Leisure Studies in a Global Era

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Karen Fox University of Alberta Edmonton, AB, Canada In this book series, we defend leisure as a meaningful, theoretical, framing concept; and critical studies of leisure as a worthwhile intellectual and pedagogical activity. This is what makes this book series distinctive: we want to enhance the discipline of leisure studies and open it up to a richer range of ideas; and, conversely, we want sociology, cultural geographies and other social sciences and humanities to open up to engaging with critical and rigorous arguments from leisure studies. Getting beyond concerns about the grand project of leisure, we will use the series to demonstrate that leisure theory is central to understanding wider debates about identity, postmodernity and globalisation in contemporary societies across the world. The series combines the search for local, qualitatively rich accounts of everyday leisure with the international reach of debates in politics, leisure and social and cultural theory. In doing this, we will show that critical studies of leisure can and should continue to play a central role in understanding society. The scope will be global, striving to be truly international and truly diverse in the range of authors and topics. Editorial Board: John Connell, Professor of Geography, University of Sydney, USA; Yoshitaka Mori, Associate Professor, Tokyo University of the Arts, Japan; Smitha Radhakrishnan, Assistant Professor, Wellesley College, USA; Diane M. Samdahl, Professor of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Georgia, USA; Chiung-Tzu Lucetta Tsai, Associate Professor, National Taipei University, Taiwan; Walter van Beek, Professor of Anthropology and Religion, Tilburg University, The Netherlands; Sharon D. Welch, Professor of Religion and Society, Meadville Theological School, Chicago, USA; Leslie Witz, Professor of History, University of the Western Cape, South Africa.

Ian R. Lamond • Rosie Garland Editors

Deviant Leisure and Events of Deviance

A Transgressive Compendium



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Leisure Studies in a Global Era
ISBN 978-3-031-17792-7 ISBN 978-3-031-17793-4 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-17793-4

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From Ella & Chick to LF System—dedicated to a life lived to the full. (IRL) For deviant kith and kin everywhere, in solidarity. (RG)

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Introduction: Something Wicked This Way Comes

Ian R. Lamond and Rosie Garland

Abstract In this chapter we set out the conceptual landscape of the book. We explore the place studies of deviant leisure have had within the wider field of leisure studies and its somewhat lesser presence within event studies. Our central argument is that in both fields it has been treated in a way that has given it neither the space nor inclination to delve into the theme in a way that respects the integrity and hard work of its practitioners and event planners. If one pursues the lines of flight that emerge from such an approach one embarks on a deviant journey within critical perspectives in

As well as a quotation from Shakespeare's Macbeth (Act 4: Scene 2) this was the title we used for an alternative cabaret night Ian managed, hosted at the Grand Theatre, Blackpool, in 2008/2009. Rosie, performing as Rosie Lugosi, was the indomitable Emcee for the first few iterations of the night. *Something wicked this way comes* was one of our early collaborations. Later iterations of the event were hosted by the wonderful Bella Stirrup—thanks Bella.

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R. Garland Reflective Practitioner, Manchester, UK both leisure and event studies; the result is a book that transgresses the frame of a standard academic edited collection to become more of a compendium of deviant leisure, event, and practice.

Deviance has formed a central strand of research in the social sciences since the emergence of sociology in the middle of the nineteenth century, with Durkheim's work on criminality (*On the Normality of Crime* was first published in his *The Rules of Sociological Method* 1895) and *Suicide* (first published in 1897) forming some of the earliest sociological explorations of deviant behaviour (Durkheim, 1965 [1895]; 2002 [1897]). In those works, he argued that deviance, understood as any form of transgression from socially established norms, operated as an essential element within society if it were to function effectively. From such a functionalist perspective, deviant behaviour held groups of practitioners together whilst providing opportunities for social reform—enabling society to recognise systemic flaws and remedying them through policy change, as well as the punishment of those engaged in practices regarded as deviant by the general population.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the perceived emergence of increasingly 'delinquent behaviour' in the leisure practices of young adults became an area of interest within UK governmental policy, and that of other growing industrial and post-industrial economies (Lamond, 2017). Despite this, the connection between deviant leisure and events of deviance has only had limited critical attention within leisure and event studies, remaining substantially part of a broad sociological, criminological, and psychological gaze.

