

THE MORAL PANIC ABOUT RAVES:
NEWSPAPER TRANSMISSION AND LEGISLATION

by

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ABSTRACT

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The mass media identify raves as the exclusive setting for consuming ecstasy. Ecstasy is a variety of compounds mimicking the effects of MDMA. Since ecstasy is an illegal drug often consumed at raves, moral entrepreneurs have defined raves as a threat to children and public safety. Moral entrepreneurs have mobilized to prohibit raves using legislation.

I hypothesize that claims-makers have constructed in textual mass media the moral panic about raves, which resulted in legislation that was approved by moral entrepreneurs to control raves. I employed two separate studies using quantitative and qualitative methodologies to test the moral panic theory.

In the first study, the proliferation of exaggerated claims about ecstasy and raves were measured using a sample of international newspaper articles ($n=128$). The second study provided a forum for a self-selected sample of interviewees at the administrative level of raves to respond to legislation unanimously approved by their local city council.

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CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION

I first heard of the “adult curfew” during the fall of 2000, and began to research what was an ordinance drafted by police for the city council of Charlotte, North Carolina. The ordinance declared that raves expose children to drugs, sex, and violence. In 2001, the ordinance was approved restricting “dance hall businesses” and “raves” from staying open beyond those hours designated for serving and consuming alcohol.

Those at the administrative level of raves were consenting adults over the age of twenty-one, and the ordinance in their minds was an adult curfew. Those at the administrative level of raves included club owners, managers, security guards, production crews, sound companies, and disc jockeys. Disc jockeys are people who received money in exchange for playing records in a nightclub. They produced an evening of electronic dance music when a bar or club stopped selling alcohol, and was transformed into a late night “rave party.” All of these people were involved with the cottage industry of raves. Since their source of entertainment and livelihood was infringed upon by the ordinance, I wanted to know what made raves targeted by the police and politicians, so newspapers from around the world including European along with North and South America sources were used as my data.

Quantitative and qualitative methodologies were utilized to determine if a moral panic exists about raves. I measured the amount that European along with North and South American newspaper sources reported on raves from a sample generated using the LEXIS-NEXIS Academic Universe database (<http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe>).

I further calculated the sum of keywords appearing in a sample of articles found in world newspapers. The keywords for the analysis of world newspapers I selected based on Charlotte Ordinance 1762 (see Appendix A). In a second study, I designed a questionnaire to semi-structure interviews with those exclusively at the administrative level of raves (Appendix C). The interviews with a self-selected sample of respondents took place during the last week of December 2000, and the first week of January 2001, in Charlotte, North Carolina.

CHAPTER II:

OVERVIEW OF MDMA, ECSTASY, AND RAVES

This chapter presents core information about raves as well as MDMA and ecstasy. Since this is a new topic of study, the peer reviewed academic journals containing articles on raves were limited to French and German publications. The available published books about raves I reviewed (Connolly 2001; Push and Silcott 2000; Redhead 1993; Melechi 1993; Rietveld 1993). Texts on the subject of MDMA and ecstasy were also examined (Jenkins 1999; Goode 1999; Alvergue 1998; Cohen 1998; Saunders and Doblin 1996; Adamson ed. 1985; Eisner 1994; Beck and Rosenbaum 1994). The facts repeatedly identified about MDMA, ecstasy, and raves I summarized.

Section A: MDMA

Origin and History

MDMA is the acronym for 3,4-methylenedioxymethamphetamine. MDMA was first synthesized for psychotherapeutic usage in 1912 at the E. Merck Pharmaceutical Company in Darmstadt, Germany, and MDMA was officially patented in 1914. In 1939, researchers tested MDMA to be used as a possible diet pill with appetite suppressant properties; whether or not MDMA was originally synthesized for these purposes is beyond the scope of this research. Nonetheless, The White House Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) and Drug Policy Information Clearinghouse stated that MDMA was created for appetite suppressant purposes.

MDMA remained almost an unknown substance until 1976 when psychotherapists like Alexander T. Shulgin, who rediscovered MDMA in 1965, experimented with MDMA in marriage counseling sessions with patients. Therapists who used MDMA in counseling concluded that the substance was helpful in enhancing empathy and communication. In the early 80s, the therapeutic use of MDMA began to expand.

The Law and MDMA

On February 1, 1985, a series of hearings conducted by the Drug Enforcement Agency began to discuss the scheduling of MDMA. Psychiatrists testified during the 1985 DEA hearings that MDMA enhances communication, increases empathy, and reduces fear. Users of MDMA universally reported that the substance facilitates a sense of social and emotional closeness with others. MDMA has been described as “ego-strengthening” (Eisner 1994:3). Sophia Adamson documented in *Through the Gateway of the Heart*, the life-enhancing individual and group experiences during MDMA sessions (Adamson ed. 1985).

The DEA’s decision to prohibit MDMA was based on data from a study that revealed brain damage in rats and monkeys injected with lethal doses of MDA, 3,4-methylenedioxymphetamine, a chemical compound similar in structure to MDMA. On July 1, 1985, the DEA temporarily placed MDMA as a Schedule I controlled substance. Schedule I includes those substances that have no approved medical use and a high degree of abuse with the exception of alcohol, nicotine, and caffeine.

Because medical use of MDMA was occurring as a therapeutic facilitator, the Administrative Law Judge for the DEA, Francis Young, did not agree that MDMA be placed under the Controlled Substances Act, part of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970. Francis Young appealed to the DEA that MDMA be placed in Schedule III on May 22, 1986. Nonetheless, MDMA went from a temporary to a permanent placement in Schedule I on November 13, 1986. On March 23, 1988, the DEA reaffirmed MDMA into Schedule I as Controlled Substances Code Number 7405.

Despite confirmed psychotherapeutic studies showing that MDMA creates a feeling of empathy, the DEA prohibited the substance based on data not scientifically validated. MDMA is not a drug of abuse, or one of addiction since the effects after the first few times of ingestion cannot be duplicated, yet some people still ingest MDMA ritualistically despite their tolerance to the substance.

Users

In an ethnographic study, Beck and Rosenbaum categorized the social worlds or scenes of MDMA users as college students, professional yuppies, New Age spiritualists, and music enthusiasts (1994:31). MDMA was once sold openly in bars and nightclubs in the early 1980s. Young adult professionals would often consume MDMA as part of the Dallas nightclub scene. In May of 1984, the Starck opened up as Texas' MDMA club located in Dallas.

Section B: Ecstasy

Adam, Clarity, XTC, X, E, M, Zen, and Ecstasy are some of the many street or black market names for MDMA. MDMA was nicknamed Adam during the early 70s therapeutic usages, and when in the early 80s the clientele changed to recreational users, so did the substance's nickname to ecstasy. Ecstasy is typically distributed as a pressed tablet, in capsule form, or as loose powder.

When MDMA became illegal, adulterated versions of the substance began to be sold as ecstasy. MDMA represents a distinct chemical structure and is not a bathtub concoction; however, the street drug version of MDMA, ecstasy, is susceptible to adulteration. Ecstasy is a combination of illicit clandestine substances illegally manufactured in basement style labs by amateur chemists (<http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/concern/mdma.htm>).

Like other illegal black market drugs, ecstasy is cut with additional substances so dealers can maximize profits, thus posing a risk for both dealer and buyer. Ecstasy often contains a small amount of MDMA mixed with many unsafe fillers. The consumption of an illicit black market drug is risky since the substance's purity is unknown. Many ecstasy users believe they are ingesting real MDMA when they may unknowingly be taking counterfeit pills containing life-threatening chemical additives like PMMA, paramethoxymethamphetamine (Leinward 2000:34; Campbell 2000).

On May 14, 2000, Sara Aeschlimann died from what she thought was the “the rave drug ecstasy,” but the overdose was the result of her ingesting an adulterated pill containing actually PMA, paramethoxyamphetamine (*Chicago Sun Times* May 22, 2000;

Chicago Sun-Times June 30, 2000; <http://health.org/nongovpubs/pma-dea/>).

Aeschlimann, the media reported, may have been the first victim of PMA in the United States. Investigating the Aeschlimann overdose, police Sergeant Ray McGury said “kids think they’re taking ecstasy when they may not be” (*Chicago Sun Times* May 22, 2000). The deadly PMA was a substitute for ecstasy.

Illegality, as Stone said, creates a problem for quality control (1996:16). Ecstasy is not subjected to the same standard of quality control imposed by the Food and Drug Administration. Most of the ecstasy sold at raves is merely an impure and unpredictable substitute for MDMA. The unpredictable side effects are attributable to the mixture of other substances sold as ecstasy. Users may be allergic to some of these substances. Without any scientific evidence, Alvergue assertively assures: “Ecstasy can wreak havoc on your health, social life, mental ability, and sense of well-being” (1998:48).

Ecstasy in the UK

The use of ecstasy has increased exponentially despite Britain’s ban on MDMA in 1971. In 1990, the London Metropolitan Police seized 5,500 kilograms of ecstasy, and three deaths were linked to ecstasy. Five deaths were linked to ecstasy in 1991, and the police seized 66,000 kilograms of the popular substance. Although ecstasy is particularly associated with the dance club culture, ecstasy use occurs in a vast array of settings, and is not limited to those who are part of the “rave culture” (<http://www.nida.nih.gov/Infobox.ecstasy.html>). Furthermore, many of those attending raves do not take ecstasy or any other drugs, and many ravers oppose going just for the drugs as Weber reported (1999:327).

Section C: Raves

Techno and Acid House

Beck and Rosenbaum argued that the Family Dog's Acid Test on October 16, 1965 was the first rave (1994:52). Reynolds documented that Pink Floyd performed at the first rave (1998:77). Both of these psychedelic events were fueled with consciousness raising LSD, music for dancing until dawn, and lights for visually enhancing hallucinogenic drugs. The more recent history of raves as a European phenomenon begins with the music from Germany's innovative group Kraftwerk in 1975. The electronic sound being produced by Kraftwerk merged with urban garage funk bands and gave birth to a new musical synthesis.

In 1981, black youth from Detroit began experimenting with drum machine rhythms and synthesizers. By 1982, a new music known as Detroit Techno was invented by Juan Atkins, Derrick May, and Kevin Saunders. Straight black crowds in Detroit clubs began dancing to funk inspired electronic music. In Chicago, a similar phenomenon was emerging in a nightclub named the Warehouse. The style of music coming from the Warehouse was named Acid House after a process of selecting a portion of music on a record to be replayed, called "acid burning."

The Warehouse was known for having a gay black crowd that listened and danced to a disc jockey mixing tracks. Tracks were popular European disco songs, including those by Munich's electronic music pioneer Giorgio Moroder, mixed on two turntables with the addition of a 4:4 kick drumbeat rhythm. New tracks were pioneered by bored DJs using the Roland TB-303 monophonic analog synthesizer. By 1987, the foundation

for Chicago Acid House became low-pitched bass lines produced by the 303. There is reportedly a pleasurable synergy between the “four-on-the-floor steady beat” of Acid House music and MDMA (*Los Angeles Times* March 7, 1992). This may be why Stone stated autobiographically that house music “goes straight to the visceral heart of the musical body” (1996:11).

Adding to the rave soundtrack was a new style of music invented by Larry Levan at New York’s Paradise Garage. This club was a truck parking lot transformed by music, dance, and drugs into a cathedral, and participants of this youth culture describe being taken on a spiritually transforming experience (Hutson 2000; Weber 1999:326). When the Paradise Garage shut down in 1987, the musical sound named after the club, Garage, fully emerged. By 1988, two record labels, Nu Groove and Strictly Rhythm, began releasing Garage.

The First Rave Scene

Across the Atlantic on the Mediterranean island of Ibiza, is where many British and European jetsetters took ecstasy in the mid eighties. The Spanish island of Ibiza may have been raves’ birthplace. In 1987, a British reveler, Paul Oakenfold, transplanted the Ibizan style of partying into an illegal after-hours venue: South London’s Project Club. Paul Oakenfold joined friend Ian St. Paul to start another Ibiza style party night, Future at the Sanctuary. Oakenfold expanded into central London’s gay club Heaven in 1988 with an event called Land of Oz. The British soon found raves as an integral part of their

cultural landscape. Many British clubbers still look up to the black youth from Detroit, Chicago, and New York as musical pioneers who developed the sound of Techno, House, and Garage.

Raves in the UK

As the music expanded into new terrain, so did rave parties. As early as 1989, ten thousand British youth at a time would attend raves in warehouses. Warehouses were large enough, unlike small traditional nightclubs, for the expanding rave crowd (Jenkins 1999:162). In Britain, warehouse parties were thrown to circumvent strict licensing laws that did not permit after-hour clubs from operating.

Driven by quick profits, underworld football gangs threw illegal warehouse parties and supplied the crowds with ecstasy, thus making raves synonymous with the drug. These illegal raves were unlicensed and unsafe (Weber 1999:321). Sensational tabloids used several accidental deaths from dehydration as scare tactics to condemn ecstasy and raves. For example, Claire Leighton died when she was sixteen years old after collapsing at Tony Wilson's Hacienda, a club in Manchester, on July 14, 1989. She had an allergic reaction to a substance mixed as ecstasy, and she was the first reported ecstasy casualty in Britain. Much of the ecstasy became impure through adulteration as gangsters sought profits in the illegal drug trade.

Traditionally, when clubs had to close down, raves emerged in dangerous and uncontrolled settings such as warehouses, open fields, and airport hangers. These dance parties in Britain would sometimes have twenty-five thousand people together until the next morning. In 1990, new licenses were granted for clubs in Britain to stay open all

night (Crichter 2000:151). Such legislation was a form of regulation; thus preventing raves from being thrown in unsafe underground warehouses and other illegal venues. This approach is the opposite of how American legislation works to shut down raves entirely; thus forcing them into unsafe and unregulated locations.

The British youth took ecstasy to enhance their listening and dancing experience at raves. By 1991, the British underground disc jockey scene had transformed Detroit Techno, music not invented for a drug-oriented audience, into music designed for dancing in a club all night while on ecstasy. Since the average British clubber was geared for music more suitable for ecstasy, new tracks had to be released for an expanding audience. Many British tracks began to be released on anonymous white labels and on Sheffield's Warp label that experimented with heavy pressure bass sounds. In the late 90s, super clubs emerged like James Palumbo's Ministry of Sound in London, Liverpool's Cream, and Renaissance in the Midlands with multinational sponsors such as Sony and Pepsi exemplifying the commercialization of raves.

Raves in America

Raves quickly spread from Britain to the United States. In San Francisco, the Hardkiss Brothers played at Mark Heley's Toon Town and Full Moon parties. Los Angeles ravers appeared at Steve Levy's Moonshine parties. Competition for the most extravagant venues emerged between promoters such as Les Borsai and Daven "the Mad Hatter" Michaels. Florida's Kimball Collins and Dave Canalte mixed as early as 1988 in Orlando's Beecham Theatre at Oz. Many ravers now reminisce of the days back at the Firestone Club in Orlando, Brassy's in Coco Beach, and the Park Elevator in Charlotte.

Ecstasy Hits Mainstream

The National Institute on Drug Abuse reported that 3.6 percent of twelfth graders had used ecstasy in 1998 (<http://www.nida.nih.gov/>). Another study reported that in 1999, eight percent of twelfth graders had tried ecstasy (“Monitoring the Future Survey.” *University of Michigan Institute for Social Research*, December 17, 1999. Table 1A). In 2000, ten percent of teens reported having tried ecstasy (“Partnership Attitude Tracking Survey,” Spring 2000, *Partnership for a Drug-Free America*, p. 23). The NIDA reported that 8.2 percent of twelfth graders admitted to trying ecstasy in 2000.

