5-21-2004

Subcultures, the Media and the Law: The Creation and Mystification of the Rave Scene

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SUBCULTURES, THE MEDIA AND THE LAW: THE CREATION AND
MYSTIFICATION OF THE RAVE SCENE

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
The Department of Sociology

by

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B.A. Northern Illinois University, 2000

May 2004

Acknowledgements

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Abstract

       This study examines how rave subculture is constructed differently by participants of the rave scene and by external observers of the rave scene. Mainstream national media articles are compared to interviews with self-identified ravers to understand how rave subculture is constructed. Subcultural and Post-Subcultural theory support this method and illustrates how concepts of subcultures have changed over time. The construction of rave culture by the media as associated with drug abuse and illegal activity attracted drug abusers and irresponsible young people to the rave scene. This consequently led to a change in the rave scene and a criminalization of rave culture and the rave promoters through passing of the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act.

Introduction

In April, 2003, the United States Congress passed the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act. The Act focuses on control of the use and the distribution of Ecstasy. However, this Act assumes that most Ecstasy use takes place within rave culture and by ravers. The law calls for event and rave promoters to be fined or jailed if they 'knowingly' provide a space for drug use. It effectively made event promoters responsible for the illegal actions of their patrons.

I have been involved in rave culture for many years and was concerned about the passing of the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act. My friends who were involved in rave culture protested the description of raves as negative and drug laden. The web based forum, *ravers.org*, was full of angry reproaches toward the government, especially from ravers who had never taken drugs. I sensed a difference between what the ravers and promoters said and what the government officials seemed to believe. There were differences in information from various sources, such as television, 20/20 specials, government officials, the police, electronic music documentaries, DJ's comments, event promoters and the ravers. Where did this information come from and why was it different? People involved in the rave scene had claims that differed from those who were not involved. Also, the media reported some issues and events but not others. Certainly there were different portrayals of rave culture coming from the two social locations, inside and outside of the rave, as well as from people who were partially involved or involved for various circumstances, such as journalists.

My raver friends stereotyped the media as unforgiving and evil, believing that the media seems to stereotype the ravers as drug using, irresponsible children. I had assumed that external sources such as the media were responsible for blaming Ecstasy use on ravers and that Congress used that information to control the dangers they had been informed of by those external sources. But was that really true?

When I had a chance to do this study, I knew that it would be difficult to separate my personal feelings from the data I was studying. While I had noticed some obvious differences between media and raver statements, it was unclear exactly what those differences were. The media and the ravers talked about rave culture and drug use, but described it in different ways. Did the two sources have different feelings about the values, norms and purposes of a rave? I was also unsure about how those descriptions and definitions had changed over time and how that information had affected government policy.

While differences in portrayal or characterization of rave culture are obvious, both sides; participants with internal viewpoints versus those observing from an external stance, recognize that drug use can happen at rave events. Indeed, Ecstasy is used at raves and there are overdoses, even deaths. I have personally known people with drug problems who buy and use at rave events. Underage children sneak past security and use drugs. These are negative issues involved with rave culture and are often described in a similar manner by both ravers and the media. On a more positive side, rave culture is responsible for the creation of new art, music and fashion forms. It is mainly responsible for the invention and evolution of electronic music. Some articles in magazines and newspapers tout the benefits of rave culture, detail electronic music and glorify rave

fashion and culture. Rave styles are easily identifiable by those coming from social locations inside and outside of the rave scene. Both sides recognize similar negative aspects of rave culture, as well as agree on some positive characteristics.

While many theorists agree that external observers and internal participants of subcultures construct different images, there was no direct comparison of what those differences and similarities actually are.   Clearly, external and internal voices come from different social locations and have different motivations. However, I could not find a study that examined what effect those origins had on the construction of the rave scene. It is important not only to find that there are similarities and differences, but to understand what those differences and similarities are. In the case of the rave scene, when those in power embrace the external construction of rave as a site for subversive and rebellious activity such as drug use, the policy consequences are based on a specific interpretation.

It is important to understand the actual differences between statements made from external and internal sources in order to understand what information is used to create policy. In this case, the United States government has passed a law limiting the activity of a group of individuals that (most likely) are not directly a part of the United States government. Therefore, external observers have created policy. Also, the Congress, as a body that is external to the rave scene, most likely derived information from external claims-makers such as the media and investigating agencies, such as the Drug Enforcement Agency or local police. The law is controversial and was protested by internal participants, such as electronic music fans, ravers and rave and event promoters. The information they use to protest the Act is different than the information Congress

utilized to pass the Act. A clearer understanding of the actual differences between internal and external statements will show how pictures painted by various claims-makers can differ. Also it is important to note that some participants can not be defined under the strict binary division of external and internal and may have characteristics of both, such as journalists that participate, but with different motivations than the ravers. With this information, this study can analyze how rave has changed from the influence of certain constructions, why this Act was passed and what information was used to make those decisions.

Research is based on subculture and post-subculture theory. Theory is used as a base to understand the differences between external and internal constructions of subcultures. The concept that external and internal claims-makers construct subcultures differently is characterized through a comparison of theoretical schools. Rave subculture is positioned theoretically first as a subculture and then as a post-modern subculture. This study includes theorists that examine subcultures in general and rave culture specifically. Their accounts reveal some differences and some similarities with what I had heard my raver friends say. The concept that the social location of most academic researchers is also external to the direct experience of a rave is examined.

After theory is introduced, the mixed methods approach is explained, along with an outline of its advantages and disadvantages. I have included a specific section on the role of the researcher. This study is a two part, sequential mixed methods approach with three data sets; a count of articles about raves over time, content analysis of a sample of articles from initial frequency, and content analysis of interviews with key informants. The first section is quantitative and shows when rave culture was constructed as a social

problem. It is an analysis across time of frequency of major media articles on the drug Ecstasy and rave culture. This timeline culminates in the passing of the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act. The second half of the study involves qualitative coding of interviews and media articles.

The findings are separated into two sections. First, the population of articles is situated historically in order to construct when rave became a social problem and how events in history affected and were affected by this construction. Then the interview data and content analysis are compared and contrasted. Qualitative studies show a more detailed explanation of how rave was constructed as a social problem. The relationship between the media and rave culture is defined by how the influence and information in the media has changed the nature of rave culture. Policy consequences stem from differences between external and internal social constructions of the rave scene, its norms and values and its perceived benefits and dangers.

This study shows how different types of claims-makers construct different definitions of social phenomena and can exercise power over the view of various groups of people. These claims occur over time and create different images of people and their activities. Rave is a subculture and therefore has values and norms that differ from the dominant culture. Hedonistic parties such as raves are capable of challenging dominant American norms by removing values such as work and moderation from the center and replacing them with pleasure oriented goals. In the case of the Anti-Drug Proliferation Act, the media construction of rave as equivalent with drug abuse and child endangerment both attracted drug users and young teens who desire to be drug users to the rave scene and instigated government attention and control. Congress utilized

information from external claims-makers, such as the media, to legislate against raves as sites synonymous with drug use. Legislation such as this that controls cultural activity can open doors to allow increasing levels of social control over leisure time and may have severe affects on future underground movements as well as cultural expression.

Theory

Many sociologists claim that knowledge is socially constructed. The theory section of this study analyzes how rave culture is constructed by various groups of people.   A review of cultural and subcultural schools describes how rave culture has been and is currently situated theoretically. Rave culture is defined as a post-subculture as well as a post-modern subculture. The concept of authenticity and how ravers and raves come to be known as authentic is discussed. Theory is used to show that rave culture and ravers are defined and understood differently by different groups of people.

External vs. Internal Analysis

Social experience can be understood and described in various ways according to the social location of the individual making claims about that experience. Subcultures have values and norms that differ from the dominant culture. These values can be understood according to the social knowledge the individual that concurrently produces claims and interprets the claims of others. A person who exists within the subculture formulates their opinions using a set of values and norms that differ from a person who lives outside of the subculture. The actual experience influences the way a person analyzes that experience. After a direct experience they then make claims that can be considered internal to an experience since they now have an understanding from inside rather than observing from afar. One without that experience analyzes the experience from an external position (Muggleton 1995). Therefore, two descriptions of a subculture compete to create two different versions of reality. This rift between external and

internal definitions is currently being examined by groups of social theorists.

Although cultural theorists of the Chicago school studied members of deviant cultures through ethnographic methods (e.g. Howard Becker's famous study of jazz musicians,1963), the subculturalists came from the Birmingham Centre for Cultural Studies (BCCS) in the 1960s and 70s; Dick Hebdige (1981), John Clarke (1975), Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (1976) and Paul Willis (1978). They utilized their own ideological methodology by grounding their work in the critical analysis used by the Chicago school, and were located outside the direct experience of a subculture. Recently, the traditional academic external position has been challenged by post-modern theorists such as Muggleton (1997; 2000; 2004). Muggleton states that theory and even ethnography are not sufficient to understand the stylistic meaning, representation, values and cultural norms of a subculture. Because of questions posed by these post-subculturalists, the bedrock concepts of the BCCS definition of subculture have been challenged.

The BCCS described subcultures as cultures that live not necessarily in opposition to, but as "localized and differentiated structures within one or other of the larger cultural networks" (Clarke, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts 1975: 13). The BCCS applied this definition to the study of youth cultures. Although subcultures were considered an offshoot of a mainstream culture, they were not considered to be a culture that would evolve to the state of the adult culture. Subcultures were considered bohemian and avant-garde, yet not necessarily limited by age. Post-subculturalists understand subcultures within these same basic parameters but consider subcultures to be more fluid, with shifting boundaries and memberships. They also accept the dialectical relationship of

subcultures and the media, and some go as far as describing more advanced subcultures as actually being formed by the media (Thornton 1995).

Certain claims-makers are taken more seriously than others, on account of their status, position, or characteristics (Loseke 1999). Frith and Savage (1998) dissect the volatile relationship between journalists and popular culture theorists, claiming that journalists represent and simplify the subcultural world by experiencing the culture, by "being there, puking in the Roxbury" (13). Social theorists seek to complicate and lift the sociological experience of popular culture to a theoretical level. Hebdige (1981), in his classic study of subcultures, acknowledged his external viewpoint. He claims, "We [the academic analysts] are cast in a marginal role. We are in society, but not inside it" (1979: 216). For all Frith and Savage's insinuations about the 'chit-chat' of journalists, for this study, I place journalists and many social commentators on sub-cultures in the same 'mainstream' location.

In this study, the mainstream is a large and differentiated, non-homogeneous group of all people not involved in rave culture. More specifically, in the explanation and situating of rave culture there are two main points of view, those that come from the inside and those that come from the outside. Simply by being there journalists have an insider's experience, however they are not going to a rave for the purpose of the personal experience, but rather to examine and report that experience. While it is possible that 'puking' may have been a personal experience, the purpose for attendance changes the nature of that experience. Journalists may attend a rave as a raver and gain internal views, just as a lawyer may be a weekend raver. It is possible that a person, such as a rave ethnographer or journalist can maintain many social locations that change, and can

be considered an external and an internal voice at different times. In this study, journalists and ethnographers are considered external, despite the possible duality of social location. The dominant culture is responsible for creating and passing policy, and different explanations of an activity affect how policy is made.

From an insider's experience, if one wants to understand the meaning of being a part of a rave culture, one must be part of rave culture by attending raves, and have personal experience. However, this experience is one-sided and personal, and lacks authority in the eyes of the mainstream, as well as in intellectual circles. In contrast, the interpretation of an external theorist is often incomprehensible to the typical raver or member of that subculture. (See Muggleton's (2000: 3) reference to same situation with punk) The issue is that the 'reality' of a subculture is actually 'realities' based upon social position, inclinations, personal opinions, motivation or any factor that might influence one's view of reality. Therefore, different views understand rave culture in different ways and believe in different forms of its regulation.

In the case of rave culture, many factions volley for theoretical and social explanations of its values, norms, desires and dangers. The media reports a simplified and scandalous image of subcultures (Frith and Savage 1998) for other external observers. Rave is defined by external observers for other external participants. A certain view and certain beliefs gain popularity in external public opinion. Conversely, intellectuals analyze the values, style and meanings of rave culture but also from an external position. These beliefs can formulate another reality created by external observers. Both of these groups, as well as politicians, do not directly exist within the context of the lived experience of rave culture. The internal descriptions, understandings,

and feelings of ravers may present a different picture of the rave scene then the descriptions created by external sources.

Subculturalists vs. Post-Subculturalists

The BCCS was the first to theoretically examine subcultures. Although they supported ethnographic research, they contributed to the social construction of subcultures from an external position. New, younger sociologists have recently criticized the external position of the BCCS. They question their own position as sociologists who are external to a subculture and advocate the inclusion of participants' internal knowledge. Post-subculturalists seek to use the viewpoints of internal participants to better understand and describe the experience of a subculture.

The Birmingham school often relies on external extrapolation and analysis by the researcher (Hebdige 1979; Cohen 1972; Hall and Jefferson, 1976). They examined subculture members; they analyzed media references to these members and their characteristics and even did some ethnographic research in the field with subculture members. A criticism of the BCCS is that it tends to focus on "the card carrying members of spectacular subcultures" (Clarke 1985) and only analyzes those members who seem to be the most extreme. They consider authentic members to be the members that dedicate their lives to their subcultural activities and only wear subcultural styles. They do not recognize members that are on the fringes or only participate on weekends.

BCCS scholars define a subculture as a cohesive group of youths that live in opposition to the mainstream culture. BCCS scholars build most of their arguments on two bedrock concepts. The first is that youth subcultures are formed as the byproduct of

incendiary emotions towards unsatisfactory working class opportunities (Hebdige 19781 87). Since working class youths were not often heard in traditional political spheres, they found alternate methods of resistance. They converted the social world in the only way they could be noticed; through stylistic resistance and rebellion. By acting and dressing in a manner that challenged middle and upper class norms, punks displayed a message of dissatisfaction with society. Therefore the second thesis is rebellion at the level of style. The purpose of the punk subculture, according to Hebdige (1979) seems to be simply 'shocking the straights' and causing a scene. Political action takes the form of stylistic rebellion; by acting or dressing differently, Hebdige claims that punks challenge the mainstream way of life. Simply by rejecting the accepted and mainstream stylistic norms, the punk's political statement was the rejection of those norms. Therefore, in the eyes of the BCCS, youth subcultures are inherently political as well as working class.

A newer school of subculturalists (sometimes called post-subculturalists) criticize the perspectives of the BCCS. They note that the BCCS did not question issues of diffuse boundaries, such as individuals who only participate on weekends, or members that dress in a different style but still act and feel as if they belong to the subculture. The Birmingham school supported the ethnography method and perspective (Willis 1978) yet did not directly use the words and descriptions of individuals that experience the culture from an internal social location. Also, they claim that the BCCS did not thoroughly examine the phenomenon of diffusion and commodification into the mainstream. These post-subculturalists advocate questioning the subcultural participants themselves in order to understand their perceptions of the lived experience (Clarke 1985; Muggleton 2000; St. John 2004; Ueno 2004). Post-subculturalists question the boundaries of what

characteristics belong to a subculture and examine the diffusion of subcultural styles into the mainstream. They also question the traditional working class positioning of subcultures by the BCCS, especially when considering the more hedonistic or socially oriented American subcultures like, ravers, hippies , 'bikies', or 'surfies' (Goulding 2002: Champion 1998: Stratton 1985).

In their definition of subculture, the Birmingham school constructed images of subcultures for external readers. The media also defines experiences and cultures from an external position. Like Frith and Savage (1998) argue, intellectuals and the mass media are responsible for forming public perception of a subculture. Both the BCCS and post-subculturalists question the true role external forces like the media and theorists play in shaping subcultures. This has political and social control implications. Post-subculturalists admit this dialectical relationship, but also examine and ask the members themselves to explain and define the subculture from an internal standpoint. Internal social locations include members who are deeply involved as well as those who exist on the fringes.

Since external and internal voices define rave differently, it is important to examine how they describe what is rave and what is not. Certain claims-makers delineate the borders of rave in different ways. For example, a raver may reject a style or music as mainstream or inauthentic, whereas a journalist may claim that a certain style belongs to rave culture. External definitions define a subculture for the public, and inauthentic culture is often recreated and sold as mainstream style. Therefore it is important to examine concepts of authenticity within subcultures.

Authenticity and Definition of Rave as a Subculture

By claiming that rave is a subculture, I have chosen to define it as culture, related to but separate from the dominant culture from which it was derived, with its own characteristics, norms and values. Subcultures, like rave culture have their own hierarchy of cultural quality and can not be evaluated in the same way as other cultural forms. I claim that rave culture is not a form of commercialized and mass produced pop culture, and is not only the low culture of the masses. Thornton's (1995) theory of subcultural capital supports this claim that subcultural creations are evaluated on a subcultural hierarchy that differs from a scale used to classify products of the dominant culture. Both Baudrillard and Adorno discard dance music to the realm of the "complete disappearance of a culture of meaning and aesthetic sensibility" (Baudrillard as quoted in Thornton 1995: 1), while other theorists of club and rave cultures disagree. (See for instance, Thornton 1995; Redhead 1998) Subcultural art forms cannot be part of the 'low' or popular culture of the masses nor the high culture of the elite class. Instead, a subculture maintains its own brand of artistic expression that can only be understood in relation to the naturalistic setting of the subculture itself. The dominant culture may chose to embrace aspects or parts of subcultural art forms. Some products of subcultures may be judged according to the dominant hierarchy as pleasing and those works or pieces may be extracted and commodified. This selective process contributes to the dichotomy between authentic and inauthentic art forms.

Thornton (1995) is concerned with how art forms and individuals can be authentic or inauthentic within club cultures. Thornton (1995) extends Bourdieu's

concept of cultural capital by claiming that members of subcultural groups can have their own subcultural capital. Bourdieu (1968) defines culture as 'high' art; art forms appreciated by the elite. High culture, according to Bourdieu (1968), is learned and created within a set of rules. He defines distinction as the ability to comprehend those art forms. One gains more cultural capital through the ability and other's perception of that ability to distinguish, understand and enjoy high culture. Therefore, one acquires more cultural capital through the ability to distinguish and understand high culture, as well as express that ability to others. Only members of the elite culture can distinguish high culture. These individuals are authentic art critics and authentic members of the elite class. Only they can have the ability to understand the forms of art that are native to their culture.

