral practices open up the space for communion. The unification of separate bodies that already partly rejects this repetition, creates the united Body of the Dancing Crowd that, in its own turn, normalize this rejection for separate elements. What some of the interviewees of the Pini’s research were calling “performing of female sexuality within man” (Pini, 2001) is basically this failure to act according to the demands of hegemonic masculinity, which is supported by the overall atmosphere of the rave event. The man is feeling much more free to behave in a way that he wants to behave supported by other men, who are not expressing aggressive masculinity as well. While this idea is approved by a lot of statements from the ravers as well as researches, this is also the simplification and part of glorification of raves. Identities still exist within the space of rave, however, the possibilities of expressing these identities are way wider. The reverse discourse of raves normalizes the failure of hegemonic masculinity and other hierarchal structures that results in the construction and reconstruction of new forms of identification. Reduced pressure of normalizing practices assembles other forms of expressing sexuality despite the ones that are predefined in the society. That's why in the subcultural capital of raves expressing aggressive masculine behavior seems "uncool" (Pini, 2001) and non-sexual expression of affection and friendliness are more frequent.

What should be noted here is the part that the identity of specific subjects plays in experiencing raves. Even besides the idea that every separate subject on raves is united with the whole dancing crowd, the experience of dancing and being on rave is still very different. The so-called background of the person plays an important role in this differentiation. As every subject resists upon different normalizing practices that they experience in everyday life, the impression of raving would also differentiate. As it was mentioned before, men feel more free on raves to express their "feminine" behavior and act in a way that traditionally inherited to women, like dancing, socializing, hugging and so on (Pini, 2001). Whereas women are feeling freer to behave in a way that they want to behave and not being stigmatized or attacked by a man. As one of the raving women stated, when she's dancing in "normal" clubs (which stands for non-techno/house/acid clubs), she's feeling like "dancing in somebody's eyes", whereas on raves she dances for herself, in her own eyes (Pini, 2001). This illustrates that nonetheless the ravers admit the feeling of losing themselves on raves, this feeling is mostly devoted to physical bodily sensations rather than losing their identity. Pini’s research together with Bradby's article presents it as a fantasy of escape that allow women to liberate from the identification of the woman with the mother

figure and construct their identities around a different cultural subject (Bradby, 2013; Pini, 2001). They even argue for consolidation of women identities on raves through identification as "raving women", being the Other, being "the wild women" on the contrast to expected domestication and "settling down". Thus, the identity on raves is even strengthening rather than dissolving.

Through this reconstruction of solid identities, new forms of sexuality and sexual behavior are constructed. Most of the women report less sexually aggressive atmosphere on raves, which makes it one of the most attractive aspects for women (Pini, 2001). This aspect was mentioned earlier: men are more willing to be dancing and make friendly connections on raves instead of approaching girls in an aggressive masculine way (Ott & Herman, 2003; Pini, 2001). This statement for sure doesn't mean that nobody's hooking up on or after raves, but it's not considered as any of the preferable motivation to attend such kind of events. Thus, it gives women space outside of the masculine heteronormative matrix. Another aspect is connected to the previous one in terms of women's sexual safety. Because raves, as well as some of the other parties, usually conclude during the morning hours, at 8 am or even run on till noon, women can escape the dark night hours while making their way back home throughout the city. Additionally, staying up all night and partying till the morning is giving back to women the power over the night, which is usually controlled by the man (Measham, 2002).

The opposition of raves to heteronormative practices contributes to developing non-reproductive forms of sexuality. Indeed, the popularization of raves originates from gay communities in the US during the 70s and 80s, where the raves and electronic dance music clubs were considered as a "safe space" for LGBT communities (Ott & Herman, 2003). The overall practice of clubbing contributes to the prolongation of youth with separation of women from the idea of motherhood as the only acceptable consequence of female sexual behavior (Bradby, 2013). Raves normalize a wide range of expression of sexual desire besides the forms of penetrative sex that deconstructs the idea of sex itself. On rave spaces hugs can be sexual and non-sexual, making out can be the expression of friendliness and social connection, and can be an invitation for continuation at the same time. As Barbara Bradby quotes it: "*At raves attitude is more important than appearance. Friendliness, sensuality and "body language" are valued more than trendiness, sexual displays or long conversations*" (Bradby, 2013, p. 165). After all, a lot of raving women report the feeling of autoeroticism on raves (Pini, 2001). This aspect itself challenge the idea that sexual desire needs another object to be satisfied and need that satisfaction at all. Feeling the part of the crowd supports the feeling of belongingness, at the same time, with a strong concentration of own feelings and sensations. As many of Pini's interviewees put it, this feeling of self-pleasure is rather fulfilling and self-focused. They explain it in a way that they feel on raves that every person experience similar sensations and feelings allowing them to concentrate on own feelings and desires and explore themselves and others in the same time through exploring own sensations.

Some researches connect the lower level of aggressiveness and amicable atmosphere on raves with less consumption of alcohol and common use of Ecstasy (Bradby, 2013; Ott & Herman, 2003; Pini, 2001; Thornton, 1995). From the very beginning of rave culture, Ecstasy has been the most commonly used drug in this scene as it is associated with increased sensitivity of the person in both physical and mental form (McElrath, 2005; Ott & Herman, 2003). It is viewed and popularized as a "love drug", an extremely social substance that rarely used by individuals alone, but rather as a part of the almost ritualistic practice of unification and communal consolidation (John, 2005). Noteworthy, even though Ecstasy or MDMA (active substance of ecstasy pills) is supposed to increase sexual sensations (McElrath, 2005), it actually negatively affects male erection (Ott & Herman, 2003). As Ott and Herman call it, "dephallicizing effect" of MDMA devotes to the development of other forms of sexual behavior rather than "classical" penetrative sex. MDMA became popular among ravers because of its effect of love to the community as a whole, but not lust to separate subjects (John, 2005; Ott & Herman, 2003).

As we can see, rave "ideology", if to put it in these words, tends to create a solid atmosphere characterized by the united community and common feeling of love and collective intimacy. Formulated in the early 90s, the concept of PLUR – peace, love, unity, and respect – still remains as the main articulation of rave community principles (even though the abbreviation itself seems to be forgotten). It takes joint efforts to create such kind of space -- music, place of the event, every separate participant that lately emerge into the united body of the dancing crowd and even the most popular drug – all these aspects are adjusted to one goal of alliancing of social minorities.

1.2 Ecological System Model

Social work as a field of science came up to be the most interdisciplinary. Even the historical process of creation of social work both as practice and theoretical knowledge looks like collecting theories and concepts from different disciplines that deals with the social life of the person and their collectives. Interdisciplinarity is one of the key concepts for social work science. As David Moxley puts it, interdisciplinary in social work stands for combining separate aspects from several disciplines to achieve a cooperative approach to answer the current needs of a specific target (Moxley, 2013). What it basically means is that social worker can use concepts and theories from different fields of knowledge to address the issue in the most complete way.

One of the basic theory of social work as a scientific area is a good illustration of the importance of the interdisciplinary approach. System theory came to social work from biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy (Audi, 2015). His general system theory was developed on the contrast to reductionism approach popular in the 40s and was arguing for a systematical way to look over the functioning of the human body. Instead of reducing the functionality of the body to functions of its separate organs, von Bertalanffy has proposed to look on the body as a holistic element that is influenced

by its environment. This new approach was then transferred to social psychology by Bronfenbrenner and formed the ecological system theory (Galvani, 2017). Here, the environment that influences the formation of the individual was understood in terms of communities of socialization, reference groups, policies and institutions that exist in particular society and so on. Bronfenbrenner was thinking about his theory in terms of the research design method, where the subject is needed to be understood as one influenced by different axes of power relations. For instance, if the subject of the research is homeless person, her or his living situation is seen not only as a result of her/his own actions but also regarding existing welfare system in a given society, family relations, work environment, etc.

The structure of the society was divided into 5 levels – systems – that were affecting individuals with different relations to them. The widest system – Chronosystem – was describing transitions and events that may affect the development of the individual (Galvani, 2017). This is a system of not exactly space or relations oriented, but rather time centered. It describes in what way major shifts or transitions during the person's development can influence his/her life. It can involve socio-historical changes on the level of the country or changes in family structure (divorce as the most popular example of chronosystematic change in a child's environment).

The next level is the macrosystem. It examines the influence of a culture that includes the aspects of ethnicity, race, socioeconomic status, ideologies as well as the overall logic of the law system. However, it describes only general patterns and dialectics that have an indirect influence on the development of the individual. The more visible, but still indirect environment is seen as a part of the next stage – exosystem. On this level, the impact of more concrete formations are taken into accounts, such as particular policies, the influence of mass media and the images it forms, religious and economic systems. Religion could be seen as a part of macrosystem as a component of culture, and as an exosystem feature if it is playing a significant role in regulating the life of society. Thus, it can be examined through different dimensions regarding the role it's playing in specific settings.

The last 2 systems are mesosystem and microsystem. The last one is described by direct interaction between concrete individuals and their synergy between each other. On this level, the person has his/her own role in microsystem as, for example, the daughter in the family, the student in a specific department, etc. Mesosystem is seen as "a system of microsystems" and examines the interrelations between different microsystem: the correlation of roles of the person within the family, work, position in reference groups and how this positioning can affect the behavior of the person.

The ecological model has since further been developed into development of "Process-Person-Context-Time" (PPCT) model, which includes the aspect of personal will and agency of the person. The agency is seen also as one of the resources that can be used to develop or change the external circumstances of the person. Here, the process was understood in terms of proximal processes – the interaction of the individual with environmental surrounding – persons, symbols, objects, etc. (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). These processes are seen as the most influential

driver of human development. Essentially it includes person's interaction throughout previously described systems inside and in-between them. It involves family dynamics, media and policy influence, neighborhood and school environment, and so on. The new aspect of including person and personal characteristics into the account of examining environmental development of the person allowed Bronfenbrenner to understand why the availability of similar resources doesn't ensure the same path of development of the child. He divided personal characteristics into 3 groups: demand, resource and force characteristics. Demand include a basic description of the person such as age, gender, physical appearance, etc. Resource characteristics describe all available recourses of the person, including mental, emotional and material ones, skills, experience, etc. Force characteristics define the interior drive of the person, such as motivation, persistence, temperament. A synergy of these different kinds of characteristics results in a personal account of cooperation with the existing environment. This explains how, for example, gender can influence the differences in the development of boys and girls with the same available material resources (housing, education, family income). In addition, it considers personal motivation as one of the factors of changing or sustaining certain social or economic status.

In this model, context refers to the previous ecological theory and collects 4 systems in it: micro-, meso-, exo-, macro-. Chronosystem becomes a part of Time aspect and is described through macro-time – a period that includes large-scale transitions within and across the generations (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998).

This systematic approach has been successfully applied in understanding the problem of substance abuse (Forder, n.d.; Galvani, 2017). It suggests to, first of all, look on the addiction as a combination of different socio-economic factors and not just the use of substance itself. Consequently, to successfully deal with the treatment of the addiction, the researcher should look on the circumstances that lead the person to use and specifically abuse drug. Secondly, the theory suggests starting treatment with analysis of resources that the person has in his property, in his community and society. Thus, the theory introduces the intersectional approach and looks at the social system as a whole. For instance, Bronfenbrenner himself was referring to one study of Finnish psychologist Pulkkinen that have been investigating the influence of environmental stability (or, rather an instability) to children's behavior (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994). While examining factors like family structures changes, moves of the family, daycare and school alterations, etc), the researchers have found out that children, who had higher level of instability in early ages, are more likely to have problematic behavior such as aggressiveness, excessive drinking, smoking, misconducts, etc., in later years (the sample included children years 8-20). The sample also has included families from different socio-economic classes, however, the conclusion was made that instability has a greater influence on a child's behavior then socioeconomic status has. What this research has shown is that environmental factors do have the influence on children's development, and, even more, the stability of these factors can have a great effect on further life of the person.

2. Previous Research

Due to the intersectional nature of the topic of this research, it is quite challenging to find researches that would represent all the aspects of my research. Thus, all previous researches used in this chapter should be understood as a presentation of the background of drug consumption situation among youth to define main trends of the use of psychoactive substances to be able to understand the factual context in which drug consumption on raves is happening. To meet this aim this chapter is combined of 2 themes: drug situation in Sweden and analysis of the patterns of drug use among youth (not directly linked to Sweden).

I would like to start by presenting the current situation regarding drug use in Sweden. According to the annual report of European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA), Sweden holds the fairly low rate of cannabis use among young adults (15-34 y.o.) – 7.3% with the European average on 13.3% in the same age group (EMCDDA, 2016). In total, the Scandinavian region doesn't show consistency in the question of cannabis use among young adults. Norway has quite a similar prevalence as Sweden with 8.6%, while Denmark and Finland show way higher percentages – 15.4% and 13.5% respectively. However, the rates of drug-related deaths are rather alarming with the highest rate in Sweden – 93 deaths per million of the population in 2016 (the highest rate in the Nordic region and the second highest in European Union). The drug-induced mortality rate in Sweden has shown an upward trend since 2006 with breaking the threshold in 80 deaths per million in 2013. In the last year of available data, the slight decrease has been presented: in 2015, 661 drug-related deaths were registered, while in 2016 it was 590 in total for the whole population. While region in total has a high drug-related mortality rate (more than 40 deaths per million), Norway, Denmark, and Finland show a slight downward trend. More than 90% of the deaths are related to the use of opioids (from the total number of deaths with the estimated toxicology) (EMCDDA, 2016). Regarding other drugs, Sweden shows quite average for European region prevalence (among young adults): for cocaine -- 1.2% (1.9% European average), for MDMA – 1% (1.7% European average), for amphetamines – 1.3% (1% European average).