The DEA estimated that in 1975, one thousand doses of MDMA were consumed nationwide, and by 1985, thirty thousand were estimated for just one city. Twelve million ecstasy pills in 1999 were seized in the United States. In July 2000, two million tablets of ecstasy were seized just in Los Angeles. (<http://www.nida.nih.gov/Infobox/ecstasy.html>). This increase reflects dealers selling copycat ecstasy on the black market for fast profit with some ecstasy sold on the street containing dangerous chemicals.

Harm Reduction

These are two examples of approaches for reducing the harm associated with ecstasy and raves (Push and Silcott 2000:142-161). In Scotland, Crew 2000 volunteers disseminate at raves drug awareness information leaflets, condoms, and advice (Mullan, Sherval, and Skelton 2000:17). The leaflets, comprised of cartoons and text, were found to be informative. Both cartoons and text educate recreational users about the risk of drugs (Mullan et al. 2000). Crew 2000 also distributed a questionnaire as part of an evaluation project to determine the effectiveness of their services.

In September 1996, at a rave outside of Edinburgh with an attendance reaching 13,000, Crew 2000 volunteers distributed a questionnaire from the information advice stall. Two hundred ninety three questionnaires were anonymously completed. Of the total sample, only 4% of respondents reported the use of alcohol at dance events. Almost half of the respondents found the Crew 2000 service helpful, and 83% felt drug information should be available at dance/club events.

The American harm reduction approach is DanceSafe. DanceSafe sets up booths that distribute drug education literature, earplugs, condoms, and drug-testing kits that detect lethal contaminants in ecstasy. Emanuel Sferios, who founded the nonprofit organization, admits that many teenagers experiment with drugs. DanceSafe protects ecstasy users by identifying fake and adulterated pills. A third of the pills sold on the street were fake and poisonous based on a set of DanceSafe lab results. DanceSafe volunteers provide lifesaving information at raves such as how to avoid overheating and dehydration. According to the DEA, the harm reduction strategies of DanceSafe encourage drug use, and the presence of this organization is evidence that some consume ecstasy at raves (<http://www.dancesafe.org>).

Legislation

Several American cities began to experience rave and ecstasy related fatalities when a few young people accidentally died from dehydration, heatstroke, or the intake of too much fluid. Consequently, Orlando's Rave Review Task Force was formed in 1997 as part of a rave crackdown.

The Chicago City Council and the Illinois General Assembly approved a bill in 2001 penalizing those at the administrative level of “wild rave parties that lure youngsters into environments loaded with dangerous club drugs...and sometimes predatory sexual behavior” with civil penalties such as six months in jail. (“City, State, Target Instigators of Raves with Stiff Penalties.” *Chicago Tribune* May 3, 2001). Furthermore, Illinois’ Governor George H. Ryan signed a new law in 2001 increasing the penalty for possessing 15 ecstasy doses to 15 years in prison, and 30 years for intent to sell.

According to police in New Orleans, popular rave fashion accessories like glow sticks, pacifiers, and dust masks are drug paraphernalia (Brown 2001). These accessories are part of the fashion trend associated with the rave subculture. Rave subculture fashion accessories are “sources of value,” communication, and resistance for youth (Hebdige 1979). These accessories represent a “symbolic violation of the social order” (Hebdige 1979:18). When the Drug Enforcement Administration and the New Orleans Police Department found that some of the patrons in the State Palace Theater possessed drug paraphernalia such as pacifiers, the nightclub’s owners were arrested and charged with operating a business for the use of illegal drugs in 2001. State Palace Theater owners Robert Brunet, Brian Burnet, and James Estopinal face up to twenty years in prison for violating a 1986 crack-house statute (Werde 2001; Brown 2001).

The possession and display of pacifiers is like any ritualized behavior of a subculture. Pacifiers are commodities with a specified purpose outside of raves, yet the meaning of this commodity has been “purposefully distorted or overthrown” (Hebdige 1979:95). The style of a subculture mutates existing cultural codes using resources from

the dominant culture. As Fiske stated, “the only resources from which the subordinate can make their own subcultures are those provided by the system that subordinates them” (1998:15). All commodities can be used to construct new meanings. For example, the typical raver Connolly (2001) described as one who wears wide-legged loose jeans and emulates accessories considered drug paraphernalia like suckers, pacifiers, and dolls.

Further evidence that drug consumption is occurring includes having a supply of free water, onsite ambulances, medical personnel, and a “chill out room” where extra air conditioning is supplied for overheated ravers. For instance, onsite ambulances were used as evidence for the closure of New York City’s dance club TWILO. The club owner is liable when he calls a police officer to arrest a patron for selling drugs on the premises. Making those at the administrative level accountable have forced raves to take place in illegal and unsafe venues. These venues are unsafe because they are not required to provide free water, adhere to fire codes, hire security, and offer medical assistance if necessary. Social control efforts arguably exacerbate the rave problem.

In July of 2001, a group of politicians I identify as moral entrepreneurs since they are in the business of making things against the law introduced a bill in the Senate and House of Representatives. This legislation combats the trafficking, distribution, and abuse of club drugs like ecstasy, GHB, and ketamine in the United States of America. Senator Bob Graham of Florida who increased federal penalties for ecstasy production and distribution with the “Ecstasy Anti-Proliferation Act of 2000” drafted the bill, titled the “Ecstasy Prevention Act of 2001.” The “Ecstasy Prevention Act of 2001” is supported by the following political representatives: Richard Durbin of Illinois, Mary Landrieu of

Louisiana, Chuck Grassley of Iowa, Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut, Hillary Clinton of New York, and Charley Schumer of New York (<http://www.senate.gov/senators/index.cfm>; Appendix B).

The “Ecstasy Prevention Act of 2001” authorizes the allocation of tax dollars for the fiscal year of 2002 in the sum of \$24,500,000. Funds appropriated for 2002 are in the amounts of \$15,000,000 to combat the trafficking of ecstasy and club drugs in high intensity areas, \$7,000,000 on a national youth anti-drug media campaign, \$1,500,000 to develop a “National Institute on Drug Abuse Report,” and \$1,000,000 to sponsor an “Interagency Ecstasy/Club Task Force” (see Appendix B).

As stated in Section 3 of the “Ecstasy Prevention Act of 2001,” amending section 506B(c) of title V of the Public Health Service Act (Appendix B), communities that combat club drugs would be awarded a grant. A community becomes eligible for funding by passing ordinances restricting rave clubs and seizing land where raves are held under nuisance abatement laws. This legislation is an example of the moral panic about raves.

CHAPTER III: THEORETICAL GROUNDING

A moral panic begins when claims-makers intensely exaggerate some threat to society (Goode 2001:202). The threat to society is sensationalized by claims-makers, and widespread accusations are reported in newspapers without any concrete evidence (Victor 1998:549). Exaggerated figures are used to justify the claims made about an actual danger (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994:44). This danger is really an imaginary and nonexistent threat (Victor 1998; deYoung 1998). According to Goode and Ben-Yehuda, “claims-makers attempt to maximize the size and scope of the problem to legitimate their claims” (1994:99). The problem must be exaggerated to heighten concern, so the public can support the agenda of “moral entrepreneurs” (Becker 1963).

Moral entrepreneurs are in the business of criminalizing behaviors defined as a threat to society (Becker 1963). As a response to the threat generated in media, moral entrepreneurs may persuade their elected representatives in government to enact legislation (see Appendix A and B). Legislation becomes a symbol of a successful campaign by moral entrepreneurs (Gusfield 1963). For example, moral entrepreneurs identify the consumption of drugs like marijuana as an immoral behavior, and they make this a crime by passing laws under the pretext of protecting society (Becker 1963). Moral entrepreneurs need not be members of a powerfully superior group to change societal definitions. The public can be manipulated by the mass media to support the social control efforts of moral entrepreneurs.

In the moral panic concerning “mugging,” Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, and Roberts (1978) asserted that the mass media structured and amplified the public problem. The news acted as a forum for sensationalizing the danger of mugging. Because the public perception of mugging was shaped by the mass media, a greater risk of danger was believed to exist. As Hall et al. explained, “the news does provide cues that guide the construction of private understandings of the world” (1978:10). This mass mediated perception of reality is what the public must depend on as a legitimate source for learning about the human social world. The public is especially vulnerable to having reality shaped for them when no previous knowledge about a phenomenon exists.

Hall et al. suggested the purpose of the mass media goes beyond simple reporting of news, and the mass media function “to reproduce symbolically the existing structure of power in society’s institutional order” (1978:58). The mass media perpetuates its own existence by maintaining existing social structural arrangements. Therefore, the mass media is in the industry of mentally reproducing the dominant ideology. The ideas of the ruling class, as Hall et al. stated, materialize “in the dominant institutional order” (1978:154). Hence, the institutional definition of reality is being constantly reshaped by the mass media.

Since newspapers report events using descriptions from “official” sources, institutional agents thus guide the mass media (Lawrence 2000; Cohen and Young ed. 1973). Lawrence (2000) illustrated in a study about police brutality how social groups compete for representation of their reality in the mass media. Different social groups struggle to define reality, but the institutional definition of reality is represented as the

official source. Since public officials are the “primary definers” of social reality (Hall et al. 1978), their definition of reality wins over politically marginal groups (Berger and Luckmann 1967). Those positioned in esteemed social locations receive more respectability in their claims. Becker said that the “members of the highest group have the right to define the way things really are” (1967:241). Hence, objective reality is reconstructed and redefined in the mass media by primary claims-makers (Hall et al. 1978:221).

As Becker (1963) suggested, those in power also construct and define reality. Not only do elites use the mass media to control what Marx (1848) identified as the process of “mental production,” but also elites use the mass media to perpetuate the dominant ideology. Moreover, the elite engineered model of a moral panic states how “elites dominate social institutions to the extent that they can control or dictate human consciousness and behavior” (Goode 2001:3). Again, this process is described:

a moral panic tends to orchestrate cultural consent that something must be done, and quickly, to deal with this alleged threat. The increased social control that typically follows from such consent ends up preserving and reasserting the very hegemonic values and interests that purportedly are being undermined by the folk devils (deYoung 1998:257).

A social enemy Cohen called “folk devils” ([1972] 1980:11-12; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994:268), according to Ungar, are typically “identified with the evil doings of an individual or group of individuals” (2001:272). Folk devils are politically marginal groups “located on the edges of society” (deYoung 1998:268). The folk devils’ marginality keeps their voices suppressed in what Becker (1967) identified as the “hierarchy of credibility.” Folk devils remind people in society of how they should not

behave (Cohen 1980:10; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994:103). Finally, a public consensus is generated supporting the efforts of social control agents to stop the folk devils (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994:34-36). As a societal reaction, political officials gain public support with little opposition in their efforts at implementing social control (Ungar 2001:284).

Legislation as a form of social control is sometimes unanimously approved to stop the threatening folk devils. Cohen ([1972] 1980) described this phenomenon in *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*:

Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians, and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. Sometimes the object of the panic is quite novel and at other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight. Sometimes the panic...might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way society conceives itself (1980:9)

Moral entrepreneurs may organize interest groups for removing folk devils from society through the enactment of new laws (Goode 2001:20). These interest groups experience little resistance from disempowered folk devils; however, an updated theory of moral panics (deYoung 1998) suggested that resource endowed folk devils can mobilize and protest against the stereotypical claims imposed upon them (deYoung 1998:275).

Because some members of the marginalized group in this research overtly consume ecstasy at raves, they are “discredited” (Goffman 1963), and their violation of criminal law has made them “disqualified from full social acceptance” (Becker 1963:14). Although some folk devils do not consume ecstasy, they remain guilty since their peers engage in behavior that violates criminal laws designed to protect all members of society. The public may consider the private recreational behavior of folk devils as a social problem. Therefore, the mass media’s role in the creation of folk devils and moral panics must be considered.

The mass media is the main forum used to report that some members of society, folk devils, are engaged in immoral behavior. Developed is the perception of folk devils trying to harm society. This excessive threat of folk devils is disproportionate to any actual danger (Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994:103). Rumor alone is enough to generate the threat of folk devils. As Goode and Ben-Yehuda explained:

Rumor is one of the basic processes that both fuels and is fueled by the moral panic. A moral panic sets the stage and provides a context for rumormongering [news mongering]; when rumors take place, they provide the justification for fears, exaggeration, and a sense of threat (1994:111)

The threat of a newly defined group of folk devils suddenly erupts in the media. Additionally, the folk devils’ moral violation is publicized in a smear campaign (Becker 1963:135-163). As Victor (1998) summarized:

a moral panic is a form of collective behavior characterized by suddenly increased concern and hostility in a significant segment of a society, in reaction to widespread beliefs about a newly perceived threat from moral deviants (1998:543)

Some of the public may grow concerned about folk devils harming children. This threat to children is a reoccurring theme of the moral panic (Victor 1998; deYoung 1998; Ungar 2001). For example, sensational media claims exaggerate the consumption of illegal drugs by children. Social anxiety is produced about children being in danger. A group of folk devils surface and are identified for removal from society. Legislation is approved to remove the folk devils, and this type of social control response assures that the threat to public safety is real.

CHAPTER IV:

STUDY ONE - NEWSPAPER TRANSMISSION

Introduction

Newspaper articles report that raves are a setting for consuming ecstasy and other illegal drugs. The mass media defines this illegal behavior as a threat to the safety of children. For example, the dangers of ecstasy are amplified in an Ann Landers article titled, "Experts, readers weigh in on use of the drug ecstasy." In the article, several personal accounts with ecstasy are transcribed. One person confessed:

It's been two years since my experience with ecstasy, and I am still in therapy. I was almost raped and have lost my short-term memory.

Another person admitted:

I used ecstasy for five years...My hair is thin and breaks off easily. My skin is sallow, and I have perpetual acne. Due to the grinding, my teeth have become crooked and sharp (*The Register-Guard* July 9, 2001, pp. 2C).

Claims-makers appear in the "objective" news sections as well; for example, a newspaper journalist stated:

Raves, the large dance parties in which Ecstasy is used by some, have been deemed venues for drug use and sales (*San Francisco Chronicle* August 14, 2001, pp. A17).

Some in attendance at raves do in fact use ecstasy. This consumption of ecstasy does not make raves definable as "venues for drug use and sales." However, raves have been defined in the mass media as the exclusive setting for consuming ecstasy.

A public official from the Drug Enforcement Administration, Donnie R. Marshall, used the “Ann Landers” section to define raves. Marshall claimed:

Some unscrupulous promoters, looking to sell bottled water at exorbitant prices, have turned off water supplies at rave venues, exacerbating the dangers for our children. Promoters have been known to leave overdosing kids in alleyways outside their parties (*The Arizona Republic*, *Chicago-Tribune*, and *Times-Standard* May 7, 2001).

Marshall depicts promoters, at the administrative level of raves, as folk devils neglectfully harming children.

Moral entrepreneurs also assert that ecstasy is deadly. The widespread accusation of deadly illegal drugs consumed at raves is reported without any concrete evidence provided. Such false accusations characterize the type of sensationalism found in the mass media, and this skewed coverage is a source of social reality for most people (Shoemaker and Reese 1991). Exaggerated media attention, Goode and Ben-Yehuda found, is an indicator “of whether a society is in the throes of a moral panic” (1994:208). A proliferation of newspaper articles with such claims should be measurable. If there is an amplified danger expressed in the media about raves threatening the safety of children, then a moral panic should be detectable.

Methodology Selected

Newspaper articles on the subject of ecstasy and raves were obtained for all available years using the LEXIS-NEXIS Academic Universe database. Data were organized by copying the articles in a separate folder. With the articles copied in a folder, the articles were further organized by copying them as word documents. Keyword

searches were made using Microsoft Word's "Find" application. Keywords were selected based on statements embedded in Ordinance Number 1762, a form of legislation to socially control raves (see Appendix A). A keyword data sheet in the form of a grid was generated for recording the selected keywords numerically (see Appendix E). Each keyword represented a unit recorded onto the data sheet. This coding process reduced the data to a manageable format for making inferences (Krippendorff 1980).