Howard Becker's seminal work, *Outsiders*, is a notable exception (2018 [1963]). With its focus on marijuana use, Becker explores the recreational use of the drug both casually and as part of what he terms a *deviant career*. As a framework, the concept of a *deviant career* suggests a more constructive perspective on deviance, over one that construes it as behaviour that is not aligned with those normative values that are assumed to constitute the *fabric* of society. This moves the conceptualisation of deviance away from the functionalist perspective, genealogically (in a Foucauldian sense) associated with the work of Durkheim. Through it, he discusses deviance in ways that resonate strongly with Stebbins' later tripartite distinction of casual, project-based, and serious leisure (Stebbins, 1982). This, in itself,

a means of positively constructing a frame of reference, one that moves the field of leisure research away from focusing on it as activity that is undertaken in non-work time. In framing any discussion of deviant leisure through a dual negation, a further level of complexity is added to any attempt to develop an understanding of deviance within leisure and event studies. It becomes that which is pursued outside assumed acceptable societal norms and values, undertaken in time that is not associated with economically gainful activity. It is these doubled negations that complicate any attempt to conduct constructive research in the field.

Within the field of leisure studies, an early discussion of deviant leisure seeking to address the topic more constructively can be found in Chris Rojek's paper "The Convoy of pollution" (Rojek, 1988). Its concentration on hippy communities draws on themes echoing those in Becker's prior work on marijuana use amongst musicians. Rojek's paper offers a call to action, as it recognises that investigating deviant leisure is significant to the study of leisure. Since then, however, there has been a deficit of work in that area. In almost 50 years, the number of papers on deviant leisure in the leading journals associated within the fields of leisure and event studies has been low. Of those papers associated with the area of deviant leisure many align it, and any events associated with deviant leisure practices, with undesirable or illegal activity. Even if the search is widened to the allied concept of transgressive leisure, there is a distinct paucity of scholarship.

In Stephen Pfohl's seminal work on the sociological history of deviance (Pfohl, 1985) we are introduced to a sequence of essays and explorations which address the diverse ways deviance and social control have been entwined and represented, from early ritual practices to more contemporary accounts associated with power. However, no mention is made of leisure, or of events, associated with what can be construed as deviant practices. Both those perspectives were, and have remained, little investigated.

Not only is the area of deviant leisure still under-examined within leisure research, it also still carries significant presuppositions that have not been thoroughly interrogated. The attribution of abnormality or criminality is still a dominant trope in much of the inquiry undertaken into this area of leisure studies (Kavanagh et al., 2016). This, despite Becker's own position that "deviance is not a simple quality, present in some kinds

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of behavior (sic) and absent in others... [but] a process which involves responses of other people to that behavior (sic)" (Becker, 2018 [1963], p.13). Deviance, he argues, is intelligible only through how it is applied from the perspective of an *other*. In addition, deviant leisure, and any events associated with deviant leisure practice, have also had a strong association with sociological and social psychological research into youth culture (Ferrell et al., 2004).

Although research around deviance has a significant heritage in sociology and social psychology, its presence in leisure and event studies has been limited (Elkington & Stebbins, 2014; Spracklen, 2018; Lamond et al., 2023). There are, however, emerging voices within critical perspectives in those fields that are challenging this. In a conceptual paper Franklin-Reible (2006) interrogates prevailing paradigms associated with deviant leisure through an autoethnographic reflection on their engagement with BDSM (Bondage, Discipline, Sadomasochism) culture and events. In doing so they suggest that deviant leisure may serve "to mediate meaning and alienation within popular culture for the individual and deserves consideration within the traditional definitions of leisure" (p. 62). Drawing heavily from Stebbins' conceptualisation of Serious Leisure (2007) they indicate the complexity of associations that form the BDSM community, one that embraces a rich variety of evental manifestations, such as the *munch* (in some places called the *slosh*, *kinky drinkies*, or similar (Webster & Klaserner, 2019; Webster & Ivanov, 2020))—a non-BDSM play gathering over food and or drinks. However, their conclusion still hints at a negative connotation to approaching deviance when they suggest "that BDSM events are transgressive (not deviant) and are a new type of [Bakhtian] 'carnival'" (p.68).

The suggestion that such leisure practices should be understood as not being *deviant* seems to rest on the positive and affirming place of mutual respect, equity, and shared values they argue constitute it as a community. Whilst aspects of the community's practice may be considered *transgressive* it is argued they do not represent *deviance* from those found in wider society. This construal of deviance is reinforced in the work of Holt (2016), and Sprott et al. (2021). However, Sheff's work on polyamory (2020) seems to indicate that such a division may emerge from the dominance of academic voices within discourse around deviant leisure

practices and their associated events, and the limited number of those from deviant leisure practitioners.