With such a low rate of cannabis consumption, official governmental logic still views cannabis as a great danger for young Swedes as being "a gateway drug" (Goldberg, 2004). Swedish drugs policy is basically built on the assumption that the biochemical properties of psychoactive substances are highly affecting a person's willpower and the ability to make rational decisions (Goldberg, 2004). The person, who is consuming drugs, is seen as a passive object driven by the positive reinforcement that takes a form of euphoria and is believed to lie in the main reason for any drug consumption. As Goldberg argues, this focus on the euphoria creating obstacles for Swedish policy to make distinctions between different forms of drug consumption. As he continues, these beliefs result in the model of work with drug consumers, where governmental employers are trying to make "*life on the drug scene*

as difficult as possible, living in the straight world will seem a better alternative” (Goldberg, 2004, p. 564). To support his idea, he set as an example data from the review of one of the projects of The National Board of Health and Welfare that shows some of the most extreme examples of such an approach: social workers were reported to be manipulative, controlling, not informing the clients about their rights, exceeding the level of legal intimidation. The cases of refusal to talk with clients if they're under the influence of drugs, breaking the confidentiality and threatening clients with the custody over the kids also have been reported from different social institutions (Goldberg, 2004). This setting is spread on the police control as well, as it comes from the officially adopted governmental policy (Traskman, 2004). The investigation of legal aspects of Nordic drug policies headed by Per Ole Traskman states that in 1990s Swedish police officially declared the purpose of drug control being focused on making drug abuse annoying and irritating. The manual of police drug control says explicitly: *“The more troublesome it is to be an addict, the more attractive is the alternative, a drug-free life”* (Traskman, 2004, p. 247), which basically repeats the argument made by Goldberg. The other aspect of this bothering approach is control over drug distributors. As it is believed by the authorities, main efforts of the police should be concentrated on pushing distributors away from the streets, as more underground as possible, so the users wouldn't have that "easy" access to drugs. As it states in the same manual, *“Our goal is to make the drug trafficking more difficult, and to push the drugs to the outskirts of the society”* (Traskman, 2004, p. 247). However, European School Survey of 2015 presents the data about the availability of drugs as it perceived by 15-16 years old students, which questions the effectiveness of such an approach. As it states, among the chosen age group 28% of Swedish students said that it is "fairly/very easy" to obtain cannabis (with the average 30% in the European region), 9% said the same about amphetamine (European average – 9%), and 13% stated that it is easy to obtain cocaine (European average – 11%) (ESPAD, 2015). These numbers are not alarming, but they show that harsh restrictive Swedish drug policy that is built on extensive hectic control, is not giving any better results than those of more liberal European policies.

In Traskman's investigation, it is stated that in public debates drugs were compared to the virus that can infect everyone, mainly supporting the idea of purely biochemical view on the drug consumption (Traskman, 2004). Thus, drug control is seen as a criminal law issue. The criminalization of use, as well as consumption of illicit substances, is believed to be a preventive mechanism that should scare society enough to keep them away from the drugs completely, specifically focusing on adolescents and preventing them from experimenting with drugs (Traskman, 2004). In regards to the idea that the person is absolutely passive towards the effects of drugs that were presented by Goldberg, Christiania district in Copenhagen, Denmark, is seen as a serious threat. Historically, this district has been some sort of separate anarchistic formation within the borders of the Danish capital, infamous for its free trade of soft drugs (almost exclusively cannabis). Thus, Nordic zero-tolerance drug policy

perceived Christiania be a high risk for creating serious drug problems by attracting adolescences from other Scandinavian countries (Traskman, 2004).

As it comes from the statistics, Sweden present figures that are average for the European region in terms of drugs prevalence and availability. One statistical exception is the rate of drug-related mortality that is one of the highest in the European Union. Meanwhile, drug policy presents a restrictive approach towards drug consumers with the main goal of "drug-free society" (Goldberg, 2004; Traskman, 2004). The policy has been implementing in the same style of zero tolerance towards illicit substances since the 1970s, yet, has failed to show any significant change in the situation as compared to the average patterns of drug consumption throughout Europe. As Per Ole Traskman argues, "*The (Swedish Drug) Commission wants to design the drug situation according to its own imagination, and not on the basis of research findings*" (Traskman, 2004, p. 249).

If to move to European region in total, there are several major tendencies in drug consumption that have been admitted in several European drug reports in recent years. Most notably has been the concern of designer drugs or new psychoactive substances (NPS), for instance, synthetic cannabinoids, so-called "bath salts" and others (EMCDDA, 2016, 2018) Sold under the different names like "legal highs" or "research chemicals", the term NPS includes drugs that are not scheduled by Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs (1961) or the Convention on Psychotropic Substances (1971), but still carry a harm to the user (Baumann, Glennon, & Wiley, 2017). The original idea of designer drugs was to mimic the effects of existing "traditional" illicit substances (such as cannabis, MDMA, amphetamines, etc) with a slight change in their chemical structure to overcome the legal prosecution of these substances (UNODC, 2013). One of the most widespread examples of this technique is mephedrone, the first generation of so-called "bath salts" that was rediscovered in the early 2000s and took over the market as a legal alternative of amphetamine/MDMA. Bath salts were at that time sold via the internet as actual bath salts with the label "not for human consumption", however, without any legal control over it, which contributed to its popularization (UNODC, 2013). Sharply at the same time, synthetic cannabinoids appeared on the market under the name of "spice" or "herbal smoking blends". These substances continue to emerge in new forms. For instance, the last challenge to US public health sector begun to appear since 2015 under the name of "flakka" (Storrs, 2015). The drug supposed to be a cheap alternative to crack cocaine and have been sold for \$3-5. The drug, usually referred to as "the zombie drug", with an alarming number of cases of violent behavior, paranoia, "excited delirium". Reports include details of extremely erratic behavior, such as running and screaming about being a Satan, breaking the doors, etc. (Storrs, 2015). Since its appearance on the market, more than 130 death have been associated with this substance as of 2017 (Baumann et al., 2017). Even though US drug control authorities are trying to ban/minimize the amount of new and highly dangerous drug on the streets, the process of applying a federal ban on it would take several years, which also can't ensure that something similar to flakka with a slightly different chemical structure wouldn't appear on the market again

(Storrs, 2015). This example perfectly illustrates the challenges posed by the development of the NPS market. The legal process of the prohibition of every single designer drug that appears on the market would take too long, meanwhile, drug manufacturers could develop a new form of the same substance as the possibilities of changing chemical structure are endless. Thus, the prohibition of one substance will lead to the development of another one, less predictable and known by both medical specialists and users. As some of the recent reports suggest, these research chemicals can be way more potent than their "traditional" drug analog and can lead to more severe brain and body damage (EMCDDA, 2015, 2016). This, in its turn, make harm reduction and treatment of overdose and addiction way more complicated since the properties of the substance remain unknown (Baumann et al., 2017).

Synthetic analogs appear not only for soft and party drugs but as a new more potent forms of opioids as well (EMCDDA, 2016). As European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drugs Addiction reports, in recent years there has been a slight rise in opioid associated overdoses and death, including synthetic opioids that can have a higher potency than heroin (EMCDDA, 2016). Despite the common belief, opioid addiction is no longer associated with mostly low-income socioeconomic classes, as it was before. In her article published in 2002, Fiona Measham argues that heroin use is linked to economically inactive social classes with low household income with lower education level, whereas cocaine use is associated with active participation in the economy, higher household income and obtaining a higher level of education (Measham, 2002). However, more recent studies from the US and Europe show that both heroin (opioids) and cocaine use, in general, is associated with the lower socioeconomic status of the neighborhood (Origer, Le Bihan, & Baumann, 2015; Williams & Latkin, 2007). Studies from New York City, Baltimore, Barcelona, and Luxembourg have shown that the rate of drug-related mortality and overdose is correlated with the level of poverty, education and overall socioeconomic position without separation of opioid and cocaine-related death (Borrell et al., 2002; Marzuk et al., 1997; Origer et al., 2015; Williams & Latkin, 2007).

Interesting contribution to this picture was made by the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention. In March 2018 the Council has posted an article, which argues that young people from richer Stockholm neighborhoods are less likely to be suspected in drug-related crimes than their peers from less rich neighborhoods (BRÅ - Brottsförebyggande rådet, 2018). The article says that youth from the neighborhoods with higher average income state that they have experience in using drugs to a greater extent, however, they have less often been suspected for drug use by the police. On the other side, young adults from low average income districts are more likely to be suspected for drug use, even though they report way less drug use itself. Parent's education level also influences the chances of being suspected: these young people, whose parents don't have post-secondary education, are 70% more likely to be suspected. The representatives of Brå itself say that drug suspects reports are showing not actual situation with drug use on Swedish society, but rather reflect police prerogatives and resources (BRÅ - Brottsförebyggande rådet, 2018). This article

shows that there is no great separation between drug use among rich and poor social classes and that the rate of average household income shouldn't be the only axis of analysis when it comes to drug statistics. In addition it reflects a stereotypical image of a drug user that is adopted by a large segments of the population, including police: drug user is poor, uneducated, destructive and from low-income neighborhood. In contrast, several other studies, mainly from South America, have proved that such factors as crime situation on the neighborhood and level of poverty haven't been significant in determining drug use in the specific city area (Brook, Brook, Rosen, & Montoya, 2002; Delva et al., 2014). In the same time, peer pressure, availability of drugs in the district (presence of drug dealers and habitual drug consumers in the environment) and distant parent-child relationship were recognized as main factors that increase the level of drug use among adolescences. Researchers are suggesting that the most effective approach in reducing youth drug use (in this particular case, consuming cannabis) is concentrating on work with substance abuse environment: cooperating with police to decrease drug trafficking on the streets, especially during daytime, overall improve family relations with the child, involve teenagers in after-school activities, as sport, art, etc (Delva et al., 2014).

Thus, both Swedish and other countries example are showing that socioeconomic class doesn't have much influence on drug use, rather environmental factors and psychosocial situation are what affects the prevalence of drug use among youth. Even in case of injecting drugs that is usually associated with low social classes, more disadvantaged neighborhoods show a lower level of high-risk injection behavior (DeCuir, Lovasi, El-Sayed, & Lewis, 2018). The research from New York City has shown that people who inject drugs in less socioeconomically advanced neighborhoods are more likely to perform safe injection behavior than people from more advanced neighborhoods. Researchers explain it in a way that drug users in poorer areas are more covered by harm-reduction programs, as needle-exchange, for example, that expand their access to clean syringes. Also, there is a stigma attached to injecting drugs, which could be an obstacle for people, who inject drugs from less poor neighborhoods, who don't associate themselves with the stereotypical image of a drug user, on their way to participate in harm-reduction programs (DeCuir et al., 2018). Thus, promotion of the stigmatized image of a drug user as being from poor city areas are not only false but also contributes to increasing of high-risk behavior.

Another stereotype associated with drug consumers is centered around the aspect of drug use and gender. Several researches are proving that there is no statistically significant difference in the prevalence of drug use among men and women (Brook et al., 2002; Delva et al., 2014; Measham, 2002). However, Fiona Measham is arguing that even though the gender gap in drug consumption is decreasing, men and women are using drugs in different ways and with different behavioral patterns (Measham, 2002). She is arguing that drug use among women "reflects aspects of women's position in the wider society". With the normalization discourse around the topic, drugs become more accessible by previously non-involved social populations. In addition, the consumption among women of illicit substances has become a tool for

creating new forms of femininity, as "bad girls" and "club babes". Drug consumption becomes one of the ways of "doing gender" in both traditional and non-traditional way of understanding femininity. In case of "bad girl" identity, drug consumption is encouraged inside of the reference group both by males and females but disapproved by the wider community. Female clubbers are more socially and geographically mobile, and consume drugs to facilitate social skills, increase confidence and get more energy. In the same time, it gives a control over their body in the way they want it, which also creates specific patterns of drug use, as consuming drugs in these amounts that would not allow a full loss of control over women's own body. It is mostly explained by the limitations of women independence that are put over her by the patriarchal structure of nowadays society. Even though "club babe" identity is empowering women to enjoy night-time activities (that are not usually seen as part of traditional femininity), it doesn't eliminate the risks of being alone on the streets at night, risk of sexual harassment in clubs, etc. In case of performing traditional femininity, the use of stimulants for night go-outs is giving women extra hours of leisure time that they could lack in their everyday life as mothers or caregivers (Measham, 2002). Interviews with mothers, who use cannabis, show that consumption of this substance helps them to calm down and be more engaged with childish activities. In this way, doing drugs is done in order to improve the performance of traditional forms of femininity (Measham, 2002).

All things considered, recent researches have shown that Sweden has average (or in case of cannabis – lower than average) level of drug consumption among young adults as it compared to the European region in total. At the same time, Swedish goal of "drug-free society" results in the development of highly controlled drug policies that are concentrated on creating as many as possible obstacles and troubles for drug consumers to make the alternative choice of sober life more attractive and easy. However, these measures are not showing any significant results if to compare statistics on drug consumption and availability in Sweden and other European countries with more liberal drug policies. This extensive control and ambition to create a hostile environment for drug users are serving purely discursive intentions and aspirations, and are not the answer to the real situation with drug prevalence. In addition, the latest trends of new synthetic substances that are not yet scheduled as illicit drugs are posing a significant challenge to restrictive drug policies.

Normalization discourse around drugs that have been spreading across the European region since the 80s (Measham, 2002), is attracting different social groups that haven't been involved in drug scene before that. Stigmatized image of so-called "junkie" as being poor, uneducated, unemployed and economically inactive are not reflecting the reality anymore (and hardly have ever been). Yet, it closes the eyes of society and limits the ability of official policy and social institutions to access these populations with harm-reduction programs and other social measures to reduce the damage that drugs cause for the person themselves and to the society in total.

Different social groups consume drugs with no statistical relation to social-economical state, gender, race or education level. However, the intersection of

different social positions creates different patterns of drug use among these social groups. In order to decrease the harm caused by drugs, social policy should carefully examine these patterns and address them according to scientifically proved and effective approaches that address the actual needs of specific populations.

3. Methodology

In this chapter, I would like to go inductively and start with an explanation of used methods, while then going deeper into reflections on the epistemological approach and my own positioning in this research.

3.1 Methods

During conducting of the research two major methods were used: semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

Participant observation implies that the researcher is participating in the activities of the observed group (Guilianotti, 1995). While gathering data for the research, I have been attending several rave events of different organizations, taking brief notes during events and writing down my reflections the morning after. This method was useful in terms of understanding some of the feelings and sensations that were expressed by the informants during interviews. It gave me a solid background for more deep conversation with participants, when I was able to understand what specific aspects of rave parties they're referring to. As Guilianotti mentions, participant observation regarding subcultures (especially stigmatized ones) could be difficult in terms of exoticizing its culture and performance, which could affect the critical understanding of group activity (Guilianotti, 1995). I was partially able to avoid it by having an experience in attending raves before the start of my research, thus, being familiar with overall dynamics. Participant observation also allowed me to gain an entrée point to my research and find several informants during casual conversations on rave parties. This has helped me to achieve a necessary degree of "passing" as a member of the community and establish a better rapport with the informants. Also, on the overall appearance, I am the "passing one": appropriate age for average raver (23 years old on the moment of conducting research), with a slightly alternative clothes style, which allows the community to identify me as their equal.

However, participant observations were used as mostly the entrée point of the research and as testing the information provided during actual conversations. Most of the data was gathered by semi-structured interviews with rave participants. Some of the participants of the research were found during participant observations, where I was meeting and talking with people on smoking areas spreading the information about my research. Several people went interested in the topic and we exchanged contacts to meet the other day for the interview itself.

As O'Reilly was pointing out, ethnographic interviews are different from other research design interviews in the focus of establishing relationships rather than just receiving the information (O'Reilly, 2009). Unfortunately, I didn't have time for establishing the rapport with informants before the interview itself as it is recommended for fieldwork conversations. However, I was trying to implement other attributes of ethnographic interviews in my case, such as informality of conversation, unstructuredness, friendly atmosphere and focus on participant's personal stories and opinions. As Blommaert and Dong Jie cite, 4 main points that make interviews successful: (1) interviews are conversations; (2) You are part of the interview; (3) The importance of anecdotes; (4) No such thing as a bad interview (Blommaert & Jie, 2010). To establish rapport with my informants and make conversations more informal, I was not only asking questions but also telling some of my stories regarding the topic, commenting and joking, which also helped informants to accept me as the equal and disestablish power relations of "researcher/informant" situation.