Each newspaper article was read for the selected keywords. During the reading, if the article contained any of the keywords, the table was marked. The newspaper article's title was excluded from the coding process. For instance, if the keyword Death appeared three times, a number 3 was placed in the appropriate cell of the table. In addition, if the article's writer presented any reference to Death, such as Died, the cell was marked. This helped the researcher to generate a frequency distribution for measuring what percent of the articles referred to death.

The keywords were assigned arbitrary colors for color-coding the data. Variables were assigned colors randomly. Rave was color coded pink. Light green highlighter was used for the keyword illegal drug. Ecstasy was purple. MDMA was blue. Cocaine and heroin was brown. Ketamine was fluorescent orange. GHB was dark green. References made directly or indirectly to young people were color-coded orange. Death was red. Color-coding the keywords was helpful when the researcher had to go back and skim through the data. The colors indicated if keywords appeared. After identifying the keywords in text, a colored mark was placed in the right-hand margin. The coder could quickly scan the number of times specific keywords appeared.

Definition of Keywords

MDMA, Ecstasy, Raves

These keywords are the primary focus of this research. They were defined in Chapter II.

Young People

Young people are children, teens, young adults, kids, teenagers, boys, girls, students, juveniles, and those referred to as adolescents. The media personalizes stories by using phrases like young girls. When the media reports that children are dying from ecstasy at raves, the media demonizes ecstasy as a deadly drug and gives the impression that raves are a dangerous setting for children.

Illegal Drug

The keywords drug and illegal drug are coded. Drugs such as PMA, Paramethoxyamphetamine, amphetamines, speed, LSD, 2CB, Rohypnol, and Nitrous Oxide, a psychoactive inhalant that drug dealers find huge profits selling (Reynolds 1998:309), are keywords. Other drugs being sold as ecstasy are also coded as an illegal drug: 2C-B, PMA, MDA, MDEA, 4-MA, and DOB. Ecstasy was coded independently as were GHB, ketamine, cocaine and heroin from the blanket term illegal drug.

Marijuana, pot, or weed are not keywords coded because the psychoactive compound, THC, although identified by the Criminal Justice System as an illegal drug, is prescribed in some states for medicinal purposes; therefore, I have decided to not code this as an illegal drug. At the time of doing this research, cannabis was prohibited for recreational use in most of the world.

Ketamine

Ketamine is sometimes sold at raves and combined with other substances as ecstasy (Push and Silcott 2000:163). Ketamine is sold on the street with the names K, special K, Vitamin K, or cat Valium.

GHB

GHB, gamma y-hydroxybutyrate, is called on the street G, soap, liquid ecstasy, liquid E, liquid, or Georgia Home Boy (Push and Silcott 2000:164). Once available at health food shops, when the substance was popular amongst body builders, GHB eventually became popular at gay circuit dance parties and raves (Jenkins 1999:165, 171). GHB often is associated with date-rape drugs like Rohypnol (Push and Silcott 2000:170-171). Both GHB and Rohypnol are also linked with raves, and these synthetic drugs are labeled date-rape drugs. In Georgia, the possession or sale of GHB, a Schedule I Controlled Substance, carries a thirty-year maximum prison sentence (Jenkins 1999:174). GHB when mixed with alcohol may be lethal and has resulted in several deaths (Reynolds 1998:313).

Cocaine and Heroin

Cocaine and heroin are considered illegal drugs. These illegal drugs are coded independently because they specifically represent negative connotations not to be confused with less known illegal substances like ketamine, GHB, and LSD.

Death

Death includes those synonyms to express the end of someone's life such as killed, died, casualty, and overdose; not every overdose results in death.

Club

This keyword represents any facility that often has a staff of employees serving various foods and drinks. The location, “club,” is where groups of people will gather and talk, listen to live or recorded music, and dance. “Club” also refers to nightclub, disco, discotheque, dance hall, and all references to a business establishment that stays open late at night. Such places sometimes stay open until the morning. Raves can be held inside of a club. The keyword “Club” was measured just in the pretest (Appendix D).

Violent Crime

Violent crime is any cruel, sadistic, aggressive, vicious, brutal, or fierce act against another individual. As a variable, if any words referred to violent crime, such as assaulting, beating, attacking, or killing within the newspaper articles, this keywords was coded. The keyword “Violent Crime” was measured just in the pretest (Appendix D).

Sexual Crime

Sexual crime is essentially rape or anything referring to illegal sexual behavior. The keyword “Sexual Crime” was measured just in the pretest (Appendix D).

Presentation and Analysis of the Data

European News Sources

On October 23, 2001, I conducted a guided search of world news in the LEXIS-NEXIS Academic Universe database to retrieve newspaper articles from just European sources. In Table 1, I measured how many articles appeared for each year from 1992 until 2001 containing selected keywords. With the exception of variable 5, ecstasy and raves were used in combination as keywords since raves are habitually defined as the exclusive setting for consuming ecstasy, and ecstasy is often reported to be consumed at raves.

I recorded the sum of articles for each year from January 1 to December 31. Recorded was the frequency of articles appearing in major European news sources with the selected keywords in full text. By adding the extra keyword death, children, or drugs, the newspaper search was narrowed to obtain a more accurate gauge. The sum of articles with selected keywords in full text should be proportional to the total newspaper articles for each year about ecstasy and raves.

Each group of keywords is referred to as a separate variable: ecstasy and raves [variable 1]; ecstasy, raves, and death [variable 2]; ecstasy, raves, and children [variable 3]; ecstasy, raves, and drugs [variable 4]; MDMA and raves [variable 5]. These keywords were grouped as such since references made in the media about death, children, and drugs are more likely to generate a public hysteria. The database did not include the last three months of 2001, so I had to multiply the number of articles known independently for variable 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 by four-thirds to make an estimate for the year 2001.

Table 1: Frequency Distribution of Articles with Selected Keywords in Full Text from Major European News Sources using a Guided Search of World News for the years 1992-2001

From Date	To Date	Variable 1: Ecstasy and Raves	Variable 2: Ecstasy, Raves, and Death	Variable 3: Ecstasy, Raves, and Children	Variable 4: Ecstasy, Raves, and Drugs	Variable 5: MDMA and Raves
01/01/92	12/31/92	214	71	40	193	22
01/01/93	12/31/93	152	28	37	124	3
01/01/94	12/31/94	305	170	58	278	26
01/01/95	12/31/95	541	260	84	495	41
01/01/96	12/31/96	426	194	96	384	22
01/01/97	12/31/97	482	200	91	431	30
01/01/98	12/31/98	403	161	67	344	32
01/01/99	12/31/99	255	72	59	219	11
01/01/00	12/31/00	290	88	75	248	19
01/01/01	12/31/01	388 (est.)	153 (est.)	55 (est.)	344 (est.)	32 (est.)

Findings

Variable 1, 2, 4, and 5 occurred the most in 1995. More articles with variable 3 were in 1996. The highest frequency of articles from European news sources about ecstasy and raves was in 1995.

In 1994, there were twice as many articles for variable 1 than in 1993. There were about three times as many articles with variable 1 in 1995 when compared with 1993. Half of the articles in 1995 contained the keyword “death;” while in 1993, almost a fifth of the articles included variable 2.

Discussion

LEXIS-NEXIS performed a guided search with select keywords in full text, so a more accurate measurement would require the keyword data sheet for recording the selected keywords numerically since other terms can express similar meanings (Appendix E). For instance, as mentioned in the section titled Definition of Keywords, children, teens, juveniles, kids, or teenagers are other terms that express a meaning similar to the phrase young adults. Although the database search retrieved articles containing the keyword children, other articles might have used the phrase young adults instead to express the same meaning and public sentiment.

If there was a moral panic about raves in Europe, was it measurable from the data presented in Table 1? The largest frequency of newspapers with the keyword ecstasy and raves in full text was in 1995. Many newspaper articles reported the death of Leah Betts in 1995. Leah Betts, the eighteen year old police officer's daughter from Essex, did not die from ecstasy as the media reported (Critcher 2000:149). She died from excessive fluid intake arguably caused by the ecstasy (*The Independent* December 11, 1995; *The Daily Telegraph* November 15, 1995; *The Guardian* November 17, 1995; *The Independent* June 14, 1996; *The Scotsman* August 29, 1997; *The Scotsman* April 5, 1997; *The Herald* June 20, 1997; *The Independent* October 30, 1998). In the midst of a drug panic, Betts' parents and their supporters persuaded legislatures to take action. The death of a police officer's daughter justified the sensational claims about the dangers of ecstasy and raves

reported in European newspapers. Thus, the public would support the mobilization of moral entrepreneurs against raves with legislation granting local authorities the power to revoke a nightclub's license when drug consumption was suspected.

North and South American News Sources

I retrieved the source of data for Table 2 from the LEXIS-NEXIS Academic Universe database on October 23, 2001. In this table, the number of articles with selected keywords I measured. Keywords were the same as in Table 1. This is the same test as above except the articles measured were from North and South American news sources with more than sixty percent of the selected stories about Canada, Central or South America. Again the database did not include the last three months of 2001, so I multiplied the number of articles for the year 2001 by four-thirds to establish an annual sum. If there was a moral panic about raves in North America, was it measurable from the data presented in Table 2?

Table 2: Frequency Distribution of Articles with Selected Keywords in Full Text from Major North and South American News Sources using a Guided Search of World News for the years 1992-2001

From Date	To Date	Variable 1: Ecstasy and Raves	Variable 2: Ecstasy, Raves, and Death	Variable 3: Ecstasy, Raves, and Children	Variable 4: Ecstasy, Raves, and Drugs	Variable 5: MDMA and Raves
01/01/92	12/31/92	22	7	5	19	2
01/01/93	12/31/93	26	4	4	21	5
01/01/94	12/31/94	11	2	0	7	0
01/01/95	12/31/95	26	3	3	18	4
01/01/96	12/31/96	41	13	7	33	11
01/01/97	12/31/97	51	11	7	42	7
01/01/98	12/31/98	51	9	8	40	4
01/01/99	12/31/99	165	55	15	139	19
01/01/00	12/31/00	533	238	65	493	57
01/01/01	12/31/01	645 (est.)	69 (est.)	47 (est.)	213 (est.)	27 (est.)

Findings

Variable 2, 3, 4, and 5 occurred the most in 2000. Articles retrieved with the keywords in variable 1 had a greater frequency of occurrences in 2001 based on an estimated value for that year, and the year 2000 was the second largest observed. The keyword death, children, and drugs appeared in full text with ecstasy and raves more often in 2000. Variable 5, MDMA and raves, scored the highest in 2000.

There were almost twenty times as many articles for variable 1 in 2000 when compared with 1992, 1993, and 1995. Almost ten times as many articles appeared in 2000 than 1996, 1997, and 1998 for variable 1. There were only eleven articles in 1994, while in 2000 there were 533, representing an increase over time of 4,845%. From 1999

to 2001, a 391% change was observed for articles with variable 1. Although the number of articles appearing with the keywords ecstasy, raves, and children was under ten for each year from 1992 until 1999, that number doubled in 1999 and quadrupled in 2000.

Two articles appeared in 1994 with variable 2, yet in 2000 there were 238 occurrences. This was an increase of 11,900%! There were four times as many articles in 2000 than the year before. There were six times as many articles in 1999 than in 1998, and the increase in articles from 1998 to 2000 was 2,644%. Over a period of just two years, the increase in articles including the keyword “death” multiplied by a factor of twenty-six.

The largest change over time was found from 1994 to 2000 with sixty-five times more articles for variable 3, a 7043% increase for variable 4, and by a factor of fifty-seven for variable 5. In just twelve months, the increase in articles with variable 1 was by 323%, 443% with variable 2, 433% with variable 3, by a factor of three and a half for variable 4, and three times as many for variable 5 from 1999 to 2000.

Discussion

Table 2 measured a sudden increase in articles about raves to test for a moral panic. Since ecstasy and raves are frequently mentioned together, these keywords were grouped with the exception of MDMA used in place of ecstasy for variable 5. The largest measurable occurrence of articles was in 2000 when death, children, and drugs were included in full text. This test did not examine if the keyword children was used negatively, as in those articles about children dying at raves from ecstasy. The keyword death and drugs also appeared in the full text of many North American newspapers about

raves. A further content analysis would be necessary to determine if this sample of articles mentioned the “rave drug ecstasy” negatively, as found in the content of several North American newspapers (*The Denver Post* March 14, 2001; *The Toronto Sun* January 20, 2001; *Chicago Sun-Times* July 2, 2000; *Chicago-Sun Times* July 6, 2000; *The Gazette* June 6, 2000; *The Ottawa Citizen* June 3, 2000; *Chicago-Sun Times* May 22, 2000; *The Toronto Sun* May 14, 2000; *The Ottawa Citizen* April 20, 2000).

With the proliferation of North American newspaper coverage in 2000 on ecstasy and raves, it is understandable that some members of the public would grow concerned. In 2001, moral entrepreneurs emerged in a crusade to criminalize what they believe to be a threat to children and their society with federal legislation cited as the “Ecstasy Prevention Act of 2001.” The legislative efforts of moral entrepreneurs may have been a reaction to the exaggerated threats reported in newspaper articles about death, children, and drugs associated with ecstasy and raves. Whether the legislative agenda of moral entrepreneurs was a reaction to the societal threat about raves, or if moral entrepreneurs used newspapers to transmit stories about this threat, is indeterminable from the data collected in this research.

Pretest of Keyword Data

Table 3 below represents a keyword coding pretest from a sample ($n=128$) of international newspaper articles including major European as well as North and South American sources (Appendix D). The percent distribution I obtained by dividing the number of articles containing the select keywords by the total sample

Table 3: [Pretest] Percent Distribution of Keywords Coded from a Sample ($n=128$) of Major International Newspaper Articles for the years 1992-2001

Selected Keywords	Percent of Articles with Keywords
Illegal Drug	98
Rave	97
Ecstasy	87
Young People	66
Death	57
GHB	13
Club	36
Sexual Crime	10
Violent Crime	6

Findings

The keyword Illegal Drug appeared in 98% of the articles, Rave was coded in 97%, and Ecstasy was included in 87%. Recorded in 66% of the articles was the keyword Young People with Death at 56%. In 36% of the articles, Club was mentioned. GHB was included in 13% of the articles. Sexual Crime received ten percent, and Violent Crime was coded in only six percent of the articles.

Discussion

Measured in the pretest were the following keywords: Illegal Drug, Rave, Ecstasy, Young People, Death, Club, GHB, Sexual Crime, and Violent Crime. Since the occurrence of the keyword Club was so low, appearing in less than half of the articles, the final coding did not include Club in the keyword data sheet. Newspaper articles in this sample were not embedded with claims about children being exposed to sex and violence at raves. Sexual Crime and Violent Crime scored so low, in less than ten percent of the articles, that they were removed from the final coding. Cocaine and Heroin, Ketamine, and MDMA were added to the primary coding sheet (Appendix E).

Table 4: Frequency and Percent Distribution from a Sample of Major International Newspapers Articles ($n=128$) for the years 1992-2001.

Year of Sample	Sum of Articles for Each Year	Percent Distribution of Articles
1992	8	6
1993	2	2
1994	8	6
1995	19	15
1996	10	8
1997	15	12
1998	17	13
1999	12	9
2000	32	25
2001	5	4

Sample of Newspapers

Table 4 shows the frequency and percent distribution across time for the sample of major international newspapers, including European as well as North and South American news sources, used in this research (see Appendix E). In this table, I recorded the sum of articles for each year in the sample from 1992 to 2001. I obtained the percent distribution by dividing the number of articles for each year by the total sample ($n=128$).

Findings

The frequency and percent distribution of articles in this sample occurred the most in 2000. The second largest distribution was in 1995. The frequency of articles in 2000 was four times that of 1992 and 1994. There were sixteen times as many articles in 2000 compared with 1993. From 1993 to 1994, the largest increase over a period of twelve months was observed at 400%. From 1999 to 2000, there were 267% more articles.