In order to be an authentic member of a subculture, Thornton (1995) claims that one must be able to make taste distinctions between what are the high forms of art within the context of that subculture. In her study, high forms of art are 'underground' and are only enjoyed by a small segment of the population, usually youths. Thornton (1995) claims that there are two types of 'authenticities' within club cultures. The first revolves around the originality of the music and pertains to the DJs and the 'art' of spinning and mixing records. Secondly, Thornton examines the authenticity of the members themselves. Members are considered authentic if they are "natural to the community or organic to subculture" (p. 30) and she believes that this concept of authenticity "is the more widespread ideal" (p. 30). Thornton's perspective is concerned with how members are seen as authentic according to their understanding of the music and culture through their acquisition of subcultural capital.

Thornton (1995) finds that authentic is synonymous with 'underground'. In underground communities there is a constant struggle to maintain an 'underground' image. Difference from the mainstream is a highly valued characteristic of club cultures. The concept 'selling out' means to become less authentic and more mainstream. By letting others in on the secret the exclusivity of the subculture is diluted. Thornton concludes that authenticity is based on belonging to the underground. Subcultures and their members are only authentic if they can understand and appreciate the underground forms of subcultural music and styles. Authenticity is defined by the internal participants. One way that rave culture specifically rejects normative values is through this rejection of popular capitalistic success models. When a musical style or person becomes known in mainstream circles, they gain value to the mainstream but lose status within underground circles. Rave challenges dominant values and norms through this converse understanding of capital success.

Since Thornton (1995) examines club cultures from a cultural standpoint, she is unsatisfied with the use of the term subculture to study club cultures. She replaces the term subcultures with the concept of taste cultures. She believes that this term denotes subcultures that have hierarchies of form. Art forms that are culturally value laden are authentic 'high subculture'. In subcultures, high culture is 'authentic' and 'underground', versus low culture which is inauthentic and mainstream. These 'taste cultures' are groups of people who are drawn to types of music and gather in certain areas, like clubs, to enjoy the music and socialize with others with similar tastes. Taste cultures' are localized scenes that can be commodified or transformed, and are created by a conglomerate of

people with similar preferences. Thornton claims that youths often "fill their space with music' as a way of transforming and claiming space. Ravers transform warehouses into gathering spaces by transforming the environment with techno music. Groups of people meet to listen to different types of music at different clubs. Some clubs even have different styles of music on different nights. In this way, people gather in certain spaces on certain times and have cultural similarities. Cultural forms within club cultures, such as music, are understood as quality if they are also seen as authentic to the subculture and 'underground', meaning not authentic to the mainstream.

The BCCS did examine the concept of authenticity within subcultures, but did not examine in-authenticity. As an outsider, Hebdige (1981) examines who he considers to be the 'real' members of the community in order to understand their resistance to mainstream culture. He states that while many punks are either apolitical or not political in a traditional sense they oppose normative styles and lifestyles. Therefore, simply by resisting mainstream norms in an obvious stylistic manner, the punk subculture is political and challenges the mainstream way of life. Hebdige (1981) uses the term *bricolage* to identify the act of subverting the meaning of classic accoutrements or household items. For instance, he claims that the use of safety pins (a pin for a baby's diaper) as a cheek piercing, not only 'shocks the straights' but makes a political comment as well. However Hebdige only focuses on the extreme individuals. An authentic punk, according to Hebdige (1981) is deeply involved in the culture, and expresses this involvement with constant mannerisms and stylistic clues.

Thornton (1995) and Hebdige (1981) are both concerned with what Clarke (1985) calls "the card carrying members of spectacular subcultures". While authenticity and

internal homogeneity are important to other theorists in delineating who's who, Muggleton remarks "the concept of authenticity, likewise, must be expunged from the postmodern vocabulary" (1998). Muggleton, identifying as a post-subculturalist, takes Clarke's suggestion that theorists must pay attention to the concept of diffusion and change within subcultures. Hebdige and Thornton are both concerned with authenticity in a static subculture group. They admit that the media diffuses meaning and commercializes subcultural styles but makes no attempt to change their stiff definition of subculture. Muggleton approaches the definition of subcultures using *verstehen* in a Neo-Weberian approach. The postmodern condition calls for not only Hebdige's *bricolage*, but a reordering and reconfiguring of not only mainstream styles but other subcultural styles as well (dreadlocks on rock stars, Goth-ravers, and hippie's bellbottoms worn to punk shows). The combination of subcultural styles questions issues of authenticity once again. No longer do certain styles only belong to one specific group of people, but are mixed and mutated by other groups. Since external and internal viewpoints may differ, concepts of authenticity may contrast. This is important since subcultural norms and styles are defined by various groups of people. Perception is critical in the definition of the norms, values, goals and issues that concern subcultures. Since subcultures exist in some type of contrast to a much larger culture, the perception of the dominant culture is tantamount to its survival.

The BCCS did not thoroughly examine how subcultures are diffused into the mainstream and therefore concentrated only on a group of people they considered authentic and did not examine inauthentic components. They defined members from their external standpoint. Hebdige, in his 1981 study, marks off the punk subculture as

uniform, consistent and exclusive. Clarke (1985) introduces the concept that subcultures are diffused and mongrelized to show how subcultural boundaries are not static and strictly defined. In fact, Muggleton (2000) claims that the currently fashionable reaction for those working within the subculture paradigm is to criticize the work of the BCCS, of which Hebdige's book was a part. Often, in current reactions and articles, the BCCS is treated as the mainstream. The young sociologists who are often involved in the respective movement they are studying, tend to treat the theories of the BCCS as the dominant, domineering and static mainstream scientists. Instead of using the BCCS approach, or an approach structured around the reaction to the BCCS approach, Muggleton proposes a Neo-Weberian approach as a new method of studying subcultures.

The Neo-Weberian approach legitimizes Muggleton's method of interviewing. He utilizes Weber's *verstehen* approach to understand individual subjective meanings of the subculturalists themselves. With a collection of individual's explanations, definitions, and meanings Muggleton is capable of going "beyond the level of individual meaning to the collective forces that impel the actor" (p. 10). This, as shown in the title, is a more postmodern approach. The subculture is not defined as an objective thing, like the more materialistic BCCS approach, but as a collection of shifting possibilities. Members of the culture belong on a continuum; characteristics are not necessarily defining or limiting. He also claims that all constructs are ideal types, as defined by Weber, and in reality the ideal type does not exist, but is used as a tool for comparison and study. For purposes of study, and for purposes of making sense of everyday interactions, there must be some sort of working definition of whom is part of and what consists of a certain subculture. However, since external and internal viewpoints differ,

there is no way to create a strict definition of rave subculture values and styles.

Muggleton (1995) concentrates on how labeling is done subjectively by members involved. Since external and internal perspectives compete, there is no one set of bylaws and characteristics that define a subculture. Since non-participants are unaware of the subcultural values and artistic hierarchy, they are incapable of saying who belongs to a subculture. The only way to understand what makes up a punk or a raver or a member of any social group is to ask the members themselves. Style is subjective, labels are fluid. The only way, Muggleton proposes, to truly know is to gather subjective experiences and understandings and again, find general and collective forces.

Post-Modern Methods and Post-Modern Cultures

Many subcultural theorists and rave culture researchers have defined rave as a post-modern movement (Muggleton 2000; Hier 2002; Ueno 2004). The theoretical underpinnings that post-subculturalists apply to these new movements are based on post-modern characteristics. These new social movements with loose and fluid boundaries defy strict definition and like many other post-modern movements have changing memberships and shifting alliances (Hollands 2002; Goulding 2002). The collective experience of rave culture has been defined through concepts of dissolution of self and 'death of the individual' (Agger 1998; Gergen, 1991). This translates in rave slang as the movement is based on "feeling the vibe" (personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004); when the collective energy of the crowd creates an atmosphere, also described by theorists such as Simon Reynolds and Steve Redhead. Ethnographers of the rave movement (Owen 2003; Garratt 1998; Champion 1998; Reynolds 1999) describe the fantastical environment, obsession with light and dance displays and a regression to themes of

childhood fairy tales and cartoons as re-enchantment of everyday life, a desire to capture an essence of magic. Giant screens with pictures, costumes, and light displays all create a world that perfectly illustrates Baudriallard's (1994) concepts of simulations as better than the real thing.

Since rave can be described as a post-modern global movement, the constant globalization/localization creates continually evolving groups and a culture that is not passed down from a specific source, but is disseminated and diffused through ever-changing routes of communication and mimesis. Ueno (2004) describes how Judith Butler's (1990) concept of performativity or Jean Baudriallard's (1994) theory of simulacra can be applied to the rave movement. Because rave culture, dance steps, and fashions affect and are affected by personal, local and global sources, rave participants propagate and copy a style that 'has no original'. In one media interview, a raver, describes rave dance as folklore that is passed down by observation of strangers. (R-12). Even the music is post-modern, borrowing from all other genres, as well as non-traditional sources into a "celebration of difference, eclectic mixing of high and low… [and] the combination and juxtaposition of elements from disparate discourses" (Manuel 1995). The combination of forms and the borrowing of styles allows rave culture and style to be a 'copy with no original'.

Rather than gathering for a political purpose, dancers revel in a sort of pure pleasure, a socially oriented hedonism in which the nothingness and immediate satisfaction is revered more than any specific message. Rave culture and style began as more than simply a new form of Hebdige's *bricolage* and subversion through style, but later we will see how ravers represent themselves by items that were given subversive

meaning through the media. Items such as pacifiers that were used as harm reduction measures for drug users are now worn as style to represent a rebellion towards dominant values, whether drugs are involved or now. By rejecting dominant Western ideals of utilizing leisure time and public assembly, rave participants survive in a post-modern shifting culture that has no real statement, but rather a feeling.   Since the rave community is a postmodern subculture it is difficult to strictly define and explain. Eventually we may see how illogical a bill can be that targets the rave subculture by only taking one definition (the external, adult, or mainstream construction) when a postmodern definition of rave culture is subjective and differs according to who is explaining and describing it.

Other Definitions of Subcultures - Rave as a Post-Subculture

In the 1960s and 70s, when the BCCS began to examine subcultures like the punks and the mods, they developed concepts that may not fit the study of contemporary groups of young people. When subcultures diffuse into the mainstream, the definition of what and who belongs within a subculture becomes a theoretical problem. Groups of people are spread out over geographic space, diffused from core members who claim to be authentic, transmogrified by a conglomeration of styles, or constructed by the media as authentic and sold back to different groups searching for new styles. The revival of old styles with new meanings breaks down these barriers even further such as the reconfiguration of thrift store clothes in a punk style (McRobbie 1989). The resulting montage is loose and flowing, with no clear barriers and no precise way to ostracize the misfits or welcome the 'authentic'. The post-subculturalists have created new analytical lenses to understand and differentiate various youth cultural groups. They have defined

these new heuristic devices by the contested spaces they live in (Stanley 1995), as scenes which coagulate around musical styles (Straw 1991), leisure activities (Frith 1980; Hollands 2002), weekend cultures (Goulding et. al 2002), or neo-tribes (Bennett 1999). These concepts describe modern subcultures and are gaining credibility (Muggleton 2004). One problem with the prefix sub- in subcultures is that it implies that the culture is directly descended from a parent culture, or that it is somehow less developed or important than the dominant culture. Subculture is a commonly used term, although with new theoretical developments based on diffusion and blending new terms have come into use which may prove to be more useful. Modern subcultures are often defined instead as musical scenes or neo-tribes.

Musical scenes

According to Straw (1991), a scene "is that cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross fertilization" (p. 494). Other theorists agree that youth subcultures usually form around a musical form (Stratton 1985; Frith 1980). In general, various families and sub-groups of electronic, DJ, or dance music can all be part of a techno scene, they influence each other and together and separately they create a techno music or rave scene. These contemporary musical practices "render this contemporary activity appropriate to a given context" (Straw 1988: 494). In rave culture for instance, wearing giant pants and plastic bracelets while jumping around instead of dancing is perfectly appropriate within the confines of a rave, or rave related activities, although if judged by external standards these absurd actions reject normal ways of dressing and acting and can be subversive.

Straw claims that these forms both stabilize local communities (Dutch Gabber or Chicago House being played at parties in London) and cosmopolitinize them (e.g., the store Hot Topic in the mall that sells raver clothes). This concurrent localizing and globalizing creates local character as well as embraces more global followers. These scenes struggle for prestige and status within their own boundaries as well as within the mainstream world. Also, they are capable of transforming social and cultural relations by focusing on a musical identity to stabilize relationships and social groups.

Neo-tribes

Bennett (1999) uses the concept of neo-tribes as a way to dissolve the concept of subcultures. He argues that even though many tenets of the BCCS have been abandoned, such as their class based arguments, their concentration on stylistic deviance, and their insistence on strict definitions of members, the term subculture is still in use. Bennett (1991) suggests the use of the term neo-tribes in order to theoretically understand how subculture members can belong to a subculture at some times and the dominant culture at others. St. John (2004) uses the term technotribalism specifically for rave and techno subcultures and implies that rave is more of a political protest of the capitalistic success model through nihilistic hedonism. In his argument Bennett claims that using Maffesoli's (1996) concept of *tribus* is better than the use of the term subcultures to account for groups that are a "series of gatherings characterized by fluid boundaries and floating memberships" (p. 600). Ravers are often defined by their attendance at raves and are not always demarcated stylistically, except on weekends (Goulding et. al 2002). Ravers in particular can espouse the rave mantra PLUR! (Peace, Love Unity and Respect!) while high on Ecstasy, but are also capable of maintaining professional jobs. The research of

Goulding et. al. (2002) also notes that most of the ravers surveyed were students and/or professionals and were capable of mediating the shifting boundaries of various subcultures as well as surviving within the dominant culture. The BCCS did not consider punks who were only punks on the weekend as authentic and therefore did not include them as members of a subculture. In the case of rave, most participants do not dress in rave styles except at raves, so the definitive boundaries set up by the BCCS are theoretically weak when used to examine the rave scene.

Post-subculturalists examine subcultures in order to understand their social meanings and implications. Since cultural expression is a human quality, the study of how various groups of people express culture helps to better understand society. External and internal perceptions of rave are different and similar. It is important to research how definitions of rave subculture and its members are created and described, as well as research the actors responsible for creating certain descriptions and definitions. When one culture is dominant, the norms and values of the subculture may be overshadowed external observers using dominant values to understand subcultural norms. These norms are socially controlled through policy. Finally, since there are competing definitions of who is part of a subculture and what those subcultural beliefs are, there is diverse information that feeds policy on subcultures. This study examines how external and internal definitions differ and how those differences can influence policy.

Norms and values of the rave subculture are different then the normative values of American society. Rave participants understand these norms from a perspective internal to the experience and goals of rave values. It is necessary to understand how ravers see these norms and the purpose of their opposition to the dominant culture. External

observers see raver actions and accessories as negative and purposely rebellious, if they do not understand the reason or the meaning. Those participants seen as authentic to rave culture challenge dominant values of capitalistic success, by rejecting mainstream popularity and opting for the less lucrative underground market. Like punks, ravers challenge normative values of dress and dance simply by wearing big pants, sucking on pacifiers and dancing with abandon. After the media became aware that certain items, like pacifiers and water bottles could indicate drug use, ravers began to highlight those accessories as rebellion at the level of style. These specific challenges to the mainstream lifestyle will be investigated through an examination of the themes. Also an examination of how the media actually changed how these challenges were protested and what means were used.

This is a study of the social construction of subcultures and in particular, the social construction of rave subculture. The first question that was developed was: How do external observers and internal participants of the rave scene describe and construct rave culture differently and the same? After a through examination of theory, I changed the research question to examine how those differences in construction led to the passing of the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act.

Mixed Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative

This study includes aspects of both quantitative and qualitative studies and is a new way of comparing the data from different sources. Creswell (2003) defines this combination of methods as a mixed methods approach. Mixed methods approaches can provide a more detailed and explanatory picture, by combining facts that tend to be more objective with subjective experiences and descriptions. My study is a 'sequential transformative' mixed methods strategy as outlined by Creswell (2003). A sequential mixed methods approach has two distinct phases of research, one qualitative and one quantitative. Either phase may be given priority according to the theoretical perspective. In this case, more attention is given to the qualitative section, and the quantitative results serve more as an introductory and background platform. Mixed methods studies produce results that are often more detailed and longer then those of only one method. Thomas (2003) also notes that the blending of qualitative and quantitative methods can help solve immediate problems, apply, test and generate new theories or contribute to research methodology. Because these data are used to critically examine the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act, I need data that is full and detailed enough to achieve those goals. The first section is a small mixed methods section in itself. Primarily the data were collected in order to understand the scope of the problem and then place the issue within history. The dates of the first articles show when rave culture entered the public discourse and emerged as a social problem. The frequency of articles illustrates the

intensity and concentration of the public on the issue of rave culture. These articles were then separated into three main categories which show in general what details of rave culture were focused on by the media. It becomes a concurrent mixed methods approach as the data are juxtaposed along a timeline in order to understand what events may have influenced the frequency and type of articles in certain time periods. Thomas (2003) calls this type of historical analysis an 'explanatory history', in which the researcher is interested in uncovering the cause and causal effects of claims and claims-makers. This section of the study is not concerned with a detailed analysis of each article, only the broad theme of the social problems discussed. This section of the study provides a knowledge base of the general scope and intensity of the problem. It serves as an introduction to the more qualitative and personal section of this study.

On the other hand, qualitative studies necessarily are filtered through the viewpoint of the researcher. Since themes and categories are interpreted by the desires of the sociologist, qualitative studies are interpretive and individual. The subjective nature of qualitative studies can not be avoided in order to create a perfectly unbiased study and this is why they often paint a thematic and colorful image. The second half of this study is a two part inductive analysis. This section is interpretive and based on themes within media articles and interviews. I reviewed newspaper and magazine articles as well as interviews with members of the rave community, searching for both deductive and emergent categories.