To attract informants I used several technics: posting the call for participants in relevant Facebook groups, snowballing (asking informants to spread the information about the research among their friends, asking my own friends who rave to attract their friends with whom I don't have any previous contacts) and openly talk about my research on raves themselves. An interview guide was developed prior interviews addressing 3 major topics: experience in raving, experience in party drug consumption, the general perception of rave and ravers inside the community and in Swedish society in general. These topic were selected according to the goals of my research and were based on theoretical background and previous research. As my main focus is motivation to use drugs, the questions regarding this motivation, first experiences, etc. were the most significant part of the interview guide. The topic of drug use is quite sensitive and intersectional, thus, the questions in the interview guide were constructed in such a manner not to be leading ones, and open a possibility for informants to reflect upon their own experience. As I was intended to conduct the interviews in a manner of unformal conversations, interview guide was only a cheat sheet helping me to remember main topic that I need to address during the conversation.

Due to legal limitations, I won't and I don't have a right to interview people under 18 years old without parental consent. In the same time, because of the promised anonymity of the informants, I couldn't ask them to show their identification card to prove the age. Thus, here I was relying on informants' word of their age. The youngest participant was exactly 18 years old, the eldest – 44 years old, while the majority of others were in their 20s. The average duration of interviews was about 1 hour. One problem that I have met during gathering the data was gender balance: to test hypothesis regarding gender differences in motivation to attend raves and use drugs, I needed both male and female informants. However, most of the people, who contacted me in the result of posts on Facebook were males: towards the end of data gathering, I had 1 female informant and 4 males. Only after the second round of posting, when I specified that I am interested in female perception, some women have contacted me

for the interview. As a result, I succeed in gathering 7 interviews, 3 of which are with female participants and 4 with males. Almost perfect!

For analyzing data materials ethnographic content analysis was used. “*Ethnographic content analysis (ECA) refers to an integrated method, procedure, and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving, and analyzing documents for their relevance, significance, and meaning*” as the Encyclopedia of Social Science Methods refers (Altheide & Schneider, 2011). Interviews transcriptions were used as documents, while observation notes and theoretical materials were taken as a background for better decoding of information. The main goal of ECA is to place attitudes and events described in the documents in the wider context of the environment by analyzing themes, frames and overall discourse. Thus, transcribed interview materials were divided into several categories based on thematic similarities. 2 main categories were selected based on the division of interview guide sections – experience with raves and experience with drugs – and corresponded with 2 main focuses expressed in the theoretical framework. Another major category that emerged as significant was the topic of safety of the ravers. Other categories, as perception of ravers from the side of non-ravers, disclosure of personal drug use, opinion about the effectiveness of drug related social services, were not compelling enough to place them in separate part of the analysis. Thus, these categories were integrated in bigger parts. Some statements were repeating in several interviews, however, they were not significant enough to categorize them as clearly separate or influential according to given research question. Each of the categories was carefully examined within the theoretical claims presented above, in relation to previous researches and overall context. The material was also analyzed from the point of contradictions between statements from different participants of the research as it can show that the attitudes and feelings are affected by more variables than it was assumed before.

3.2 Epistemology

Social Sciences in general post a quite problematic epistemological question. Where the knowledge of the social system in the society is coming from? And who has the right to speak, or, even more, judge? Especially when the topic involves and directly or indirectly affects different parts of the population? My topic is exactly that problematic one. My initial plan was to include the perspective of social workers and other workers of drug-related institutions and representatives from police, who are directly linked to work in rave setting, as well as the ravers perspective itself. However, the time and length frame of master thesis work wouldn't allow me to cover all sides. Thus, I decided to concentrate on analyzing the perception of people, who are directly involved in the rave scene as subcultural insiders.

Donna Haraway, partly based on a Marxist critique of structural inequality and blindness of privileged academic social classes, develops the idea of situational knowledge. Situational knowledge approach is arguing for the preference of partial perspective rather than the claim to achieve objectivity as it recognizes scientific

objectivity in social studies as an illusion (Haraway, 1988). As it accepts a post-modernistic understanding of identity as being a social construction, it argues that objectivity couldn't exist in the situation, when the research is led by the person, who is also trapped in this socially constructed modern world and thus, couldn't escape the power of the discourse. Any produced knowledge would be affected by the specific position of the researcher, which usually would be privileged academia member. Claiming that these knowledge are objective, establish an imbalance in power distribution between, again, privileged academical researcher, who “has” a right for objectivity, while the “subjects” of their research are, in reality, powerless objects. Haraway is contending for the researched communities and persons becoming active actors of the research and forming it in a way that would see more objective from their point of view. She also states that feminist researches should limit themselves in the field they want to investigate in the name of partial, though, more concrete knowledge: *“Feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object. It allows us to become answerable for what we learn how to see”* (Haraway, 1988, p. 583). Though, it doesn't mean that knowledge coming from the within are objective as oppressed social groups could go through different defense mechanisms of psyche. However, they're more preferable due to the fact that *“they are less likely to allow denial of the critical and interpretive core of all knowledge”* as Donna puts it (Haraway, 1988, p. 584). Judith Stacey, who wrote her article in the same year as Haraway is arguing for the same approach to feminist ethnography and pointing out that only the research that gives an active role to the researched community through fieldwork could be count as feminist (Stacey, 1988). However, she also mentions two major problems with such an epistemological approach, supporting Haraway's notice that situated knowledge is still not ideal. The first contradiction is that the researcher still holds more power than the researched, especially in terms of leaving the settings of the research. Feminist academic should always be reflective upon how their position and actions during the process of collecting data could influence the researched community. The other aspect is the final product of the investigation and who holds the right to it. Even though feminist epistemological framework is arguing for the cooperation of the researcher and the researched claiming for intersubjectivity and respect, the title page of the final product would state the name of the researcher, usually even without mentioning any names of the interviewees (because of the confidential reasons). Thus, even post-modernist feminist research framework cannot argue for full respect and equal distribution of power. Nevertheless, as Stacey puts it, all that we can do is reflect and admit our limitations and accept the partial nature of our knowledge.

All in all, this idea of situated knowledge will be the main epistemological framework of my research. In this work, I would like to give as much power of defining knowledge to my interviewees as I possibly could. While designing the interview guide and conducting interviews themselves, I was concentrating on personal stories, opinions, and beliefs of representatives of the rave community to give them the power to speak for themselves. The main focus of my research is on these stories and

opinions, and how they could be theoretically explained. Due to that reason, I tried to present the voice of the community as much as it's possible by including direct quotes of the responders and using them for the subtitles. Rave scene here is presented as a movement, underground culture, that have the right to define itself. The methodological goal of the research is to provide space for including their voices into the academical discourse.

I do recognize the limitations of this approach (that will be discussed later). However, I would argue that in the situation of the underground subculture that doesn't have much space for defining itself in mainstream academical and social realities, this approach is the one that is the most beneficial.

3.3 Locating myself

As drawn by situational knowledge approach, it is very important for me to locate myself in the dichotomy of insider/outsider position regarding researched social groups. Just from the very start of this chapter, I would immediately argue against a dichotomic understanding of positioning the researcher as being only or insider, or outsider, in the same fashion as Sonya Corbin Dwyer and Jennifer L. Buckle did. In their article they are discussing the advantages and limitations of both positionings, however, concluding that every qualitative researcher is situated in the space between these positions (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). As Hall was stating, identities are referring to the positioning of the person within the system of social life, based on biological features (as sex, race, etc) or social class of origin (Hall, 2015). In this way, the interviewee holds the number of identities, as well as the researcher. This creates this space in-between of insider/outsider positioning, which allows the researcher to relate to the participants on one of these levels. Also, the position of researcher implies grounded work with literature materials regarding a researched topic, which is not by itself putting the researcher in insider position, but also, couldn't be recognized as completely outsider position as well (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Insider position implies compassion, empathy, and understanding of the interviewee's feelings regarding the topic of similarity. In my case, I could consider myself as an insider to rave scene as I had experience in attending raves and techno music parties both in my hometown (Kyiv, Ukraine) and in Sweden as well. I was first introduced to the Swedish rave scene in Malmo in spring 2018 during composing the paper on a similar topic for the university's course. Since then, I was attending rave events quite regularly (once a month on average), which gave me a longitude perspective on the dynamics of the rave scene in Sweden, entry points to reach the community, understanding of specific matter pertaining raves in Sweden. One of the most important advantages that this insider position has given me is the possibility to reach the ravers and spread the information about the research. Rave community in the Skane region is quite secret and cooperates through specific instruments of Facebook security and confidentiality. I would prefer not to reveal all the structure of spreading information regarding raves as I found it unethical to disclose something that the community prefers to keep in

secret. However, it is quite uneasy to find the information about coming raves as well as get access to the community without having friends or simply knowing people from the community. Thus, being an insider regarding Skane rave scene gave me access to this social group that I would hardly get otherwise. In addition, my interviewees were becoming more open to me during the conversation, when they understand that I also belong to the community of ravers. I believe that it could be explained by the fact that ravers are experiencing a stigma regarding this part of their identification. As Dwyer and Buckle explain, participants tend to feel more open towards researchers if they understand that they belong to the same stigmatized community and share the same feelings (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). I did feel it during the interviews with the phrases from the participants, like, "well, you get it, right?", etc. Since my topic is about drug use, which is even more stigmatized topic than raves, this rapid connection on the fact of raving allows me to establish a closer connection with my interviewees and get a more deep understanding of the topic.

The insider position towards rave community helped me to cover my disadvantages of being outsider towards drug consumption. Through analyzing my own feelings and sensations during raving, I could closer understand (or, at least, try to understand) the effects of drug use on raves that participants were explaining to me. At the same time, being an outsider in drug culture has allowed me to observe it without the intervention of my own feelings and experiences, which was recognized as one of the advantages of outsider position (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). In the same way, me being a basically outsider to Swedish culture and policies allowed me to have a look at it without the influence of the Swedish discourse. Living in Sweden for 2 years and having Swedish friends definitely have helped me in understanding and exploring Swedish culture and society, but not to the extent, when I can feel being a part of it. Thus, the outsider position towards this aspect of researched group granted me possibility to observe motivation and patterns of drug consumption with its critical analysis. However, I do recognize that it also limits my understanding and knowledge of Swedish policies as I couldn't be as familiar with the cultural settings of it as a person who born in Sweden would be.

All things considering, I position myself in-between of insider/outsider status regarding the topic of his research. To overcome possible power asymmetric concerning my privileged position as a researcher, I was, as O'Reilly suggested in such situations, trying to construct interviews as informal conversations, giving my informants space to talk what they feel is important using interview guide as just a "cheat-sheet" in case if a conversation gets stuck (O'Reilly, 2009). Also, at the end of every interview, I was asking informants if they have any other story to tell or opinion to express. In half of the cases, people were willing to share their additional thoughts emphasizing on what they think is important to include in the research. While using my own experience as a way of a better understanding of the community's emotions and experiences, I was trying to give as much voice as I could to the community itself.

3.4 Ethical considerations

Since the very beginning of writing process that started with presenting thesis proposal with my preliminary thoughts on it, I was always questioned by my peers as well as university professors about ethical concerns of my research topic. The drug scene is directly linked to legislation and law as most of the substances that are mentioned in the research has illegal status in Sweden. This creates a problematic situation regarding several points. First of them is that during the interviews I am gaining the information regarding illegal acts – consuming drugs. This poses a lot of morally complicated questions: am I legally obliged to report the crime I get to know about? If I want to achieve an insider position, should I also be involved in drug consumption? How should I address glorification of drug use that might come from the informants? And all other questions that could appear in societies, where drug use is perceived as destructive criminal activity.

While trying to resolve this rather puzzling situation, the article of Norwegian researcher Per Kristian Hilden, who was researching recreational drugs use among young adults in Oslo, came in my hands as a very useful tool. One of the issues he was addressing is how the researcher's drug use or non-use can affect the research (Hilden, 2014). As many drug users would argue (and my informants as well) it is impossible to fully understand sensations and effects of specific substances without actually trying them out. As several of my informants were admitting, linguistic capabilities are limited when it comes to the description of that altered perception that the person gains in the result of a drug use. Also, the researcher, who is practically unfamiliar towards the effects of specific substances, is an outsider in relation to the study group that could create obstacles in establishing the rapport with the participants. However, what plays here the most important role is the general perception of drug use in a particular society. As Per Hilder refrained, drug use is strictly marginalized and stigmatized topic. Though he was writing about Norway, Swedish context is almost the same if not even more strict in terms of drug consumption. General Scandinavian attitude towards drugs is saying that drug consumption is affecting the perception of reality as the only "real" reality is the sober one. Thus, any other state presents a twisted view of the world that couldn't be perceived as a real one. Hence, if the researcher has used any drug to be able to fully call himself insider in the drug research, the perception of his research would be affected just by the fact of drug use. This aspect could lead to neglecting all the findings of the research simply because of the stigmatized attitude towards drug use in a given society. It would be too much of a risk just to gain insider position about drug use. Additionally, I can not fully prove or disapprove the idea that drug use affects the perception of reality as the concept of reality is not solidly defined. Thus, to protect my research I position myself as an outsider of drug use scene and I would not personally interact with any kind of illegal substances. Here I will distance myself from drug use and fully rely on the information provided by my participants of the research. That would gain me a piece of objectivity (if it even can exist in postmodern understanding) through the outside point of view.

However, does it solve the question of admitting drug use and to what extent should the researcher take the words of the participant for grounded? Because, in case someone agrees that drugs are affecting the perception of the user, how could we rely on judgments of the person, who has a "twisted" understanding of reality? This challenging situation could also lead to questioning credibility of collected data. Well, as it was mentioned before, the understanding of reality is relevant and objectivity is quite unstable construction. In addition, main principles of ethnographic studies are arguing for putting peoples and communities in the center of the research, giving them voices and presenting their world view with careful theoretical analysis from the side of the researcher (Blommaert & Jie, 2010; O'Reilly, 2009; Sheldon, 2018; Stacey, 1988). The main advantage of the ethnographic approach is cooperation between the researcher and the researched, demolishing hierarchal power relations, where the researcher is the one, who is able to define the truth (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Stacey, 1988). Thus, in ethnographic tradition, I should refuse the idea of craving for objectivity and pursue statements of my informants as the most relevant.