Discussion

The sample ($n=128$) reflects the analyzed data in Table 1 and Table 2. In 1995, the second largest frequency of articles occurred as reported in Table 1. The most articles appeared in 2000 as revealed in Table 2. This sample contains similar peaks as found in

articles about ecstasy and raves from European as well as North and South American news sources; hence, the frequency distribution of articles from a sample of major international sources was similar to those previously found. This is the result of including both European along with North and South American news sources in the international sample.

Keyword Data

Statistics for the keywords coded in the sample of major international newspaper articles for the years 1992 until 2001 appear in Table 5. Represented is the sum of each selected keyword per article (see Appendix E), the number of articles with each keyword, and the percent of articles with each keyword in the sample ($n=128$). Combining the number of occurrences for each selected keyword per article generated the sum. The frequency of articles is the total number of occurrences in the sample containing a selected keyword. To generate the percent of the sample with keywords, I divided the sum of articles with keywords by the number of articles in the sample.

Table 5: Statistics for Keywords Coded from a Sample ($n=128$) of Major International Newspaper Articles for the years 1992-2001

Selected Keywords	Sum of Keywords in Sample	Number of Articles with Keywords	Percent of Sample with Keywords
Illegal Drug	1195	126	98
Ecstasy	610	108	84
Rave	472	123	96
Young People	396	84	66
Death	316	71	55
Cocaine and Heroin	109	30	23
Ketamine	72	13	9
GHB	52	18	14
MDMA	46	20	16

Findings

The selected keyword illegal drug appeared in ninety-eight percent of the articles. Ninety-six percent of the articles contained the keyword rave, and ecstasy was included in eighty-four percent. Young people and death were in more than half of the sample. Those selected keywords appearing in less than half of the articles from the sample were cocaine and heroin, MDMA, GHB, and ketamine.

Discussion

This sample revealed that the keywords coded under the rubric illegal drug appeared more frequently than ecstasy. The mass media portrayed raves as the setting for the consumption of illegal drugs. Ecstasy is the street name for MDMA, yet cocaine and heroin appeared more often, and MDMA appeared in less than a sixth of the articles. The inference can be made that the articles associated raves with illegal drugs.

Young people and death were observed in about sixty percent of the sample. The association of young people with death is an implied danger that is inflated by the media. According to DAWN, ecstasy does not cause more than ten deaths per year (Saunders and Doblin 1996:85-88). Deaths related to club drugs like ecstasy and GHB were actually so small that DAWN reported on them to “correct recent media errors related to these data” and “calm speculation” (*The Dawn Report* 2000:5). Between 1994 and 1998, twenty-seven people reportedly died from complications with ecstasy, and in 1998, nine deaths were associated with ecstasy (“Club Drugs.” 2000. *The DAWN Report*, Drug Abuse Warning Network, Office of Applied Studies, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Service Administration, SAMHSA, Washington, DC. December). During the past

decade, sixty-five people have died from overdosing on ecstasy, GHB, and ketamine according to officials at the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (*The Charlotte Observer* July 19, 2000. 1A). In Canada, Weber found no deaths related to ecstasy (1999:319). Saunders and Doblin estimate the risk of death by ecstasy as the same for horseback riding at one in 3.4 million (1996:85). To sum, there was an amplified danger expressed in the media about raves threatening the safety of children.

Illustrated in Table 6 below is the exaggerated threat of death from ecstasy. Ecstasy is comparatively low when compared to other leading causes of death for all persons in the USA. Even when deaths from ecstasy are combined for the years 1994-1998, ecstasy still had the lowest death toll for the year 1996 (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, *Fatal Accident Reporting System*; U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, *National Vital Statistics Report* (NVSR); Drug Abuse Warning Network).

Table 6: Cause of Death and Combined Death Toll for all Persons in the United States for the Year 1996

Cause of Death in 1996	Combined Death Toll in USA
Motor Vehicle	42,065
Firearms	34,040
Suicide	30,903
Alcohol-Induced	19,770
Drug-Induced	14,843
Suicide for 20 to 24 Year Olds	2,117
Suicide for 15 to 19 Year Olds	1,522
Ecstasy for the combined years 1994-1998	27

CHAPTER V:

STUDY TWO - LEGISLATION

Introduction

The primary legislation illustrating the moral panic in this research is Ordinance Number 1762 (see Appendix A). On February 26, 2001, the Charlotte City Council in North Carolina unanimously approved Ordinance Number 1762 (*Business Meeting Minutes Book 115*, page 945, Charlotte City Council). This ordinance will clearly have an impact on the lives of those who partake in raves. Entire lifestyles may be altered when this new ordinance becomes something for agents of social control, the police, to have as an objective to recognize and legitimately enforce. This research is a partial investigation of those targeted by a local government's city ordinance.

Methodology Selected

The research participants who volunteered to be interviewed were known to be involved with raves. Procedures were taken to eliminate all potential risk to the respondents according to the guidelines established by the Institutional Review Board at Humboldt State University where this research received Human Subjects Approval IRB#00-101. Interview respondents were met at their home and/or workplace. Workplace does not include raves. Since I am familiar with the rave network, I had access to the

anticipated research respondents. The group of respondents was self-selected.

Respondents were recruited by asking, at the most convenient time for them, if they would like to take part in a research study about the “Charlotte Dance Hall Ordinance.”

Interview Respondents

All respondents were over the age of 21. Respondents were presented with a statement of their rights. Measures were taken to ensure the confidentiality of respondents. No names, occupations, locations, or aliases were put on paper either written or typed. Fictitious names were assigned to the respondents.

During a semi-structured interview, respondents were asked to react to open-ended qualitative questions that were taped only with permission. Respondents were told that the tapes would be immediately transcribed, computerized, and saved only on a floppy disk. The transcribed notes were deleted from the computer’s hard drive and kept on a disk that was under lock that only this researcher had access to. Cassette tapes with the respondents’ voices on them were erased and thrown in the garbage once all data were removed. Respondents always had the right to refuse to answer any of the questions. Questions were asked in a private area at work or at the respondent’s home. The respondents were not asked to provide any information other than their opinions.

The five total interviews were conducted from December 2000 through January 2001. Four of the interviews were done in a private environment e.g., bedroom in a house with just the respondent being interviewed by the researcher. The primary location for the interviews was in the respondent’s house or friend’s house with the exception of one

interview at a workplace. Those who were interviewed came from the administrative level of raves, which consists of night/dance club employees, managers, or owners; rave party promoters or entertainers (DJs). Considering the entire electronic music industry, this nonrandom sample of respondents cannot be generalized to any population. All respondents were male, which reflects the predominant maleness at the administrative level.

At the time of being interviewed, the respondents were residing in Charlotte, North Carolina. The researcher read to respondents statements that were made by their local city council as approved in the form of rave legislation. Statements were broken into five parts: concern for the health, safety, and welfare of young people; raves as sites for the sale, possession, and use of illegal drugs; raves as sites for drug addiction, overdose, and death; raves as sites for predatory-type sexual crimes; and raves as sites for violent criminal activity.

Responses

During each interview, respondents were asked to express their opinion about statements unanimously approved by the their local city council resulting in the enactment of a piece of legislation know as Ordinance Number 1762 (see Appendix A). Statements were taken directly from the ordinance and composed as an interview questionnaire (Appendix C). Statements read to each of the respondents appear in italics. Words used by each of the respondents were edited for clarity.

First Statement: The Charlotte City Council has made several statements concerning Raves. What do you think about the following statements? The City of Charlotte is concerned for the health, safety, and welfare of its young people.

Leonard:

I am too...If you go downtown where some of the local nightclubs are, you will see ambulances parked ready and waiting because they know they are going to have casualties...these clubs that I just mentioned, are twenty one and over. The raves that I am talking about are all ages...if you prevent them from going there, they're just going to go to another parking lot, they're going to go to the woods, they're going to go somewhere, and they're going to do it where it is even less visible and even less controllable. Yeah, I worry about some of these kids...preventing them from having a place to go and gather is not the answer...I think that people who are concerned about their children are fine with supporting any action as long as it doesn't have to change what they are doing.

Don:

I agree...this rave thing is like a political bandwagon...rave, that terminology I think is antiquated...politicians are using it, they're demonizing it to make people see their perspective and think it's a bad thing...That is a way for them to get the support of their constituents. When we are born, when we are created, the first thing we understand is the rhythm of our mother's hearts...We don't know what it is, but that is the first thing we can understand...you want to be by your mother's chest. With puppies, they all want to be by their mother's chest because it is soothing. It...started out with people kind of grabbing that inner...natural biorhythm...I think it is a total global cosmic rhythm that we have. That's what rave to me is...it started out as some people coming together, and you start getting on the same frequency. This beat thing, is interesting...the resonance of a church, and to me is the most spiritual thing in the world...Once you start making something complex, and start introducing other things to it, it starts convoluting it to where it loses its innocence. That's what happened with the whole rave thing. So many people grabbed on to it, people who really didn't know what it was about...there are illicit chemicals and things used in the whole scene. I am relating it to a tribal thing...the way they perceived things differently was with a root, was with a cactus, with something to make them see things differently. Not see things for face value. That still I believe exists...That is still something that we can do to make us transcend. Now everything

has gotten convoluted, and the focus has changed from coming together, having a great spiritual thing to something else...It's changed from a sacred religious experience to something synthetic.

John:

I think it is a load of crap. I think it is a response that they engineered in order to please the voting concerned citizens of Charlotte. To get them off their back long enough so they can figure out how to do something about it. I don't think they really give a shit about anybody. I think they just give a shit about staying in office...if enough parents complain, they're going to make up some bullshit fucking agenda to make it look like they're doing something about it. When it comes down to it they could really give a rat's ass about fucking people going out late at night eating drugs.

Richard:

...there are lots of other things they can do, other ends of the spectrum to take care of this as well, other types of constructive things to do with the youth.

Thomas:

I don't believe that. I don't believe that they are. I believe that they say they are, but I don't believe that they actually are. [*What are they?*] What are they? Why would they make this statement if they're not really concerned? For appearance. They want to appear like they really care for the children. They really just want to get reelected.

Discussion

Don was asked to comment on the City of Charlotte's concern for the health, safety, and welfare of young people, but Don proceeded to defend raves and more particularly the beat orientated dance music heard at raves as "the most spiritual thing in the world." By referring to raves as a "sacred religious experience," Don compliments the research of Hutson (2000). From ravers' experiential testimonials communicated on the

Internet, Hutson was able to conclude that ravers often describe their experience using meaningful religious and spiritual terms (2000:39). Leonard verified that “very spiritual people” attend raves, and he described raves as concerts with “spiritual overtones.”

Hutson also stated that ravers describe a journey “to a primitive paradise” and an “early tribal stage” (2000:46). Don also related raves “to a tribal thing.” The comments made by Leonard and Don support what Hutson suggested many other rave participants’ experience: “spiritual healing” (Hutson 2000:39). The spiritual healing ravers describe might be attributable to an altered state of consciousness from physiological and symbolic environmental stimuli (Hutson 2000:40-43). Nonetheless, the reaction of Leonard and Don to the first statement approved by their local city council reveals a much deeper understanding of raves from the respondents’ perspective.

John, Richard, and Thomas were more resistant to the claims. They expressed cynicism and disbelief in the authenticity of the concern expressed by the city council members. The respondents’ defensiveness may even be attributable to their feelings about raves being restricted.

Second Statement: Late night and all night dance halls and similar forums of assembly commonly referred to as “Raves” and after hour parties are sites for the sale, possession, and use of illegal drugs.

Leonard:

Little Johnny’s car that he drives to school in is the location for the sale of drugs. School is the location for the sale of drugs. The supermarket is the location for the sale of drugs...I can neither confirm nor deny the use and purchase of drugs at these parties. I’m sure it happens, however, I feel that it is important to keep it in a context that rock concerts and football games are locations for the sale of drugs...I think that people who are at quote

unquote raves have ideals that encompass more than material wealth. Many of the people who attend these concerts are very spiritual people and these concerts got spiritual overtones. Any time there is an interest in non-materialism and real values, that represents a segment of the population that can't be controlled through normal channels...they don't understand why the people feel that way, and therefore they fear what they do not understand, so I think that's why they selectively enforce.

Don:

I have mixed feelings on this because in some instances I have seen it. I have been to a place I have never been to before, and everything was wide open. I mean literally it was a late night club that began at 2 or 3, an all ages crowd...Sixteen and under kids should be in bed by 11. They should be at their house by 11...all I saw was people grabbing stuff out of their pockets, sticking stuff in their nose, and whatever...if they've never experienced it, they come into a scene with these kids fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen year old kids, mixing with over twenty one people...so you have consenting adults mixing with children who shouldn't be there...the boundaries are completely blown between the two groups...I could see how they could perceive it that way, that has taken place...They are trying to correlate raves with drugs, so the actual problem is not raves. The problem is drugs. That is what they are trying to fight...so raves and drugs equals a problem, and that's how it is.

John:

...they're misusing the term rave...rave by definition is like an illegal party thrown somewhere not in a club...somewhere totally unsanctioned and unregulated, that's a rave. Clubs are totally different. If you're going to say that every dance hall is a place where people consume drugs, I guess it is true. Yeah, people consume drugs there. People consume drugs at all night raves, all nightclubs, just like they consume drugs at any place where people are social and gathering, I imagine some people are going to take drugs. Oh well, but you cannot say because of a rave. Drugs were around before raves were.

Richard:

I believe that it is turning into that.

Thomas:

Designated solely for that or it just happens there? I would say that that is true. Yes.

Discussion

Leonard agreed that drugs are available for sale and use at the locations identified in the second statement; however, Leonard clarified that other locations should be included in the dialogue. Leonard suggested that social control agents “selectively enforce” laws as exemplified in the second statement. Certain public locations and events are no doubt being left out, and this was a concern for Leonard.

Don expressed “mixed feelings” about all age groups together in an environment where drugs are being consumed. Don would like to see those who are sixteen years of age and under not out past 11 pm. However, Don did emphasize that someone who never experienced a scene as he described could perceive that all age raves were sites exclusively for the sale and use of illegal drugs.

John agreed with the second statement that people consume drugs at raves, but John also discussed the ambiguity between “raves,” “clubs,” “nightclubs,” “dance halls,” “after hour parties,” and “social gatherings.” As John said, “they’re misusing the term rave.” What the Charlotte City Council apparently did was label all facilities where illegal drugs could be hypothetically sold, possessed, and used as “Raves.” The ordinance approved by Charlotte City Council identifies raves as the universal bogeyman. Raves have a specific history, music, and audience clearly distinguishable from the ambiguous

catch all phrase “dance halls” (see Chapter II, Section C). The Charlotte City Council used interchangeably dance halls and raves. Richard and Thomas agreed with the second statement.

Third Statement: “Raves” expose the uninitiated youth of our city to drug activity...often found to result in drug addiction, overdose, and death of both juveniles and adults.

Leonard:

I have not seen behavior like that at a so-called rave. Where I have seen that is in some of the adult clubs. I have to agree with that statement, but I also once again must emphatically keep this in a context. You can find this happening in any private residence in town. You can find this happening at any other large social gathering of any kind. Once again this is not an issue of locale. This is an issue, a much broader issue of freedom, and people taking responsibility for their actions.

Don:

I think that is an egregious attempt to demonize the whole scene...there is a line when you are talking about children and adults. There needs to be a separation between the youth oriented events and the adult events.

John:

That’s bullshit.

Richard:

I don’t know. I think it is kind of extreme to put it that way...surely you have a couple people every now and then that get a little out of control...people don’t say anything when people embezzle money from people and start companies with it.