Often, quantitative studies provide a mechanistic explanation of the numbers that define what is occurring. However, quantitative studies can provide observable and measurable data in order to understand the scope of the problem. Qualitative studies

recognize that each source of knowledge creates the world in a particular way (Berger and Luckman 1967) and presents that image to others as the truth, or knowledge. Many postmodernists (Tyler 1986: Agger 1998: Gergen 1991) and post-structuralists claim that the truth is not singular but consists of multiple interpretations and understandings. In this study, the issue is not only my personal bias, but the examination of the biases of others who report and create an image of the rave world. The study specifically examines differences between external and internal perceptions of rave subculture. This mixed methods approach uses the merits of both quantitative and qualitative methods to examine various ways different groups of people construct and convey their representation of the world. Also, this study examines the policy implications of differing representations of rave culture.

Traditionally, qualitative studies have been considered less scientific than quantitative experiments with strict variables and concrete constructs (Gubrium and Holstein 1997). While quantitative methods may seem objective at first glance, they are tested by fallible humans; the variables are created by a human living in a particular time and place and with a specific world-view. The very creation of a variable construct in order to count numbers or test causality is subjective in itself. The benefit of qualitative studies is that they are interpretive, and willing to accept many concepts and descriptions of the truth. Postmodernists believe that all truth is subjective, and every sociological study has been developed by a particular person and therefore can never be objective (Agger 1998; Smart, 1993). This study attempts to blend quantitative and qualitative methods to present more rounded and theoretically grounded research.

These methods had both advantages and disadvantages. Mixed methods approaches allow the researcher to analyze data from both an objective number oriented approach as well as a subjective approach. The sequential model allows for a clear differentiation between the two phases of research. However, it was unclear in some cases how to use the findings from both sections together in analysis. The two distinct phases of research and three data sets give voice to several different perspectives. While the transformative approach aids the researcher in advocating for her subjects, it is a relatively new approach and there is little guidance (Creswell 2003). Qualitative content analysis requires many reviews of the data, and time limits were a disadvantage in this study. More reviews of the data would surely bring more findings and conclusions.

Role of the Researcher

My introduction to rave culture was in 1996 when I attended my first rave, called BUMP, held in a warehouse behind the Harvey Expo center outside Chicago. I continued to go to raves in Chicago and after I moved to New Orleans, became involved in the community as well. I still attend sparingly, and am friendly with many members of the rave community in New Orleans. I believe that belonging to the rave subculture or musical scene has been a positive life-altering part of my lived experience and truly changed me for the better. I realized I would only be able to examine the construction of this subculture by including my own opinions and experiences. As an "insider stepping out" (McCall 2003) I feel that my personal experiences are useful and valid, but not necessarily sufficient. Stake (1995) also advocates the inclusion of the researchers own personal experiences, called "naturalistic generalizations". Muggleton (2000) also reminds his readers that the new breed of subculturalists and post-subculturalists are often

members of the subculture themselves, looking to serve a more adult role by fulfilling an emancipatory function. While mostly depending on data from interviews, I am comfortable including my own experiences and opinions on the lived experience of rave culture and believe my thesis can only profit with this inclusion.

Ethical Issues

In the United States, specific types of drug use carries severe ethical and moral stigmas as well as an illegal status. Many drug users are fearful of being caught, fined, jailed or ostracized by their non-drug-using peers. Within the context of interviews, I have created constructs that encourage the interviewee to answer questions about illegal activities in a general and non-incriminating way. I did acquire knowledge that could incriminate knowledge about illegal activities I did not specifically include personal experiences with drugs. Hopefully this will avoid ethical or incriminating issues by ensuring my interviews are confidential. Each interview subject has been invited to read the final draft. Each participant has also been informed that they have the right to remove or review sections of the interview that they feel may be incriminating. Each of the interview participants were reminded that sociological research is not protected and any details about illegal activity could be available to the public. I am conscious that there are some dangers associated with the rave scene and this study recognizes those dangers.

Data

Articles from the Media

The population

The first part of the sequential mixed methods study is a counting and coding of media articles. Initially I provided a quantitative display of the media's presentation of the growth of rave culture and the drug Ecstasy. For this study, I used four national news sources from the United States. These sources include *Newsweek, US News &World Report, USA Today* and *The New York Times*. Each source was chosen because of its high circulation in American culture. Three of these sources are considered national and *The New York Times* is a local newspaper that has a national readership. The data include two newspapers and two magazines that have a large and general readership base. [I]

The years 1980 to 2003 were chosen because rave culture is generally described as emerging in the early eighties, and the drug Ecstasy was made illegal in 1982. The Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act was passed in 2003. In order to find articles, I searched the Lexis-Nexis database for articles containing some form of the words, 'Ecstasy' or 'rave', based on the assumption that Ecstasy is the principal drug related to rave culture. I then reviewed every article and it's abstract briefly to ensure that each indeed was concerned with the drug Ecstasy and/or the rave scene and not a spurious or accidental use of one of the search terms. These articles were placed in a chart that depicted in which year and journal each article was published. (Table 1) 401 articles were found.

Population of Articles (Table 1)

Year	Type	USA Today	Newsweek	US News and World Report	New York Times	Totals
1980	Ecstasy	0	0	0	0	0
	Raves	0	0	0	0	0
	Mix	0	0	0	0	0
1981	Ecstasy	0	0	0	0	0
	Raves	0	0	0	0	0
	Mix	0	0	0	0	0
1982	Ecstasy	0	0	0	0	0
	Raves	0	0	0	0	0
	Mix	0	0	0	0	0
1983	Ecstasy	0	0	0	0	0
	Raves	0	0	0	0	0
	Mix	0	0	0	0	0
1984	Ecstasy	0	0	0	0	0
	Raves	0	0	0	0	0
	Mix	0	0	0	0	0
1985	Ecstasy	0	2	1	2	5
	Raves	0	0	0	0	0
	Mix	0	0	0	0	0
1986	Ecstasy	0	0	1	0	1
	Raves	0	0	0	0	0
	Mix	0	0	0	0	0
1987	Ecstasy	0	0	0	0	0
	Raves	0	0	0	0	0
	Mix	0	0	0	0	0
1988	Ecstasy	0	0	0	0	0
	Raves	0	0	0	0	0
	Mix	0	0	0	0	0
1989	Ecstasy	2	0	0	3	5
	Raves	1	0	0	0	1
	Mix	0	1	0	0	1
1990	Ecstasy	1	0	0	0	1
	Raves	0	0	0	0	0
	Mix	0	0	0	0	0
1991	Ecstasy	1	0	0	3	4
	Raves	0	0	0	0	0
	Mix	0	0	0	0	0

(Table 1 continued)

Date	Type	USA Today	Newsweek	US News and World Report	New York Times	Totals
	Ecstasy	1	0	0	0	**1**
1992	Raves	1	2	0	3	**6**
	Mix	2	1	0	0	**3**
	Ecstasy	0	0	0	0	**0**
1993	Raves	0	2	0	3	**5**
	Mix	0	1	0	2	**3**
	Ecstasy	2	0	0	2	**4**
1994	Raves	0	2	0	2	**4**
	Mix	0	0	0	1	**1**
	Ecstasy	3	2	0	3	**8**
1995	Raves	0	0	0	0	**0**
	Mix	1	0	0	1	**2**
	Ecstasy	2	2	0	10	**14**
1996	Raves	0	0	0	2	**2**
	Mix	0	0	0	10	**10**
	Ecstasy	1	0	0	4	**5**
1997	Raves	0	2	0	1	**3**
	Mix	0	1	0	2	**3**
	Ecstasy	0	2	0	6	**8**
1998	Raves	1	0	0	4	**5**
	Mix	0	0	0	6	**6**
	Ecstasy	3	0	0	17	**20**
1999	Raves	2	0	0	2	**4**
	Mix	1	2	1	6	**10**
	Ecstasy	6	4	4	36	**50**
2000	Raves	1	2	1	4	**8**
	Mix	6	1	0	3	**10**
	Ecstasy	19	3	2	55	**79**
2001	Raves	1	1	0	3	**5**
	Mix	4	0	2	9	**15**
	Ecstasy	10	2	0	34	**46**
2002	Raves	0	0	0	0	**0**
	Mix	8	3	0	0	**11**
	Ecstasy	4	0	0	21	**25**
2003	Raves	0	2	0	2	**4**
	Mix	1	0	0	2	**3**
Totals		85	40	12	264	**401**

Selection of a sample from the population

This section describes how a sample of articles were selected for the qualitative

content analysis.

Sample of the population (Table 2)

	1980-1991	1992-1997	1998-2003	Totals
Ecstasy	7	4 newspaper 4 magazine = 8	8 newspaper 8 magazine = 16	**31**
Rave	1	6	6	**13**
Mixed	1	4	11	**16**
Totals	**9**	**18**	**33**	**60**

The second half of the study involves a qualitative content analysis on a sample of

the entire population of media articles. I divided the years into three time periods. The

first time period spans 12 years; from 1980 through 1991. These are the initial years

during which the issues are first introduced to the public. The second and third periods

are 6 years each, from 1992 through 1997 and 1998 through 2003 represent the

increasing awareness of raves and Ecstasy as social problems and the mixing of the two

topics in the public perception.

My intent is to create a stratified representative sample that takes several factors

into account. I selected a representative sample of each type of article (Ecstasy, rave or

mix), each time period and type of media (daily, weekly, newspaper, and magazine). The

qualitative nature of my study allowed the freedom to select a representative sample that

is not statistically random, so through a complex sampling strategy, I have attempted to

select a representative non-statistically random sample. First I selected 10 seminal

articles from the first 12 year time period that represent the introduction of rave culture

and Ecstasy into public discourse as a social problem. These articles were seminal

because they were the first articles published and represented the years in which very few articles were printed. I chose at least one article from each type of source (magazine or newspaper) during each year an article was published during this time period.   Within these articles there are eight articles concerning Ecstasy, one rave article and one mixed article.

For the selection of articles from the second two time periods, I chose 15-20 articles from the second time period and 25-30 from the third. However, there needed to be a representative sample of article types. I decided to select about 20 Ecstasy articles, 15 rave articles and 15 mixed articles. The rave articles and mixed articles are ordered according to date and across Table 1. After removing the seminal rave articles from the first section, 51 rave articles remained, so in order to select about 15, I chose every third article with a random start of two. For the mixed articles I chose every fourth article out of the remaining 80, with a random start of three.

The Ecstasy articles were sampled more from the magazines since these articles were heavily concentrated in the daily newspapers. After removing the articles from the first time period there were 21 magazine articles and 229 articles from newspapers. I chose every third article from the magazines with a random start of 1 and ended up with six magazine articles from the two time periods, two in the first time period and four in the second. The newspaper articles were also concentrated in the third time period so in order to have a sample from the second I selected every third newspaper article in the second time period with a random start of one and every 21st in the third period with a

random start of six. There were four newspaper articles from the second period and eight newspaper articles from the third time period. In total there were 31 Ecstasy articles a complete total of 60 articles of the three types.

Interviews

Intensive interviews were conducted with five individuals who self-identified as being involved rave culture. The criteria for selection included first representing those individuals who were involved over a period of time and self identified as a raver or a person that attends raves, etc. Therefore, I chose three of the interviewees who had been involved in the rave scene for more than eight years. One had been involved under two years and one between 2 and eight. These interviews were conducted at the place of their choosing, for approximately two hours each and were taped. The settings varied from coffee shops to the interviewee's living room, to private online chat rooms. Each interview was transcribed by the interviewer. The transcriptions were then used for the analysis.

The interviewees were found in various ways; through snowball samples of other ravers, asking at raves and raver forums, and from personal connections. Since I consider myself an internal participant I used Muggleton's (2000) Neo-Weberian verstehen approach to qualify individuals as ravers. I simply imagined if I would consider that person to be an 'authentic' raver if I saw or met them at a rave, according to my own internal standards. These standards include people who have strong opinions and ideas about rave culture and the Illicit Anti-Drug Proliferation Act, as well as personal experiences. I also looked for people who have had a multitude of varied experiences. Specifically in the Southeastern United States I prefer them to be involved in

rave activities outside of the State Palace Theater, which is large, more commercial and often draws a more mainstream crowd. Some examples of other activities would be attendance at techno music concerts, attendance at smaller, more underground raves, attendance at rave-like night clubs, regular and long term involvement with raves and other ravers, readership of rave material, interest and/or activity with electronic music, rave or raver forums, traveling to other cities to see DJ's or attend raves, etcetera. I specifically interviewed people who feel some sort of deeper social or emotional connection to the rave community. The criteria above illustrate that identity and connection.

Later in the research I discovered an important characteristic of ravers. The ravers talked a lot about new and old generations of rave participants. Since they defined them so clearly, I went back to the data section and made a subjective judgment whether I would consider them as 'old-skool' or 'new skool'. I borrow this terminology from my interview with A—who tells me that the "old skool ravers are true to the whole rave scene" and "the new kids are coming in they don't know anything about it…well they're just so young they don't understand the whole meaning of it all". This is an important differentiation that at first I did not code, as none of the literature linked authenticity to long term involvement or change in generations of subcultural members. The researcher is not making the judgment that the newer generation of ravers is not 'authentic', however, the ravers will speak for themselves through Muggleton's Neo-Weberian (2000) methods. They indicate that there are significant differences in outlook between old and new ravers that will be examined later in this paper.

Interview Participants (Table 3)

Name	1 -Male	2-Male	3-Female	4-Male	5-Female
Date	October 23, 2003	November 26, 2003	January 27, 2004	February 5, 2004	February 18, 2004
Location	Starbucks	Starbucks	3's House	4's Office	---
Method	face to face -taped	face to face – taped	face to face – taped	face to face - taped	AOL instant messenger
Approx. Age	23	College	25	mid to late 20s	College
Profession	College/Web Designer	College	Office Manager	Restaurant Manager	College
Where they attended raves	New Orleans and surrounding areas	New Orleans	Florida, Louisiana, Texas	New York	London, Texas, Louisiana
'Old Skool' or New Kid	Middle	New kid	Old Skool	Old Skool	Middle
Level/ Type of Involvement**	Forum operator of a popular rave website for mostly new skool kids	Electronic Music website operator, electronic music fan	Old Skool raver	New York rave event promoter, old skool raver	Old skool raver, rave researcher and writer

* I decided according to my own personal experiences as to whether I thought each person would be marked by me and others If I had talked to them at a rave. This definition was not used as a quality for selection, making the sampling of old to new participants more heavily weighted towards 'old skoolers'

** Their level and type of involvement is taken directly from statements within the interviews and my opinions are not used in this category

Research Strategy

The first section of the study was a quantitative count of number and general type (Ecstasy, Rave or Mix) of articles printed by the four major national news sources from 1980 to 2003, in order to chart the frequency of media coverage by year. After collecting the appropriate article, I coded each as being concerned entirely or almost entirely with Ecstasy, entirely or almost entirely with raves/ravers, or an even mix of both. The first type of article is concerned primarily with Ecstasy: its distribution, its use, its harmful or beneficial characteristics, history or illegal status.

The second type of article is concerned primarily with rave culture, rave events, rave music, rave styles, or people that go to raves or have opinions on them. References to what are called 'rave clubs' as a descriptor of a rave event are also included, because although ravers themselves may scoff at the idea of raves and clubs being synonymous, in the media I have examined, the journalists and general public tend to see no difference between a 'rave' and a 'rave club'. After a more intense review of this category of articles I realized there are many articles that mention raves or rave music as a descriptor, but not as the subject of the article. For instance, a forest park ranger mentions that he broke up a 'rave party' where people were burning Christmas trees (USA Today, May 10, 2002) or that walking into a Diesel jeans store in the mall is like walking into a rave (New York Times, July 14, 2002). I have chosen to include these articles in the initial quantitative charts because even as a condensed reference they help create the public's perception of rave subculture but have removed these articles in favor of more rave focused articles in the qualitative section of this study.

The third type of article combines these two themes and is about drug use at raves, or ravers using or distributing drugs. Although almost all articles that mention raves also mention Ecstasy, drugs or 'club drugs', a 'mixed' article not only mentions, but has serious concentration on both topics. An article was defined as mixed if the substance of the article is concerned with Ecstasy use, distribution and effects at raves or by ravers. The placement of frequency and types of articles along a timeline provides a basis for charting the scope of the problem. These articles related to the rave culture are juxtaposed with increasing panic and press coverage in the media, ending in the passing of the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act in 2003.

The second half of the study is a qualitative review of themes. During the first review of both sets of data I searched for several major themes as well as to discover emergent themes. Mixed methods approach often uses "both emerging and predetermined approaches" (Creswell 2003: 19). At first, I reviewed the broad scope of claims and claims-makers (Best 1995) and who made what claim and at what time. Internal sources are those who consider themselves members of the rave subculture or are actively participating for a time period. For instance, according to my definition of rave participants, anyone who is attending at their own free will for entertainment in their leisure time, or subcultural expression is considered an internal source. Also, those who work within the rave culture, such as DJ's or promoters, rave website operators are also considered internal, as long as they also define themselves as participating. External sources are those who do not consider themselves part of a subculture, and are not participating in subcultural activities without ulterior motives. Journalists, the media, scholars, parents, etc. are examples of external sources. In some cases, claims-makers

have dual representations. For instance, journalists often quote internal sources but those quotes can be introduced, framed and selected according to the beliefs and motives of the journalist. Claims directly made by external sources and internal claims selected by external sources have some differences and some similarities with the statements made by the internal participants interviewed in this study.

Validation of Findings

In order to ensure integrity of research, have chosen articles from a variety of news sources and done a sampling to ensure that years and types of articles are logically represented for analysis. Repeated reviews of articles will help to enforce solid analytical categories. Thick description and many quotes from articles are used to provide examples. Anomalous information will also be included. The interviewees were hand-picked carefully and were not personal friends of the researcher. The same triangulation and coding techniques are used with the interviews as with the media sources, including many reviews and inclusion of discrepant information.