Whilst the literature around leisure practice and events is significantly entangled, discussion within overt event management and event studies literature is even more limited than that in leisure studies. Beyond the work of Webster and Klaserner we indicated earlier (2019—also Webster & Ivanov, 2020), which considered the way a broad spectrum of events underpins the BDSM community, there are few discussions of events associated with deviant leisure practice. Whilst Kennell et al. (2018) lean a little away from considering a deviant leisure perspective, they draw more directly from research associated with dark tourism, and thus seek to establish a link between deviant events with space linked to "...disaster, suffering, violence, or death" (p.948), hence their focus on commemorative and memorial events.

An alternative perspective is suggested in Dashper and Finkel's (2021) paper 'Doing Gender' in critical event studies: A dual agenda for research. Even though it does not form a primary theme within their article, they do suggest that valuable lessons can be learnt about the feeling of safety at events from a gendered perspective of the deviant leisure perspective, emerging as a paradigm within critical criminology (Raymen & Smith, 2019; Collett, 2020; Fileborn et al., 2020). However, despite such an approach being of value and merit, it locates any form of constructive discussion of events associated with deviant leisure practice as outside the remit of event research. According to Raymen and Smith (2019) "The nascent 'deviant leisure' perspective...represents a coherent project that has begun to unpick the range of harms associated with legal, often culturally approved and economically important forms of leisure" (p.116). Continuing, they differentiate their approach from that of Stebbins et al. (2006) as, they argue, "tended to coalesce around leisure activities which, if not always illegal, appear close enough to the boundary between legality and illegality to invoke discussions of anti-social behaviour, crime prevention, police, and policy responses" (Raymen & Smith, 2019 p.117).

This book treads a different path from that already outlined. Research in critical event studies (CES), particularly associated with LGBT+ events and the drawing together of research into events of dissent and activist leisure, also fall within a frame of reference that can be construed as

deviant leisure. CES does not seek to establish a single narrative associated with an event (Lamond & Moss, 2020). It moves away from considering *the* event to one that explores an evental landscape (Lamond & Dowson, 2022). The topography of such a terrain is one where multiple event narratives emerge. Some will be in harmony or synchrony, whilst others may be in a creative contestation or conflictual. This is not a landscape for the faint-hearted, as it thrives on apparent paradox and contradiction (Tomassini & Lamond, 2022). CES contests a prevailing hegemony within the social sciences; one that seeks to delegitimise individual and collective action by framing it as deviance. It argues that the drawing together of events of alterity with hollow construals of deviance/deviant leisure only serves to delegitimise any substantive association between the cultural, political, social, and ethical aspects of the manifestation of events and leisure (Spracklen & Lamond, 2016).

Through the chapters in this book, we seek a fresh view on deviant leisure, suggesting that a constructive reading is also pertinent in our current historical moment. At the time of writing the world seems to be emerging from a global Covid-19 pandemic. This emergence still feels like a *seeming* rather than an *actuality* as infection and death rates are still high. Our imaginaries of events and leisure, and the way we articulate our engagement with those imaginaries, are still entangled with the shared experience of life in the time of a pandemic. Normative framework around which the forms of leisure interaction in which we can engage have been significantly reconfigured to control, or limit, the spread of the Covid-19 virus, a reconfiguration that has left us with a profound emotional, cognitive, and socio-cultural legacy (Lashua et al., 2022). Whilst this is not a Covid-19 book, the spectre of the pandemic does add an inflection to many of the discussions it contains.

This volume also deliberately sets out to be transgressive. As we noted earlier, one of the central limitations of much of the discussion around deviant leisure and events of deviance is the marginalisation of practitioner voices. Consequently, the book will provide an opportunity for those whose research and practice push at the border between leisure and event studies to explore more personal manifestations of *deviance*. The collection draws on inquiry undertaken by contributors from a wide spectrum of academic disciplines, as well as that of others who could be described

as deviant leisure practitioners and/or organisers of events of deviance. In addition, the volume is planned to incorporate transgressive elements in its approach. In this it follows Pfohl's work *Images of Deviance and Social Control* (Pfohl, 1985) where the sociologist collaborated with the artist Joe LaMantia to create a series of photomontage/artworks that introduced each chapter. In addition to standard chapters the book will include poetry, film, and self-reflective interventions. While some may find some of the language and imagery used by a few of our contributors challenging it will provide an opportunity to examine, in greater depth, an area of leisure and events inquiry that has not been significantly addressed.