In the same fashion, I would like to address the issue of admitting drug use. Ethnography is arguing for presenting reality in all the forms it can take: "*Reality is kaleidoscopic, complex and complicated, often a patchwork of overlapping activities*" (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 11). In this way, the main aim of the research is to reveal all the possible sides of this kaleidoscopic reality, showing one by one hidden parts of the community's life. In addition, Swedish Act concerning the Ethical Review of Research Involving Humans is stating that "*the well-being of humans shall be given priority ahead of the needs of society and science*" (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2003). I would argue that being unarrested is a part of human well-being that I as a researcher is obligated to ensure. The Act also states that "*personal data on breaches of the law may only be approved if it is needed to carry out the research*" (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2003). As the topic of drug consumption is rather central for my research, I do believe that non-disclosure of crimes that informants would admit to me is a necessary measure on the way of collecting important data. And to all these justifications one highly important one should be added – the promise of the confidentiality, which is central for researches that involve human interactions (Blommaert & Jie, 2010; Finch, n.d.; O'Reilly, 2009; Sheldon, 2018). Trust is a base for establishing the rapport between the researcher and informants, where the last ones are holders of the information, the source of truth, and without their contribution researches in social science would not have any sense (Finch, n.d.). Hence, the promise of confidentiality is essential for ethnographic success.

Thus, in the name of science and with the great respect for my informants, I will make sure that none of the information that was provided to me would be used in a way to harm any participant of the research process. All ethical dilemmas concerning my research and its process were resolved for the sake of the noble purpose of Academia as a community of rational knowledge research and production. The ultimate goal of academic affair should be always pointed out towards analytical, yet, careful examination of the surrounding environment in order of human sustainable

development. That means the exploration of information not only for the idea of gaining knowledge itself, but also to serve the higher purpose of filling the gaps in the manuscript of nature and humanity. Thus, every decision during the thesis process was made keeping this goal in my mind: to serve scientific cognition and demands of human society.

3.5 Trustworthiness

As defined by Connelly, trustworthiness of the research is defined by 5 components: credibility, dependability, confirmability, transferability and authenticity (Conelley, 2016). Credibility of given research was ensured by following the standard procedure of conducting qualitative researches and explaining any unusual choices in the introduction as well as methodological chapter. As majority of the central statements were repeating in the majority of the interviews, I can conclude the stability and dependability of collected data. Any of the differentiation in responders' statements are discussed in analytical chapter and examined considering different factors that can influence this differentiation. Confirmability of the research is widely discussed in methodological chapter in forms of reflections upon the concept of relative and situated knowledge. As the results of the data analysis have shown general consistency in expressed statements and opinions and do not confront with theoretical framework and previous researches, these results could be extrapolated to other subjects in the same settings. However, as the research has intersectional nature and argue for careful analysis of the particular settings, the exceptions could occur. Finally, the sample was chosen randomly from people, who met the requirements of the research sample and expressed their desire to participate. One limitation that could occur here is that the mindset of people, who were willing to contact me and share their stories and opinions could differ from general public of raves. However, from the statements of the responders about their friends no contradictions have been shown. In addition, during participant observations I was keeping in mind that possible differentiation in ravers behavior, but haven't notice any contradictions as well.

Thus, I may conclude that my research shows sufficient level of trustworthiness as it recognizes and addresses all the limitations, doesn't claim for objectivity and aims to present the theoretical analysis of the voices of the community with inclusion of these particular voices.

4. Analysis

Before jumping right to the analysis, I would like to present its structure and clarify the use of some terms.

All the data gained through 7 interviews, observation, and personal experience would be divided into 3 main topics: understanding the nature of raves and its community, ecological analysis of drug consumption patterns of ravers and the questions concerning the safety of rave attendees. In the first part, I would like to discuss the transgressive nature of rave culture, the formation of the rave community

as well as gender-related aspects of community performance. The second part would be situated around the examination of drug consumption through ecological system theory and PPCT model with additional notes on gender difference in patterns of consumption. A separate section concerning matters of safety was included on the basis of the frequency at which the responders raised the topic. This last section will include notes on the general security of rave participants, gender-specific security and interactions between ravers and the police.

One term that needs to be clarified in this work is "mainstream clubs". This concept here would refer to fully legal night clubs that play any kind of mainstream music except electronic dance music (EDM) without the specification of the audience. This term in this particular paper should be understood in a dichotomy with rave and techno clubs, however, it is quite complicated to define it clearly. Several places that are considered as venues for raves obtain fully legal status in Malmo: Inkonst and Deep club. Both of them are not exclusively rave/techno clubs as sometimes they play other kind of music. Still, rave community recognizes both of them, especially Inkonst, as acceptable places for rave parties, thus, the division of "legal/illegal clubs" could not exist in these settings. Conversely, there are several underground legal clubs in Malmo that are not playing EDM music and could not be considered as rave venue. It turns out that in this use of term they are also lying under the name of mainstream clubs. Thus, the use of this concept of mainstream clubs is not perfect, however, it is the only one that is working in settings of this research. For easier explanation, I decided to focus on the dichotomy of mainstream clubs versus rave venues.

Even despite the existence of two legal clubs that could be considered as rave venues, the vast majority of rave parties are happening in a gray legal area. That is happening due to several reasons. First of them is a big number of legal regulations that the club needs to meet to obtain necessary permits to be open. The hardest to obtain from them is an alcohol license that requires a lot of initial capital. Due to underdevelopment and scarcity of modern rave culture in the Skane region, organizers of the events simply cannot afford these infusions. The other possible reason for it -- existing prejudices against techno music and rave culture in general as in mainstream discourse it is tightly connected to the idea of drug consumption. This reason, though, should be perceived only as an assumption as this question haven't been deeply touched in my research. However, one of my responders told me a story of one legal club that existed several years ago in Malmo. They haven't been specifically targeted to rave community, yet, had some techno nights once in a while. City authorities though decided to shut down that place due to "high level of drug consumption" in there. When one of the owners asked the police what they could do to overcome this problem, the police answer was "Stop playing techno".

With this statements in mind let's get started!

Part 1. Dancing Crowd in practice

4.1.1. *“I wanted my freedom. I was repressed for so long!”*

The easiest way to find out the true nature or, rather, the motivation of people to attend raves was to ask them why they prefer to go raving instead of basic mainstream clubs. In the best tradition of Sara Thornton dualism of “being hip/unhip” (Thornton, 1995), participants were describing raves on the contrary to mainstream clubs in terms of culture, atmosphere, and people. Most of the participants were starting their party life with going to “mainstream clubs”, however, were dissatisfied with the destructive alcoholic culture of mass clubs that have started to search for the alternative. Most of the critique towards mainstream clubs was directed to alcohol consumption culture and the motivation of people to attend such kind of places to get drunk, pick up fights or hook up with somebody.

Acquaintance with club culture for the majority has happened exactly through mainstream clubs as being the default ones, more easily accessible and familiar in Swedish society. For instance, Polina was telling me a story of her entry to social party life back in the 90s: she started acquiring drinking culture with home-made liquor at 14 years old and hanging out with elder guys, who were helping her to get into bars with age restrictions. Another typical youth activity was presented by another participant, Slava. He came from the small Swedish city and before being introduced to raves, his typical night-out involved “*go out at nights, pick up fights, sell dope*”. Describing his life before raves, he was expressing a lot of disappointment and despondency about “normal life” of Swedish youth: “*me and my friends as well, before raves, used to just walk around, doing nothing, because there are not that many things to do for youth.*”.

It is pretty much important to draw the overall picture of mainstream clubs and other kinds of activities from the perspective of participants of the research. As it was mentioned before, subcultures are forming on the basis of being “the other”, the opposite to mainstream culture that attracts the same people, who do not fit in this measures of common culture. Sara Thornton defines “subcultural capital” as a number of specific patterns, definitions, and acts that creates the status of a specific community and differentiate them from members of bigger/other groups (Thornton, 1995). Thus, this picture of mainstream clubs or alternative (for ravers) lifestyle helps to understand what this subculture is not as well as to comprehend the motivation of subculture members to, basically, become the members of this subculture. One more reason to choose raves or, rather, search for the alternative is a highly restricted and normalized culture of attending mainstream clubs. As Olha puts it, “*In Sweden, it's a lot of restrictions in normal clubs. It takes all the fun out of it*”. It was mentioned by several of participants, mainly in terms of aggressive, extremely strict guards, who “*are so afraid of drugs being in there that they even forget to care about people*” (Lana).

And contrast to this highly restricted night time activity was also presented as one of the main motivation to attend illegal or semi-legal rave parties. Rave event itself in Sweden in most cases is situated in a gray legal area. Most popular kind of these parties are organized as "student private parties" with the list of participants, another kind of organizational form – forest rave, which is hard to find and even harder to keep track of attendees. The rave night is not that strictly organized as in a mainstream club, because it can't be pushed in these measurements. The guards on raves exist not because it is obligated by law, but because the organizers of the event see them as a necessary part to ensure the safety of the participants. The rules of behaving on rave are reinvented by the participants as well as organizers of the night and are coming from the idea of functionality and values that are accepted by the community. As it was explained by Lana, because of the lack of guards on these parties, people are becoming guards to themselves, start to reinvent the rules of behaving that is suitable for the meaning and reasoning of the place.

So what's that meaning of the rave? Partially, the predominant meaning of rave is the escape from the system of rules and reorganization of it. The resistance of the rave party lies in the reassignment of the right to re-define and establish rules. Because the gathering itself already has chosen to lie outside of traditional law system (and here law should be understood not only in terms of legislation but also as a social contract), participants are free to invent their own law system from the position of their understanding of functionality. But first, let's see how this temporary breakout occurs. Pasha is stating that "*Rave experience is to feel truly free, have some sort of temporary anarchy in the place*". When Foucault is explaining his concept of heterotopias, which was briefly mentioned before in theoretical part, he is comparing them to utopias, wherein, heterotopias actually exist on the contrary to fantasy nature of utopias (Foucault, 1967). Heterotopias are actually "placy" place comparing to placeless utopias. In this quote of Pasha, we see the discursive formation of rave experience as being utopian in terms of its anarchy, with the only one note that rave place actually exists. One of the kinds of heterotopia Foucault cites is festival heterotopias, which the main goal is creating a temporary illusion of accumulated experience, or knowledge, or perception (Foucault, 1967). They are intended to be limited in time as maintaining this illusion eternally would be impossible and would lose its meaning. Raves present this particular type of heterotopias constructed by organizers, attendees and the idea of such a place itself. First, as I stated, people, who turn to rave, were mostly dissatisfied with mainstream club culture, which made them make rave as everything but the attributes of mainstream club. These expectations build up the behavior of the people, thus, making these expectations real. Many of the participants of the research were describing rave as "loving, relaxed, open", "the culture of love". In particular, I found this quote pretty interesting: "*People on raves are more into themselves. In their own bubble. But at the same time, it's a culture of love*" (Pasha). The interesting thing is happening, the articulation of these expectations and rules of the rave space is happening without particular communication of the norms between attendees and/or organizers, they exist in a discursive pattern and understood by all the participants.

"The culture of love" is created through the idea of love, without active interaction among participants of this culture. As several interviewees stated, on raves they feel the connection to other people through dancing, being in this space together, having the same experience: "*for me going to rave feels like being alone. Being alone together with all these other people, who are also alone, doing their own thing*" (Slava).

Some respondents were connecting this feeling and this paradox of rave to the use of the common drug – MDMA. It is believed to be the drug of love that enhances a person's empathogenic feelings (McElrath, 2005). Due to this effect and the wide popularity of consumption of it at the beginning of rave history, it creates the idea that every person on rave is feeling the same thing that, in turn, creates the sensation of unity through a similar experience. Of course, the consumption of the drug is not the only element that creates this unity as not every participant of a rave is consuming specifically MDMA or consume drugs at all. Music plays a very important role in this unification. As shared by a techno DJ with ties to scene since the 90s, his motivation to create and perform music is to share his emotions and feelings with people, to transfer his sensations through the sound to the dancing crowd. In reward, he is getting the perception of people, how they perceive the sound and express it through dance. Thus, this creates a mechanism for mutual communication without the use of traditional means of communication. It expresses the idea of unification of people through sharing the emotions and sensations.

Likewise, the place itself plays an important role in the creation of the atmosphere that allows this unification. Traditionally, raves have been organized in abandoned/semi-abandoned factories with minimal redecorations, open-air spaces and, quite specific for Sweden but not only, forests. The venue usually should be dark, however, even lights play an important role. The darkness of the place contributes to the feeling of being "in your own bubble" as well as deiconising the performer – the DJ: he is not central to the party anymore like it is in pop-music scene, he is just the part of the overall experience, the shaman, that creates the atmosphere (John, 2005). When Polina was telling me her story of getting back to the rave scene after a long break since the 90s, she mentioned that she started to go alone and that "*it's dark and you can't see people anyway*". Here the darkness is cutting back the feeling of being alone at the party that in mainstream clubs can be uncomfortable. On raves it is dark, so any figure next to you can be your friend. Pasha was saying that the darkness helps him to sink in his own space while dancing. Thus, the lack of light in a venue is part of the ambiance of being alone and together with everybody else.

Another attribute of festive heterotopias is their limitation in time. This characteristic of raves was expressed by respondents in different ways. Olha pointed out that it's one thing she particularly likes about raves that nobody knows when they stop. Even though in the announcements it is stated the time of start and finish, as well as a schedule of the DJs, but the social aspect of raves as hanging out and conversations on the outside yard rarely have its particular schedule. Also, after-parties or so-called hanging outs are a popular activity among rave attendees, which allows them to socialize with new people and strengthen community ties. Also, this is connected to

the same enjoyment from the reduction of restrictions: if the crowd wants more, DJs can prolong their sets, so schedule and ending time becomes more like a general recommendation rather than strict agenda. Another chronological aspect of raves is the finitude nature of the sharing and unification. With the bright morning comes also the end of the magic, and festive transcendence of the rave is bringing to the end: “*you just go home and it's like it never happens, everything is back to normal*”, says Slava.

Thus, rave presents this limited in space, time and action place of anarchic redefinition of rules, when the main goal becomes the unification of separate elements by sharing their sensations. All the redefinition of rules and laws are coming from the aim to reach this point of unification and easing the path of reaching it for every participant, including organizers, DJs and, of course, attendees themselves. This unification is happening through several tools: music, specific drug consumption, specific features of the place, overall atmosphere and, of course, community. Precisely people are playing an important role in creating and maintaining otherness of rave culture and in the next section I will talk more about this specific community.

4.1.2 “It’s like a small family!”

Second most popular reason to attend raves, after music, was people, a specific community that exists only on these kinds of parties. As Pasha said, rave is the place for weirdos, misfits to feel at home. He also mentioned that he is having hard times bonding with people outside of the rave community. So what’s making this community so special that it attracts that “specific” people that couldn’t be found anywhere else? To analyze the community feeling and bonding that is happening among ravers I chose the concept of sense of community, developed by McMillan and Chavis. They draw their understanding of the community based on ties and intimate connections between subjects of the group of people that could be called community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). The term “sense of community” represents set of 4 aspects, by which it is possible to identify and examine a community: membership, influence, integration, and fulfillment of needs and shared emotional connection (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 9). I am intended to use this template to break down and look closer on elements of the rave community.