Coding Categories

Primary Set of Themes (Table 4)

	What types of Drugs are involved with raves?		
		At a rave	
	Who takes the drugs	Outside a rave	
		At a rave	
	Where do they take drugs?	Outside a rave	
		Internal Claims-Maker	
Drug Use	Drug Effects	External Claims-Maker	
Drug	Within the rave scene		
Distribution	Outside of the rave scene		
		Internal Claims-Maker	
Raves and	What is a rave?	External Claims-Maker	
		Internal Claims-Maker	
Ravers	Who is a raver?	External Claims-Maker	
Legislative	Suggestions to Legislate		
References	Suggestions to Improve Safety		
	Who are the promoters?		

In the more detailed coding process, the first theme examined is the description of the use of drugs associated with the rave scene; Ecstasy and 'club-drugs', like ketamine or GHB. There are several subsections of this large theme of drug use. The first theme examined what types of drugs are associated with the rave scene according to both outsiders and insiders, as well as where these drugs are taken. The next subsection of this large theme pertains to images of who is described as using drugs. The fourth part of this section includes descriptions of how drug users act and react to drug use. This part includes claims by medical scientists or politicians about side effects, and claims from the rave community, or drug users illustrating other types of good or bad effects of taking drugs within the context of the rave culture. A second large coding theme concerns drug distribution at raves. There are two halves of this category; one that mentions drug distribution at raves and between ravers, and another that mentions ecstasy distribution among non-rave related participants.

The third large theme is the depiction of what a rave and ravers are like from both standpoints, internal and external. There are several subsections in this theme as well. The first pertains to statements on types and descriptions of rave locations. The second search is for stylistic descriptions of rave culture, for instance, music, clothing styles, and mantras. Finally data about who attends raves, age, gender, race, class, etc will be noted.

The current social construction of rave culture has produced the public opinion that raves are hazardous for children. The outcome of this has been federal legislation. Therefore, this section is concerned with any calls to control this culture or these events through state or federal mandates. A separate category includes suggestions by both the media and the rave participants for improving some dangerous aspects of the culture. An important aspect of the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act is that it focuses on the event promoters, rather than attendees of the rave themselves, placing the guilt on the shoulders of the promoters and property owners. For this reason, I also searched for descriptions of who these promoters are and what they are like.

This is a preliminary set of categories created from initial data reviews. It will provide a framework for important concepts in the creation of rave as a social problem. However, these categories eventually evolved and mutated with the influx of more information and a more detailed review of the data. Mixed methods include elements from both deductive and emergent codes and categories (Creswell 2003). I attempted to use similar categories for both the media content analysis and the interview data sets, but was aware that certain categories may emerge in one and not another.

Results and Analysis

The findings are split into two major sections and several subsections. The two halves are marked by the different methods used, quantitative and qualitative. Each large section is broken into several smaller sections. First, the quantitative part of the study is examined and explained in terms of the three types of articles. The frequency and dates of each type (Ecstasy, Rave and Mix) are placed in history in order to view the progression of how rave culture is described in the media. This organization shows how article types and frequency reflect and are reflected by events in history.

The Birth of Rave and how it became a Social Problem: The Frequency of Articles over Time

Because the role of the media is paramount to the construction and prolonging of social problems, mapping the frequency and content of articles concerning the social problem is helpful to the deconstruction of a problem's origin in the public mind (Loseke, 1999). By tracking first the appearance and then the frequency of articles across time, a picture forms of the relative importance of an issue. The first time an issue is mentioned is noteworthy. Some event has sparked public interest, or investigative journalism has discovered a deviant or interesting societal quirk. The article may be presented as important news or may be a quiet trial by a media source to test a market for their interest in a new social problem. If this issue piques the interest of social groups or other media sources, the frequency of articles increase. This mediascape (Harms and Dickens 1996) becomes a reality in itself, and defines a social problem for those with no first hand

knowledge. The frequency of articles alludes to the intensity of the problem, the relative importance of that problem compared with other social problems.

After coding the articles I set my data into a large table (Table 5) in order to see how many articles of each category there were and how they increased or decreased over time. Clearly, the dangers of Ecstasy and Ecstasy trafficking was a more serious problem than the issue of raving and rave culture in the United States, with 265 articles out of a total of 398 articles from the 4 news sources focused on Ecstasy. About 68.8% of the articles I searched were concerned primarily with Ecstasy. About 11.7% of the articles focused only on raves or rave culture and about 19.5% included both the concepts of rave culture and Ecstasy. The first articles appeared in 1985, with two mentions in *Newsweek*, one in the *US News & World Report* and two in *The New York Times*. All five articles were concerned primarily with Ecstasy. The first rave article appeared in1989 in *USA Today* and the first mixed article showed up in *Newsweek* in 1989 as well. So in the mainstream media, Ecstasy was introduced first as a social problem and as soon as rave culture was introduced to the public it was immediately hooked to the social problem of Ecstasy.

Frequency of Articles by Year (Table 5)

	Ecstasy	Rave	Mix	Totals
1980	0	0	0	0
1981	0	0	0	0
1982	0	0	0	0
1983	0	0	0	0
1984	0	0	0	0
1985	5	0	0	5
1986	1	0	0	1
1987	0	0	0	0
1988	0	0	0	0
1989	5	1	1	7
1990	1	0	0	1
1991	1	0	0	1
1992	1	6	3	10
1993	0	5	3	8
1994	4	4	2	10
1995	8	0	2	10
1996	11	2	13	26
1997	5	3	3	11
1998	8	5	6	19
1999	20	4	11	35
2000	50	8	10	68
2001	80	7	15	102
2002	47	3	11	61
2003	18	4	1	23
Totals	276	47	78	401
Percent of Total	68.8%	11.7%	19.5%	100%

Placing the Drugs in History

   Ecstasy articles: The Ecstasy panic

In 1914, Ecstasy (MDMA) was developed by chemists, G. Mannish and W. Jacobsohn. In the 1980's chemist Alexander Shulgin, working at DOW chemical began experimenting with MDMA as a mind-altering drug after being impressed with several experiments with mescaline. After DOW found he was producing drugs that mainly had street value, they released him and stopped selling the drug. Although the drug was no longer being produced, MDMA was not illegal, although very difficult to obtain. Between 1977 and1985 a few counselors and psychologists experimented on their patients with mostly successful results in the field of relationship counseling.

As the drug gained popularity, the years 1977 through 1985 were known as the 'Golden Age of Ecstasy'. By 1984, the drug was still legal and was being used widely among students in the USA under its new street name 'Ecstasy'. When I discovered that the term Ecstasy originated in the early 1980's, I searched my media sources for other possible names, including MDMA, MDA a similar drug used in the 1970s, and Empathy, another name for MDMA, but found nothing. This is important to note because even though my official search term was Ecstasy, there was no mention of the drug in the media pre-1985, until it was known under the name of Ecstasy. Therefore, the general populous did not know of the drug until it became known with its current moniker. In Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas, Ecstasy was even on sale in bars where you could pay by credit card, and often replaced cocaine as the drug of choice among 'yuppies' and even spread to people who were not typical drug users (1999 Goode: 258).

In 1985, the masses became aware of ecstasy as the media covered a trial where a small group of people sued the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency to try to prevent them from outlawing the drug. This is where I discovered the first mention of Ecstasy in the press (See Table 6, Graph 1). It is mentioned 5 times, twice in *Newsweek*, once in the *US News & World Report*, and twice in *The New York Times*. This media coverage may have provided advertisement for the drug because its use spread rapidly. As a result of some other dangerous street drugs being under scrutiny, the US Congress passed a new law allowing the DEA to put an emergency ban on any drug it thought might be a danger to the public, without even holding any real evidence of that proposed danger. Reagan's harsh policy and the War on Drugs was the context for the ban.

On July 1st, 1985 this law was used for the first time to ban MDMA. MDMA was not only banned, but was labeled a Schedule I drug, the most restrictive category of all, reserved for damaging and addictive drugs without any medical use. The temporary ban lasted a year, while legislators decided its eventual fate. In 1986, a year when there was only one mention of Ecstasy, the legalization case ended with the judge recommending that MDMA be placed in a less restrictive category, Schedule III, which would have allowed it to be manufactured, to be used with a prescription and to be the subject of research. The recommendation was ignored by the DEA, which refused to back down and instead placed MDMA permanently in Schedule I.

Any mention of Ecstasy is absent from the press in the years 1987 and 1988, then 5 articles appeared in 1989 and only 2 articles in the next three years. In 1995 however, there are 8 articles concerning Ecstasy. The Ecstasy panic reaches its zenith in the press in 2001 with total of 80 articles concerning the drug. In 2001, the damaging effects of

Ecstasy were still in contention. Ecstasy was called "dangerous" by *Monitoring the*

Future (U. Of Michigan 2002) and "highly addictive" (NDIC prod. #2001-L0424-004,

2001:.3), by the National Drug Intelligence Center and that it "poses a unique threat" by

the DEA (US vs. Robert Brunet). In England, there were 6 ecstasy related deaths from

1987-1997 (New Scientist 1997 3) and in Canada, there were no ecstasy related deaths

until 3 teenagers died from one drug mixing event in 1998 (Hier 2002**)**. In the United

States there were fewer than 10 MDMA-related deaths in 1999, the last year the Drug

Abuse Warning Network reported national totals (Sullum 2003). Although there were

only 10 deaths two years before, the media representation exaggerated the concern,

shown by such a heavy concentration of articles focusing on Ecstasy. By 2003, the year

that the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act was passed, the media panic has calmed

slightly with a total of 18 articles.

Ecstasy Articles by Date (Table 6)

	USA Today	Newsweek	US News and World Report	New York Times	**Totals**
1980	0	0	0	0	**0**
1981	0	0	0	0	**0**
1982	0	0	0	0	**0**
1983	0	0	0	0	**0**
1984	0	0	0	0	**0**
1985	0	2	1	2	**5**
1986	0	0	1	0	**1**
1987	0	0	0	0	**0**
1988	0	0	0	0	**0**
1989	2	0	0	3	**5**
1990	1	0	0	0	**1**
1991	1	0	0	3	**4**
1992	1	0	0	0	**1**
1993	0	0	0	0	**0**
1994	2	0	0	2	**4**
1995	3	2	0	3	**8**
1996	2	2	0	10	**14**
1997	1	0	0	4	**5**
1998	0	2	0	6	**8**
1999	3	0	0	17	**20**
2000	6	4	4	36	**50**
2001	19	3	2	55	**79**
2002	10	2	0	34	**46**
2003	4	0	0	21	**25**
Totals	**55**	**17**	**8**	**193**	**276**

Ecstasy Articles by Date (Graph 1)

Ecstasy Articles by Date
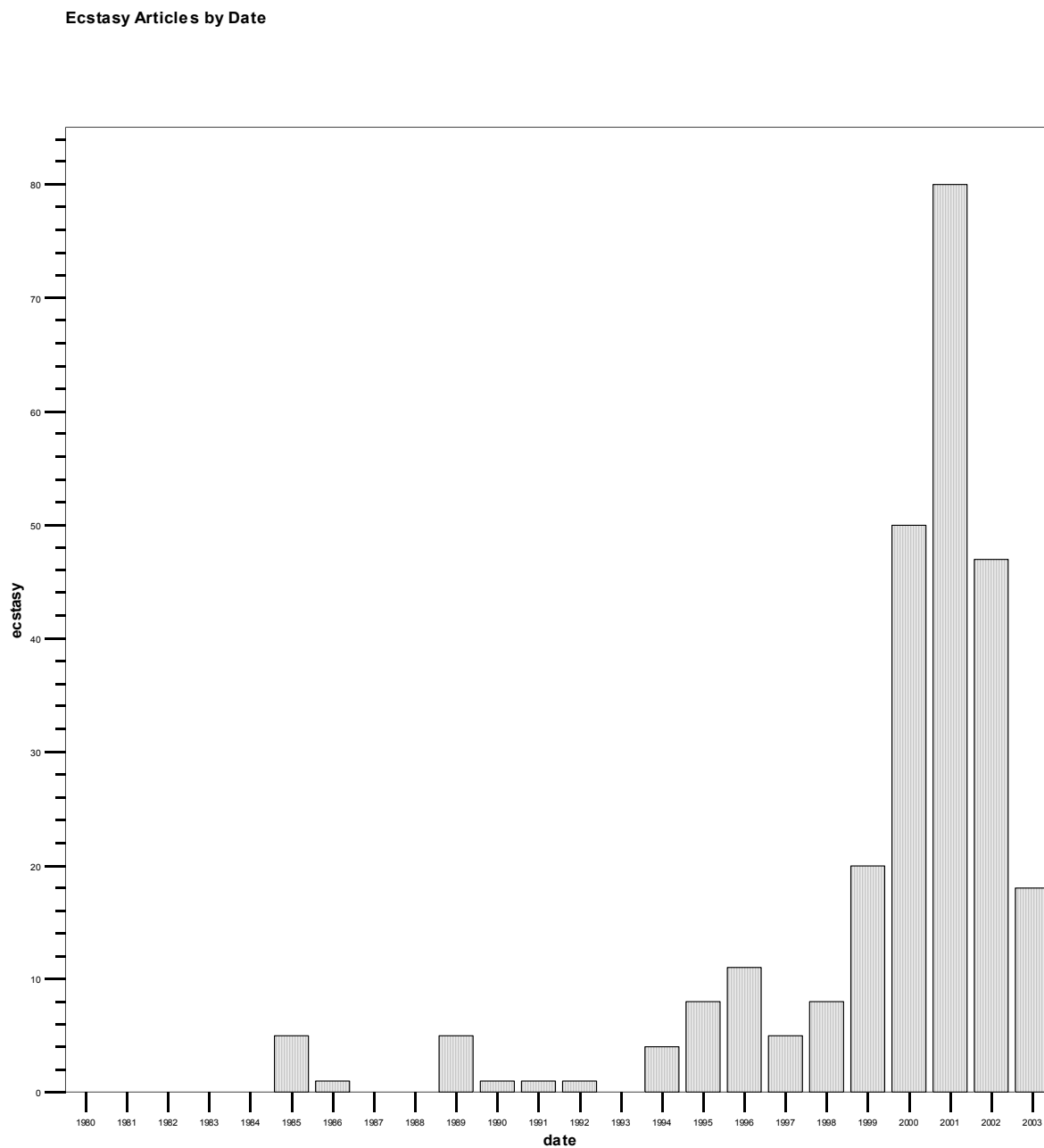
Placing the rave in history - Rave articles: RAVE ON!

> Some of the dances in the desert are no longer just dances, they're like violent crack houses set to music" Michele Leonhart, DEA special agent. (E-25)[II]

> It is such an amazing part of my life. There's so many people that have such a negative view on it but it was never negative for anybody who was there or who I brought with me, it was always positive (Personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004)

Rave music originated sometime in the early eighties as the child of American Disco. In Britain, American Soul music was played with drum beats to create dance music. In New York, the disco scene gave nightclubs a new reputation as high energy, mostly amphetamine, but also Ecstasy and LSD fueled parties. In Chicago, DJs like Frankie Knuckles, who spun in white, black and gay clubs began to mix records together into seamless night-long dance tracks (McCall 2000), and in Detroit, black DJs Eric Saunders, Juan Atkins and Derrick May created a new sound called techno music. Although techno music was disregarded in its native city, it became popular in Chicago's gay community and England's nightclub scene, and was known as Acid House or Acid Techno, with a clear reference to the movement's preferred drug (Thornton 1995). Knowing that rave culture began in the early 1980's as an outgrowth of disco, I began my article search for descriptions of rave culture in 1980. However there were no mentions of raves, or the rave scene until 1989 (See Table 7, Graph 2). It is important to note that I searched under more underground terms such as 'techno', and 'electronica' and still did not find any related articles before 1989.

In the mid 1980's Ibiza became a hot spot for young British travelers who experienced the combination of house music and Ecstasy (Fritz, 1999). Fritz claims that probably the first raves were in Ibiza, but the first recorded raves were held in Northern

England. They were illegal, impromptu events, usually held in warehouses and were known as acid house parties. In England, 1987 was known as the 'Second Summer of Love', as raves moved outside and were held as large, free parties in fields and forests. The open nature of these outside parties introduced rave culture and music to the English mainstream. However, the very first mention of rave culture within the selected media sources is in 1989, in *USA Today*. So while the movement had been building for 5 to10 years in England, utilizing American born music, the mainstream national American press was not writing about the experience. About 2 years after rave began in England, the phenomenon had moved to other European countries and across the ocean to the United States. Fritz (1999: 37) claims that by 1992, rave culture was a widespread global phenomenon. In 1992, I found six articles specifically about raves and rave cultures, the year with the highest number of articles focusing on rave culture from 1980 to 2000. In 2000 there were eight articles. In fact, the year 2000, with 8 articles, was the highest number of rave articles in any year in the five major news sources. Something about rave culture that was not focused was popular in the mainstream press during those two years. Previous to any qualitative analysis of the articles, there are several possibilities about why rave culture was interesting to the general public.