As a resource the book will inform students, early career and experienced researchers and practitioners, who are interested in deviant leisure and events of deviance, with insights from a wide spectrum of aligned scholarship and practice. Additionally, the diverse experience of the editors provides a unique insight into the field. Collectively, the editorial team combines perspectives of an academic with that of a real-world practice—drawing together a rich array of theoretical understanding and direct experience in delivering *deviant leisure* events. The background of the editors includes a wide variety of direct experience as a street theatre actor/writer/director, theatre manager, activist, author, editor, curator, musician, performer, and facilitator of deviant leisure events. We add a unique dynamic to the editorial mix of the book, one that makes the volume a key milestone in scholarship in leisure and events research.

This volume is the first to draw together theoretical reflection and empirical research occurring at the juncture of critical approaches in leisure studies and event studies, as applied to an inquiry into deviant leisure and events of deviance. Academically it targets researchers at all levels, from undergraduate and Masters' research project students to doctoral, early career, and experienced researchers. Beyond this we hope the work will also contribute to the reflective practice of those engaged with deviant leisure practice and the management of events associated with those practices. Our objective is to share a rich diversity of reflection and self-learning with students, researchers, and practitioners working or interested in queer theory, social movement studies, cultural theory, burlesque/circus studies, media studies, and discourse studies.

This book is grouped into three sections. In keeping with our wish for the book to also have something of a transgressive identity, we have named each section after an album recorded by the much-missed David Bowie. Bowie remains one of the most groundbreaking and inventive artists of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. His life and art embodied the centrality of deviance, deviant acts, and deviant events as wellsprings of creativity and artistic endeavour. He took chances where other artists remained content with the norm, and was not averse to transgressing social, creative, and artistic barriers.

The first section, *Heroes*, released in the UK in 1977, (which was, in part, inspired by Bowie seeing a photograph of one of the album's producers—Tony Visconti—kissing his male partner in front of the Berlin Wall), considers the games we play, with others and with our self.

We open with a poem by Rosie Garland: "Creatures of the Night". This darkly playful poem introduces this section. This leads us into Josephine Baird's Playing it our own way: Trans deviations of game design. The chapter argues that Games, both digital and analogue, like all mainstream popular culture, feature a significant lack of LGBTQIA+ inclusion and representation. This might lead to the presumption that games are limited in their scope for queer expression and play. Citing queer game design theory and recent examples in the medium, this chapter posits that this is not necessarily the case, even with games that initially do not overtly seem to allow for queer readings or engagement. Using a queer/gender—and games—theoretically informed autoethnography, this chapter demonstrates the scope by which games might be seen as deviant leisure for LGBTQIA+ players on a multitude of levels—including by co-opting and disidentifying with games, characters, and narratives, modifying games and rules to include queer experience, and also through the emerging production of games by queer designers in both mainstream and independent contexts. By these means, queer players can include themselves and their experience, as well as their social interactions, community organisations, and identity exploration in potentially safer gameplay environments; in a way that might not be as possible in wider normative socio-cultural spaces. In conclusion, this autoethnography is positioned alongside analogue game design theory and practice within the author's wider project of designing a live action role-playing game (LARP) for the explicit purpose of facilitating the expression, exploration, and embodiment of (trans) gender subjectivities.

For Jordon Maclean, Samantha Punch, and Michael Xu, the focus is completely on the digital sphere. In Card confessions: Digital forms of deviance in the mindsport Bridge they suggest that since the onset of the pandemic, there have been several public confessions to cheating from elite-level players in the online version of the card game bridge. Whilst the deviance of cheating is a perennial issue in the world of elite sports, little is known about how bridge compares as a mindsport. A Foucauldian theoretical lens examines the case of a young world champion who publicly confessed to self-kibitzing. Kibitzing is a bridge term for spectating, whereas self-kibitzing is when a player logs onto another account to look at their partner's and opponents' hands when playing in digital bridge tournaments. The confession is an entry point into the analysis, followed by thematically unravelling over 1500 public responses from members of the bridge community. The findings illustrate how confessions are used as a form of penance for the deviance of self-kibitzing. The confessionary sociological lens paves the way for a rebirth in bridge.