Membership

Membership of the particular community is understood in terms of the right to belong. It is the instrument that separates these, who belong to the community and the aliens. Through boundaries of membership, the community creates itself and protects against social threats.

In the rave community membership can take quite obvious forms as for many events the attendees should sign up a membership form with their names and date of birth. This is made because of the legal reasons for organizing the event in the form of a student party. Also, most of the parties are hidden, so, to get access to them, the person

should know somebody from the scene, who can introduce them and show the place. A lot of interviewees stated that it was a friend or partner, who brought them to their first rave. Because the community is rather small, a lot of people know each other or have seen others on different parties. It is not an uncommon situation, when the first thing the person does while coming to the event, is taking a look over the dance floor to identify whom they know in there. As Lana stated, one thing that attracts her in raves is that she knows a lot of people in the scene after several years of attending multiple events in Malmo. This selectiveness and actual interpersonal relations among people also create boundaries of these, who belong and who do not. In order to belong the person needs, first, find the way to the scene, which is not that easy and involve some social media research or personal connections. Olha was explaining to me the difference in the crowd at different events with different organizers. The most popular party has more broad variability of people: from teenagers, who are going there just because they can't go to other places to party because of age limit, to elder people of 30-40 years old "office plankton", to the "newbies" in the techno scene. As some other interviewees also stated, these parties have more visible drug consumption, a higher level of aggression and can share some attributes with mainstream clubs. Moreover, the event size differs, where the smaller events tend to be more well-hidden. These places have more established values and boundaries, attract "nerds" of techno music and are more selective in their crowd. Most of the attendees of these niche parties are going there for the only reason of enjoying the music, thus, the drug consumption and aggression level are visibly lower in there. One of these niche places of rave scene is presented by psytrance parties that are, according to respondents, way different from the more visible techno scene. Several participants of the research said that the community of people, who are attending psytrance events, is significantly smaller compared to the techno scene, which makes them more "friendly", more "family". As Pasha also mentioned, the reason of more selective crowd on psytrance parties could be the places, where they usually held: it is often outside of the city, in forests, so it requires more of the commitment as you need to plan the way there and stay up till the morning, when you actually can leave the place. This commitment also creates more tight boundaries of the community as it requires investments to attend the event. Also, Olha said that the psytrance music is actually hard to understand, "to dig into it", thus, it requires time and emotional investment to understand the music and start to enjoy it.

Actually, any "rave music" or, better to say, EDM (electronic dance music) requires time to understand it. A significant part of the respondents mentioned that it took them quite some time to start enjoying any kind of rave music. As Lana puts it, "*It's hard to listen to techno if you don't like it*". For Olha, it was a process of learning to like rave music. Some of the respondents said that they start to understand techno after the first experience with MDMA as it has helped them to feel the music and be more open about their senses. For others, it took some time to find their kind of techno and some quality music in the scene. This specification of rave music as being "not for everyone"

also creates community boundaries: if you “dig it”, you have a right to call yourself a part of the community. Again, music becomes central to community bonding.

Last trend of community bonding that was revealed during the research, is the behavior of the person during the event. Aggressive, abusive or destructive behavior is considered as “no-go” among rave community. One story told by Lana is illustrating these boundaries: it was one of the semi-legal raves, closer to the morning, when not many people are left, but the DJ was still going on. Two guys start to behave quite aggressively, disturbing the peace of other dancing people. When the DJ noticed that, he stopped the music and said: “if you are going have that aggressive attitude, you need to go out, we don’t want this here. And we don’t want to play music if you have that attitude”. After this, both guys apologized for their behavior and only after that the music continued. This and many similar stories that I’ve heard from responders show that the members of the community are policing the behavior of attendees and create boundaries to indicate who belongs to the crowd (these, who have an unaggressive, loving and peaceful attitude) and who are alienated to the community. When I was asking responders if they had any experience with aggressive behavior on raves, all of them have been mentioning at the end of the story that probably, these people, who have been causing incidents, do not belong to the community and are just random individuals, who are accidentally walked into a rave.

Thus, the rave community does have their borders of belonging, though, they are not usually strictly defined. Most of these borders are set around the desirable attitude of attendees that should include the interest in music, accepting, respectful and peaceful behavior (as it also comes from the idea that people are going to the raves to enjoy the music, not to cause a fight or any other disturbance) and investments that the person is willing to put to understand the culture of rave. One other significant aspect of creating boundaries is a symbolic system accepted by the community. It could involve specific language, dress style, rituals. Rave community in general, not only in Sweden, do have these attributes, especially in terms of clothes style, however, it was not deeply touched in this particular research.

Influence

This aspect of the sense of community determines in which way a member of community influences the group and what influence the group has over its members. The influence of members on the group is creating the cohesiveness of the community. In case if the community was formed based on similar views and values, this cohesiveness creates shared values that are established by the majority of the community and helps to bring it together.

In the rave community, such cohesion is formed based on enjoying the music as the main value of the event. As Pasha mentioned several times, rave is the place for people, who don't usually fit into "normal" dogmatized society. Thus, to be able to coexist, "the misfits" are creating a particular set of norms, based on which they can achieve the sense of belongingness and being fit. As it was mentioned before, these values

include the enjoyment of music as the main goal, respect for others, unaggressive behavior. Slava was explaining this idea in a way that other people are actively participating in creating this sense of belongingness, that other person is the reason he is having fun, thus, this person as important as the music and other factors in creating this specific atmosphere: "*It's just a joy of seeing other people being as happy as you are*". Then, people themselves became the value of cohesiveness and create it by sharing the same view. At psytrance events, as Pasha says, people are obsessed with self-improvement, with the salvation of their life problems of the past. This also influences the culture of psytrance as it set around Goa dance culture, where meditation practices and ideas are playing a very important role. This also influences a choice of most popular drugs in there – psychedelics as LSD, psilocybin mushrooms, etc. They are used with the goal of exploring one's mind and ego and its interconnectedness with their environment.

Another way around the group influences its members by policing their participation in the community life based on these values that have been developed by the majority of the members. Subjects of the community are expected to conform to these rules and norms to ensure the effective existence of the community. The way in which the rave community is policing the behavior of its members was shown earlier. Basic values of the community were established in the very beginning of the development of rave culture and were accumulated in the abbreviation PLUR – peace, love, unity, respect (John, 2005; Ott & Herman, 2003). Several responders cited that rave feels like a house party of the friend, where the invited are caring about the place not to break something or cause any trouble. Also, Slava mentioned that the person doesn't want to misbehave it feels like he/she would be judged for that. These values of respect to the people an place are so deeply established in the community that even concern about being judged is working as enough reason to behave according to norms. The smaller, the tighter the community is, the more these concerns are working. For instance, Sasha told me about one psytrance festival he was attending. The approximate number of people that attended the festival was around 50,000 attendees, however, the place of the festival stayed clean throughout all days of the event, and people were picking up trash and trying not to cause any damage to nature around. This is quite an unusual situation comparing to non-psytrance and non-EDM events, as he said.

In general, the rave community is based on the idea of acceptance, that is why not much of conforming practices are visible. The main rule of the functioning is set around the idea that a person is free to do whatever they want as far as it is not affecting or disturbing other people.

Integration and Fulfillment of needs

This aspect is intended to analyze the reinforcement a member is getting in the result of being a part of the group. The community becomes more efficient and functional if

the members feel that their needs are satisfied with the help of the community and they can rely on it.

In the rave community, the main reinforcement gained by the members is the feeling of belonging and unity is one of the main values of the community itself. Some participants of the research were calling rave community "a little family" and describing it as the place, where they actually feel at home. Another reinforcement is acceptance. As it was stated many times before, the rave community attracts people, who are not usually fit into mainstream movements. Because of that, these people are tent to search for a place, where they could both be understood properly and feel part of a group. As Slava stated, "*you feel comfortable being weird there*", and that's what people are mostly searching when they are going on raves.

The other interesting form of reinforcement on raves is the approval of dance style. The DJ on raves is sharing his/her sensations through the music, while the feedback he/she is getting is the dance of the crowd. Because dance becomes an essential part of presenting the feedback and sharing emotions, it gained a significant role in rave culture. Olha has told me about her friend that is "a little dance machine": every time she is going to raves, she dances all night and gets a lot of compliments from people for her dance moves. These compliments are not sexual in their nature as in mainstream clubs, they rather represent the fascination of people that the girl could catch the tempo of the music and feel it and express through the dance. Olha also once was very inspired by the dance moves of the girl on one rave. As she explained, she was so inspired because she herself couldn't catch the music and feel to dance on it, that's why watching the girl understanding the flow of the sound was so exciting for her. Thus, the approval or, rather, flattering dance moves on raves means the confirmation of being part of the community and being an influential member of the one.

Shared emotional connection

As the authors of the article are stating, "the interactions of members in shared events and the specific attributes of the events may facilitate or inhibit the strength of the community" (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 13). For rave community sharing the feelings during the event are essential in creating the bond between its members. McMillan and Chavis also citing that the quality of interaction is affecting the strength of the bond: the more positive interanion is, the stronger becomes the relations among members of the group.

For rave community sharing intimacy during the event is not shown in particularly its active form. Attendees of the party could feel an intimate connection to other dancers without necessarily communicating with each other. This is happening through dance and what a lot of responders called "being in your own bubble". From observing dancing crowd on raves anyone can notice that basically nobody is talking to each other on the dancefloor, most of the people are dancing rather alone, without grouping with their friends in circles as it is usually happening in normal clubs. Several

of my responders have mentioned that even though they're going to the parties with their friends, while they are dancing, they are concentrating on the rhythms of the sound and trying to mentally create this bubble around them. In the same time, these people, who are going to the raves alone, do not feel excluded or left behind, because they're dancing in the same "own bubble". This aspect of raves reduces the value of personal connection with particular people on the party and in this way equalizes the connection between people the person know and these, whom they don't know. This "own bubble" makes other people outside of the bubble equal in terms of connection to them, which allows people to relate to all the crowd in total, not only to particular people, with whom the person came to the party. Certainly, it doesn't mean that the friends of the person would mean the same to him/her as completely unknown people, but it plays its role in easing the bonding process with any other part of the community. This basically illustrates the concept of The Body of the Dancing Crowd, when every separate subject of the crowd creates the united whole. The music becomes the main channel of expression, every subject is succumbing to it letting the sound drive them through the experience. In this way, it is equalizing everyone in the face of music, and this equal position allows the unification. All other elements of rave party as a venue, lights, drug use, etc., become just instruments in achieving this state of being fully controlled by the sound. As Pasha mentioned, some people are taking Ecstasy pills while going to raves because it helps them to reconnect with their feelings and be more open to let the music drive their emotions. Sasha told that since he started going to the raves sober, he understood that "*it is not effortless to get there*", by which he meant reaching this stage of euphoria from music and connection to it. However, times to times he is feeling the same euphoria that previously was triggered by drugs, without taking anything: waves of heat, breath changes, stimulation, excitement, etc. As he said, that is happening when the music is really good.

All things considered, rave culture present very specific community driven by the shared intimate experience of feeling the music. It creates its boundaries based on rules and values that are helping to reach the state of unification between all the participants of the event. Aggression and violent behavior are what obstructs a group of people in merging together, that is why any form of aggressive behavior is not welcome or prohibited on raves. The main drive of unification is the sound, the music, that is why DJ is playing a role of shaman on the rave party, whose role is to direct the crowd. Dance becomes the main way of expressing feedback, emotions, and intimacy of the crowd. By concentration on sound and connection to inner emotional state, the crowd begins to merge together.

4.1.3 Gendered liberation

This theoretical set of values should not be taken as a clear description of the real situation on raves as it can lead to the glorification of the whole community. This presents the desired attitude and ultimate goal of the culture, however, it is hard to reach it fully as it is impossible to overcome the discourse of mainstream culture.

Gendered aspect of raving practice perfectly shows it in partial achievement of this goal and also highlights problems that still exist.

Let's first start with the positive aspects of rave culture in relation to the gendered situation. Lana has mentioned that the main thing on rave is the environment, which is accepting, peaceful and lovable. She sees that as the main reason for guys on raves behaving less masculinistic: guys are feeling more free in that surrounding, which makes them less anxious and, as the result, "*they behave nicer*". Pasha explains it from the male perspective: he sees rave as desexualized environment. Then, as he said, guys don't need to compete and that contributes to the less aggressive atmosphere on rave. This desexualized aspect can be understood in 2 ways. First – the one mentioned by Ott and Herman and connected to dephallicizing effect of MDMA (Ott & Herman, 2003, p. 259). It seems that the use of Ecstasy was so attached to rave culture at the beginning of its formation that nowadays some effects caused by the consumption of the drug became part of the culture even without actual consumption of the substance. Another way of understanding this desexualized environment is connected to the main reason for attending rave parties. All of the responders said that the main reason of attending raves is music and desire to dance on the contrary to mainstream clubs, where, from their point of view, the main reasoning of going out lies in getting drunk and finding the partner for the night. None of them had any problem with people, who are actually flirting or hooking up on raves, but they stated that it is a problem, when sexual interaction becomes the only desired outcome of the evening: "*it's not a problem, when people are getting laid on raves, it's a problem when it's the main goal of the night. Makes me feel uncomfortable*" (Pasha). Oleg shared with me his observations that going out with the reason other than finding a partner, creates a very different atmosphere in a place. Many responders were connecting aggressive behavior with the consumption of alcohol as, for example, Polina: "*If to compare it with the alcohol party scene, it's definitely less harassment on raves. Even back in the 90s. There is also more violence, people are angrier when they drink, and more peaceful, when they do drugs*". To explain this correlation more research on biosocial properties of alcohol versus other substances should be made.

However, that doesn't mean that sexualized and harassment behavior is fully eliminated on raves. Women of the research (Lana, Olha, Polina) all stated that they have experienced harassment during rave parties at least once. That was involving unwanted sexualized comments, persistent attempts of flirting and pick-ups, "grubbing by the ass", etc. In the same time, Lana and Olha mentioned that in uncomfortable situations, when the guy was dancing too close to them, for example, other people were willing to help girls with it as to make sure that the guy understands that his behavior is uncomfortable for other people and unacceptable on rave. Girls also mentioned that the smaller, the less popular place is, the less these situations may occur. They explained it in a way that bigger places attract more people, who do not necessarily share the values of rave culture.

Thus, gender equality and respectful behavior are still one of the principal values of rave culture. Of course, it could not be ensured that these values have complied one hundred percent of the times, but the community itself is caring about their protection.

Part 2. Interconnections of drugs and experience

4.2.1 Ecological analysis of motivation and patterns of drug use

In this section, I am intended to piece apart drug connected statements that have been expressed by my responders to analyze them through ecological system theory and recreate the whole picture anew. The obstacle that I met during using clear ecological system model to analyze the data is that real people's stories and world views couldn't fit in any template that easily. Especially when they have been collected during 1-hour interviews, which is not that long to build a whole picture. For instance, I understood that I'm clearly lack of data to present a sustainable analysis on chronosystematical level: the investigation of time progression requires way more resources that are available in measures of master thesis. Thus, I am intended to combine ecological system analysis together with the PPCT (Process-Person-Context-Time) model as an analytical instrument. The last one has an undeniable advantage of bringing personal aspect into the analysis. However, segregation of macro-, exo- and microsystems helps in understanding the factors that influence the person on different levels of social functioning. Thus, I would like to divide the motives of drug consumption on macro-, exo-, meso/microsystem, and personal level.