Rave Articles by Date (Table 7)

	USA Today	Newsweek	US News and World Report	New York Times	Totals
1980	0	0	0	0	0
1981	0	0	0	0	0
1982	0	0	0	0	0
1983	0	0	0	0	0
1984	0	0	0	0	0
1985	0	0	0	0	0
1986	0	0	0	0	0
1987	0	0	0	0	0
1988	0	0	0	0	0
1989	1	0	0	0	1
1990	0	0	0	0	0
1991	0	0	0	0	0
1992	1	2	0	3	6
1993	0	2	0	3	5
1994	0	2	0	2	4
1995	0	0	0	0	0
1996	0	0	0	2	2
1997	0	2	0	1	3
1998	1	0	0	4	5
1999	2	0	0	2	4
2000	1	2	1	4	8
2001	1	1	0	3	5
2002	0	0	0	0	0
2003	0	2	0	2	4
Totals	7	13	1	26	47

Rave Articles by Date (Graph 2)

Rave Articles by Date
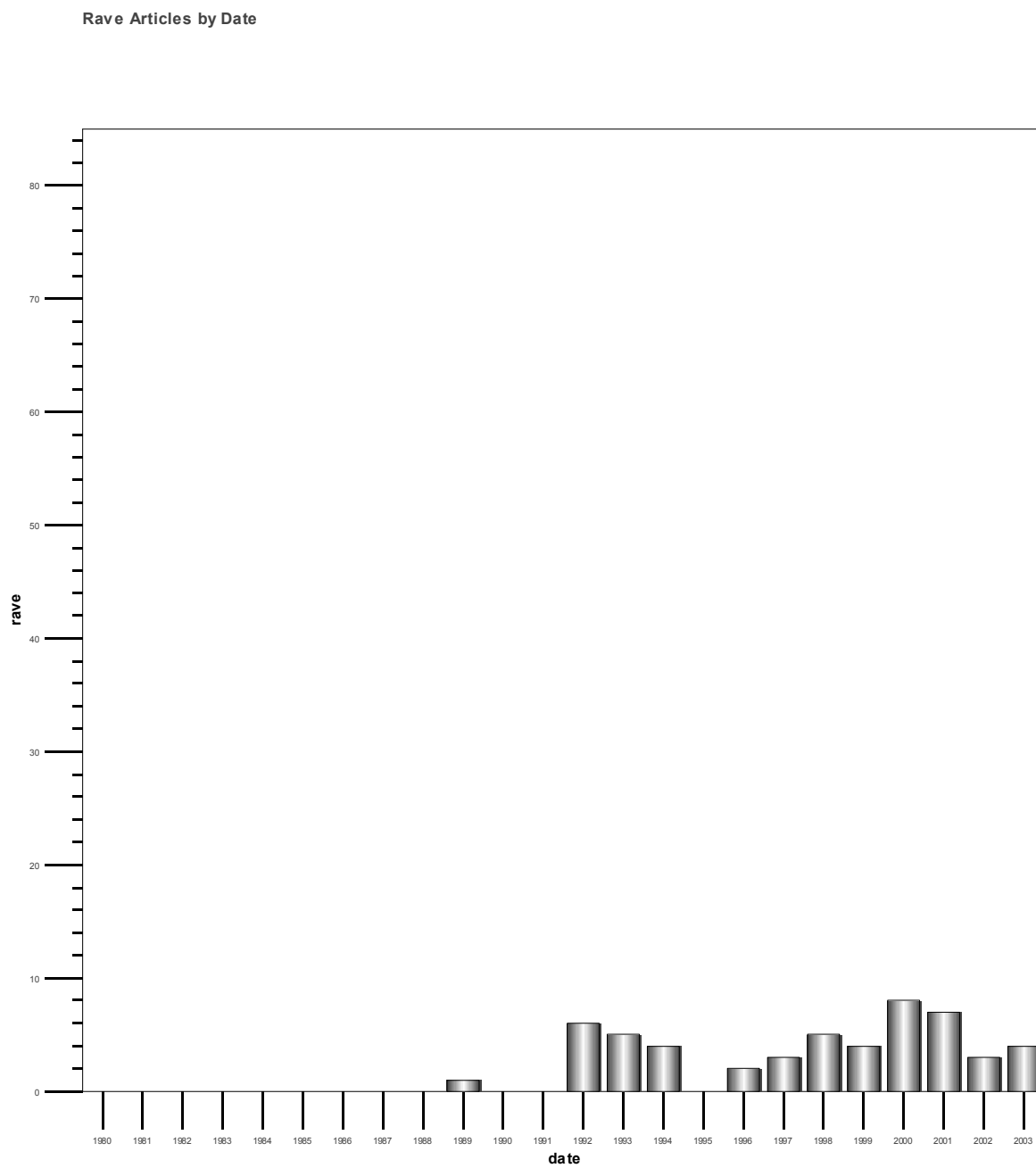
*The combination of drugs and the rave - Placing the mixed articles in history:
PLUR! (Peace, Love, Unity and Respect)*

Major American news sources did not focus on the problem of rave culture, but on the issues surrounding the drug Ecstasy. However, I found many articles that were not focused on either topic specifically, but a combination of both. These mixed articles are concerned with drug use and sales at raves, or rave attendees using or distributing drugs, or the rave culture as an Ecstasy culture. There were more articles that were mixed than were covered only rave culture, although the most articles were about Ecstasy. 20.3% of the articles were mixed articles, with the first mixed article appearing in *Newsweek* in 1989 (Table 8, Graph 3)

Without Ecstasy, it is thought that the rave scene would never have become a peace and love movement, as it was originally known. Once Ecstasy made it from Dallas to Manchester and London, it was combined with trance music and became a spiritual movement, at least for a few years. Suddenly people of all races, ethnicities and ages were holding hands and cuddling while revealing their innermost secrets. Reynolds (1999) claims that the drug is the major factor in the entire creation and growth of rave culture. Reynolds claims that by 1989, raves were commonplace, raver was a basic noun and it was what "Everykid did, every weekend" (79). The earliest reference to raves in American media was in 1989, although Reynolds states that raves did not truly cross over from England until the early nineties. When rave started in the United States during the early nineties, it came to San Francisco and the West Coast in much the same form. Rave also came to the United States in the form of a club run by Peter Gaiten in Manhattan, New York. At this club, wild Italian youths with violent tendencies mutated the pure peaceful form of rave into a harsh environment of drug trafficking and overdoses.

However, the ritual taking of Ecstasy, childlike costumes and cartoon references were just as prevalent here as in England (Owen 2003). In the early nineties it is interesting to note that references to raves, or raves and Ecstasy are more prevalent than articles concerning Ecstasy. Rave culture, although associated with Ecstasy, was at the forefront.

In the mid to late nineties, mixed articles slowly grow at about the same pace as the other two types. In the years 1998-2001 there were 32 of the 81 mixed articles. While Reynolds would argue that rave was dead and gone by this time in the United States, my second interview subject, 2— tells me that he thought it hit its peak in around the year 2000 (November, 26, 2003). By August, 2003, the PROTECT Act had passed and threatened to crush the rave scene forever. Reynolds (1995) and countless others who cronologed and catalogued the rave scene pushed the image of rave as a peaceful culture, and maintained the iconic image of the emoticon Ecstasy. Most of these analysts and journalists claim that rave waned and disintegrated into commercial clubs by the late nineties and turn of the millennium.

This section summarizes the quantitative section of the study by placing the articles in history. The most important conclusion this section reaches is that indeed rave culture has been constructed as a social problem and it has increased in intensity and importance in the press through its connection to Ecstasy. The existence of Ecstasy and rave culture as a social problem is shown, the second half analyzes the substance of the problem.

Mixed Articles by Date (Table 8)

	USA Today	Newsweek	US News and World Report	New York Times	Totals
1980	0	0	0	0	0
1981	0	0	0	0	0
1982	0	0	0	0	0
1983	0	0	0	0	0
1984	0	0	0	0	0
1985	0	0	0	0	0
1986	0	0	0	0	0
1987	0	0	0	0	0
1988	0	0	0	0	0
1989	0	1	0	0	1
1990	0	0	0	0	0
1991	0	0	0	0	0
1992	2	1	0	0	3
1993	0	1	0	2	3
1994	0	0	0	1	1
1995	1	0	0	1	2
1996	0	0	0	10	10
1997	0	1	0	2	3
1998	0	0	0	6	6
1999	1	2	1	6	10
2000	6	1	0	3	10
2001	4	0	2	9	15
2002	8	3	0	0	11
2003	1	0	0	2	3
TOTALS	**23**	**10**	**3**	**42**	**78**

Mixed Articles by Date (Graph 3)

Mixed Articles by Date
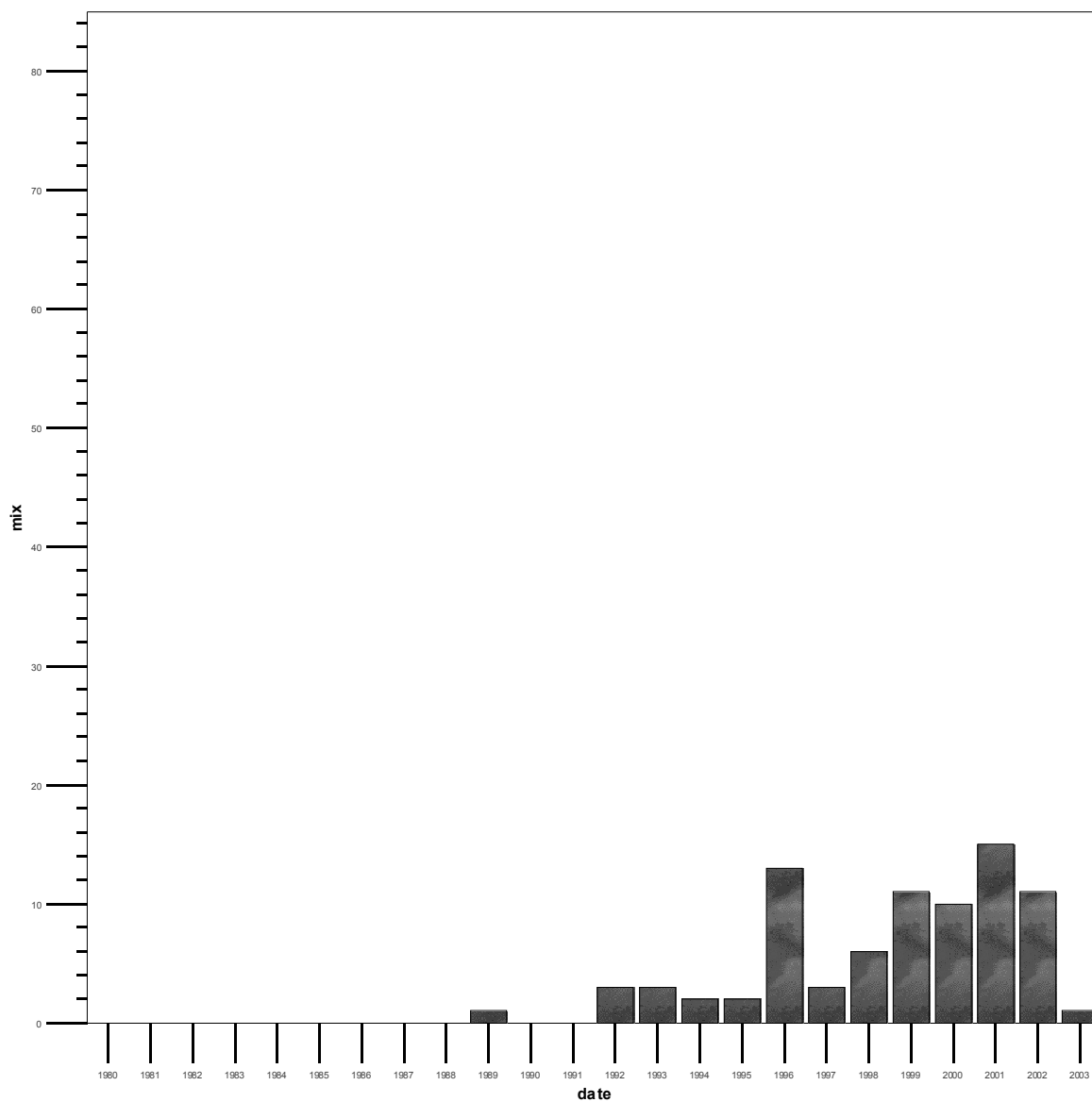
Qualitative Results– Internal vs. External Construction

The qualitative half of this section is analyzed first by each data set separately, the media articles and the interviews. Claims and claim makers are identified from each data set. The next part of the qualitative half of the review pertains to the original themes and categories as well as several emergent themes. Data is compared and contrasted from media articles and interviews through the lens of the thematic categories. These categories concerned social construction of drugs, raves and ravers from both perspectives, external and internal. In order to analyze how information from different constructions have led to policy, the final thematic category concentrates on the relationship of subcultures and the law. The characteristics of promoters and descriptions of current methods to reduce harm are examined through external and internal descriptions.

The external portrait - The media

In today's postmodern mass mediated world, the truth is contested. Reality is not a solid and singular thing to be discovered and known, but is rather constituted by various discourses that compete for one of many versions of truth to be accepted. Before the post-modern age even began Berger and Luckman attempted to analyze the processes by which knowledge "comes to be established as reality" (1967: 3). They argue that knowledge is not an objective set of facts but is socially located. Loseke (1999) notes that some claims-makers are more believable then others, based on the status their title and occupation holds. Many postmodern analysts examine the hidden message in mass media and decode the agendas of the producers of the message in order to understand

what reality they desire their audience to accept as truth (Harms and Dickens 1996). Journalists are often thought of as impartial observers who have objective experiences from being at the location and experiencing the event (Frith and Savage 1998). This translates to an unquestioning acceptance by the public of the words of the media as words of truth. Often, the public, like some postmodern media analysts, (Harms and Dickens 1996) forget the structure and force behind the words and ideas presented by the media. It is necessary to examine external factors like funding, or sponsorship, that can influence what the media examines and how they present their findings.

In the initial quantitative coding of abstracts I categorized articles as being primarily concerning Ecstasy, rave culture or both topics. However, after I read through the content of the article I discovered that even though an article is primarily focused on Ecstasy or Rave or both topics are mixed, more than half the articles at least mention the words rave and Ecstasy together. For instance, of the 32 Ecstasy articles, 10 of the articles also mention raves, albeit only in passing. Additionally, Ecstasy is referred to as a club drug, also linking it to parties and raves. In the 13 selected articles focused on rave culture, eight of the articles also mention Ecstasy. Therefore, including the mixed articles, 31out of 60 of the articles, just over half, interconnect rave culture and the drug Ecstasy in the mind of the public.

In general, there were a few notable differences between the three types of articles. Eight of the Ecstasy articles that did not mention raves are about Ecstasy studies and official opinions on the effects of Ecstasy. Three concern distribution, four focus on teens and drugs, and two talk about the legal aspects of Ecstasy. One article is about the internal account of a drug user and one condemns harm reduction procedures. Two

articles only mention the drug in passing. Of the Rave articles, the five that only

concentrate on rave culture itself are about music, travel and fashion. One article is about

a rave being canceled, and does not mention Ecstasy or drugs as a driving factor behind

the cancellation. The mixed articles range from positive to negative viewpoints, some

touting the glories of underground rave culture, and some reproaching the combination of

teens, drugs and partying. Surprisingly, not all articles were negative. Some articles

included some positive remarks and aspects, although mostly in the rave-centric articles,

stating that "for many, this is where they find community, even family (R-11)[II] or "people

enjoy an innocent sensuality beyond the usual realm of the dance floor conquest". (R-3).

However, many more examples of negative and harmful comments about ravers and rave

culture were found in the mainstream press.

The initial review searched for claims and claims-makers and whether the claims-

makers were coming from an internal or external position (Loseke 1999). This analysis

began with a count of the journalists. A majority were written in an omniscient tone, with

no author listed or no mention of 'I' as journalist. This method of conveying information

in a generic form gives credence to the idea that the article is presenting concrete facts,

with no human bias or opinion.   Anonymous writings, with no mention of I implies that

the information presented is objective and value-neutral. There are sometimes bylines

that identify the author, but no recognition of bias. I would assume that most journalists

are not ravers (although is quite possible some may be) and their description of drugs,

raves, and ravers is external to the rave scene itself. Therefore, the concept of the rave

scene, for the most part, is constructed for the public by external sources. Frith and

Savage (1998) remind us that journalists often seek to simplify experience in order for it to be digested by the general public.

While a majority of the articles were written in a pansophical manner, some authors did allow their personal biases to flavor the article. These articles include three letters to the editor written by a mother, the Director of the Office of the National Drug Control Policy and the heads for Tribeca Research and Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Research. One article was question and answer format with the Director of the Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic, one interview with rave ethnographer Simon Reynolds, and one article by Jacob Sullum, a defender of drug use. One letter to the editor and the article by Jacob Sullum did defend drug use and challenge current methods of testing drug effects and dangers. In this study, all of these journalists, whether they have an agenda or not are still considered external to the rave scene itself. I found only one article from a journalist who claims to be a voice from within, although not to rave culture but within drug culture as an 'ex-casual drug user'. This lone article is the only one that claims to have any first hand internal knowledge (other than ethnographic or investigative) of any type of drug culture, raves or rave culture. Yet again, the rave phenomenon is defined and constructed by those outside of its cultural boundaries.

Articles also included quotes from trustworthy public officials. Journalists use these quotes from people with high status to solidify their statement. Some examples were; a New York City narcotics officer (M-3), police (E-24), authorities (E-25) and the DEA (E-22). Some of these are so vague that they claim 'authorities say', with no definition of which type of authority is speaking. Medical professionals like nurses in emergency rooms (E-27), a psychotherapist (E-10), a pharmacologist (E-1) a

spokesperson for Substance Abuse and Mental Health Clinic and 'drug experts' are also included. Research professionals such as a professor of neurology (M-14), scientists, a lawyer from the ACLU (M-10), a fashion designer(R-5), and a New York City Building Department official, (R-10) all provide their personal interpretation of raves, raving and ravers. According to perceived status, some of these figures' statements will have a stronger affect on the public's perception of rave culture.

However, the most powerful and poignant quotes are derived from those considered to be internal perspectives. Some examples are party promoters (R-10), ravers (M-7), devotees of GHB (M-4), teenagers, suburban kids (M-7), and drug dealers (E-21). Although the majority of the articles were written and produced by external sources, quotes and viewpoints of many real 'ravers' and 'teens' were also noticeably sprinkled throughout the articles. While seemingly 'inside information', these 'internal accounts' are manipulated through methods such as selectivity, placement and journalist comments. Hence, internal accounts are externally tainted. Third person quotes also aid in the perception of internal information. For instance, the phrase "users say" was used often within the articles to describe drug effects. While constructed as internal information, these statements can be worded and constructed in any manner the journalist prefers. According to the article sample, "users say" that Ecstasy "enhances feelings of empathy and closeness" (X-25), "is a wonderful thing and mind-expanding" (M-12) and that it relaxes inhibitions and enhances communication"(X-1).   The public does not know how the journalist knows what 'users say' and more specifically if the information is taken from reading other third hand accounts.