Thomas:

I would say that that’s not true. [*Is it an exaggeration?*] It’s definitely an exaggeration. Complicated isn’t it? It’s definitely in exaggeration. [*You know it says death too*] I don’t even know if that’s true at all. No that’s

totally ridiculous. Rave is not the cause. People do drugs at concerts. They do drugs at football games. At keg parties, at house parties, pool halls. Lets just fucking close everything down.

Discussion

Leonard observed the behavior identified in the third statement at “adult clubs,” and not “at a so-called rave.” Leonard emphasized that the behavior identified in the third statement also can be found in many other social locations other than the identified “Raves.” Don, John, Richard, and Thomas responded defensively. Their underlying defensiveness could be a reaction to the claim that raves expose youth to drug activity that resulted in “drug addiction, overdose, and death.” Emphasizing death, raves would be considered the cause, and this claim according to the respondents was “egregious” [Don], “bullshit” [John], “extreme” [Richard], and “an exaggeration” [Thomas].

A drug overdose does not always result in someone’s death since an emergency room visit often follows. According to the Drug Abuse Warning Network, “club drugs” such as MDMA are rarely mentioned in emergency room visits. In 1994, there were two hundred and fifty reported emergency room visits associated with MDMA. In 1999, that number increased to 2,850 visits with alcohol mentioned in almost half of these episodes. Of the reported MDMA emergency room visits, 78% were in combination with other drugs (DAWN).

Fourth Statement: “Raves” provide an arena for predatory-type sexual crimes.

Leonard:

I disagree with that rather emphatically. Suppose if what they say about all the drug use at raves is correct, okay, let’s say everybody there is hopped up, what are they going to be hopped up on? Probably marijuana, probably ecstasy, probably things that make them feel good. More than likely, under

those influences, you're not going to really feel to much like hurting other people. The other problem I have with that statement is that there are so many people at a rave that it's really hard to go somewhere where people cant watch you...in a crowd of a couple of thousand people, I just can't really see how something like that could happen at this type of event...The music at a Rave is about joy. It's about love.

Don:

I have been to so many parties since about '93 or '94, and I cannot say that I have ever witnessed or experienced anything like that. It might happen later on when they leave the premises and all that. And when someone passes out from over indulgence or whatever they do. I don't really believe that statement. I think that is something they just added to it to make it sound more evil then it is...I saw more in college of that then I did at the party scene...I think there is more of a problem with that in those atmospheres then there are in here, but the only experience I have is with the college fraternity scene and that was by far the worst.

John:

I think that's a load of shit. So do malls. So do shopping malls. I mean kids are abducted from shopping malls every year or grocery stores. By sexual predators. So whatever on that one.

Richard:

That's preposterous. Next question.

Thomas:

That is completely not true.

Discussion

All five respondents disagreed that "Raves" provide an arena for predatory-type sexual crimes. Leonard: "I disagree with that rather emphatically." Don: "I cannot say that I have ever witnessed or experienced anything like that...I don't really believe that statement. I think that [predatory-type sexual crime] is something they [the police] just

added to it [the ordinance] to make it [raves] sound more evil.” John: “I think that’s a load of shit.” Richard: “That’s preposterous. Next question.” And Thomas: “That is completely not true.”

Fifth Statement: “Raves” are often times the sites for violent criminal activity.

Leonard:

I’ve never seen that...The only thing I’ve ever seen happen is that the people throwing the party couldn’t organize proper security, and vagrants would vandalize cars that were parked, and some time accost people when they’ve had to walk several blocks to their car. I have not seen evidence of that. No, I blatantly disagree with that. I think that once again they really don’t understand what goes on inside these parties.

Don:

That is a major fallacy, just from my experience again. I have just within the last couple of years seen more fights...it’s not the true party kids, its people coming in that don’t know what is going on. It is an outside influence. It is inevitably going to happen. I feel that it is outsiders that are coming in who don’t truly understand what was going on. To answer your question about violence, I don’t think there has been a proliferation of violence because of the rave scene. I think it is actually lower in that group then in other places...these underground clubs or clubs don’t have the proper permits, don’t have the fire codes up to date, they need two or three more bouncers in to control everything, so I definitely think that is part of it.

John:

I think that’s total shit. That’s really bullshit. I’ve never seen any violence. That’s the last thing I’ve seen.

Richard:

Definitely not. That’s just ludicrous.

Thomas:

No way. No way there is violent criminal activity. There is no way. It’s totally against the nature of the beast.

Discussion

All respondents disagreed with the fourth and fifth statement. The respondents clearly indicated that the last two statements drafted by police and approved by the Charlotte City Council were based on erroneous information, which exaggerated the threat to children and even constructed a nonexistent danger associated with raves. The literature shows that raves are rarely sites for violent crime (Weber 1999). In a study of Northern Ireland raves, no violence was reported (Saunders and Doblin 1996:51).

Final Statement: Is there anything else that you want to say or talk about?

Leonard:

Imposing on my freedom is not going to change anything. What we're dealing with here is an internal moral crisis. This has to do with what children are taught to believe in when they are growing up...often by the time the kids are old enough to go to these parties, it's too late. I think what the government is trying to do is a very knee jerk reaction to a fear that has been trumped up by the media. I think to a certain extent this is a way to maintain a high level of bureaucracy within a local government. They are trying to do something to address an issue that they know they can't really hope to address. What they're doing is treating the symptom, and they're doing things and saying things that look and sound like the right thing in public, but they're really not doing the right thing...we never learned the lesson in the twenties that prohibition didn't work. Prohibition was something brought about by basically extremely religious conservative people. They were concerned about the welfare of these men drinking alcohol. The effect that they had was to strengthen organized crime. Prohibition against drugs only serves to do three things. Increase the strength of the mafia by keeping the prices of the drugs high. Number two, it increases the attractiveness to the teenager. What's a teenager interested in doing? Rebelling. Look at what happened with tobacco smoking. Teen smoking was on the decline, as soon as it became banned everywhere, it became a rebellious thing to do again, so kids had to start smoking everywhere. The third thing that it does it keeps a very large governmental bureaucracy active and it justifies extremely evasive entries into your personal rights.

Don:

2:30 is usually about the time I go home. There are certain people who aren't able to make it to these clubs until 2 o' clock. Because where they work don't shut down. They grouped the all age's shows with the adult entertainment. They grouped that together and they need to split it apart. I personally don't want somebody sitting in an elected chair telling me that I cant stay out past 2 o' clock. That's not what our constitution is about. That's why we split from England and came over here because we want our personal freedom. I should be allowed as a consenting adult over twenty-one to stay out past 2:30. These clubs should be allowed to stay open...There shouldn't be fifteen-year-old children staying out until 11 in the morning.

John:

It's a load of shit concocted by the City Council of Charlotte in response to a certain amount of concern of police officers and parents in town, they're bowing down to the political pressure and taking the steps necessary in order to insure they're reelection next term. It has nothing to do with giving a rat's left hind tit about anybody...it [the proposed legislation] will never pass. Too many people make too much money in this town that run these businesses who will be directly affected by this rave ordinance.

Richard:

I definitely think they could impose a curfew...late night things can be eighteen and up. A lot of cities have that same policy. The places they are really trying to close down don't even serve alcohol.

Thomas:

I don't think that drugs are bad. Unfortunately they just happen to be illegal. I guess the ordinance might be good because it will keep a lot of the regular people out who really ruined it in the first place. You can't deny the fact they are trying to take away your right to assemble. Why did nobody talk about it before? Because there's really no problem. They just created this whole thing. I'm not saying that it may not be a problem in other cities. Obviously they have a problem in Orlando. There's a lot of people dying and things like that, but nobody died here. The only person that died here got killed by a freaking bouncer in a club...In Florida they're dying from taking drugs apparently, like stuff that is supposed to be ecstasy, have you read about that dude?

Final Discussion

With the approval of Senate Bill 1208 and House of Representatives Bill 2582 (Appendix B), the city of Charlotte, North Carolina, would be eligible to receive funding to further combat the production, distribution, and consumption of club drugs identified as ecstasy, GHB, and ketamine. Charlotte's law enforcement officers, including the police that drafted Ordinance Number 1762 (Appendix A), might acquire such funding. Charlotte's Public Safety Committee, a committee with members from the Charlotte City Council, approved the ordinance drafted by police to restrict rave clubs ("Nightclub Restriction Compromise Heads to Council." *The Charlotte Observer* January 31, 2001).

Several claims appeared in the ordinance unanimously approved by the city council members of Charlotte on February 26, 2001. These claims I identified as statements made by the Charlotte City Council. During interviews with a self-selected sample of respondents who reside at the administrative level of raves, I read these statements as they appeared in Ordinance Number 1762 from an interview questionnaire (Appendix C).

Two of the respondents, 40%, agreed that the City of Charlotte is concerned for the health, safety, and welfare of its young people. Five of the respondents, 100%, agreed that late night dance halls, and similar forums of assembly commonly referred to as raves and after hour parties, are sites for the sale, possession, and use of illegal drugs. The third statement, that raves expose the uninitiated youth to drug activity often found to result in drug addiction, overdose, and death of both juveniles and adults, just one respondent agreed with; this respondent emphasized that similar drug activity occurs in many other

settings. The last two statements about raves providing an arena for predatory-type sexual crimes and violent criminal activity, no respondents agreed with. All of the respondents expressed a high degree of outrage about the last two claims made by police and approved by city council members.

The five respondents who participated in the interview conveyed a degree of honesty. All respondents agreed that illegal drugs were being used, possessed, and sold at “Raves” despite the terms ambiguity. If we agree to believe the respondents in one part of the survey, we should allow for the same consistency in the rest. Since all of the respondents disagreed with statements four and five, there is a chance exaggerated claims were made by police.

According to the moral panic theory, there is an overstated threat that is disproportional to any actual danger (Ungar 2001; Goode 2001; Victor 1998; deYoung 1998; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994; Cohen 1980; Hall et al. 1978). The reoccurring theme of Ordinance Number 1762 is stated in claims about the youth being threatened by deadly illegal drugs, sexual predators, and violent crimes found at raves. No statistical evidence was included in this piece of legislation other than statements made by local police and approved unanimously by the Charlotte City Council. Without figures to justify the claims made, it is possible that some claims, like raves being sites for sexual predatory-type crimes and violent crime, were exaggerations of the facts.

CHAPTER VI:

CONCLUSION

Ecstasy, an adulterated version of 3,4-methylenedioxymethamphetamine, has been illegal since 1985 (Beck and Rosenbaum 1994; Eisner 1994; Saunders and Doblin 1996; Alvergue 1998; Cohen 1998). During the past three years, the seizures of ecstasy by the United States Customs Service have increased 400 percent, signaling a greater demand for this substance (see Section 2 of the “Ecstasy Prevention Act of 2001”). This 400 percent increase illustrates the ineffectiveness of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970 where the Drug Enforcement Agency placed MDMA under as Controlled Substance Code Number 7405 (Jenkins 1999). Sixteen years later in 2001, more legislation is being enacted to fund social control efforts in a further attempt by moral entrepreneurs at halting the production, distribution, and consumption of ecstasy in the United States of America (Appendix B).

Ecstasy is consumed in many different social settings (Goode 1999:258; Push and Silcott 2000:1-21), yet the most frequently mentioned environment for consuming ecstasy is at raves (Critchler 2000; Connolly 2001). Raves are late to all night parties where attendees often dance to electronic music (Hutson 2000). This electronic music distributed on vinyl records is descended from Detroit Techno, Chicago House, and New York Garage. At raves, the music is mixed on two turntables by a disc jockey and broadcast over a sound system. Some of the attendees do ingest ecstasy or other drugs (Reynolds 1998; Weber 1999).

A few raves permit entrance to people who are under the age of eighteen, but many raves are held in clubs, bars, or other venues where the attendees must be at least eighteen if not twenty one years of age to enter. In most of these settings, the sale or consumption of alcohol is not permitted during raves.

There is a major concern expressed in the mass media about those under the age of eighteen being at raves. Those people who are socially positioned as the primary definers of reality claim that raves expose children to deadly drugs, sexual predators, and violent criminal activity. These exaggerated claims are sensationalized in the mass media. By generating this hysteria, the public consensus is shaped to support the legislative agenda of moral entrepreneurs at stopping raves.

As the moral panic theory suggests, a threat to society is constructed and defined in the mass media by primary claims-makers. Since a proliferation of newspaper articles about raves as a threat to children must be observable, I measured the frequency that articles appeared in major newspapers about ecstasy, raves, children, drugs, and MDMA. Then I measured the frequency that keywords appeared from a sample ($n=128$) of major international newspapers found around the world including European as well as North and South American news sources. Finally, I interviewed a group of people with years of firsthand experience at the administrative level of raves.

The most newspaper articles retrieved using LEXIS-NEXIS Academic Universe about ecstasy, raves, drugs, and MDMA from European sources were in 1995. From North and South American news sources, the largest frequency of articles containing the select keywords ecstasy, raves, children, death, drugs, and MDMA were in 2000. From

1994 to 2000, there was an 11,900% increase in articles from North and South American news sources about ecstasy, raves, and death. These articles suggest that the number of deaths associated with ecstasy at raves has increased exponentially, so raves are supposedly dangerous for children. Although many newspaper articles may have reported on the same death, this is still an inaccurate representation of reality since the number of deaths reported by the DEA and DAWN were disproportionate to the number of deaths stated in the newspapers retrieved through the database search.

Subsequently, I did a keyword analysis of ($n=128$) major international newspapers including both European as well as North and South American news sources. In the sample, ninety-eight percent of the articles contained the selected keyword illegal drug. Rave was observed in ninety-six percent of the articles, and ecstasy was in eighty-four percent. More than half of the sample referred to young people and death.

Finally, 100% of the respondents interviewed at the administrative level of raves agreed that raves are sites for the sale, possession, and use of illegal drugs. No respondents agreed with statements about raves providing an arena for predatory-type sexual crimes or violent criminal activity. Furthermore, less than ten percent of articles in the newspaper sample mentioned sexual or violent crime. There was clearly a discrepancy between claims made by police, the content of newspaper stories about raves, and what the respondents said during interviews. Since claims-makers define raves as a threat to children, it is understandable that moral entrepreneurs would emerge to pressure legislators into creating new laws restricting raves, which further infringes on the freedom of consenting adults and those at the administrative level of raves.