On a macro level, my responders were talking quite a lot about the context of Swedish culture and how it has affected their consumption of specific substances. Several interviewees, who had experience living abroad (Spain and US) for a long time have mentioned that alcohol in Sweden is way more accessible for underage teenagers and that culture of consuming alcohol among high schoolers is widely popular. However, the opinion of Swedish drinking culture was not that positive: as Polina noticed, a common way of consuming alcohol in Sweden involves avoiding it during weekdays, but "*boozing out and behaving like pigs*" on weekends. That correlates with dissatisfaction with attending mainstream clubs as they present specifically this way of consuming alcohol – uncontrollable drinking "as much as you can". That becomes interesting if to consider that alcohol has been a part of Swedish culture for a long time throughout history. Oleg has mentioned that this established culture is helping to prevent negative sides of alcohol, even though they still very visible. He believes that if alcohol had been discovered today, society would have faced way more of the negative consequences of it. Many have mentioned that consuming alcohol is also a part of an accepted social image, whereas any other substance besides tobacco is not: "*Sweden has these weird social standards that you suppose to live after. Whole Sweden is about you don't suppose to stick out. If you're a dude, you have your snus, you drink your beer, but you don't smoke weed. It's almost as heroin. Not that bad, but pursued in a similar way*", says Slava. Many others also have mentioned about the "morality"

of Swedish culture, where some things are fitting into the idea of a normal way of living while others are not. An alternative lifestyle is portrayed to be dangerous and is highly stigmatized by the general population. Sasha is adding: *"There are things that you shouldn't do, but they don't want you to do it not because they're necessarily bad for you, they don't want you to do it because it's what it's not normal, what it was established as not normal by older generations"*. None of the responders gave any other explanation of the social prohibition of certain activities besides that it is not normal. And consuming drugs is seen as part of this unacceptable lifestyle that should be forbidden in any possible way. Polina is explaining it in a way that people are generally afraid of the things they are not familiar with. Drugs do not have deeply established consumption culture, which makes them the part of the unknown: *"Drugs have always been demonized here, together with the history of extremely low tolerance to the alternative lifestyle, not only drugs. It's about setting an example. Like, seeing the people can be good living in a different way, and, like, you can't have that. Not allowed, not good. It must comply with the rules. Sweden has always been the country of forbidding. Even with alcohol. You know, its Lagom, don't stick out"*. This stigmatization of drug consumption culture leads to an extremely low presentation of this culture in media and generally in society: as Slava mentions, media in Sweden is mostly controlled by the elder generation that has a highly negative attitude of consuming drugs, and cannabis in particular. He thinks it is weird as Swedes generally are very keen on the American way of living, where cannabis culture is spreading fast in recent decades. He also says that this negative image of cannabis consumers are created by exposing only problematic consumers to the general population – these, who smoke cannabis to deal with their social and mental problems. This appearance becomes very visible, which, together with a generally negative attitude to drugs, becomes stereotypical, whereas functional examples of cannabis culture get silenced and unexposed. Sasha agrees with him in terms of the need to create new images of cannabis consumption to overcome the "old-fashioned" stigma around it that comes from elder generations. *"Why would you hide it if it's not bad?"*, in Slava's words.

This normalizing discourse also results in a framework of drug-related social services. None of the responders had direct experience with this kind of social services, but several stated that they have been specifically avoiding it because of a negative experience of friends: *"Never tried to contact social services, because had a bad example of them among friends, so didn't see how they could help. Saw people changed into terrible people after start using prescribed benzos (benzodiazepines), anti-depressants. Holy sh*t, they became terrible people. Even though it's legal prescription, I thought I would never want to do that"*, says Pasha. Slava believes that drug services in Sweden are not trying to address every case as individual, but are intended to "sedate everyone out" and address problematic drug use as a bad habit or as a disease rather than the situation caused by the certain social and personal psychological state.

This context of general alcohol and drug-related culture in Sweden influences how people interact with substances and culture itself. For instance, Sasha tried cannabis

for the first time at 13 years old, while was living in the US, and has drunk alcohol only when moved to Sweden several years after. Lana tried drugs (specifically Ecstasy) first time while living in Spain, however, she says she would try it in Sweden sooner or later with the only difference that here she would put more efforts in finding it. This cultural settings also affect how exposed people are about their drug use. Most of the responders stated that they would not tell openly that they consume illicit substances without trusting and knowing the person they're talking to. Oleg also believes that drugs being illegal attracts more people, especially "revolving teenagers". General lack of alternative images in Sweden society influenced a significant part of the responders in their motives to search for other opportunities of spending their time. As it was stated earlier, attending raves was this alternative for Slava on the contrast to plain life in Swedish little village. Same it was with drugs as a more alluring alternative for alcohol consumption: *"It's like playing with fire. And we (people) love to play with fire. As drugs being illegal just making this fire bigger and makes it more fun to play with"* (Oleg).

Exo level in this particular research is presented by the culture of raves and rave community specifically. The general context of it in discursive terms was presented in previous sections, so here I would like to concentrate more on how this context affects patterns of drug consumption of rave attendees. As dancing becomes the central activity of rave night, people more prone to use substances that make them more energetic and able to stay all night up to the morning, like amphetamine, cocaine, MDMA, etc. As Sasha says, alcohol makes him tired, and he won't be able to survive all night of dancing only on alcohol. Also, together with other responders, he is saying that going out drinking all night could be very expensive as the person needs a constant refill to stay on the same level of drunkenness. Another reason for consuming drugs on raves is the sensation of music that the person gets in the result of the use of specific substances. For instance, Slava says that alcohol doesn't give him the same perception of music as he can get on amphetamine and especially on MDMA. The last one also helps in reaching this loveable experience, which is an important part of the raving experience. However, there is another way to look at it. Pasha was saying that reaching the state of sensible understanding of music requires a lot of emotional efforts to open up a person's sensual side. Some people need help in reaching this state that could be provided from specific effects caused by MDMA consumption. This substance increases the activity of serotonin, dopamine and noradrenaline neurotransmitters, which results in increased sensuality, emotionality and a general feeling of euphoria. That is the reason why it is a common belief that to understand the idea of rave, the person should attend it under the influence of MDMA. For several responders it happened exactly in this way: they haven't been very interested in raves before they have used Ecstasy (pill form of MDMA) while attending it. Slava also mentioned that drug consumption also contributes to developing the accepted atmosphere. In his words, *"If you're high, you don't give a f*ck. You're going to rave and somebody wants to fight, you just don't give a f*ck and waste your time on that. That's not why you came there"*. However, drugs are not the necessary part of rave experience. 5 out of 7

participants of the research said that they are going to raves sober, 3 of them doing it regularly after deciding to quit using drugs. Lana says that she can go raving without using drugs if the music is good enough. Sasha was saying the same: quality music can give him the perception of being high without consuming any of the illicit substance. Olha is usually going raving taking only some caffeine pills to stay awake, same as Pasha. Thus, the main idea of the rave is situated around music and dancing, while specific substances become just an instrument for enhancing the feeling of the sound.

Another reason for doing drugs on raves that have been expressed is the non-stigmatized attitude towards the drug use in the rave community. As Lana explains it, rave is "a safe zone" to do drugs because people have a more open attitude to it there. Also, a generally friendly atmosphere on raves makes people more trustful to others around them. People feel that they are safe to do drugs on raves because they can rely on others to help them if the problematic situation would occur. Lana says that on rave people would care about each other and help in the situation of "bad trip" even if they don't know the person. The other side of raves being "a safe zone" for drug use is that in the end, these parties do not have such a strict face control as mainstream clubs. Thus, people with problematic drug use, to whom drugs consumption became an ordinary part of everyday life, are going to raves as they simply can't enter any of the legal spaces.

However, it doesn't mean that drugs exist only on the rave scene. As Lana said, she has witnessed quite a lot of drugs in mainstream clubs as well, but there it is done more secretly. Also, several responders stated that it is definitely even more drugs on house parties than in any club. None of the responders have witnessed any hard drugs (as heroin, methamphetamine, etc) on raves, mostly because the organizers of raves are trying not to let them inside of the space. Pasha, who have been organizing raves for a while, was explaining that hosts of the parties are paying an additional fee to the guards to face-control people and not let too high people to the party. The same thing is happening with drug distributors: most of the rave hosts are interested in creating a safe environment for the sake of enjoying music, so they are trying to avoid any drug dealers entering the space. However, one story has been told, when drug dealers wanted to enter the party, but guards and hosts were resisting it. After a while, dealers were threatening hosts to call the police on them as they violate their right to enter the party. After that, the hosts decided to end the night earlier.

Thus, the appearance that raves are strongly connected to drug use is based on the exposure of drug scene on these kinds of parties, however, does not mean that the rave scene itself requires drug use or that drug use is more spread there comparing to other night clubs and activities. Consumption of drugs is only one part of rave experience, and not the compulsory one. Also, the stigmatization of rave parties and presentation of them being "a drugged place" creates the image that if a person decided to attend the event, they necessarily need to consume drugs: Pasha said that he wouldn't go to his first rave sober because of the social image that "*can be scary sometimes*".

As several researches stated, the environment young people are living in, as family, friends, and neighborhood, has the essential effect on the level of drug use among this category of society (Brook et al., 2002; Delva et al., 2014). Thus, it is highly important to analyze the context of drug consumption on micro-level, as well as the processes happening between the individual and their social group.

Cannabis seems to be fairly easy assessable as most of the responders have declared trying it in their teenage years, from 13-14 to 18 years old. As Slava assured, the majority of high schoolers have at least once tried cannabis and the vast majority of students at university as well. He also said about the distributor of drugs, mostly cannabis to school students: *“in every school, you have that one person, that you know he has it. He came from the bad neighborhood, something like that”*. No other of the interviewees have connected drug use or distribution to the socio-economic status of the person or of the neighborhood. However, many people connected the patterns of drug use to the environment person is spending their time in. For instance, Lana has stated that using drugs is a communal thing and that the amount of consumed drugs depends on people the person is hanging out with: *“if all people around you are very high, you want to be same”*. Personally she and her friends keep moderate dosages of consumed substances, look after each other not to take too much, and times to times can go partying without using anything. Same situation for Olha, but she is generally going to raves sober. For her, it should be a social occasion to do drugs, the last time she consumed any of illegal substances was October. After that, she was thinking about taking something, but her friends preferred not to take any drugs, so she decided not to do it as well. She agreed with Lana that it completely depends on a person's surroundings, is the person doing drugs or not and in what quantity. As she said if to hang out with people, who are "on the same page as you", the drugs are not needed to have a fun night.

The communal aspect of drugs consumption also could be explained through the expressed idea that the possibility to share the experience with friends is one of the strong motivation to do drugs together with a person's group. However, it was expressed only by several responders, while others were making a more strong accent of personal motivation and aims to use specific substances. Polina was one of these people. During her teenage years, she was hanging out with elder guys, who have been using cannabis and cocaine. Nonetheless, she was indifferent to it as she believed back then that these substances "makes you stupid". However, as she explained herself, her dysfunctional family situation has an influence on her personality that partially resulted in further drug use.

After all, most of the responders agreed that the personality of the person and his/her personal psychological state are the most influential factors in motivation and patterns of drug use. All the responders, who have witnessed their problematic drug use, have said that some uncontrollable consumption of specific substance has been triggered by the stage in life. For instance, one of the groups of motives of drug use is a desire to cope with the heavy psychological burden. Polina told me a story, how she started do use cocaine daily for 4 years, even though she tried it before, but didn't like the effect

of it. After a very complicated and painful break up with her boyfriend at that time, she found herself in a deep depressive stage. With time she understood that she can't stand feeling that anymore and start using cocaine to shut up these somber feelings. The other similar group of reasons is to deal with existing psychological problems or puzzling stages in life. Pasha, for instance, has experienced problematic use of LSD. As he said, *"I wanted to kill the person that I was and recreate something new. On LSD you're able to reprogram yourself"*. As he explained further, on that point he didn't care about the negative consequences of overconsumption of this substance, mental desire to deal with his psychological challenges suppressed self-reflection about healthy or unhealthy patterns of consumption. For Polina, this process of working on psychological issues while using psychedelics went more conscious and reflective. She came to the idea of trying psychedelics for the first time in her late 30s through the understanding of her control issues. For her consuming LSD was about challenging herself to experience more and control less: *"It was feeling like imprisoning myself. And I didn't want that, I wanted to experience everything"*. After doing LSD regularly for some time, she was able to overcome her issues, open up for new experience and generally let go of self-restrictions.

Similar and connected to the previous group of reasons for consuming drugs was a desire to overcome unconfidence and enhance existing personal characteristics. For that reason, Pasha was using ketamine for a while as he explained it was turning him into "social beast", which he's not experiencing much in daily life. For Polina, the drug of increased achievements was amphetamine as she said it was helping her to control her environment better. She got hooked up on it after the first time she tried from a friend in the bar. As she said, it was exactly what she wanted on that point of her life: *"It's a drug that puts a lead on things, makes you not feeling that much"*.

Another expressed motive to use illicit substances were a search for adventure and desire to change the perception of reality. This group of motives is mostly coming from the desire to experiment and explore, find something special and unusual. It was like that for Sasha. After experiencing "laughing gas" -- nitrous oxide – at the dentist's office at the young age, he understood that the perception of the reality could be changed and it can be fun. Further after that, he started to experiment with psychedelics and MDMA, as he stated himself, pretty recklessly. Slava did the same with cannabis and other party drugs, Pasha started going to the raves because of this need of change and search for adventure. However, what should be stated is that this group of motives is associated with a more responsible attitude towards consumed substances. All of the responders, who had similar motives, assured that before trying the new substance, they did own internet research about effects, restrictions, dosages, and consequences of the substance. Thus, experimenting with these drugs, as they stated themselves, haven't affected their social life.

What need to be noted is that every of the participant of the research, who expressed their concerns about problematic use in the past, were able to stop doing drugs by themselves. Pasha stated about his period of overconsuming LSD: *"I've reached that point, now I'm ready to stop. And I've never done it again"*. For Polina quitting her

cocaine addictive habit took some efforts, however, after she finally quit it, she has never touched it again. Sasha, after his reckless use of MDMA and psychedelics, decided to stop and was completely drug-free for 9 months. About his MDMA use, he is saying, after a while it just overused its potential and he was not finding this substance as exciting as in the beginning. He stopped with drugs completely after one challenging trip on a festival, when he has started to feel very dissociated and "questioning reality" after the use of LSD together with MDMA. This not very positive experience was a sign for him that he needed to stop with drugs for a while, to collect himself again. Now his drug use is very moderate and as soon as he feels that some use is going too far and start even slightly affects his personal or social life, he stops it for a while to get back to fully controllable patterns.