Methods of selectivity and choice of interview subjects can have strong affactes on the construction of subcultures and their members.. Donna Leinwald of *USA Today* chose to interview Tricia Kaz, 18, who has spent 3 weeks at a "drug rehabilitation center after her mother found out about her Ecstasy habit" (M-7). From my own experience raving and the people I interviewed, going to a rehabilitation center is not a common experience among ravers, however, to the average parent reading this article, it may seem so, since this is one of the few ravers quoted. In this article Leinwald also quotes a 'fifteen year old', which in my experience is not common either. Simply by her selection of interview subjects Leinwald has constructed an image of who ravers are and their habits.

Journalist introductions and summaries can be slanted as well. In one article in the US *News and World Report*, an entire paragraph is dedicated to describing rave "sideshows that are tailored to those under the influence" (R-11), including energy drinks, lollipops and a chill out area. The author continues to quote an 18 year old girl says "It all fits together perfectly". While the author's inclusion of this quote in the section describing drug related environments may seem perfectly fitting, J2— in a recent interview, discussing the same issue noted that "well that's definitely an interpretation but you could also think of it as providing a cooler room for people dancing". Simply by embedding a quote in a certain discussion flavors the meaning and can even mutate the intended message. It could be possible that the aforementioned raver meant that since the dancing and fast music made her hot and tired, the candy, drinks and cooler room made for the perfect combination; and she may have meant the 'sideshows' enhance her drug experience. The Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act specifically focuses on these rave

offerings as providing a drug-related atmosphere, and when promoters do provide 'chill-out' rooms, they can be accused of 'knowingly' providing a space for intended drug use.

The media and the journalists that produce content are external claims-makers. Their words and ideas are often far-reaching and construct an image of rave for the public without available first hand experience. However, the social locations and motivations of the journalists themselves often change the manner of presentation. Not only are their words used to paint a portrait of the internal experience of rave, but the words of internal sources can be manipulated and mutated when taken out of context or presented in a certain manner. The internal voices are not heard in their natural context and ravers themselves do not have adequate social representation to paint their own picture of the internal experience, values and norms of rave culture. In the second section of the study, the ravers are given a voice and are allowed to delineate characteristics of their culture.

The internal portrait - Interviews

Although rave participants are easy to identify, true 'ravers' are more difficult to label. In an interview with a raver, I asked the question, "Who are ravers?" and was answered with a complex response. He claimed that "anyone who goes to a rave is a raver" (Sept., 2003). When I pressed him to explain if one person could be 'more' raver than another, he firmly answered no, and repeated the same phrase. I found the same sense of universality in other interviews. When I asked 2— "who would call themselves a raver?", he also responded that "someone who goes to raves for the most part is a raver" (Personal Interview, November 26, 2003). 3— informed me that, "you can't describe a raver, because there's so many different types" (Personal Interview, January 7, 2004).). Informants indicate that the definition of raver is about their own and others self-

identification as raver and depended on social location and opinion. In the same way post-modern subcultures are diffuse and have flowing memberships, the identification of a raver is also fluid.

Muggleton (2000) interviewed members of various British subcultures and asked them to define who they are and how they fit into a subculture. Muggleton (2000) realized that he could find no solid definition among participants. He accounts for this lack of solidarity through a postmodern lens. The simultaneous and continuous localization and globalization of cultures through media representation means local flavor can influence other local scenes across the globe. Also, because postmodern subcultures can span larger geographies there can be no strict definition of who belongs and who does not. Subcultural styles, norms and music quickly diffuse and spread into the more mainstream cultures, and are often co-opted by commercial outlets, (e.g., Hot Topic in the mall that sells raver 'phat' pants and Goth-girl dresses). This makes it difficult to define who is part of a subculture and who just likes the clothes. This analysis fit well with my current conundrum. 1--- tells me there is no 'real' raver, someone who would be the coolest in a group etc., and Muggleton claims that definition is impossible based on issues of diffusion. Therefore based on my own experiences and involvement in the rave scenes of New Orleans and Chicago, I created a representative criteria for the selection of ravers.

While a detailed examination of the media is essential, the external construction of a social phenomenon is only part of the story. Post-subculturalists advocate the inclusion of internal constructions and lived experience into any analysis of social and/or cultural movements. As Weber insists in his seminal methodological essay (1949),

probability as well as causal significance must be attended to by the sociologist. The verstehen approach is only viable when it expresses an 'inner state' that is not unique but common to a social group.

Lived experience can be completely different than the expression of that lived experience. Just as the social environment And Motivations of journalists need to be examined, it is important to note that interviews are a socially constructed site of communication as well. Where the interview is done may be of importance, if the speaker is nervous, uncomfortable or is trying to impress an outside observer for instance. My personal involvement with the rave scene is also a factor, as some of the ravers I talked to glossed over definitions if they thought I was aware, or tended to not describe certain events if they thought I was an outsider.

In light of current events; the passing of the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act, a DEA crackdown on medical marijuana growers in California and Washington, and new laws threatening to take away education funds for drug offenders, ravers are nervous and defensive. Even those who are not involved in any type of drug culture are aware that rave culture is intertwined with illegal activity. For instance, 5 told me in an interview that "drugs that once polluted it are no longer a part of it"(Personal Interview 5, February 18, 2004) but the last rave I personally attended on New Years Eve, 2004, I saw obvious drug use by many ages, sexes, and classes. I was personally asked if I wanted to buy mescaline, ecstasy, cocaine and crystal meth. It is quite possible that she attends different types of raves or is not approached by drug dealers, but there is also a chance that she has constructed a rave environment for me according to her own personal emancipatory goals. Throughout the rest of the interviews I was always aware that because I had

originally chosen people who 'feel some sort of deeper social or emotional connection to the rave community' they also may feel the need to protect their culture. The experience of ravers and rave is an internal construction, communicated in a specific way, just as much as the media presents external constructions for a specific purpose.

Themes

The second phase contains a detailed examination of themes based on original categories in order to find differences between external and internal constructions of the rave scene. First, each data set (media articles and interviews) was analyzed separately and then compared. Clearly, drugs, drug use, and drug distribution were the most dominant large themes of the media articles, while the interviews mentioned drug use only in passing or in relationship to the media. The respondents tended to talk about rave culture, their love for the rave scene, the music, how the rave scene has changed, and government oppression of culture. There were some similarities and some differences between the external and internal constructions of rave.

Drug use and distribution

There are people that go and get fucked up every time, there are people that get fucked up at them and they overdose but that's not the real idea of it all, that's not what a rave is about, its not about going out and getting fucked up and doing drugs, it's not(Personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004)

According to the quantitative section, there were 275 (67.5%) articles concerned primarily with Ecstasy and 80 articles mixing both the themes of Ecstasy and raves. Only 52 (13%) articles focused specially on raves. I concluded that Ecstasy was clearly portrayed as the problem, and rave culture served as a secondary storyline. A qualitative review of the drug theme showed similar results. The first coding category concerned

which drugs are associated with raves. On account of the fact that the original name of the Act in question was the RAVE Act (Reducing American's Vulnerability to Ecstasy), I assumed that Ecstasy was the drug this Act was fashioned to curtail.   Consequently, in looking for articles I used the search term Ecstasy.   Mentions of other types of illegal drugs were also coded. At least 222 mentions of 32 distinct types of drugs are found in the sample of 60 articles. Themes associated with drugs are that they are available at raves, used by young people, slang and methods of ingestion, buyers, sellers, and arrest information.   For example, an analysis of the articles found the following labels for Ecstasy.

> MDMA -Designer drug - Synthetic narcotic - Orgasm-Enhancing Drug –
> Amphetamine - Psychotropic amphetamine - The love drug - A stimulant -
> Hug drug - The hot drug among America's teenagers - The illicit drug Ecstasy -
> Tablets - Powder - The peace and love drug - Club Drug – The rave drug -
> Amphetamine-like pills - Euphoria inducing designer drug – X – e
> A mind altering chemical - A powerful stimulant/hallucinogen

The interview questions were structured to allow the subjects to talk about drug use but not to specifically ask them about their own drug use or knowledge of drug use of others. Rather than alienate them by immediately connecting drugs to their cultural movement, I chose to let them discuss aspects of drug use and distribution with me when they felt comfortable. All my interview subjects mentioned drug use, one of them told me he did not do drugs at all, two left the subject ambiguous, and two told me that they had done Ecstasy and liked the experience. In the interviews Ecstasy was mentioned several times, but the general consensus was that done responsibly Ecstasy was not so bad. It seemed that the ravers I interviewed considered Ecstasy a part of raving, but not the purpose.

> I think Ecstasy came about as a party drug and there were people that got involved with it. I think it's the love and unity that it makes you feel and that's what the rave scene was about. I think that's why it all intertwined into one thing so it gave the rave scene a bad name (Personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004).

Rather than separating Ecstasy from their movement, respondents saw the culture as conducive to the drug, not the drug as responsible for the movement. The media articles focused more on Ecstasy as an essential ingredient, even the purpose of a rave;

> Raves began as all night dance parties as informal groups gathered on farms or in vacant lots to listen to bass-heavy music, take Ecstasy and dance all night (M-7).

Ravers described drugs as an option or a small part of rave culture, the media seemed to characterize them as necessary and central.

Other drugs were mentioned by the ravers, but always with a sort of disdain, often described as if new harder drugs polluted the true meaning of the scene. Acid was mentioned as a drug that did not fit in with the communal aspect of raving. A negative example is, "this kid on acid just gets up and starts hitting people, you know like he's physically swinging…and the cops came and arrested him and a whole bunch of bad stuff happened" (Personal Interview 1, October 23, 2003). Crystal meth was also mentioned as a drug that was not originally part of the rave scene. "Kids now are getting fucked up on crystal meth, oh my god there wasn't even any of this shit back then" (Personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004). Ketamine was also mentioned as a drug that didn't fit in and changed the nature of the peace and love rave,

> "In New York it seemed to be the ketamine ravers of 97-98 kind of changed the scene…suddenly other drugs that seemed darker and more disassociative then Ecstasy…In New York the darkness had definitely moved in, you know, you better watch your shit" (Personal Interview 4, February 5, 2004).

Different drugs changed the attitudes of rave participants. No longer were they ecstatic and empathetic, but darker. 4-- associates this with a change in the scene, no longer was

he comfortable with leaving his possessions while he danced, the scene was changed by the kind of drugs people did. Ethnographers of the rave movement also support this claim. (Owen 2003; Reynolds 1999)   In the media articles I found 5 articles that had a specific drug as the topic: two articles focusing on the dangers of Herbal Ecstasy, one on an herbal mixture called Cherry Fx, one article about GHB and one on Ketamine, all associated with raves. In the rest of the articles there were 222 mentions of 32 types of drugs besides Ecstasy. There seemed to be no differentiation made between the seriousness of different drugs, or a difference between the types of people that used them.

In the interviews there is a clear differentiation between those who go to enjoy the music and dancing and those who go to 'get fucked up'.

> "Drug use as a whole I don't see as a big problem in the rave scene, it's just those people who do the drugs, have a reckless attitude towards doing them and those are the people that give the rave scene a bad name" (Personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004).

There seemed to be a progression from doing drugs as an enhancement to drugs being the main purpose, and the people who disapproved "were there for the right reasons, that had been there when it was all about the love" (Personal Interview 5, February 5, 2004)

> "I moved from Texas and came to New Orleans parties. The first one I went to it was like everyone was in a race to see who could get the most drugs. I was just like "Stop! You're not even stopping and enjoying this!" They seriously thought that was the purpose of a rave (Personal Interview 5, February 5, 2004)

The newer crowd who began to frequent raves was perceived as focusing on the drug experience, while the more established ravers perceived the change in their culture.

In the media articles I found examples of drug distribution both inside and outside of raves. Some examples of drug dealers were "jet setting high rolling playboys" (X-22), mostly Israeli and Russian international crime syndicates, 'big time Ecstasy dealers' , 'American strippers as couriers or 'mules', young Egyptian, Syrian, and Korean men,

violent international crime groups (X-24), the Brooklyn Terror Squad, and suburban youth gangs among many others. Drug deals were not always done at raves, and most of the higher level sales were not handled close to raves and rave culture. However, ravers were very often the final buyers, especially as described in the media. Some buyers and users listed were 'mostly college age kids" (E-22), gays on the high risk sex scene (M-4), "young partygoers, especially in raves and nightclubs" (E-22), "suburban kids" (E-24). In fact, almost all of the users' references were college students, young people, and ravers, although gay men were mentioned in several articles as well. The ravers I interviewed did not provide details about drug dealing, buying or distribution, only the use of drugs.

Both the interviews and the media articles agree that Ecstasy use was ubiquitous and not only found at raves. Terrence Farley of the Ocean County Narcotics Strike Force says about Ecstasy, "It's so pervasive, you can get it anywhere kids gather" (E-21). The media worries that "the party drug MDMA, commonly known as Ecstasy, is no longer a big city problem…the drug is showing up in rural regions" (E-20) and that "It's as available at house and neighborhood parties as at raves" (M-15). Ravers are quick to note that Ecstasy is done in situations other then raves. Interview subject 5-- told me that "They (Senators Biden and Grassley) tried to blame raves for all Ecstasy use, which is ridiculous". I asked "Ecstasy is done elsewhere?" to which she replied, "Are you serious? It's everywhere" (Personal Interview 5, February 18, 2003) While both the articles and the ravers had strong facts and opinions that Ecstasy is available, used, and bought and sold at other locations than raves, in order to control Ecstasy use, the Congress members responsible for creating and passing still focused on the rave scene.

Some aspects of drug use and distribution were illustrated differently by the media and the ravers themselves. The media describes drug use at raves ranging from 'unfortunate' to dangerous and criminal. Within media articles, Ecstasy is portrayed as equally dangerous as other drugs mentioned. However, the ravers explained a clear differentiation between Ecstasy and other hard drugs, often placing it more on the level of alcohol and marijuana, especially if taken responsibly. The ravers tended to describe drugs as an enhancing option, however most of the articles described drugs as either the purpose of the rave, or a necessary part. The media articles included much information about drug distribution and distributors, but the ravers did not mention the topic of the sale or purchase of drugs, only their use.

While there were clear differences between the account of ravers and journalists, there were also some similarities. Both sources did mention Ecstasy as used and enjoyed by ravers. Both showed the qualities of Ecstasy as conducive to the empathetic atmosphere of the rave scene. While the government has blamed the majority of Ecstasy use on the rave scene, the media and the interviewees agree that the drug is ubiquitous and ingested in many other situations. Neither the media or the ravers claim that Ecstasy was used only or mostly at raves or by ravers.

The dialectical nature of media and subcultures

The scholars of the BCCS were acutely aware of the dialectical relationship of subcultures and the media. Hebdige (1981) describes how the media can affect a subculture in an ideological or commodity form. He defines the commodity form as the classic way subcultures evolve from new and different origins and become mainstream. Originally, Hebdige believed that stylistic rebellion at the level of *bricolage* (taking

ordinary objects and giving them new uses) was a political way to challenge the status quo. However, the mainstream reaction to rebellion can often be incorporation and commodification. A second way that punk is affected by the mainstream is through the media manipulating a subcultural ideology. Punk was originally feared and presented in the media as a possible threat to children and an established way of life (Hebdige 1981: 98). Eventually, the media chose to frame punk as a 'family affair', showing photographs of punks playing with the family dog and lounging by the pool. This effectively sliced directly through to the heart of what punks "sought most vehemently to resist and deny" (Hebdige 1981: 98). As the perception of what punk was eventually became acceptable, the subversive process of rebelling through deviance no longer held its power. The media actually changed the form of punk by presenting it as something it did not want to be (Hebdige 1981).

The media constructs the image that the mainstream often believes to be reality. The position of the media as an objective relay for truth is often accepted. However, there is an interesting relationship between the media and the subculture itself. Willis (1978) studies the 'bikie' gang cultures. Through the spectacularization of gangs like the Hells Angels, the bikier gangs themselves change to fit or oppose these mediated stereotypes. Some groups often change or become extreme in their opposition to the commercialization of their music by becoming more raunchy (Frith 1980) or conversely more academic. For instance, by espousing intelligent references to hedonistic culture (Haslam 1998). Thornton (1995: 117)) makes sure that her audience is aware that "national mass media…develop youth movements as much as they distort them". While the media reports the actions and members of subcultures, the also construct what a

subculture is for the public, causing a reactionary impulse from the subculture which may actually change the substance of the subculture.

Weekend cultures like rave culture, are constantly threatened by commercialization and commodification of their subcultural styles (Goulding et. al. 2002). Mall stores like Hot Topic sell subcultural styles such as raver pants or renaissance Goth dresses to suburban teenagers, not as the rebellious *bricolage* of Hebdige's time, but as a style. However, it is important here to note that Hebdige was aware that "each new subculture establishes new trends, generates new looks and sounds which feed back into appropriate industries" (1979: 95). Although these styles are sold pre-packaged at the mall for undiscerning suburban teens, these styles can still be rebellious. If youth still purport to 'be' a raver or punk, and may dress the same as other youths who are ravers or punks, and different from classic mainstream stylistic forms, then it makes no difference that their clothes were bought at the mall. Capitalism moves at an exponential rate, and when a style or music becomes desirable, it will end up at mainstream stores. Hebdige's concept of *bricolage* cannot be erased entirely, as youths will always be able to reduce the sanctity of stuff and make it ridiculous or stylish. Their new and different discoveries of stylistic rebellion will yet again be changed by a cycle of creativity and commodification. Yet again, the boundaries of a subculture are fluid and ambiguous.

While the BCCS forefathers of subcultural studies were aware of the ideological mutations and commodification of subcultural styles and values by the mainstream, they made no attempt to understand them theoretically. Their research assumed that there is a way to identify and block off a certain group of youths that actually belong to a culture,

as opposed to those who do not, those who have just jumped the bandwagon. I believe the external standpoint that these academics utilize does not allow them to realize the shifting boundaries of subcultures. In this study I agree with Muggleton (2000) that in order to define a group of people, a definition must exist, and that exact definition changes with every internal, as well as external concept. When external concepts and observers, such as the media, are accepted as more reliable, the lived experience of internal participants lacks credibility and is not heard by mainstream majority. For the mainstream, rave is defined by external observers. When mainstream youth desire to become a member of a subculture, based on perceptions gleaned from mainstream sources, they bring those ideals as 'authentic' and are capable of changing the entire structure of the subculture. New members become members based on their perceptions of the subculture, often based on the constructions of external observers.