Peter Allison, in *The fall and rise of role-playing games: From societal pariah to psychological support*, points out that role-playing games are currently enjoyed by tens of millions of people around the world (Morics, 2020). They became a vital support mechanism for many people who felt isolated and alone during the recent Covid-19 pandemic. However, their benefits have not always been appreciated: the hobby came under a sustained and coordinated attack during the so-called Satanic Panic of the 1980s (Allison, 2014). This essay examines the backlash against role-playing games by fundamentalist organisations and conservative groups and discusses why their campaign failed to stop people playing role-playing games, due to a lack of verifiable evidence. It also considers how role-playing games are now used as a tool in therapy and as a safe space for exploring identity, such as gender and sexuality.

Having considered an association between deviance and gameplaying, in Lodger we considered deviance in life as it is lived; as a manifestation of identity and as a way of offering up alternative identities. We use David Bowie's album *Lodger* (released in 1979) as the section heading for this part of the book. In *Lodger*, along with his collaborator Brian Eno, Bowie

explores travel, a critique of Western capitalism, and his own struggles with the identities he creates and has created as part of his personal journey to communicate his art. Veronica C. Combs powerful and erotic poem opens the section. In that work we are given access to the thoughts that explore desire and how we perform that desire, alongside the way we mask the desired to mirror those passions. The way we explore our own body, and the body of other(s) is its own journey of discovery, unveiling, and revelation.

In *There and back again: Trains to a queer emancipation*, Rachel Saunders explores the juxtaposition between queer leisure, travel, and the journeys to get there. It uses an autoethnographic lens exploring the juxtaposition of queer identities and travel. The act of travel, namely trains, involve both anticipation and coming down from delirium, while also forging deviant identities. It touches the intersectional nature of deviance, that queer emancipation and assimilation are an intricate balance, and that over the last 20 years the gradual inclusion of queer deviance within the mainstream has complicated questions of queer assimilation. Travel has always been an essential part of queer, deviant, experiences, and as a trans queer woman trains played a fundamental role in emancipation from heteronormativity. By using an autoethnographic lens this paper seeks to both harness intensely personal queerness and show that queer deviance is more complex than simple assimilation or exceptionalisation.

In Performing queer femininity and performing it wrong: The development of the performance persona Rosie Lugosi the vampire queen, originally published online in Feral Feminisms (https://feralfeminisms.com/cfps/) and reprinted with their kind permission, Rosie Garland presents a profound engagement with her own alternative (and non-normative) femininity and how it has a determining role in the creation and development of performance persona Rosie Lugosi (the Vampire Queen: Mistress of Ceremonies, poet, and twisted cabaret chanteuse). She examines how Rosie Lugosi embodies the monstrous-feminine through challenges to the image of the lesbian vampire, exploring issues of performance and poetry as an integrative tool and path to personhood. Rosie Lugosi's variant and outlaw voice articulates the mis/representation of women, the performance of fem(me)ninity and queerness, whilst exploring personal

darkness, celebrating woman-as-abject, and reclaiming space as an outsider artist.

The final chapter, the deviant leisure of gym bodies, militarized branding, and fascistic creeps, by Dawn Wooley and Jason Luger, explores the rapid acceleration and viral dissemination of masculine fitness culture as a deviant leisure activity (Becker, 2018 [1963]). They historically situate the current virality of the digitally networked and gym-built male body, from the advent of physical cultures in the era of The Great Exhibition of 1851, to the rapid mainstreaming and growth resulting from the 2008-2009 financial crisis, and unprecedent growth of social media, to the current triple crises of Covid-19, far-right authoritarianism and identity politics (Hakim, 2020; Chow, 2021; Luger, 2022). They argue that fitness supplements with militaristic, nationalist, and violent rhetoric and imagery in their branding and marketing—such as Merica Labz (US), and Grenade and Chemical Warfare (UK) - suggest that gym-built bodies are deviant in performing offline and online fitness and bodybuilding culture during Covid-19 lockdowns, deviancy is expressed through societal norms of what are deemed essential, versus non-essential hobbies (Chow, 2021). Secondly, these bodily performers and digital representations, along with the brand-scapes that target this lifestyle, allow for a deviant space of masculinity, juxtaposed against the mainstreaming of feminist, queer and non-white identities, perspectives, and perceived power geometries: in other words, a safe space to perform whitenationalist-masculinity (Cornwall et al., 2011; Olou, 2020). Thirdly, they present this space as a deviant space of class hybridity and fluidity, where the notion or trope of the working-class, industrial, militaristic male body is mimetically adopted by users through the mainstreaming of fitness branding and offline/online gym and body culture (Cornwall et al., 2011; Chow, 2021). Substantively, they suggest that periodic crises (or 'backloops', Wakefield, 2020) in neoliberal society, including the Covid-19 pandemic, and the banality of fitness praxis, are helping to catalyse an authoritarian, extremist masculinity, both mirroring and mirrored in chauvinistic political figures on the far-right.