Thus, concluding all the analysis presented above, there are generally 4 levels, on which motives of a person's drug use could be seen: social, (sub)cultural, communal and personal. Social level is presented my macrosystem of society and explains the context of the society in general. In Sweden, it is expressed by an established and acceptable culture of consuming alcohol, though, with the high prevalence of cases of overconsumption. This, together with strictly defined models of acceptable ways of behavior, creates stigmatization attitude towards other psychoactive substances and its consumers. This leads to misrepresentation of drug consumers in media and the society in general. How it was presented in the part of previous researches, this false and partial image of drug consumers can lead to increased risky behavior among these consumers, who do not fall under stereotypical image, as well as mislead the police and social institutions in targeting their services (BRÅ - Brottsförebyggande rådet, 2018; DeCuir et al., 2018). In addition, misrepresentation creates obstacles in developing the culture of consumption that could prevent users by cultivating safer patterns of consumption and overcoming negative consequences as it was with alcohol. Social services are not helping with it as far as users are afraid and are not willing to approach them because of the negative experience of their own and their friends. Strong prohibition of drugs, as several responders said, attracts more people, who are searching for the alternative lifestyle after being disappointed with the mainstream one. That partly could be a result of lack of comprehensive representation of drug users and their marginalization.

Exo system in the given analysis is presented by subcultural capital of the Skane rave community. Even though drug culture is presented widely on raves and strongly associated with it, drugs are not reflected in core values of rave subculture. The core values of raves do partly contribute to making drug consumption acceptable behavior on the parties, however, it is not necessarily linear dependency. First of the factors that makes drugs more visible on raves rather than on other types of night activities, is one of the core values of rave community – acceptance. This, together with rave parties being mostly underground and semi-legal, attracts not only techno lovers but also marginalized groups of society, and people with problematic drug use among them. These people simply won't be able to enter any of the legal spaces, thus, they're coming to raves. However, none of the responders have mentioned witnessing hard drugs on

rave events, and organizers are trying not to let too drugged people inside. Thus, this problem is recognized in the rave community, yet, nothing much could be done without adequate work of social services.

Semi-legal status of raves also contributes to the visibility of drug consumption on the parties. Because the action of attending the rave is already lying quite outside of legal or commonly acceptable behavior, people tend to act more recklessly and exposed about their drug use. It is very easy to see if to compare techno party that is happening in the legal club, as Inkonst, and classical semi-legal techno party in a rented venue. In Inkonst attendees are very secretive about their drug use and tend to do fewer amounts of substances not to have visible effects. Mainly because of the fear of guards. On the semi-legal raves, there is also always a risk of the police coming and shutting down the place, however, people are quite exposed about their drug use, openly consuming substances. Most of the rave attendees are using moderate dosages of stimulant drugs to stay awake throughout the whole night. This, together with the desire to sense the music, become 2 main reasons of drug consumption among ravers. Drugs become the instrument in achieving settled goals of the rave community as acceptance, sensual perception and unity through dancing. However, it could be achieved without illicit substances and it is not unusual to go raving sober. As several responders said, it depends on the quality of music and people, who are around. Low-quality music and drugged people are making attendees to consume more drugs to overcome the discouragement of the atmosphere. Good quality music is a strong stimulant itself, as well as positive human interaction, so there is no need for enhancing the good mood with substances.

On the level of micro group interaction, the same rule persists: the more drugged person's surrounding is, the more this person themselves want to consume drugs. Thus, peer pressure and desire to match your environment becomes 2 main motives of consuming drugs on the micro scale. The sample of my responders presented it too well: some of the interviewees were preferring to attend raves under the influence of some substances, and that is what their friends were doing as well. Others were going for sober raving and using drugs rarely and only as a special social activity with their friends. Thus, consumption of drugs on parties is a more communal activity rather than personal habits. People prefer to be on the same stage as their friends to have a good time all together, which also regulates the dosage of consumption of any substance (alcohol included) to adjust to the goals of the night. Here, again, the keynote of drug consumption is shifting from the effect of the substance itself to the social reason of consumption: it's not only the chemical structure what makes the person to consume the specific substance, but it's also the state person and their surrounding want to reach.

On a personal level, motives of consumption of drugs were presented more widely. These, who stated their problematic use of some substances on some point of their life, were mostly talking about psychological reasons of overconsuming drugs. These psychological states may have social reasoning, however, that already would be a subject of deeper personal analysis. Two major motives of overconsumption of psychoactive substances were the need to cope with challenging life situation, which

was heavily affecting the mental state of the person, and the desire to deal or improve the challenging situation. These two motives could be sound similar, however, they're drastically different in their final goal. A coping mechanism force people to find a way to shut down disturbing and hard to deal with feelings and specific substances are acting as a mask of these feelings. As Polina said while talking about her problematic cocaine use, "*usually, when you're angry or aggressive, its other underlines sentiment, like sadness, or frustration, or whatever*". In the same way, drugs become that surface underneath which the real problem is lying. Another motive of dealing with challenging mental state is characterized by the desire to change it, where the person believes that specific psychoactive substance could help them in this way. Other 2 major motives expressed by the participants of this research are the desire to enhance existing personal characteristic and the search for adventure. These two haven't shown themselves to be destructive for the personal and social life of the person by its own, however, they also could lead to overconsumption in case unwary use.

All things considered, the topic of drug consumption and its motives are much more complicated than it could be seen on a first glance. People consume psychoactive substances (including alcohol) because of a variety of different reasons on different levels. To be able to comprehensively fight the problem of drug addiction and misuse, every separate element of the problem should be carefully analyzed through ecological systems model and addressed on its every level. Social services here plays an important role as they become the agents of social change and implementation of policies as well as their monitoring. Mistrust towards social services that is coming from specific populations, especially these, who are ones of the targeted group of drug-related policies, are carrying the risk of spreading the problem by non-addressing it, including distortion of the statistics data. Thus, a trusted conversation between state authorities and key populations become crucial in the development of effective social policies.

4.2.2 Gendered drugs experience

In the previous section, we could see that even though rave idea seeks unification and equation in some sense, identity is not fully erased in there. Personal history of the person and experiences that is forming one's identity are still playing an important role in motivation to attend raves, use drugs, have a different experience from it. Thus, it is still important to understand in what way specific identities affect the behavior of the person, especially in terms of drug use patterns. In this section, I would like to look closer to how women and men use drugs and how they're different in their motives.

All my interviewees were cis-gendered persons, 3 female and 4 males. From all the data gained in the result of interviews, female patterns and motivation of drug consumption were more clearly presented. Most of the girls were talking about the control aspect while doing party drugs. Lana stated that drugs that she is taking on parties make her confident, feel more control over the situation. In the same time, she feel that she is in control over her drugs and alcohol use, which makes her feeling

comfortable with her substance consumption as she can control the dosage and frequency of the use. Lana was also saying that she and her friends are always preferring to consume a moderate dosage of these substances they're usually taking (MDMA, alcohol, rarely amphetamine). Olha though prefers effects of mentioned drugs over alcohol as she said she is feeling much more in control over herself and the situation around her while doing MDMA comparing to drinking alcohol. For girls, this control was associated with personal safety.

The same thing was expressed by Polina, for whom substances consumption reflected her control issues in her youth. She was saying that back then the more she was drinking alcohol, the more she was checking on herself not to show her drunkenness. As she is saying, *"it was more to trick my own reality, not to show it"*. Because of the same control problems she was hooked on amphetamine in the first place. Amphetamine, the substance often prescribed to ADHD patients, makes a person more focused and thus, helps to control own thinking and environment. Polina also adds that for this reason, she was afraid to try LSD in young years as she has seen it as losing control over her thinking and reality. After 33, she turned to an understanding of her control issues and became more keen on psychedelics. As later she realized, she *"was afraid of it (LSD) because I thought it would be like the way its portrayed to be, like, that you don't remember who you are, etc. You'll be the one yourself. It's just altered (environment), and things are moving and stuff the way it's not supposed to, but you're still yourself. It doesn't really show, so it's in your mind"*. Little earlier she starts to use MDMA to open up and be more empathetic towards her surrounding and herself personally. She is saying that experimenting with MDMA and psychedelic drugs took part in helping her to overcome her control issues, be able to dance on a dancefloor and generally let go. Lately, Polina is partying on a mix of LSD, MDMA, and cannabis. She explains that this mix allows her to enter a trance state for a night while still being aware of everything around. Thus, she is still able to control what is happening with her while being comfortable with drug mix leading her and putting her in an altered reality.

Thus, the female part of the given research was talking mostly about the control aspect of drug use. This lies perfectly in the theoretical framework. Modern society is putting the anxiety on women to always be in check of themselves and always control the environment. As for many women being drunk is associated with the danger of harassment from the man side, they prefer to use party drugs as they allow women to be more awake and in-check with what is happening around them. In the same time, when the feeling of control become disturbing for everyday life, the desire goes in the direction of trying to break the circle of control. This neurotic control issues could produce the fear of letting go and relaxing, which contributes to overall anxiety. In this way, raves as the uncontrolled environment and some specific drugs (MDMA, psychedelics) are assisting in the process of diminishing the controlling mechanisms, which, in its turn, helps to relax and let go.

Men, though, was not talking about control that much. Nevertheless, they have been talking about it from a different side. Yet, men haven't mentioned the anxious control

that they are experiencing, however, they have been talking more about liberation and "let everything go". Pasha was saying that he can easily relate to the feeling of being free and liberated while attending raves and doing some specific drugs. For him his drug of choice for parties was ketamine. With its anesthetic effects, he was feeling like he "*know what I was doing*" and becoming more social, even though it is not usual for him in real life. Also, the desexualized atmosphere on raves was giving him a sense of liberation from "the need to compete" and sexual pressing that exists in mainstream clubs. Slava was also saying about the less aggressive atmosphere on raves that is partially created through drug use. As he said, drug use makes the person more laid back and indifferent to expressed aggression of others. This is helping him to relax on raves and enjoy the night without additional stress.

Generally, men in this research were accentuating attention on the less aggressive and desexualized mood of raves parties. The expectation to compete for a sexual partner for the night as well as the demand to show one's masculinity in mainstream clubs put the pressure on these men, who don't necessarily want to become a part of this competition. On raves, there is no demand to prove someone's manliness and men are more open to behaving like themselves. Lana thinks that guys are behaving nicer specifically because of this reason: they don't need to pretend to be "a real man", they are feeling freer.

In relation to norms of masculine behavior and drug use, Pasha told me a story of his friend, who conflicted with some gang members in Malmo at that time. One night that friend has consumed MDMA with his friends. The same night the conflict with gang members has escalated and they promised to come and beat up everybody. However, when "banditos" came, they observed a group of very happy and euphoric men, who were completely unable to fight. They beat them up anyway, however, the guys were not even trying to attack them in return, just lying on the ground, smiling and repeating: "*F*ck, I am so peaceful, I can't even fight!*".

Thus, drug use on raves is presenting a relief from the anxiety that is produced by social expectations for both men and women. Women through drug use are liberating from social expectations of always be sober, always behave "like a lady". In the same time, it helps them to control the situation around them as they always expected to do, but with drugs, like amphetamine, it becomes easier for them. The other drugs as MDMA and psychedelics are helping in letting this control go when it becomes too intimidating. For men, drug use and attending raves liberate them from the requirement of hegemonic masculinity. Keeping up with the idea of "real man" could be very stressful, thus, raves are a place, when men are not obliged to keep up with this appearance. Here MDMA specifically plays an important role as the main effect of this drug is dephallicizing and increased sensuality, which do not fit into the idea of hegemonic masculinity. However, accepting and non-judging environment of raves allows men to experience reality outside of masculinist norms.

Part 3. Safety

The topic of safety and security has been raised many times during the interviews, thus, I decided to highlight it in a separate part. Here I would like to present the statements of my responders about the feeling of security while attending raves: inside the venue and outside of it. Inside security would mostly describe the interaction with the subjects of the subculture between themselves, while outside -- interconnections between rave subjects and external factors.

4.3.1 *Inside*

Most of the responders were mentioning care between rave participants as the main source of safeness feeling during the events. It mostly comes from the trust to the community in general. In relation to gender safety, women of the research were saying that they feel much more safe on raves because they are sure -- guys came to the event to listen to music and have a good time, not to find a partner for a night. In addition, they are trusting people around them that in case of a problematic situation, they can rely on someone's help. The same rule is working for drug consumption as well. Rave attendees, in general, feel the trust in other people around them, who would help them in case of overuse of some substance or any other challenging situation. Lana was saying that she witnesses several times people, who were too high on drugs on raves. As she said, it was feeling a little unsafe, however, more for their own sake rather than dangerous for her personally.

In terms of general behavior patterns of rave attendees, many people have mentioned that all the event have vibes of house parties among friends, where the person cares about not breaking furniture around, not trashing the place and in general caring about the space around yourself. The overall atmosphere on rave is created by every separate element of it, thus, all the participants are trying to support the same caring mood. Slava saw it as a communal task of creating the party: "*We created all this. We created the vibe, the rules. I won't be mad at you for being here, because you're also the reason why I'm having this much fun. ... if you don't want to be here, if you're creating the mess, you leave*". Thus, the rave and the security on rave is created by the united forces of the attendees. Lana was saying that the lack of guards and official control make people take that role on themselves, and that is why rave attendees are taking the responsibility of guards on themselves.

4.3.2 *Outside*

The security of rave attendees outside of the space of event is maintained usually by the police. However, the relations between the police and rave culture is quite unstable. There are several patterns of police behavior towards rave culture in Sweden that has been changing over time and the city. Lana has experience of attending raves in Stockholm several years ago. There the police have been coming to the rave in the

middle of the night, around 2 am, standing outside of the venue and asking people if they are feeling safe, are they having a good time and if any problem has occurred. Later the night, around 6-7 am, police have been coming to shut down the party and let everyone go home. She hasn't witnessed any problematic situation with this approach. The same pattern of rave-police relations Polina has witness back in the 90s in Malmo.

However, many of the responders mentioned that lately in the Skane region the pattern has been changed. As Lana said, the only time she is feeling unsafe on raves is when the police are coming. The most extreme illustration of the current model of police behavior has happened recently in 2018 on legal Halloween rave party in Halmstad. This case was mentioned by 4 of my responders as well as highlighted on Facebook and some media (Wirström, 2018). As several witnesses said, police have stormed the place and forced everyone to sit on the ground. Suspecting everybody for being under the influence of drugs, police has obliged party attendees to go through pee tests. Media resources and the responders who talked about this case have mentioned aggressive police attitude that includes physical violence (hitting, pushing to the ground, etc.), abuse of office (mass suspicion for no reason, handcuffing for no reason) and general hostile attitude. Lana said this case was definitely frustrating and surprising for everyone as police in Sweden generally do not behave in such a manner. Sasha was saying that police do shut down the raves, but they don't arrest any of the attendees, they are mostly searching for "a big fish" – drug dealers and distributors. What I have witnessed during my observations is police coming around 7 am with a generally friendly attitude and stopping the music. I haven't seen any arrests, as well as none of my responders shared to me having major problems with the police personally (except the Halmstad case). However, the mood in the crowd immediately changing: people become scared, stressed and trying to leave as fast as possible. Olha has also felt that: the moment police entering the place, *“everything changes in 1 minute”*.