Raves and ravers: A media creation

Every raver interviewed had a strong opinion concerning the relationship between raves, ravers and the media. They were all convinced that the media had changed the rave scene as well as affected the new ravers who were joining the rave scene. Their statements were acutely similar:

> Dateline and 20/20 aired shows showing the "dangers of raves". They claimed that drugs flowed like water at them. Soon everyone was coming to them, for that reason. The scene was ruined. People came for all the wrong reasons, knew nothing about this scene, and polluted it with hatred and violence… Those shows did just the opposite of what it was trying to do. It was supposedly warning of the "dangers", when all it did was create new dangers (Personal Interview 5, February 18, 2004)

> Society has turned it into a drug mania frenzy, and it was not like that back in the day…I think it's gotten worse since the media has gotten into it. It was never like that before. It was there, it being drugs, has been everywhere, it is every-fucking-where you go. For them to put that on the rave scene is bullshit…it's like the media has drilled it into their heads, go to a rave, you can get fucked up. (Personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004)

> The media has given the rave scene such a stigma, being a place to find drugs, so that's what these kids wanna do, when they turn 17-18 years old. So, its sorta like a result of the popularity on TV, there's people going, hey there's drugs here, so kids wanna do drugs regardless, and if they don't find them at a rave they're gonna find them somewhere else, and these people are saying, this is where the drugs are, go and get them there. (Personal Interview 1, October 23, 2003)

> All of this publicity fuels a dangerous cycle, say longtime club kids. "People hear about raves and the only thing the media says is 'Ooh…drugs', so people come for the drugs," says Erika "Rollergirl", now in her seventh year of parties" (US News and World Report, June 26, 2000)

Ravers are suspicious of the media that "is definitely sensational" (Personal Interview 4, February 5, 2004), and claimed that "for the most part it's still a negative portrayal in the media" (Personal Interview 2, November 26, 2003). All of my interview subjects informed me in more or less the same way that the media created a monster out of the rave culture. According to every person I talked to, the rave scene was a peaceful underground movement where mostly responsible young people danced, listened to music, and perhaps partook in chemical enhancement. Even some of the earlier media articles I found described ravers as a highly fashionable crowd who 'unfortunately' did Ecstasy, but I found no severe undertones of danger and violence until the late nineties. In the rave articles I found quotes from ravers explaining how raves were "something spiritual" (R-2)(R-11), as well as journalists proclaiming it "downright mainstream"(R-11) and that rave dancing was a new style to be seriously examined by dancers (R-12).

As argued before, rave culture began as a post-modern movement. By definition it had no specific statement, no goals, floating memberships and nomadic spatial sites. Once the media began to define rave culture it became more structured as a static subculture. Rave culture, like Muggleton's (2000: 132) example of punk culture, did not exist as a cohesive style until the media defined it. In the case of punk, a Sex Pistols

concert was covered by the media, claiming that the fans at the concert were wearing and

acting in a punk style and then punk was suddenly a fashion format, even though the

audience claimed they hadn't dressed in a punk style knowingly.   Originally the rave

movement had been accepting of all differences, it desired to be an egalitarian peace-

loving open community. Ravers tend to see themselves as open, claiming that:

> any real raver they are open to anybody who's there and that's what it's all about, there
> were no boundaries to segregate anybody. It was about unity, and the music just made it
> so much more… (Personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004)

1--- sees the rave as a "brotherhood" where he always knows people who accept him. As

well as a having an accepting atmosphere the rave was described as hedonistic and

immediate. The rave was described by the ravers as a place to forget about their worries

and concentrate on the here and now. Interview subject 4 describes the general ambience

and purpose as:

> about pure out for fun and nothing else…there was nothing outside of the day, right then.
> There was no discussion no talking about anything going on outside of right then and
> your Elmo backpack, why is it vibrating can I get a blowpop and that was it, instant
> gratification and the love of everything

The rave scene was described as completely open, feeling rather than thinking, and

welcoming of everyone, where "everyone hugged you and treated you like you were the

most special person in the world. They accepted everyone" (Personal Interview 5,

February 18, 2004). Most of the ravers I talked to described the original ravers as the

'modern day hippie' (Personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004), based on non-judgmental

and creative characteristics. However, intense media publicity and the linking of Ecstasy

and other hard drugs to the rave scene changed the very nature of the culture.

A theme that emerged within interviews was the dialectical nature of the media

and rave attendees. Media influence not only created an 'ideal type' rave, but an 'ideal

type' raver. According to interviews, the stereotypical ravers described in media articles are not accurate representations of the original, 'old skool' raver. Ravers did not progress along a linear evolution. Newer ravers were affected, influenced and therefore changed by the media. According to some of the ravers who had been involved for a long time, many of the 'new kids' 'coming into the scene' were qualitatively different than the people who were originally attracted to the rave scene. 4-- delineated this change by claiming that:

> by '99 we would go and kids would get beat up, kids would get shit taken from them, the criminal element moved in there that wasn't there before, it was like two eras of candy rave and thug rave (Personal Interview 4, February 5, 2004).

In this quote, 4-- is saying that 'thugs', who were 'new kids', were more dangerous. As they became part of the rave scene, and the 'candy' ravers began to die out. Candy ravers were part of the original rave movement who partied for the sake of pleasure and 'instant gratification' (Personal Interview 4, February 5, 2004). So a movement that began as 'candy rave', where ravers wore rainbow colors, dressed like cartoon characters and touted the rave as a place to exhibit child-like behavior (Tomlinson 1998) and play began to be taken over by a group of people with a different sensibility.

4-- describes the later era of rave culture as 'thug rave' and 5-- clams that the scene was "polluted with hatred and violence". The general consensus was that the second generation of new ravers were:

> doing it [raving] because they're doing drugs and they're doing it out of rebellion, they think it's a rebellious thing to do. It was never about being rebellious; it was about being yourself (Personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004)

Intense media attention not only brought 'thugs' to the scene, who created an atmosphere

of violence, but also attracted kids who wanted to rebel, by doing drugs. I asked 5--- that

if rave culture was accepted by the mainstream did she think its rebellious nature would

be changed.   Since rave culture is an underground culture, I had expected 5--- to want it

to remain rebellious, but she agreed with 3--, claiming that raving was not ever intended

to be rebellious, but "just to have fun, and go against the norm"(Personal Interview 5,

February 18, 2004). 5--- wants to go against the norm by no longer oppressing her

personality, but not by rebelling against society. The concept of rebellion can be seen

differently according to external and internal sources. The media constructs rave as an

activity designed to specifically oppose mainstream values. The ravers are capable of

understanding the values of rave culture in the context of rave culture. Rave has no

cohesive political statement except the statement of expression, love, instant gratification

and fun. External sources see those goals not as emancipatory but as challenging to

normative behavior such as proper use of time and physical body. The ravers

interviewed in this study saw rave culture originally as a place to express themselves in a

safe environment; however, they also saw that their environment had changed.

In general, the ravers described their kin as "…knowledgeable, politically active,

they seem a lot of times technologically inclined"(Personal Interview 2, November 26,

2003) or as "incredible people who are super smart, very open minded, very hyper and

you know they got off on life and music, people that are artistic, very talented people"

(Personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004). They seemed to have very high opinions of

other ravers. Accounts from the key informants showed that while anyone can call

themselves a raver, they could certainly articulate the different kinds of ravers for themselves.

According to the interviews, the media was responsible for creating a new breed of drug seeking kids. These new kids were seen as "some people who have just turned 17-18 years old and they start going to a rave, cause I heard you can find Ecstasy at those raves, so they go there and they're gonna find it" (Personal Interview 1, October 23, 2004). In the opinions of the ravers, the media provided advertisement for drugs at raves and consequently attracted partygoers who were more interested in the drugs than rave culture. According to the interviews, major media began to define rave culture for the general public, for the 'soccer moms' who receive their information "the only place they could have gotten it for the most part, because they're obviously not going to events, they got it from the media" (Personal Interview 2, November 26, 2003). The external voices constructed an image of raves for people that had no first hand experience.

After major media coverage on shows like 20/20 appeared, a wave of newcomers entered the scene. In order to maintain a cohesive culture and the status quo, 'old skool' ravers who originally had no hierarchies, and accepted all colors, races and types, were forced to define what an 'authentic' raver was. There formed a rift between 'old skool' and the 'new kids'. New kids are rejected as inauthentic based mostly on their newness, and are discriminated against by "this whole purist movement now" (Personal Interview 5, February 18, 2004). Rave culture evolved an 'elitist class', as defined by 2-- as a group that "doesn't like to see new people come in, they like the status quo, they like their little clique" (Personal Interview 2, November 26, 2003) or as 1-- calls them, the 'jaded ravers' who "are like ahhh I can't believe you kids…wearing those candy

bracelets and those big pants" (Personal Interview 1, October 23, 2003) despite the fact

that when the 'old skool' kids began raving they wore similar accessories. 3--- a self-

proclaimed 'old skool' raver tells me that "it was just an amazing thing that has been

totally ruined…it's like kid zone in New Orleans" (Personal Interview 3, January 27,

2004). Ravers constantly contradict themselves, saying that on one hand 'everybody's

welcome" (Personal Interview 3) while blaming the 'kids' as responsible for destroying

their culture.

When the media defined 'rave' as something negative and new people who were

searching for the media image began to flood the rave scene, those who considered

themselves authentic were forced to be more selective and cliquish.   They tried to hang

on to their welcoming attitude but found it difficult to still accept the new generation of

ravers. I was told that "aside from the new ones, I wouldn't say there's anyone who's not

welcome" (Personal Interview 2, November 26, 2003). Another interview subject

seconded that motion by saying:

> It was about people coming together and everybody's welcome if you're talking
> about the real deal. Everybody's fucking welcome and its open to everybody and
> we want everybody to be a part of it (Personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004)

 It seemed as if she was trying to maintain a raver attitude that welcomed all types, yet

still felt the need to specify, the 'real deal' in order to protect her culture from being

tainted. It is possible that 'new kids' did join for the same reasons as the original ravers;

fun, instant gratification, community, a brotherhood or "the love" (Personal Interview 5,

February 18, 2004).   They may have been introduced by their friends, internet sites or

forums. However, based on the strong comments of the interviewees, ravers have created

a paradoxical culture, where they purport to welcome and accept all diverse groups, yet hypocritically reject all neophytes

While internal experiences clearly express the rift between 'old skool' ravers and new kids who are "just a bunch of kids getting fucked up on drugs" (Personal Interview 3, January 27, 2004), external sources see all ravers as a bunch of kids getting fucked up on drugs. Ravers are described as "dance fanatics who like earsplitting technopop and the 'love drug' Ecstasy" (M-2) or "pencil-thin girls and hyperactive boys" who take "the aspirin sized pill [that] provides the high of choice". (M-7). On a more positive note, there were a few examples of ravers quoted in the media as saying for example, that "it's not about getting f----ed up and wearing big pants—it's about the love"(R-11). Although positive details are mentioned, they are always negated by reminding readers that raves are "now inextricably linked with a smorgasbord of illegal designer drugs, including X, GHB and ketamine"(R-11). Any 'new kid' who may be considering 'getting into the scene' can read between the lines to visualize all the drugs that are readily available at a rave event.

When the media began to construct an image for the public, they also provided a certain type of advertisement for the rave scene. This advertisement focused on drugs and rebellion that opposed the dominant culture. Young people who were attracted to those ideas began to attend. Ravers originally saw their culture and their kin in a positive light. They repeated their commitment to 'peace, love, unity and respect', as well as an appreciation of individuality and creativity. Since rave culture began to form in the mid 1980's, "most of the true ravers have grown up, have careers, families etc."(Personal Interview 5, February 18, 2004). These people who maintained the original rave mindset

of open-arms hedonism have moved on and the new media-created ravers have taken their place. These new ravers have become the real ravers, while the 'jaded old skool ravers' have stopped attending or have moved on to careers and families. The influx of new people who were searching for the things advertised by the media, such as drugs and rebellion, as well as the loss of original ravers, qualitatively changed the rave scene. Drug activity changed from being an option for enhancement to the necessary purpose.

The Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act was created in order to control drug use. It was created and supported by external sources, who received their information from other external sources such as the media and the police. If the media has played a large role in creating raves and ravers, then the media definition progresses more towards truth with every article printed. Therefore, while drugs are admittedly ubiquitous, noted by the media, police as quoted in the media and ravers themselves, raves have been constructed as a steady source of drugs and drug related dangers. Since raves and ravers are constructed and communicated by the media, the media creation is becoming reality. Since raves now are a haven for drugs, rave subculture itself is the focus of a new government strategy to combat illegal drug use by children.

Subcultures and the law

Musical scenes are based on current location. The rave scene, although not as much as in the past, is nomadic in nature. Events are held one time in one location. In the case of many modern day raves, they are held at large licit venues with permits, such as arenas or theaters, but still only for one night. In the United States, the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act threatens the existence of rave culture, and possibly stunts the growth of other future subcultures. In England, a similar law prohibiting any party of more than

100 without government permits (Criminal Justice and Public Order Act) was passed in 1991 (Redhead 1991). In the United States and England, as well as other countries, as a way to avoid the long and difficult process of applying for and getting a permit for a one night event, many promoters throw rave events at clubs. This effectively dodges issues about illegal event locations by moving the location of a scene to different legal clubs.

Socially constructed political discourses within publicly mediated ideologies define activities as deviant and therefore as subject to regulation. Stanley (1995) claims that these new postmodern cultures occur within fragmented and transitory spaces. These spaces, often called wild zones, exist within the imploding empty centers of urban decay. These wild zones often take on mythic and demonic qualities, and are defined as having specific social problems. In the case of raving, raves occur for one night in a clandestine location and then disappear. Stanley talks about how transitory cultures are difficult to control by laws that are anti-nomadic. The very nature of a law is to control a specific illegal activity wherever it may occur, but when an activity or event, such as a rave, is moved from place to place it is difficult to control with such static laws. Currently, raves are often held in semi-legal locations like old movie theaters or privately owned warehouses, or legal locations like clubs or rented arenas.

Physical place as contested space is not only embedded in location but also in temporal space. As many rave participants are middle class and have some amount of discretionary income, they also live in another world outside of rave culture. Unlike bikers who often maintain their image within all facets of their lives (Willis 1978; Stratton 1985) ravers have other jobs that require covering up their rave personas. Goulding et. al. (2002) reminds the readers that "rave, for the majority, is a weekend

culture of hedonism, sensation and escape" (p. 263). If the dominant culture views the weekend as a time to replenish energy in order to maintain the structure of capitalism or improve personal life, rave activities, including drug use is an incorrect or waste of weekend time. Therefore, the weekend can be a morally contested space. Frith (1980) shows how the weekend is necessary for capitalism to function. If leisure is a 'free' activity that one takes part of during the time they are not working, then leisure is necessary for capitalism. Frith situates leisure within capitalism, for this is the time when labor is replenished, when workers relax and feel free.

Leisure is necessary for capitalism, by cycling capital, relieving stress, veiling social control, and developing unrealized potential. Harmful leisure activities are often those synonymous with the rave scene such as drugs, Dionysian abandon, sexual freedom and expression of individuality. In the United States prohibition for adults (anti-drug laws) or laws limiting personal and individual activities (anti-sodomy laws, no gay marriages, and internal possession charges) are common. Frith (1980) claims that moral entrepreneurs see leisure as a time for self-improvement, like exercise. As well as framing leisure time as productive, leisure time can be framed as negative. The United States government endorses dancing during leisure time, but not the taking of drugs. Drinking is allowed as a marginally positive release, but smoking marijuana is considered immoral. The regulation of leisure time as moral and immoral is often defined by state and federal policy (Redhead 1997). The case of the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act defines drug use during the weekend as a improper use of leisure time.

In the conceptualization of a subculture, it is important to realize who is responsible for defining it. Muggleton (2000) is interested in understanding why and how

a subculture is delineated by the members itself, but Stanley (1995) reminds his readers that the lived experience of the members does not matter to policy makers. Politicians legislate from their social locations that are most likely external the subculture they propose to control. They cull out descriptions taken as facts that are actually created by other external observers or theorists, and create laws to correct the social problem. Laws and legislation are created by external forces and can control or limit certain groups' internal cultural values and norms.

The construction of a subculture necessarily must be static and straightforward in order to understand, define and therefore control. Governing bodies such as the DEA or the police must be able to easily label a member of a subculture group in order to police their activities. Also, much of the construction of and what it means is based on dominant ideologies, often understood in opposition to the ideologies of the subculture. Therefore there is a disparity between the lived experience of subculture members (and the construction of that lived experience) and the construction of the subculture by dominant discourse.

Promoters and legislation

The Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act is meant to control spaces made available for illicit drug use. Like Stanley (1995) claims, laws are necessarily static since they take long to pass and are meant to stay in place for some time. However, rave cultures, like most subcultures, evolve and mutate quickly. Subcultures are not static and easily definable by those in government who receive their information third-hand from external sources. Therefore, a law needed to control an illusive activity must be written loosely. The Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act reads as follows; "To prohibit an individual from

knowingly opening, maintaining, managing, controlling, renting, leasing, making

available for use, or profiting from any place for the purpose of manufacturing,

distributing, or using any controlled substance, and for other purposes"

(Thomas.loc.gov). Those who rally against this Act question the legal strength and

flexibility of the term 'knowingly'. Since drug use is found at many different types of

events, and promoters, owners, renters, etcetera are legally responsible for the actions of

others, is the government prohibiting any entertainment that may attract illicit activity?

The Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act is nested within The PROTECT Act. This

Act includes many bills dedicated to issues such as child pornography, child kidnapping

and the use of minors in violent crimes. However, the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act

is the only section that pertains to drug use, especially drug use by any person, not only

children. The PROTECT Act was passed in order to protect innocent children from illicit

actions by child pornographers, kidnappers, and criminals as well as by entertainment and

event promoters. From the perspective of the new laws, a kidnapper may physically

kidnap a child in the same way an event promoter would force- feed Ecstasy to a

partygoer.