Our final section draws its title from the David Bowie album, *Outside*. Released in 1995, Outside reunited Bowie and Brian Eno for the first time since the *Berlin Trilogy*, of which Heroes and Lodger had been the

second and third releases of the 1970s. *Outside* combines Bowie's and Eno's fascination with outsider art, and the former finding inspiration in non-linear narratives, which he had found in the television series *Twin Peaks*. According to Eno the recording sessions were highly experimental and drew on motifs that had formed part of their *art-crimelLeon Suite* project. This seemed to resonate strongly with motifs in our final set of contributions. We open with another forceful and visceral poem by Veronica C. Combs—*Family History*.

The theme of family draws us into Jet Moon's piece Easter with the family. In this Jet interweaves critical self-reflection, thought-provoking insight, and a pornographic short story. Every Easter weekend for the past 21 years uninterrupted (until Covid), the SM (sadomasochistic) Dyke community has gathered in Berlin for their annual conference. Four days of workshops and parties, cruising, and socialising. A space of queer familial connections, people who may see each other only once or twice a year but have deep bonds. Sharing community knowledge and the intimacy of a sexuality well outside the cis/hetero norm. This essay is an exploration of deviant leisure and community, which despite its alterity both does and does not subvert hierarchies of power; one example being that communities decreased access to physical spaces, or exclusions practiced by the community within those spaces. This piece interweaves firsthand observation as a participant in this community over the past 14 years, with pornographic/sadomasochistic scene descriptions that capture the ephemeral nature of deviant joy in another form. A non-academic researcher, Jet has a long practice of collecting oral histories and developing forms of community storytelling. Jet uses the term family in this essay both to connect to its traditional status as a term often used to denote the basic building block of society, and to refer to the inherent drama of familial connections. Family in the western capitalist sense is a recent invention, the 'nuclear' family of (heterosexual, cis gendered) Mum, Dad, children only being in common evidence since the industrial revolution. However, it has come to be held up as what is 'normal', even sacred, while any other arrangement is less than, secondary. In addition, Family is a place where queer people have commonly experienced rejection. Many of us have faced criticism, exclusion, and abuse in our families of origin. While they're not a huge fan of the word 'family' as it is used to describe

'Queer Family', 'Chosen Family', they do use it to give a frame of reference. It speaks about the connections we build, the desire for stable, supportive, accepting bonds, whether they prove to live up to the idealised model or not.

That drawing together in a sex positive way is also considered in Rowan Bombadil's Koinonia: Crafting permission for queer deviance. Koinonia is a Greek word with multiple meanings, including intimacy, community, and communion. It is also the title of the elemental ritual play spaces Rev. Rowan Bombadil and the Terrific Team, held on a quarterly basis in London, UK, where participants of diverse genders, orientations, bodies, backgrounds, and nationalities gathered together for the purpose of sharing a rainbow spectrum of pleasures. This chapter explores: How the team used queer facilitation tools and ritual magic techniques to create a container of permission for different forms of deviance. How that container became a space in which queer people reported feeling safer to explore their own deviance and desires than they had at other sex-positive events, and where queerness was also emergent through deviant activities for participants who might not have identified as queer. And how the energy raised within that container was dedicated to pleasure activism and planetary change.

Patrick/Sebastian Baxter, in Subcutaneous stories from the deviant city: Chemsex congregations, urban explorations, and occult inclinations in the art of Manchester Penetrated illustrate their practice through a focus on autoethnographic (Jones & Adams, 2010) storytelling as a form of deviant declaration, the sexualised drug subculture Chemsex (Bourne et al., 2014, Hakim, 2018) as an illicit queer congregation of dissident sexual citizens, and ketamine induced multi-model hallucinations provoking occultist psychosexual urban art explorations and interventions. Their text is unconventionally structured in three distinct text-based movements each with its own distinct tone, texture, and style. It argues that our multi-sensory and self-reflexive work is not only nominally deviant by transgressing social mores, criminal law, political consensus, and so on (Becker, 2018 [1963], Cohen, 2011 [1972]), but in more abstract sense, dismantles established routes of conceptualising, constructing, and disseminating knowledge of analogue deviancy, hence is the only conceivable means of uncovering and unleashing the truly deviant city.