The other possible threat to ravers in Malmo could be gangs as they are the one, who control all the drug traffic in the city. Though, none of the responders have stated ever having any personal connection or problem with gangs. As Sasha said, they are not affecting people directly as far as the person is not involved in their business. It also includes just buying drugs from dealers. As he explained, not all dealers are necessarily members of any gang, and specifically gang members are not affecting any of the customers, they specifically fight with each other. Though, Olha, as well as other responders, highly against Malmo gangs business. Thus, she never buys drugs around rave areas, where specifically gang dealers are hanging out: *“So by buying drugs on raves you’re supporting that part of the society, which I’m not very fond of. On the other hand, your only option is to go to that very restricted organized boring clubs. And no one wants to do that. So what we’re going to do? It has to be some kind of space where you’re free”*.

Thus, even despite all the threats coming from the outside rave space, members of the rave community still continue to attend these events. The main reason of police

"cracking down" on raves is the distribution of drugs on the space itself, that is not organized, nor supported by rave participants. Some responders were bewildered why police are suppressing rave culture when the problem is not with the culture itself. Lana, and Slava, and Sasha, as well as some others, confidently stated that rave party would just move to another form of existence and organization if what they have now will be continued to repress: "*Rave and party will always happen, no matter what*".

Discussion

Raves present the opposition to the mainstream culture, which is constructed around the idea of being the other. People, who chose raves over mainstream clubs, have been motivating their choice by dissatisfaction with alcohol culture in Swedish youth society in addition to boring and highly regulated environment of common nightlife activities. Raves then become temporal festive heterotopias that allow escapism from the regulated normative society. As any heterotopia, rave is limited in time and space, which allows it to exist. This heterotopia is created by the desire of the participants to escape the predefined system of norms and striving of anarchic space. Though, anarchy in these settings is utopian, thus, rave culture is creating its own set of norms to make "temporal anarchy" possible. The renegotiation of rules and norms of raves are happening from the idea of functionality and articulated by the community, which makes it drastically different from the hierarchal structure of the environment they exist in. Thus, the value of the hierarchy is demolished, and rules and norms were enunciated by all the participants of the community. This set of norms create the boundaries of the community as the people, who do not agree to follow these rules and share these values, are not perceived as part of the community.

The essential values of the rave community are expressed in the abbreviation PLUR – Peace, Love, Unity, and Respect. They also translated into the norms of the community functioning – general nice attitude and unaggressive behavior. The boundaries of the community are established by the commitments that the person is ready to make. These commitments can take a form of efforts person need to make to reach the party place, attempts to understand and enjoy electronic dance music in general and different niche scenes, etc. These different niche scenes also create different boundaries of the community: the smaller community is, the sharper boundaries are and stronger ties between members exist. This is happening because the obligation to regulate the behavior of the party visitors is laying on participants of the event themselves, partly because of the lack of official control. Thus, the smaller community is – the easier it is to keep the boundaries of it. If somebody has an aggressive attitude, participants of the rave would ask them to leave. Organizers also could invite guards to help in providing the safety of the attendees.

In general, the set of rules is created to ensure reaching the main goal of the rave event – the unification of all the participants and the creation of the Body of the Dancing Crowd. Music is playing a central role in the whole rave event, leading the

crowd through the experience. The DJ is playing the role of the shaman in this somewhat ritualistic happening, creating the vibes and the mood through the sound. The crowd is expressing its feedback in the act of dancing. Main communication on rave is happening through sharing feelings and emotions, and dance becomes the way of expressing them. As Foucauldian discourse is using normalization practices over the body to imprison it, the ravers are using the act of dancing as resistance towards these practices. The source of resistance is emplaced in the psyche of every separate person on the rave, however, by being expressed in the communal act of dance, it connects the person to the general crowd. As every separate person is dancing “in their own bubble”, but driven by the same sounds, they experience the same thing and become connected in general Body of the Dancing Crowd. That doesn't mean the death of the identity, but the communication between them in a form of expressing nonverbal signals – dance moves – results in merging of separate subjects. That is why aggressive behavior becomes unacceptable as it creates obstacles in reaching unification. Participants of the research were describing raves as being special because of the “family” feeling among the participants, without even knowing all the attendees. Connection to the inner self is also playing an important part in reaching unification as it helps to overcome social expectations and hierarchal structures that exist in a particular society. The concept of identity still exist on rave, however, more in a form of personal experience of the exact person but not expectations that society puts on them. The main reinforcements that the person is getting on raves are feeling of belongingness and acceptance by the community, and that would be impossible without the agreement to approve everyone despite their position in the society if they are ready to conform to the rules and norms.

Every part of the rave atmosphere is playing its part in the creation of this feeling of unification: the music (as the main channel of communication), the light, the venue, and the consumed substances. Specifically, the last aspect creates most of the problems connected to the rave perception in general society: outside of the rave community, this subculture is usually highly associated to the drug consumption. Even though in reality this stereotype hasn't been proven, many of the people believe that most of the rave attendees necessarily consume illicit substances. Drug consumption does have a place in the rave scene, however, it is not a necessary part of it and, according to the responders, is not much higher than in mainstream clubs and definitely not more than on house parties. Nevertheless, general Swedish population connects the attending of rave events to the consumption of drugs, which influence the overall narrative of the attitude to raves as well as an outlook of the authorities when it comes to the work with this particular social group.

On the overall level of Swedish society, drugs are demonized due to normalization discourse of Swedish social functioning. That influenced the narrative of Swedish drug policy that expresses zero tolerance towards consumption of any illicit substances in any quantity. Thus, any consumption, despite the pattern, is perceived as being drug abuse, which, as it believed, could carry only negative consequences for the person and the society in general. Additionally, it restricts the consumption culture to develop,

on the contrary as it happened with the alcohol culture to some extent. Absence of the culture of consumption that could be spread by specific channels or targeted media could result in an extension of dangerous patterns of consumption as a population does not see the difference between occasional drug use and substance abuse. Official policy can pretend it doesn't exist, but as it was stated by the participants of the research, they could personally determine, when their drug use started to heavily influence their social and personal life and became abusive as the result.

As drugs being illegal and highly stigmatized, it becomes a desirable part of the alternative lifestyle. As some people in society want to express their dissatisfaction to the mainstream way of living, drugs seem to be an alluring choice. General illegality of raves also contributes to the reckless patterns of drug consumption: if the act is "illegal" anyway, why not to go to the extreme? In addition, stigmatized perception of raves as being a drugged place also could be a motivation to consume drugs for a people, who attend these events for the first time as it is seen as an obligatory part of the experience. Zero-tolerance drug policy that comes from the authorities exists in the same time with a generally average level of drug consumption and availability in relation to party drugs in Sweden compared to the other countries of European Union with more liberal drug policies. However, drug-related social services do not seem to be effective in helping people, who really have dangerous patterns of drug consumption. As a result, people, who are prone to have problems with drug consumption do not consider the use of any of the services provided by the state authorities.

In the rave community, it is mostly rave environment that influences drug use there, but not the other way around. The general value of acceptance allows people to be more open about their drug use in that space, as well as it opens up the door to those, who won't be able to enter any other place of night time activity. As it was stated before, illegal or semi-legal status of raves can influence the motives of people to behave more reckless, including their drug use. In addition, people tend to consume more of the psychoactive substances, whereas it is alcohol or illicit drugs if the party is boring or the music is mediocre. As music being the central motive of people to attend raves, qualitative sound, as well as good company, is strong stimulant on its own that doesn't need any additional stimulation in form of drug consumption.

As it was expressed, people are consuming drugs on raves for several purposes: to have the energy to dance all night; to be able to sense the music more; to ease the unification with Dancing Crowd. However, any of these goals can be reached without the consumption of illegal substances, thus, it is not a necessary part of rave experience. More strong motivation to consume any substance has been shown by peer influence and the desire to fit in the environment. The more particular company of friends prone to consume drugs in a certain amount, the more particular person would do the same. In the same fashion, the decision of the group not to consume anything could discourage a concrete person to consume any substance at all.

From the gender perspective, raves present the place of partial liberation from expectations of gendered behavior that exist in a particular society. The main

expressed reason to attend raves is to enjoy the music, and it is different from the reasoning of attending mainstream clubs, where the general focus is on getting drunk and finding the partner for a night. Raves present a desexualized environment, where sexual relations between men and women are taking another form. The main focus here is on personal connections, feelings, and experiences, without the pressure to behave according to a common gendered matrix. Male responders were stating that they feel way more comfortable on raves due to the absence of the pressure to behave according to hegemonic masculine norms. Theoretically, it could be explained by the effects of the significant for the rave scene drug MDMA that has dephallicizing effect on men and increase sensuality instead. However, due to the popularity of MDMA consumption in the beginning of the rave culture development, it created the discourse that now affects the members of the community without a particular consumption of the substance itself. Thus, now the effects of the drug merge so much with the values of the rave that members of the community could experience these effects just by enjoying the music and the environment in general without necessary consumption of the drug.

Though, there are differences in patterns of drug consumption between males and females. Generally, both men and women consume illicit substances on raves “to let go” -- to liberate from the expected gendered behavior. This is happening due to the desexualized environment on raves that allows to demolish discursive differences in gendered behavioral expectations. However, women also consume stimulating substances as amphetamine, cocaine, etc., to keep the control over themselves and avoid dangerous or threatening situations, feel more confident in contrast to dissociative substances as alcohol, for instance. The ability to have a night out in desexualized environment together with consuming substances that increase the feeling of control helps women to feel less threats and being confident to face them. The other level of motives is expressed by the desire to let go the need for control when it becomes too excessive. Female responders, who expressed this motive to use drugs, were more prone to use psychedelics and MDMA to open up the mind and increase sensitive exploration of the reality.

On the personal level of motives to consume drugs, 4 patterns were presented. First of them was to cope with a problematic life situation. In this case, the patterns of use are highly affected by the life situation of a person and the substance is used to mask overwhelming feelings and experiences. It is more passive as the person do not have the desire to change life situation and prefer just passively cope with it. Another similar motive is to deal with a challenging situation. This motive is also highly affected by the life situation as drug use is triggered by it. This motive results in a more active pattern of drug consumption, where the substance is used as a tool to deal with existing reality and personal feelings. Responders, who expressed these 2 motives of drug use on some points of their life, have been stated by themselves that their drug use becomes problematic over a while. However, they were able to overcome it by themselves without help from social services. The third personal factor of motivation to use drugs was the desire to improve some of the personal characteristics and overcome some

feelings that the person was recognizing as problematic (as social anxiety, for instance). This motive was more active and less affected by the life situation. People, who expressed this motive were using drugs as a tool: for instance, ketamine to become more social. The patterns of drug consumption here is less constant as people were using some substances times to times, not regularly. Last motive was the desire for adventure and exploration. This motive was the least triggered my life situation and the least problematic in terms of affecting social or personal life of the person. People, who expressed this motivation, have been researching the substance before trying it, considering the negative and positive consequences of the consumption.

Conclusion

All in all, this research has shown that drug use is driven by a number of different motives on different social levels: socio-cultural, subcultural and personal. The data collected by interviews with the target group has proven that in most of the cases drug consumption was triggered by social and personal circumstances rather than by a drug itself. Commonly people are using drugs as well as other psychoactive substances like alcohol as a tool to cope, adapt or fit in the environment. Thus, environmental factors become more potent in instigating drug consumption.

The solution in this situation should be focused on working with the environment to prevent and minimize the negative consequences of drug consumption. In case of raves, the culture itself does not have a direct influence on increasing drug use among its members. The stereotypization of raves as being a drugged place is working against the goal of decreasing drug consumption and development of more safe patterns of drug use. The main idea of raves is the unification of people together with the exchange of feelings and emotions. This aspect does not require the consumption of any substances at all. The development of the rave scene and allowing it to develop by itself could help in preventing drug abuse as the culture becomes more visible and accessible to social services to work with. By the stigmatization of the rave community, ravers become a target group to drug-related social services. However, prohibiting measures that are implied by the zero-tolerance policy towards drug consumption haven't been proved to work effectively. What the community really need is the development of harm reduction approaches with respect to the culture. A productive dialog between state authorities and representatives of the rave community with the consideration of actual needs of the community could help to move towards the developments of the policies that would actually bring a constructive change.

Appendix 1

Sample characteristic and coding

Note: some of the participants of the research preferred not to state their occupation and exact age.

All the names of the participants have been changed due to the protection of personal information. The names have been chosen randomly as none of the responders have any naming preferences or hesitations. I chose Slavic names for coding so it won't have any congruence with real names.

<i>No</i>	Name	Gender	Age	Occupation (if stated)	Raving experience (if stated)
<i>1</i>	Lana	Female	23	Student	3 years, started in Spain
<i>2</i>	Sasha	Male	29		8 years, started in Malmo
<i>3</i>	Pasha	Male	20s		2-3 years, started in Skane region
<i>4</i>	Oleg	Male	38		Started in yearly teenage years
<i>5</i>	Slava	Male	18	High-school student	Started couple of years ago
<i>6</i>	Olha	Female	20s	Student	4 years, started in Malmo
<i>7</i>	Polina	Female	44		Started around 18 years old, with breaks.

Interview guide

Note: due to semi-structural design of interviews, this guide was used only as a preliminary plan of the conversation.

1. Experience in raving

1. Tell me about your experience in raving in total. When have you started?
What was your first party?
2. Why you have attended your first party? What was your motivation?
3. Did you enjoy it? Was it different from other parties? In what way?
4. Have you continued with attending it?
5. What exactly hooked you up in raves? Why you continue to do that?
6. Do you think raves are different from other club parties? In what way?
7. Do you tell your friends, colleges, family that you're raving? What's their reaction?

2. Experience in drugs

1. Have you ever used drugs during raving?
2. What drugs you're mostly use?
3. Could you explain your choice? Why exactly these drugs?
4. Tell me about your first time using drugs on raves. How's that happen?
Why you decide to do that? What was your sensations/overall experience?
5. Have you been using drugs before start raving? Tell me about that.
6. Have you tried raving without using drugs? How different is that?
7. Do you think drugs are changing your rave experience? If yes, tell me how.

3. General perception of raves

1. Do you think many ravers use drugs?
2. Have you ever contacted the police during raves? Like, when they're coming to shut it down or anything. Tell me your experience with that.
3. Tell me about overall perception of raves and ravers in Swedish society.
From outsiders/insiders
4. Do you think any of that perception is connected to drug use?

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