Rave promoters were often part of the rave scene and decided to throw their own

parties (Personal Interview 5, February 5, 2004). While there is not much focus on these

party planners until the trial of Peter Gaiten in New York (Owens 2003), the media is

ambivalent toward this group of people. Promoters are allowed to defend themselves;

claiming "to point a finger at rave events, as if they are all of a sudden responsible for

any type of rise in drug use, is a failure to be honest with ourselves as a society" (R-11)

and voice their outrage at cities canceling their events (R-10). They are described as

organizers who sell tickets through Ticketmaster (R-10), European travel agencies that organize raves in remote locations (R-13), and prominent figures on the nightclub scene (M-5). On the other hand one article went so far as to describe promoters as "ecstasy peddling party promoters" (M-5). My interview subjects said ravers see rave promoters as "such a smart guy" (Personal Interview 1, October 23, 2003) and like a god (Personal Interview 5, February 5, 2004). These are the people responsible for creating the environment that they love.

The United States Congress is asking is about the responsibilities of rave or any event promoter. Originally, Peter Gaiten of the Limelight nightclub was arrested because of drug use in his New York dance hall, although he did not profit from, sell or make drugs available. Donnie Estopinal, also known as Disco Donnie, of The New Orleans State Palace Theater was arrested and finally indicted under the 'crack house law' (Section 416(a) of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 856(a)) for allowing paraphernalia that included 'vapor rub products', glowing toys, pacifiers and dust masks, that supposedly enhance the effects of Ecstasy. In both of these cases, the men were considered guilty because they allowed drug use within their private clubs. However, both men have security that perform extensive searches upon entrance, hire off-duty police, do not allow patrons to leave and come back, and remove persons found with illegal substances. I personally have visited the Limelight as well as the State Palace Theater. Upon entering the State Palace Theater before a rave, I had to empty my pockets, my purse and my backpack, as well as take off my shoes and socks. I was checked with a metal detector wand and questioned if I had brought drugs with me. Any questionable partygoer was refused service. Promoters do what they can within the

confines of the law to reduce illegal activity, but then are they 'knowingly' providing a space for drug use?

The rave can be seen as a location specifically set up for drug use when there are obvious measures specifically designed for drug users. However, harm reduction is necessary when a promoter is aware that drug use is occurring. When promoters provide 'chill rooms', purposely kept 15 degrees cooler than the rest of the building, it is possible that they 'knowingly' are providing a space for drug use. The media and Congress see these measures as specific proof that the promoter is planning an environment conducive to drug use or dealing drugs. However, as 1-- pointed out, he thought it was intended for "anyone [who] wanted to relax, it was cooler there than other areas" (Personal Interview 1, October 23, 2004). Disco Donnie was accused of providing harm reduction measures specific to his genre, however, according to The International Association of Assembly Managers (IAAM), harm reduction was a legal responsibility for any event promoter. Disco Donnie belonged to this non-profit association along with sports arena owners, theater owners and field managers across the nation. Through rules set forth by the IAAM, harm reduction measures are required at any event. In the special case of the State Palace Theater, these harm reduction measures included water bottles, 'chill rooms', drug safety pamphlets and the sale of pacifiers, exactly the paraphernalia that caused the indictment of the owners and promoters. While the promoters could not completely deter drug use at their events, they could attempt to deter any injury or damage to their patrons. Also the IAAM requires an emergency vehicle to be on-site at any necessary event. The IAAM showed that while they also support strict drug laws, they require certain harm reduction measures and the defendants were in complete

accordance with those rules. Internal participants are aware that chill rooms and water bottles must be available for both the over heated dancers and the drug users they are aware will attend, regardless of security.

Harm reduction, although it may indicate drug use, is far more important as a method of protecting patrons from injury and death. Jacob Sullum (2003), in an article also reminds readers that harm reduction is necessary, because the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act will push raves further underground and away from the eyes of law enforcement where emergency measures and other amenities like running water are not as readily available (M-16). Conversely, a letter to the editor claims that harm reduction only "promotes policies that lead to increased usage rates and a false sense of security for Ecstasy users" (E-28) and that harm reduction policies "concedes that drug abuse prevention is impossible"(E-28). In my personal experience, the ravers I have known are well aware of the dangers of Ecstasy and will continue to use the drug. While none of my respondents commented on this, most of my raver friends believe that if done sparingly and responsibly, the risk is calculable, especially when certain thing are available, such as a place to relax and plenty of water. Only one announced that he did not do drugs, two told me they had done Ecstasy and the other two were ambiguous.

The promoters themselves necessarily must provide harm reduction measures, but are then accused of 'knowingly' providing a space for drug use. 4--, an underground party promoter in New York told me that the real goal is to be "…conscientious of our audience, what their needs are so we didn't hurt anybody…that's all we wanted, to have a good time and not hurt anybody" (Personal Interview 4, February 5, 2004). For him 'not hurting anybody' includes providing running water, clean bathrooms, following capacity

limits and having an age requirement. He believes that like any event, a promoter should be responsible, but can not possibly control every action taken by individuals. His opinion is that "You're responsible for providing them with a safe environment, but inside their body is their environment and what they put in theirs is not his [Disco Donnie's] responsibility" (Personal Interview 4, February 5, 2004). J also agrees with him, saying that "I think we need to face it, it has to be legal, it has to be capable of holding a large number of people, it has to have running water" (Personal Interview 2, November 26, 2003). All of the ravers themselves were nostalgic about the old days of warehouse raves, but now are aware of the necessary safety requirements. Like any event, arena, or club certain standards should be met to provide a safe environment; however, one person can not possibly control an entire crowd of individuals.

All the claims-makers had different speculations about the future effects of the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act. Drug policy reform advocates like Jacob Sullum believe that laws that limit harm reduction measures taken by promoters will drive raves and other subcultures further underground. 4--- said that one of his main goals when planning an event is to "keep it underground, and that was our goal, so there were no ambulances showing up, there were no police showing up. Not so we could sell drugs, but so we could keep throwing these events…" (Personal Interview 4, February 5, 2004) When the media advertises raves as a place to buy and sell drugs, people with those intentions do attract the attention of authorities. His opinion is that rave culture could not survive unless it became an underground movement again. Other ravers thought that while parts of rave had been destroyed by the media, the true ravers may start another underground movement but that "underground parties are a lot more dangerous, you

know cause you might not have running water…someone might overdose or something"

(Personal Interview 1, October 23, 2003). However, in a completely converse statement,

2--, a 'new kid' claimed that in the future "it's gonna be safer" (Personal Interview 2,

November 26, 2003).   Some of the ravers I interviewed saw the rave scene as irreparably

destroyed or saw it as mutated into a new culture. However, two of the ravers claimed

that rave culture was still vibrantly alive. All the ravers compared themselves to other

subcultures, such as the hippie movement and admitted that their culture would most

likely evolve in a similar manner.

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to gain insight into the social construction of rave culture in order to understand the origins and information used to pass the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act. This study examined several themes that delineate how rave culture is described by various claims-makers and how these issues have been constructed over time. The claims-makers are broken into two general groups, external and internal, and their claims are compared and contrasted. The external voices were the writers and producers of media articles and to some extent, academics who study youth culture. The internal voices were self-identified ravers. It is also noted that while some individuals may cross these binary definitions, for the purposes of the study the ravers are considered internal and everyone else is considered external. The information, opinions and statements they provided were both similar and dissimilar in reference to the themes.

The first section was a quantitative review of media representation of the social problems of Ecstasy use and rave culture. Results showed that it takes time to develop social problems and the issues can change over time. The increasing frequency of Ecstasy articles showed that the problem was considered more serious as time progressed. The focus does not change from 1980, until 2003, the problem of Ecstasy is the focus of the most media articles. However, the articles about Ecstasy do increase disproportionately to the other types. This section of the study also shows that rave culture is often associated and reduced to drug use, especially Ecstasy use.

The first theme examined was of drug use and drug distribution. There were similarities and differences between the external and internal accounts. The topic of drugs was present in both data sets. Interviewees and media articles claimed that Ecstasy and other drugs were available and used at raves. The media described all drugs as negative and dangerous. However, the ravers saw differences between types of drugs and doses taken. They saw drugs besides Ecstasy as negative and the people that took them as irresponsible. The media presented a clear picture of drug sellers and drug transportation as occurring mostly outside of the rave scene, but drug buyers were most often ravers, young people, or students. The ravers did not mention selling or buying any drugs, but several did admit to taking Ecstasy. Both sets of claims-makers agree that Ecstasy was used inside and outside of the rave scene. A comparison of the content concerning this theme shows that indeed Ecstasy can be a problem, can be used by ravers and is gaining popularity among many groups of people. However, the ravers see drug use within the rave scene as far less of a problem than did the media.

Theory show the poignant role media plays in the construction of subcultures. Subcultural values and norms are dialectically affected by and affect the information presented in the media. The ravers interviewed tended to agree that the media had created a new breed of ravers and a new style of rave. Because the media tends to focus on drug availability at raves and locates rave culture as a rebellion, people searching for drugs and rebellion entered the culture. Ravers mostly described the original ravers in a positive light, calling them intelligent and creative. The ravers see a polarized difference between original members and neophytes. New people joining rave culture are described as qualitatively different by the ravers. However, the media does not describe different

types of ravers. The media presentation of all raves and ravers as drug saturated and dangerous differs from the ravers' differentiation of good and bad rave participants.

The final theme concerns legislation of subcultures. Also included in this section is an examination of the social construction of event promoters, since they are the focus of the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act. An examination of how legislation is presented by the media is contrasted to the thoughts of the ravers. Opinions on harm-reduction measures are compared. The ravers agreed on the necessity of these measures and the media arguing both sides. Finally, the future if rave culture is discussed. The speculations of the media and the every interview subject differed.

This study has shown the power of certain claim makers to determine the view of particular groups of people. As others have found it is a process that takes time. It has taken 18 years from the introduction of rave culture in the media to the passing of the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act. Accounts between internal and external sources can be similar or dissimilar, and rave is constructed differently by different types of people. The specific portrayal by external sources in the media and the silencing of the voices of internal participants led to an association of rave culture and criminal activity. This construction led to a criminalization of rave culture and the experience of rave.

This paper has shown through theory that rave culture challenges dominant norms and values. Art forms are valued with subcultural hierarchies, not comparable to dominant scales. By praising the underground and shunning mainstream popularity, musicians in the rave scene reject normative capitalistic success models. Rave styles, such as gender neutral clothing, and expressive dancing challenge sexual and gender role norms. Activities such as drug use and loss of control go against dominant American

values towards moderation and self control. Since rave events often take place in wild zones and are transitory, the use of space is contested by dominant institutions such as the police and community governments.   Also, the gathering of a large amount of people with no political or social statement is a challenge to laws that grant the right to public assembly for protest. These values make sense to an internal rave participant. The subjects claimed that going to raves was about letting loose, enjoying the here and now, feeling a community and expressing themselves. The ravers did not see these actions as specifically opposing mainstream norms, but rather forgetting about them for a little while so they could enjoy themselves. External observers see these actions as direct rebellion. Therefore values that are different are now seen as criminal, since they challenge mainstream goals and norms in ways that threaten the dominant goals and norms.

Through the recognition of differences and similarities between external and internal constructions of rave, several hypotheses have emerged that require further consideration.   This paper found differences in the social construction of rave and analyzed those differences. However, this is study is a first attempt at this new method of comparison. It is exploratory and developed several new research questions. Specifically, a theme to be examined is how each challenge to dominant norms is understood by the media and the ravers. The concept of rebellion needs to be examined in a second coding of data. It is necessary to further examine if internal participants see those norms as culturally valid within the subculture or as rebellion against the norms of the dominant culture. Do external observers see the purpose of those norms to rebel and reject normative social systems? If indeed subcultures exist for the purpose of rebellion,

what is the statement, and can rave exist without a statement, as some of the ravers claimed?

This paper found that the media has had an important function in the creation of a second generation of ravers. Not only have ravers evolved and were brought in by traditional means, i.e., friends, web sites, internet forums and underground advertisements, but also by mainstream media advertisement. This media attention created and attracted a new set of people to the rave scene that previously were not involved. The initial selection of interview subjects did not realize this differentiation. An emergent theme was the cleavage between new and old ravers. Future studies would include interviews with several 'new kids' with the intent to understand how and why they became involved. This would round out the argument that media played an important role in the construction of ravers themselves.

This study attempted to interview subjects from varied locations, but all were centered in the United States. All of the media articles were derived from American sources. Therefore this study is an examination of the North American rave scene, and is especially focused in the Southeastern corner.   The theme of concurrent globalization and localization should be further investigated. Global diffusion affects the qualities of a culture and can be directly linked with its construction and legislative control. Theories of place would be an interesting analytical lens to analyze the rave scene because the spatial site of a rave is constructed as deviant and criminal. It would be interesting to note how different places are seen as moral or immoral. Several interview questions focused on meaning of place; however analysis of these questions was not included in this study.

Further research should also involve a more detailed examination of laws and proposed laws that focus on subcultures and cultural expression. An historical analysis of political attention to the hippie movement would be especially helpful in understanding current legislation. This investigation would match with thorough research and coding of data concerning the progression of subcultural movements and the evolution from hippie to rave. More research on drug laws and Congressional records would be helpful in understanding how the external voice of Congress constructs rave culture. Finally, quantitative information and theories on drug use and overdoses could round out an understanding of drug use as a social problem.

The most interesting anomaly in this study was the opinions of the 'new kid'. Since the theme of generations of ravers emerged in this study, the interview subjects were more weighted towards 'old skool' ravers. All of the more experienced ravers agreed that the newer generation of ravers were drug using and irresponsible. However, the 'new kid' was the only person who told me that he did not do drugs. From my experience it is not true that all new ravers do or do not do drugs. However, it should be noted that in this study the only 'new kid' reported he did not take Ecstasy. Also, he was the only participant that claimed he was more interested in the rave scene as purely a music scene and separated himself from the ravers and their views of life and society.

While much of the data in this study is cohesive, a number of accounts provided different perspectives, based on the multitude of voices. Most of the anomalies in the media were mostly attributed to different types of writers; journalists, authors of letters to the editor or guest experts, such as Jacob Sullum. The media types differed in levels of

negativity. USA Today portrayed rave culture very negatively using language such as 'zoned-out ravers', while the New York Times tended to be more sympathetic.

In the interviews, I found several anomalies as well, although none of them seriously affected the major themes of the study. My interview subjects disagreed about the high point of rave culture, with dates ranging from the mid 1990s to the year 2001. Also, there were differences of opinion on whether the rave scene is more of a culture or more of a music scene. Although I agree with some of the other interview subjects, who see rave as a subculture, some of the interviewees reject that idea and claim instead that culture should have some sort of lasting effect and have a statement about society, which rave culture did not. One subject rejected the idea that rave had any type of real culture and situated it as only a music scene. However, in this case, the actual definition of culture may be the point of contention, as every raver did admit to feeling that they were part of a community that has some specific characteristics.

Another anomaly concerns the current state of the rave scene. The media, as evidenced by the increasing number of articles, clearly believes that the rave scene is still large and worthy of media attention. Also, the members of Congress who proposed and passed a law to control rave activity clearly believe rave is a current social problem. Several of my interview subjects noted that rave culture was now worthless after the media had contorted its meaning. Two ravers claimed that rave events were still wonderful, true ravers can still be found and that rave culture was a current, active and important part of their lives. Although raves are still thrown by promoters and people still attend, I have the personal opinion that rave culture is so qualitatively different from the past that it has completely mutated into a new form. However, this difference in

opinion certainly can be affected by several factors and seems likely to be influenced by past and current types and levels of participation.

In my personal experience and opinion, rave culture has changed to the point that it is unrecognizable. Therefore, I believe that rave culture as it was when I was involved is now gone. However, youth subcultures as we know them only begun to flourish in the 20th century. I believe a new movement will grow out of the ashes of the rave culture and may adopt some of its positive ideals. Like other subcultures that came before it surely will be eventually distorted by the media and maybe even threatened by government control. Some of those who once called themselves hippies have grown to adults who are aware of environmental and community issues. Perhaps some of the peace loving, pleasure seeking mantras of the rave movement will produce a generation of more compassionate adults.

Subcultures, by definition, exist inside of the dominant culture. Those who live within the subculture also live within the dominant culture. It is most likely impossible for a subculture to completely cede from the dominant culture. Unfortunately, the dominant or mainstream culture is responsible for laws and regulations that govern subcultural values. As we have seen, subcultural values are not only governed by but mutated and distorted by mainstream values. Therefore, the only way a subculture can avoid being legislated by dominant values is to stay away from the public eye. In the past, this has only happened for a short time until the media exposes its secrets and its dangers and/or benefits, and its values and styles are commodified. Once this happens, a new set of people are introduced and the culture is permanently changed. The issue is that once the mainstream media begins to define a subculture, the subculture begins to be

mainstream. The subculture changes in reaction to coverage, or looses momentum as members join for stylistic purposes. Government controls are set up to control issues they have created. Therefore, laws like the Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act attack issues that are extant since they have been partially brought into existence by outside observers.

When American society begins to develop laws that give people more freedom with their personal bodies or repeal more restrictive measures, laws like this Act will be obsolete. This law will be not reformed until other laws that limit personal freedom are reformed, abortion issues are reconsidered and gay rights are extended. American policies such as these threaten to control personal bodies and space. As long as the United States limits the rights of its citizens, those with norms and values different from the mainstream will continue to be persecuted.

Endnotes

I After searching the Lexis-Nexis database I realized that *Time Magazine* only provides articles from the previous two years. This accounted for the fact that originally I had only seen two articles. After a search on the *Time Magazine* web page I found out that indeed the magazine had published many more articles concerning my subject matter over the past 23 years. These articles were not available from the Lexis-Nexis database and only could be ordered for a charge from the *Time Magazine* web page. I therefore decided to remove *Time Magazine* and do a content analysis from the remaining four sources.

II References to articles used in content analysis are listed in format (Type of Article -Ordered number of article). For example the third article selected from the population of articles about raves would be (R-3). Articles used in content analysis are listed in Appendix 1.

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