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APPENDIX A

Charlotte City Code Entitled “Businesses and Trades:” Ordinance Number 1762

ORDINANCE NUMBER 1762

ORDINANCE AMENDING CHAPTER OF THE CHARLOTTE CITY CODE
ENTITLED "BUSINESSES AND TRADES"

WHEREAS, the City of Charlotte finds that its young people are a treasured resource of this Community and their health, safety, and welfare is of primary concern; and

WHEREAS, the City of Charlotte hereby finds and determines as a matter of fact that late night and all night dance halls and similar forums of assembly Commonly referred to as "Raves" are sites for the sale, possession and use of illegal drugs; and

WHEREAS, the City of Charlotte also finds such "Raves" expose the uninitiated youth of our city to drug activity, and such exposure to drug activity occurring at "Raves" is often found to result in drug addiction, overdose, and death of both juveniles and adults; and

WHEREAS, the City of Charlotte hereby finds that "Raves" provide an arena for predatory-type sexual crimes: thus, for the protection of our city's youth, juveniles should not congregate in such social settings with adults; additionally, the regulation of "Raves" is also necessary for the protection of adult victims of such crimes; and

WHEREAS, the City of Charlotte hereby finds that "Raves" are often times the sites for violent criminal activity; and

WHEREAS, the City of Charlotte hereby finds that the dangerous criminal activity occurring at such "Raves" happens predominantly in the late night/early morning hours; and

WHEREAS, the City of Charlotte hereby finds that the actions of "Rave" patrons entering and exiting dance hall establishments have a deleterious effect on nearby residential and commercial properties in terms of excessive noise, traffic and litter, and the impact is exacerbated by the fact that "Rave" patrons enter and exit the "Raves" at extraordinarily late night/early morning hours when citizens have a reasonable expectation of peace and quiet; and

WHEREAS, the City of Charlotte hereby finds that the above-referenced Problems associated with "Raves" are unique and specific to such dance hall establishments and are not prevalent in other types of unregulated places of assembly; and

WHEREAS, it is the intent of the City of Charlotte to address the unique problems associated with "Raves" and other late night dance halls by regulating the hours of operation and by regulating contact between juveniles and adults at "Raves" and dance halls; and

WHEREAS, it is the intent of the City of Charlotte to prevent and/or reduce illegal undesirable juvenile involvement in and exposure to illegal drugs and dangerous criminal activity and, further, to protect both juveniles and adults from criminal activity that occurs at “Raves” and late night dance halls; and

WHEREAS, it is the intent of the City of Charlotte to only regulate activities that are not preempted by state law;

WHEREAS, the City of Charlotte hereby asserts that the following purposes of the dance hall regulations set forth herein are matters of legitimate, substantial, and compelling governmental interests:

- 1) To provide juveniles and adults with a safe environment wherein they can meet, socialize, and participate in dancing and other forms of entertainment;
- 2) To protect juveniles and adults from illegal drug activity, including the sale and use of drugs, as well as drug abuse, resulting in drug overdoses, and to reduce, if not eliminate, such activity from occurring in dance halls;
- 3) To protect juveniles and adults from violent criminal activity occurring in dance halls;
- 4) To protect juveniles and adult victims from predatory-type sexual crimes occurring in dance halls;
- 5) To protect juveniles and adults from gang-related activity occurring in dance halls;
- 6) To reduce the amount of criminal activity occurring predominantly in the late night/early morning hours;
- 7) To prevent the deleterious impact of noise, traffic, and litter on adjacent residential and commercial property that occurs in the late night/early morning hours; and
- 8) To prevent the owner or operator of a dance hall from knowingly operating a dance hall that is harmful to juveniles and/or adults.

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT ORDAINED, by the City Council of the City of Charlotte, North Carolina that:

Section 1. Chapter 6, “Businesses and Trades,” of the Charlotte City Code is amended by creating Article XI, entitled “Dance Hall Businesses,” to read as follows:

ARTICLE XI, DANCE HALL BUSINESSES

Sec. 6-156.

Purpose and authority. It is the purpose of this ordinance to regulate the dance hall business in order to promote the health, safety, and welfare of the citizens of the City of Charlotte and to establish reasonable and uniform regulations to prevent the harmful effects associated with late night dance establishments, commonly referred to as “Raves.”

Sec. 6-157 .

Definitions. “Adult dance hall” means any dance hall whose patrons are eighteen (18) years of age or older.

“Breach of the peace” means repeated acts that disturb the public order including, but not limited to, homicide, assault, affray, communicating threats, unlawful possession of dangerous or deadly weapons and discharging firearms.

“Chief of police” means the chief of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department, or his or her designee.

“City manager” means the city manager of the City of Charlotte or his or her designee who shall not be an employee of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department.

“Conviction” or “convicted” means a finding of guilt for a violation of a municipal or county ordinance or state or federal law, an adjudication withheld on such a finding of guilt, an adjudication of guilt on any plea of guilty or nolo contendere, or the forfeiture of a bond or bail when charged with a violation of a municipal or county ordinance or state or federal law.

“Dance hall” means any place or area of property operated as open to the public which:

- (1) Has music either live or electronically produced or transmitted; and
- (2) Has space available for dancing or dancing is permitted, whether such dancing takes place or not; and
- (3) Allows admission by payment of a direct or indirect charge, fee, donation, or any form of consideration, or by the purchase, possession or presentation of a ticket or token.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, a “dance hall,” as defined herein, does not include:

- (a) A private residence or residential facility from which the general public is excluded.
A private residence does not include a structure primarily designed as a warehouse or storage structure regardless of whether an individual is living within the structure; or
- (b) A place owned and operated by the federal, state, or local government; or
- (c) A public or private elementary school, secondary school, college, or university; or
- (d) A place owned and operated by a bona fide religious organization created, organized, existing, and recognized as such pursuant to all applicable laws; or
- (e) Any establishment or place that is regulated by the Alcoholic Beverage Control Laws as set forth in Chapter 18B of the North Carolina General Statutes.

“Dance hall regulations” means the regulations set forth in this article.

“Employee” describes and pertains to any person who performs any service or entertainment upon the premises of a dance hall business whether or not the person is denominated an employee, independent contractor, agent, or otherwise, and regardless of whether or not the person is paid a salary, wage, or other compensation by the owner or operator of the business. “Employee” does not include a person exclusively on the premises for any of the following:

- a) the repair or maintenance of the premises; or
- b) the delivery of goods to the premises; or
- c) the delivery of services, such as legal, accounting, insurance, or other similar services provided to businesses generally.

“Juvenile” means a person under eighteen (18) years of age.

“Juvenile dance hall” means any dance hall whose patrons or admittees are seventeen (18) years of age or younger.

“Knowingly” means with actual knowledge of a specific fact or facts or, with reasonable inquiry, a reasonable person should have known a specific fact or facts.

“Operator” means and includes any person who is both present on and in charge of any dance hall business premises.

“Owner” means the legal owner of a dance hall business and includes the following:

- a) The owner of a sole proprietorship; or
- b) Each member of a firm, association, or general partnership; or
- c) Each general partner in a limited partnership; or
- d) Each officer, director, and owner of fifty (50) percent or more of the stock of a corporation.

“Permit” or “dance hall permit” means a permit to operate a dance hall.

“Permittee” means a person in whose name a permit to operate a dance hall has been issued, as well as the individual listed as an applicant on the application for a dance hall permit.

“Person” means an individual, proprietorship, partnership, corporation, association or other legal entity.

“Premises” means the interior of a structure and all exterior areas owned or leased by the permittee.

“Residential facility” means a detached duplex, triplex, quadraplex, attached, or multifamily dwelling, manufactured home, mobile home, group home for up to six (6) clients, boarding house, or dormitory. A residential facility specifically excludes any structure that was primarily designed as a warehouse or storage structure, regardless of whether an individual is residing within the structure.

Sec. 6-158.

Permit required; application for permit.

a) No adult or juvenile dance hall shall be allowed to operate without a valid dance hall permit issued by the chief of police. It shall be unlawful for any person to operate or cause to be operated a dance hall without said permit, or without the presence of an operator who has been disclosed pursuant to Sec. 6-158(b)(9).

b) An application for a permit must be made by the owner of the business on a form prescribed by the chief of police, and submitted to the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department Vice and Narcotics Bureau. The completed application shall contain the following information and shall be accompanied by the following documents:

- (1) The full true name of the applicant;
- (2) The full true name under which the dance hall business will be operated and, if the business will be operated in a name other than that of the applicant, a certified copy of the assumed name certificate prepared and recorded in the Mecklenburg County Register of Deeds Office pursuant to North Carolina General Statutes 66-68 et. seq;
- (3) The type of dance hall business the applicant intends to operate;
- (4) Whether the applicant intends to serve alcoholic beverages at the dance hall business and/or apply for an ABC permit;
- (5) The address where the dance hall business is to be operated and where the books and records are maintained and available for examination by the collector of revenue, pursuant to Section 13-27 of this Code;
- (6) If the owner of the real property upon which the dance hall business is to be operated is not the applicant, the name and address for the owner of the real property upon which the business is to be operated and a copy of the lease or rental agreement;
- (7) The principal telephone number to be used by the dance hall business;
- (8) If the applicant is an individual, the applicant shall appear in person and deliver a completed and signed application form and provide the following information: (a) his or her present residence and business addresses and

telephone numbers, (b) a valid driver's license or other government issued picture identification, (c) social security number, and, (d) date of birth, to include month, day, and year.

If the applicant is a partnership, corporation, or limited liability company, the applicant shall designate one of its general partners, officers, or managers to act as its agent. Such person shall appear in person, and deliver a completed and signed application form, and shall provide the following information:

- (a) his or her present residence and business addresses and telephone numbers,
- (b) a valid driver's license or other government issued picture identification,
- (c) social security number, and (d) date of birth, to include month, day, and year.

If the applicant is a partnership:

- (a) the name, residence address and telephone number, social security number, and date of birth, to include month, day, and year, of each partner, including limited partners, and
- (b) a copy of the partnership agreement. If one or more of the partners is a corporation the provisions of this subparagraph pertaining to corporations shall apply;

If the applicant is a corporation:

- (a) a certified copy of the articles of incorporation, a certified copy of the certificate of authority, and a certified copy of the most recent annual report filed with the Secretary of State of North Carolina, and
- (b) the name, residence address and telephone number, social security number, and date of birth, to include month, day, and year of each of its current officers and directors, and of any stockholder holding fifty (50) percent or more of the stock of the corporation and
- (c) the name and address of the corporation's registered agent for service of process;

If the applicant is a limited liability company:

- (a) a certified copy of the articles of organization, a certified copy of the certificate of authority, and a certified copy of the most recent annual report filed with the Secretary of State of North Carolina, and
- (b) the name, residence address and telephone number, social security number, and date of birth, to include month, day, and year of each of its current members, and of any member holding fifty (50) percent or more interest in the company, and
- (c) the name and address of the corporation's registered agent for service of process;

- (9) The name, residence address and telephone number, social security number, and date of birth, to include month, day, and year, of each individual who will be an operator of the business;
 - (10) A federal tax identification number assigned to the dance hall business and a completed tax information authorization form (IRS Form 8621) authorizing only the verification of said number; and
 - (11) A sketch or diagram showing the configuration of the premises, including a statement of total floor space occupied by the business. The sketch need not be to scale but must provide accurate measurements.
- c) The application shall be sworn to be true and correct by the applicant.
 - d) The applicant shall indicate whether the application is for a juvenile dance hall or an adult dance hall.
 - e) An applicant for a permit under this section shall have a continuing duty to promptly supplement application information required by this section in the event that said information changes in any way from what is stated on the application. The applicant shall supplement the application on file with the Vice and Narcotics Bureau within thirty (30) days from the date of such change.
 - f) In the event that the Vice and Narcotics Bureau determines or learns at any time that the applicant has improperly completed the application for a dance hall permit, it shall promptly notify the applicant of such fact and allow the applicant (10) days to properly complete the application. The time period for granting or denying a license shall be stayed during the period in which the applicant is allowed an opportunity to properly complete the application.
 - g) The applicant shall be required to pay a non-refundable application and investigation fee, the amount of which shall be established pursuant to Section 2-4 of the Charlotte City Code.
 - h) Issuance of a dance hall permit does not excuse a permittee from compliance with any other applicable ordinance, regulation, or statute. By issuing a dance hall permit, the chief of police has not determined that the recipient is in compliance with any applicable local, state, or federal regulation or law or that the recipient is otherwise engaged in a legal activity or operating a business in a legal manner.

Sec 6-159. *Issuance of permit.*

- a) Within thirty (30) days after receipt of a completed application, the chief of police will approve or deny the application for a permit. Upon the expiration of the thirtieth (30) day, unless the applicant requests and is granted a reasonable extension of time, the applicant shall be permitted to begin operating a dance hall unless and until the chief of police notifies the applicant of a denial of the application and states the reason(s) for the denial,
- b) The chief of police shall deny the application for any of the following reasons:
 - (1) An applicant or any individual identified in the application under Sec. 6-158(b)(6) or (7) is under eighteen (18) years of age; or

- (2) The application and investigation fee has not been paid; or
- (3) An applicant or any individual identified in the application under Sec. 6-158(b)(6) or (7) has refused to allow an inspection of the premises as authorized by Sec. 6-161; or
- (4) An applicant or any individual identified in the application under Sec. 6-158(b)(6) or (7) has overdue permit fees associated with the operation of a dance hall business; or
- (5) An applicant or any individual identified in the application under Sec. 6-158(b)(6) or (7) has a permit under this ordinance that is suspended or revoked; or
- (6) An applicant failed to provide the information necessary to determine the qualifications of the applicant or any individual identified in the application under Sec. 6-158(b)(6) or (7) for issuance of the license, or provided materially false or misleading information on the application form; or
- (7) An applicant or any individual identified in the application under Sec. 6-158(b)(6) or (7) has been convicted of a crime:

Involving

- i. Any felony; or
- ii. Any misdemeanor offense of or equivalent to North Carolina General Statutes §14-190.9~ Indecent exposure; §14-202, Secretly peeping into room occupied by female person; §14-33, Assault; §14-34, Assault by pointing gun; §14-32.1, Assault on handicapped person, §14-288.9 Assault on emergency personnel; §14-318.2, Child abuse; §14-401.14, Ethnic intimidation; §14-277.1, Communicating threats; §14-196, Harassing phone calls; §14-277.3, Stalking; §14-260, Carrying concealed weapon; §14-269.7~ Possession of handgun by minor; §14-315.1~ Storage of firearm to protect minors; §14-269.3, Carrying weapon where alcoholic beverages are sold and consumed; §14-277.2, Weapons at parades; §14-204, 204.1, Prostitution, Loitering for prostitution; §14-190.5 Preparation of obscene photographs §14-190.14, 190.15(a), Displaying/Disseminating material harmful to minors; §14-90.15(b), Exhibiting harmful performances to minors; or iii,
- iii. Common law offenses of False Imprisonment or Going Armed to the Terror of the People; or iv.

- iv. Any violation of dance hall regulations of any other city, county, state, or government.

For which:

- i. Less than (2) years have elapsed since the date of conviction or the date of release from confinement imposed for the conviction, whichever is the later date, if the conviction is for a misdemeanor offense;
- ii. Less than five (5) years have elapsed since the date of conviction or the date of release from confinement for the conviction, whichever is the later date, if the conviction is for a felony offense; or
- iii. Less than five (5) years have elapsed since the date of the last conviction or the date of release from confinement for the conviction, whichever is the later date, if the convictions are for two (2) or more misdemeanor offenses or combination of misdemeanor offenses occurring within any twenty-four month period.

An applicant who has been convicted of an offense listed in Sec. 6-1 59(b)(7) (a) may qualify for a dance hall permit only when the time period required by Sec. 6-1 59(b)(7)(b) has elapsed. The fact that a conviction has been appealed has no effect on the denial of the permit,
 (b) The application demonstrates or reveals information showing that the proposed business fails to meet the requirements of this article.
 (c) The permit must be posted in the dance hall in a conspicuous place at or near the entrance to the business so that it can be read easily at any time.

Sec. 6-160.

Annual permit fee.

The permittee of a dance hall business shall be required to pay an annual permit fee, the amount of which shall be established pursuant to Section 2-4 of the Charlotte City Code.

Sec 6-161.

Inspection.

An applicant or any individual identified in the application under Sec. 6-1 58(b)(6) or (7) shall permit representatives of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department to inspect the premises for the purpose of ensuring compliance with this article prior to the issuance of a permit under this article.

Sec. 6-162

Notices.

Any notice required or permitted to be given by the chief of police or the city manager under this article to any applicant, permittee, owner, or operator of a hall business may be given either by personal delivery or by certified United States mail, postage prepaid, return receipt requested, to the most current address as specified in the application for the permit or any notice of change of address which has been received by the chief of police. Notices mailed as above shall be deemed given upon their deposit in the United States mail and shall be presumed to have been received on the third regular postal delivery day thereafter.

Sec. 6-163.

Computation of time.

Unless otherwise specifically set forth in this ordinance, the time within which any act required by this ordinance is to be done shall be computed by excluding the first day and including the last day, unless the last day is Saturday, Sunday, or a Federal or State of North Carolina holiday, in which case it shall also be excluded, if the day immediately following such Saturday, Sunday, or holiday is also a Saturday, Sunday, or holiday, then such succeeding day shall also be excluded.

Sec. 6-164.

Notice of violation and suspension of a permit.

- a) The chief of police shall issue a notice of violation if he or she determines that a permittee, owner, operator, or employee has violated or is not in compliance with any section of this article. The notice shall specify the section(s) of this article that have been violated.
- b) chief of police shall suspend a dance hall permit for a period of thirty (30) days if the violation has not been corrected or abated within twenty (20) days after the notice of violation has been received by the permittee, owner or operator
- c) A decision by the chief of police to suspend a license shall not become final until twenty (20) days after notice of the decision has been received by the permittee, owner, or operator.
- d) It shall be unlawful for any person to operate or cause to be operated a dance hall business and said person knows or should know that the business has a permit which has been suspended.

Sec. 6- 165.

Revocation of permit.

- a) The chief of police shall revoke a dance hall permit if a suspension of the permit becomes effective following a notice of violation that was issued within twelve (12) months of the effective date of a previous suspension.
- b) The chief of police shall revoke a dance hall permit if he or she determines that:
 - 1) An applicant or permittee provided materially false or misleading information in the material submitted in the application process; or

- 2) A permittee owner, or operator has knowingly allowed the sale possession, or use of controlled substances in or on the premises; or
 - 3) A permittee, owner, or operator of an adult dance hall has served alcoholic beverage(s) to a patron or patrons in or on the premises in violation of Chapter 1 BB or the North Carolina General Statutes; or
 - 4) A permittee, owner, or operator of a juvenile dance hall has knowingly allowed the sale, possession, or use of any alcoholic beverage(s) in or on the premises; or
 - 5) A permittee, owner, or operator of a juvenile dance hall has engaged in the consumption or use of alcoholic beverages or controlled substances or any derivative thereof in or on the premises; or
 - 6) A breach of the peace, as defined by Sec. 6-157, has occurred in or on the premises; or
 - 7) A permittee, owner, operator, or employee has knowingly permitted dancing or a live performance in or on the premises during a period of time when the dance hall permit was suspended.
 - 8) A permittee, owner, or operator is convicted of an offense listed in Sec. 6-159(7)(a) since the permit was issued. The fact that a conviction is being appealed shall have no effect on the revocation of the permit.
- c) A decision by the chief of police to revoke a permit shall not become final until twenty (20) days after the permittee, owner, or operator has received
 - d) When the chief of police revokes a license, the revocation shall continue for one (1) year and the permittee shall not be issued a dance hall permit for one (1) year from the date the revocation became effective.
 - e) It shall be unlawful for any person to operate or cause to be operated a dance hall business and said person knows or should know that the business has a permit that has been revoked.

Sec. 6-166.

Appeal of denial, suspension, or revocation.

- a) After a denial of an application for a permit, a denial of an application for renewal of a permit, or a suspension or revocation of a permit, the applicant or permittee may appeal the denial, suspension, or revocation in writing to the city manager within twenty (20) days after notice of the denial, suspension, or revocation has been received. The city manager shall hold a hearing on whether to issue/renew the permit or uphold the denial, suspension, or revocation within five (5) days after the receipt of the appeal. The applicant or permittee shall have the right to present evidence at the hearing. The decision to issue/renew the permit or uphold the denial, suspension, or revocation shall be based solely on the criteria set forth in this article. The city manager shall render a decision on the appeal within five (5) business days after the date of the hearing

- b) Upon receipt by the city manager of a written appeal pursuant to subsection (a), above, a denial of an application for renewal of the permit or a suspension or revocation of the permit shall be stayed until a decision is rendered by the city manager. In addition, upon receipt by the city manager of a written appeal pursuant to subsection (a), above, the denial of an initial application for a permit by any dance hall existing prior to the effective date of this ordinance shall be stayed until a decision is rendered by the city manager.
- c) The decision of the city manager is subject to review in the Superior Court of Mecklenburg County by proceedings in the nature of certiorari. Any petition for writ of certiorari for review shall be filed with the Clerk of Superior Court within thirty (30) days after notice of the decision has been received by the applicant or permittee. A denial of an application for renewal of the permit or a suspension or revocation of the permit shall be stayed until a decision is rendered by the Superior Court or the time to petition the Superior Court for a writ of certiorari has expired. In addition, the denial of an initial application for a permit by any dance hall business existing prior to the effective date of this ordinance shall be stayed until a decision is rendered by the Superior Court or the time to petition the Superior Court for a writ of certiorari has expired. The following provisions shall apply to any appeal to Superior Court from a decision of the city manager:
 - i. Unless good cause exists to contest a petition for writ of certiorari, the city shall stipulate to certiorari no later than five (5) business days after the petitioner requests such a stipulation.
 - ii. The city shall transmit the record to the court no later than five (5) business days after receiving the order allowing certiorari.
 - iii. Notwithstanding the provisions of any local rule of the reviewing court which allows for a longer time period, the city shall file its brief within fifteen (15) days after it is served with the petitioner's brief. If the petitioner serves his or her brief by mail, the city shall add three (3) days to this time limit, in accordance with North Carolina General Statute IA-I, Rule 5. If the local rule is subsequently amended to provide for a shorter time period for the filing of any brief, then the shorter time period shall control.
- d) An appeal by an applicant or permittee from the Superior Court of Mecklenburg County shall be governed by the North Carolina Rules of Appellate Procedure but, unless a court of competent jurisdiction otherwise provides said appeal shall not stay any action taken with regard to the permit.

Sec. 6-167.

Prohibition regarding transfer of permit.

A permittee shall not transfer a permit to another person or to another premises. The transfer of a permit shall automatically and immediately revoke the permit.

Sec. 6-168.

Expiration of permit.

- a) Each permit shall expire one (1) year from the date of issuance and maybe renewed only by making application, as provided in Section 6-158 and paying the annual permit fee, as required by Sec. 6-16O. Application for renewal shall be made at least thirty (30) days before the expiration date, and when made less than thirty (30) days before the expiration date, the expiration of the permit will not be affected.
- b) When the chief of police denies renewal of the permit, the applicant shall not be issued a permit under this article for one (1) year from the date of denial. If, subsequent to the denial, the chief of police determines that the basis for the denial has been corrected, the applicant shall be granted a permit.
- c) It shall be unlawful for any person to operate or cause to be operated a dance hall and said person knows or should know that the business has a permit that has expired.

Sec. 6-169.

Persons under eighteen (18) years of age prohibited in adult dance halls.

An adult dance hall business, regardless of whether or not a permit has been issued for said business under this article, shall be subject to the following:

- a) It shall be unlawful for a person under eighteen (18) years of age to enter an adult dance hall unless accompanied by a parent or guardian.
- b) It shall be unlawful for a person to falsely represent himself or herself to be either a parent or guardian of another person under eighteen (18) years of age for the purpose of gaining the other person's admission into an adult dance hall.
- c) It shall be unlawful for a permittee, owner, operator, or employee of an adult dance hall to knowingly allow a person under eighteen (18) years of age to enter or remain upon the premises of an adult dance hall.
- d) It shall be unlawful for a permittee, owner, or operator of an adult dance hall to maintain or operate the premises without conspicuously posting a sign at each entrance to the business that clearly reads: "It is unlawful for any person under eighteen (18) years of age to enter these premises without a parent or guardian."

Sec. 6- 170.

Persons eighteen (18) years of age and over prohibited in juvenile dance halls.

A juvenile dance hall business, regardless of whether or not a permit has been issued for said business under this article, shall be subject to the following:

- a) It shall be unlawful for a person eighteen (18) years of age and over to enter a juvenile dance hall.
- b) It shall be unlawful for a person to falsely represent himself or herself to be under eighteen (18) years of age for the purpose of gaining admission to a juvenile dance hall.

- c) It shall be unlawful for a permittee, owner, operator, or employee of a juvenile dance hall to knowingly allow a person eighteen (18) years of age or over to enter or remain upon the premises of a juvenile dance hall.
- d) It shall be unlawful for a permittee, owner, or operator of a juvenile dance hall to maintain or operate the premises without posting a conspicuous sign at the entrance to the business that clearly reads: "It is unlawful for any person eighteen (18) years of age or over to enter these premises".
- e) It is a defense to a prosecution under subsection (a) or (c), above, that the person is:
 - 1) A permittee, owner, operator, or employee of the dance hall; or
 - 2) A parent or guardian of a person inside the dance hall; or
 - 3) A governmental employee in the performance of official duties.
 - 4) A person exclusively on the premises for the repair or maintenance of the premises, the delivery of goods to the premises, or the delivery of services, such as legal, accounting, insurance, or other similar services provided to businesses generally.

Sec 6-171.

Hours of operation.

A dance hall business, regardless of whether or not a permit has been issued for said business under this article, shall be subject to the following:

- a) It shall be unlawful to operate a juvenile dance hall during any hours other than between 4:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. on any Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, or between 4:00 p.m. on Friday and 12:01 a.m. on the following day (Saturday), or between 1:00 p.m. on Saturday and 12:01 a.m. on the following day (Sunday).
- b) It shall be unlawful to operate an adult dance hall during any hours other than between 1:00 p.m. and 2:30 a.m. on the following day.
- c) It shall be unlawful to remain in or upon the premises of a dance hall after closing time, unless the person is a permittee, owner, operator, or employee of the dance hall.

Sec. 6-172.

Public safety.

- a) Security. The following security shall be provided at all dance halls:
 - (1) Exterior security officers, consisting of off-duty (extra-duty) sworn law enforcement officers, of a number as determined appropriate in an application to the law enforcement agency requesting the same, which number shall not be less than two (2); provided,

however, one (1) exterior security officer may be permitted in the event two (2) immediately adjacent establishments mutually utilize the same two (2) officers, and said arrangement is approved by the law enforcement agency assigning said officers. Exterior security officers shall only be required if the number of occupants exceeds two hundred and fifty (250).

(2) When required, exterior security personnel shall be provided seven (7) days a week.

b) No person shall operate a dance hall in violation of any applicable provisions of Chapter 8 of the Charlotte City Code, entitled "Fire Prevention and Protection"

Sect 6-173.

Zoning.

No person shall operate a dance hall in violation of any applicable provisions of the Zoning Ordinance of the City of Charlotte.

Sec. 6-174.

Dance hall operator.

It shall be unlawful for an operator to fail to remain on the premises of the dance hall during all hours of operation and until thirty (30) minutes after closing time, to ensure that the operation is conducted in accordance with the requirements of this article.

Sec. 6-175.

Regulations governing existing dance hall businesses.

Any dance hall business existing prior to the effective date of this ordinance shall comply with the regulations contained herein ninety (~0) days after the effective date of this ordinance.

Sec. 6-176.

Penalties and remedies.

Any person who knowingly violates any of the following provisions of this article shall be guilty of a misdemeanor as provided in North Carolina General Statute 14-4 and, upon conviction, shall be subject to a maximum fine of five hundred dollars (\$500.00), or imprisonment, or both: 6-158(a). 6-164(d), 0-165(e), 6-168(c). 6-169 (a)-(d), 6-170 (a)-(d). 6-171(a)-(c), and 6-174. Each violation shall be considered a separate and distinct offense, and each day of continued violation shall be considered as a separate offense, The issuance of a notice of violation or a suspension or revocation of a dance hall permit shall not prohibit the imposition of a criminal penalty, and the imposition of a criminal penalty shall not prevent the issuance of a notice of violation or a suspension or revocation of the permit.

Sec. 6-177.

Civil injunction.

In addition to the issuance a notice of a violation, the suspension or revocation of a dance hall permit, or a prosecution for criminal violations, any person who violates this article may be subject to all civil and equitable remedies stated in North Carolina General Statute 160A-175.

Sec. 6-178.

Severability.

In the event that any provision of this article, or any part thereof, or any application thereof to any person or circumstance, is for any reason held to be unconstitutional or otherwise invalid or ineffective by any court of competent jurisdiction on its face or as applied, such holding shall not affect the validity or effectiveness of any of the remaining provisions of this article or any part thereof, or any application thereof to any person or circumstance, or of said provision as applied to any other person or circumstance. It is hereby declared to be the Legislative intent of the city council that this article would have been adopted had such unconstitutional, invalid, or ineffective provision not been included herein”

This ordinance shall become effective on April 23, 2001.

APPENDIX B

Senate Bill 1208 and House of Representatives Bill 2582

107th CONGRESS
1st Session
S. 1208 and H. R. 2582

To combat the trafficking, distribution, and abuse of Ecstasy (and other club drugs) in the United States.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
July 19, 2001

Mr. GRAHAM (for himself, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. DURBIN, Ms. LANDRIEU, Mrs. CLINTON, and Mr. SCHUMER) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
July 20, 2001

Mr. MICA (for himself, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. OSE, Mr. GRAVES, and Mr. KELLER) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

A BILL

To combat the trafficking, distribution, and abuse of Ecstasy (and other club drugs) in the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the ‘Ecstasy Prevention Act of 2001’.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress makes the following findings:

- (1) The illegal importation and use of 3,4-methylenedioxy methamphetamine (referred to in this Act as ‘MDMA’ or ‘Ecstasy’) has increased more than 400 percent during the past 3 years, as evidenced by Ecstasy seizures by the United States Customs Service.
- (2) Some research has indicated that the use of Ecstasy can cause long-lasting and perhaps permanent damage to the serotonin system of the brain, and can cause long-term problems with learning and memory.
- (3) Due to the popularity and marketability of Ecstasy, and the skyrocketing use, seizures, and deaths, greater emphasis needs to be placed on--

- (A) the education of young people on the negative health effects of Ecstasy (and other club drugs) since the reputation of Ecstasy as a 'safe drug' is its most dangerous component;
- (B) the education of State and local law enforcement agencies and health care professionals and personnel regarding the growing problem of Ecstasy use and trafficking;
- (C) adequate funding for the National Institutes of Health to support and report on research that documents the health effects of Ecstasy use; and
- (D) State and local government initiatives.

SEC. 3. GRANTS FOR ECSTASY ABUSE PREVENTION.

Section 506B(c) of title V of the Public Health Service Act is amended by adding at the end the following:

(3) EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS

- (A) IN GENERAL- In addition to the priority under paragraph (2), the Administrator shall give priority to communities that have taken measures to combat club drug use, including passing ordinances restricting rave clubs, increasing law enforcement on Ecstasy, and seizing lands under nuisance abatement laws to make new restrictions on an establishment's use.
- (B) STATE PRIORITY- A priority grant may be made to a State under this paragraph on a pass-through basis to an eligible community.

SEC. 4. COMBATING ECSTASY AND OTHER CLUB DRUGS IN HIGH INTENSITY DRUG TRAFFICKING AREAS.

(a) PROGRAM-

- (1) IN GENERAL- The Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy shall use amounts available under this section to combat the trafficking of MDMA in areas designated by the Director as high intensity drug trafficking areas.
- (2) ACTIVITIES- In meeting the requirement in paragraph (1), the Director shall transfer funds to assist anti-Ecstasy law enforcement initiatives in high intensity drug trafficking areas, including assistance for investigative costs, intelligence enhancements, technology improvements, and training.

(b) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS-

- (1) IN GENERAL- There are authorized to be appropriated to carry out this section--
 - (A) \$15,000,000 for fiscal year 2002; and
 - (B) such sums as may be necessary for each of the fiscal years 2003 through 2005.

(2) NO SUPPLANTING- Any Federal funds received under this section shall be used to supplement, not supplant, non-Federal funds that would otherwise be used to carry out activities funded under this section.

(c) APPORTIONMENT OF FUNDS- The Director shall apportion amounts appropriated for a fiscal year pursuant to the authorization of appropriations in subsection (b) for activities under subsection (a) among and within areas designated by the Director and based on the threat assessments submitted by individual high intensity drug trafficking areas.

SEC. 5. NATIONAL YOUTH ANTIDRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN.

(a) IN GENERAL- In conducting the national media campaign under section 102 of the Drug-Free Media Campaign Act of 1998 (112 Stat. 2681-752), the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy shall ensure that such campaign addresses the reduction and prevention of abuse of MDMA and club and emerging drugs among young people in the United States.

(b) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS- There are authorized to be appropriated to carry out this section--

(1) \$7,000,000 for fiscal year 2002; and

(2) such sums as are necessary for each of the fiscal years 2003 through 2005.

SEC. 6. MDMA DRUG TEST.

There are authorized to be appropriated to the Office of National Drug Control Policy such sums as are necessary to commission a drug test for MDMA which would meet the standards for the Federal workplace.

SEC. 7. NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON DRUG ABUSE REPORT.

(a) RESEARCH- The Director of the National Institute on Drug Abuse (referred to in this section as the 'Director') shall conduct research--

(1) that evaluates the effects that MDMA use can have on an individual's health, such as--

(A) physiological effects such as changes in ability to regulate one's body temperature, stimulation of the cardiovascular system, muscle tension, teeth clenching, nausea, blurred vision, rapid eye movement, tremors, and other such conditions, some of which can result in heart failure or heat stroke;

(B) psychological effects such as mood and mind altering and panic attacks which may come from altering various neurotransmitter levels such as serotonin in the brain;

(C) short-term effects like confusion, depression, sleep problems, severe anxiety, paranoia, hallucinations, and amnesia; and

(D) long-term effects on the brain with regard to memory and other cognitive functions, and other medical consequences; and

(2) documenting those research findings and conclusions with respect to MDMA that are scientifically valid and identify the medical consequences on an individual's health.

(b) INTERIM REPORT- Not later than January 1, 2003, the Director shall provide an interim report on the progress and current findings of the study required by this section.

(c) FINAL REPORT- Not later than January 1, 2004, the Director shall submit a report to the Congress.

(d) REPORTS PUBLIC- The report required by this section shall be made public.

(e) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS- There are authorized to be appropriated to carry out this section--

(1) \$100,000 for the interim assessment under subsection (b); and

(2) \$1,500,000 for the final report under subsection (c).

SEC. 8. INTERAGENCY ECSTASY/CLUB DRUG TASK FORCE.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT-

(1) IN GENERAL- The Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy shall establish a Task Force on Ecstasy/MDMA and Emerging Club Drugs (referred to in this section as the 'task force') which shall--

(A) design, implement, and evaluate the education, prevention, and treatment practices and strategies of the Federal Government with respect to Ecstasy, MDMA, and emerging club drugs; and

(B) specifically study the club drug problem and report its findings to Congress.

(2) MEMBERSHIP- The task force shall--

(A) be under the jurisdiction of the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, who shall designate a chairperson; and

(B) include as members law enforcement, substance abuse prevention, judicial, and public health professionals as well as representatives from Federal, State, and local agencies.

(b) RESPONSIBILITIES- The responsibilities of the task force shall be--

(1) to evaluate the current practices and strategies of the Federal Government in education, prevention, and treatment for Ecstasy, MDMA, and other emerging club drugs and recommend appropriate and beneficial models for education, prevention, and treatment;

(2) to identify appropriate government components and resources to implement task force recommendations; and

(3) to make recommendations to the President and Congress to implement proposed improvements in accordance with the National Drug Control Strategy and its budget allocations.

(c) MEETINGS- The task force shall meet at least once every 6 months.

(d) TERMINATION- The task force shall terminate 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(e) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS- There are authorized to be appropriated \$1,000,000 to carry out this section.

APPENDIX C:
INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

The Charlotte City Council has made several statements concerning Raves.

What do you think about the following statements?

1. The City of Charlotte is concerned for the health, safety, and welfare of its young people.
2. Late night and all night dance halls and similar forums of assembly commonly referred to as “Raves” and after hour parties are sites for the sale, possession, and use of illegal drugs.
3. “Raves” expose the uninitiated youth of our city to drug activity...often found to result in drug addiction, overdose, and death of both juveniles and adults.
4. “Raves” provide an arena for predatory-type sexual crimes.
5. “Raves” are often times the sites for violent criminal activity.
6. Is there anything else that you want to say or talk about?

APPENDIX D:
Pretest Coding of International Newspapers

[Pretest] Frequency Distribution of Keywords Coded from a Sample ($n=128$) of Major International Newspaper Articles for the Years 1992-2001

Date of Article	Selected Keywords								
	Rave	Club	Illegal Drug	Ecstasy	GHB	Death	Young People	Sexual Crime	Violent Crime
2/23/92	4	4	11	24	0	4	2	0	0
3/7/92	19	4	33	19	0	9	9	0	0
4/9/92	3	0	2	6	0	1	0	0	0
8/27/92	1	0	6	1	0	3	2	0	0
9/6/92	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
9/6/92	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
11/4/92	1	0	10	8	0	4	6	0	0
6/19/93	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
10/20/93	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
2/15/94	4	0	8	2	0	0	0	0	0
4/1/94	1	0	17	2	0	1	10	0	1
5/17/94	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5/22/94	6	16	31	11	31	7	9	0	0
6/10/94	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0
12/10/94	5	1	7	2	0	4	4	0	0
1/20/95	1	0	34	1	0	0	0	0	0
2/9/95	3	3	3	3	0	5	4	0	0
2/22/95	1	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	0
3/19/95	1	0	2	1	0	0	3	0	0
5/21/95	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
5/21/95	14	2	8	1	0	0	8	0	0
8/21/95	0	0	5	2	0	0	1	0	0
9/1/95	1	0	3	4	0	3	0	0	0
9/13/95	1	0	22	0	0	5	0	0	2
9/30/95	1	19	17	6	0	3	2	0	0
10/1/95	1	1	4	1	0	2	2	0	0
10/2/95	2	1	6	1	0	4	2	0	0
10/10/95	1	2	7	1	0	2	1	0	0
10/28/95	6	1	22	9	0	5	2	2	0
10/29/95	2	3	8	4	0	0	0	0	0
11/15/95	1	1	13	1	0	1	5	0	0
11/17/95	0	1	10	15	0	1	1	0	0
12/11/95	1	1	9	4	0	4	1	0	0
2/13/96	2	0	5	8	0	3	1	0	0
3/6/96	1	0	11	3	0	0	4	1	0
3/19/96	2	0	22	1	0	0	1	0	1
6/5/96	1	0	5	2	0	1	0	0	0
6/8/96	1	0	5	6	0	3	1	1	1
6/14/96	2	0	10	6	0	2	2	0	0
6/14/96	1	0	7	8	0	3	0	0	0
6/22/96	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
1/3/97	1	2	4	1	0	1	2	0	0
1/3/97	5	0	7	5	0	15	2	0	0
2/6/97	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
3/2/97	1	0	10	1	0	0	13	0	0
3/11/97	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0

Date of Article	Selected Keywords								
	Rave	Club	Illegal Drug	Ecstasy	GHB	Death	Young People	Sexual Crime	Violent Crime
4/20/97	2	2	22	5	0	0	2	5	0
6/14/97	1	0	1	2	0	0	3	0	0
6/18/97	1	0	2	1	0	0	3	0	0
6/20/97	1	0	5	2	0	2	6	0	0
7/23/97	1	0	1	2	0	4	2	0	0
8/29/97	1	0	10	4	0	0	2	0	0
1/17/98	2	0	5	0	3	3	0	0	0
2/24/98	1	0	5	6	0	0	1	0	0
3/28/98	3	0	16	10	0	4	0	0	0
5/16/98	1	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	0
6/4/98	1	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
6/6/98	2	1	6	4	0	0	2	0	0
6/18/98	6	9	6	0	2	7	4	0	0
7/17/98	1	0	6	3	0	1	0	0	0
8/9/98	1	1	29	3	0	8	1	0	0
9/30/98	1	4	10	2	0	2	1	0	0
10/30/98	1	0	10	8	0	2	1	0	0
11/8/98	6	0	17	2	3	2	7	1	0
11/12/98	1	0	5	2	0	2	34	0	0
11/27/98	1	1	1	3	0	2	0	0	0
12/2/98	3	3	10	9	0	3	2	0	0
12/13/98	1	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0
1/13/99	2	1	9	3	0	0	0	0	0
6/15/99	2	2	4	12	0	2	3	0	0
9/7/99	2	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0
9/24/99	1	0	8	1	0	4	6	0	0
9/25/99	7	2	16	3	0	0	4	0	4
10/5/99	10	1	9	1	1	10	5	0	0
10/19/99	9	0	2	5	0	4	5	0	0
10/26/99	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
11/5/99	10	1	9	4	0	11	3	0	0
11/13/99	7	1	8	0	0	7	7	0	0
12/18/99	7	1	8	4	3	0	7	1	0
12/23/99	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
12/23/99	1	1	10	0	3	0	0	1	0
1/31/00	17	4	12	8	2	10	10	0	1
2/1/00	1	0	7	6	0	1	6	0	0
2/27/00	29	1	44	10	4	8	6	2	0
3/12/00	2	1	7	2	0	0	0	0	0
4/5/00	2	0	9	5	0	0	4	0	0
4/19/00	18	2	45	42	0	4	19	1	1
4/20/00	7	1	5	5	1	5	8	0	0
4/26/00	1	1	3	5	0	0	1	0	0
5/21/00	1	0	12	0	0	9	12	0	0
6/3/00	6	0	76	15	0	6	10	2	0
6/4/00	2	5	3	1	1	0	3	0	0
6/4/00	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
6/6/00	5	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	0

Date of Article	Selected Keywords								
	Rave	Club	Illegal Drug	Ecstasy	GHB	Death	Young People	Sexual Crime	Violent Crime
7/2/00	0	0	7	2	1	3	0	0	0
7/16/00	2	0	18	5	0	1	9	0	0
7/25/00	4	0	8	14	0	4	1	0	0
7/30/00	22	0	5	6	0	1	1	1	0
8/2/00	1	0	7	0	3	3	2	0	0
8/9/00	1	0	10	0	0	0	5	0	0
8/15/00	5	0	24	15	0	0	3	0	0
8/16/00	12	4	67	19	3	0	11	0	0
9/4/00	1	0	5	1	0	0	2	0	0
9/26/00	17	6	28	4	4	0	7	1	0
9/30/00	3	3	29	9	0	17	0	0	0
11/5/00	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
11/15/00	6	0	15	1	0	0	0	0	0
11/16/00	1	0	16	1	0	1	0	0	0
11/18/00	1	0	13	0	0	2	1	0	0
11/27/00	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
12/10/00	1	0	8	2	0	1	0	0	0
12/11/00	30	0	22	5	0	0	1	0	0
12/26/00	2	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	0
1/3/01	1	0	7	8	0	2	2	0	0
1/3/01	3	0	7	8	0	2	2	0	0
1/5/01	10	0	12	2	1	0	3	1	1
1/11/01	2	0	8	2	0	0	6	0	0
1/15/01	3	0	11	0	0	0	5	0	0
1/20/01	1	0	4	3	0	4	0	0	0
3/9/01	2	1	7	5	0	0	9	0	0

APPENDIX E:

Keywords Coded from a Sample of International Newspapers

Frequency Distribution of Keywords Coded from a Sample ($n=128$) of Major International Newspaper Articles for the years 1992-2001											
Date of Article	Selected Keywords										
	Newspaper Name	Word Count	Rave	Illegal Drug	Ecstasy	MDMA	Cocaine Heroin	Ketamine	GHB	Young People	Death
1/10/92	The Herald	876	12	21	13	2	0	0	0	8	4
2/23/92	Sunday Times	830	6	12	23	0	1	0	0	2	4
3/7/92	Los Angeles Times	1862	14	29	20	2	3	0	0	8	11
4/9/92	San Diego Union-	173	3	6	3	5	0	0	0	0	1
8/27/92	The Independent	228	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
9/6/92	The Independent	32	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
11/4/92	The Herald	430	1	11	7	0	0	0	0	7	3
12/10/92	The Herald	142	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6/19/93	The Herald	231	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
10/20/93	The Independent	77	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
2/15/94	The Scotsman	197	4	10	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
4/1/94	The Scotsman	570	1	14	2	0	6	0	0	12	2
4/19/94	USA Today	2159	18	39	46	4	5	0	0	19	5
5/17/94	The Herald	75	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5/22/94	The Independent	2514	6	35	10	1	2	0	27	9	8
6/10/94	The Herald	112	1	7	7	1	0	0	0	1	3
9/14/94	The Scotsman	141	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
12/10/94	The Independent	339	7	7	2	0	0	0	0	4	3
1/20/95	The Scotsman	646	1	24	1	0	10	0	0	0	0
2/9/95	The Herald	1214	3	3	7	0	0	0	0	2	5
2/22/95	The Herald	280	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
3/19/95	Sunday Times	851	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	0
5/21/95	Chicago Sun	234	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
5/21/95	Chicago Sun	1161	15	7	1	0	1	0	0	13	0
8/21/95	Toronto Sun	132	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
9/1/95	The Independent	176	1	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	3
9/2/95	The Independent	18	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	3
9/4/95	The Herald	1320	1	3	16	0	0	0	0	0	0
9/13/95	The Independent	539	1	22	0	0	1	0	0	0	8
10/1/95	The Observer	160	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	2	3
10/2/95	San Francisco	400	2	7	1	0	0	0	0	2	4
10/10/95	The Guardian	640	1	9	2	0	0	0	0	3	10
10/28/95	The Herald	1054	5	23	9	2	1	0	0	4	2

Date of Article	Selected Keywords										
	Newspaper Name	Word Count	Rave	Illegal Drug	Ecstasy	MDMA	Cocaine Heroin	Ketamine	GHB	Young People	Death
11/15/95	Daily Telegram	1178	1	12	1	0	0	0	0	5	0
11/17/95	The Guardian	1360	0	4	16	0	0	0	6	1	0
12/11/95	The Independent	382	1	7	4	0	2	0	0	1	4
2/13/96	The Herald	654	2	4	5	2	0	0	0	1	3
3/6/96	The Herald	1147	1	11	3	0	0	0	0	4	0
3/19/96	The Herald	1080	2	12	3	0	10	0	0	0	0
6/5/96	South China	1395	1	2	2	0	3	0	0	0	1
6/8/96	Financial Times	577	1	7	6	0	0	0	0	1	3
6/14/96	The Independent	467	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
6/14/96	South China	694	1	6	5	0	4	0	0	2	3
7/22/96	The Guardian	294	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
7/22/96	The Independent	128	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12/7/96	South China	680	1	3	8	0	0	0	0	3	0
1/3/97	Daily Telegram	121	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	2	1
1/3/97	The Herald	1147	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	4	14
2/23/97	Sunday Times	254	1	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
3/2/97	South China	440	1	7	2	0	0	0	0	12	0
3/11/97	South China	93	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3/28/97	South China	614	1	8	5	0	5	0	0	0	0
4/5/97	The Scotsman	730	8	20	0	0	1	0	0	3	9
4/20/97	Sunday Times	590	3	23	10	0	0	5	0	2	0
6/14/97	The Herald	334	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
6/18/97	The Independent	159	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	5	0
6/20/97	The Herald	627	1	4	3	0	0	0	0	8	2
6/23/97	Ottawa Citizen	2063	7	55	15	1	16	0	0	11	8
7/23/97	The Guardian	614	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	5
8/29/97	The Scotsman	790	1	11	4	0	0	0	0	2	0
1/17/98	Denver Post	397	2	6	0	0	0	0	3	1	3
2/24/98	The Independent	262	1	5	6	0	0	0	0	1	0
3/28/98	South China	407	2	7	10	0	7	0	0	0	3
5/16/98	The Herald	535	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
5/16/98	The Herald	535	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
6/4/98	South China	616	1	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
6/6/98	South China	264	2	5	3	0	1	0	0	2	0
6/18/98	Tampa Tribune	813	6	7	0	0	1	0	1	4	8

Date of Article	Selected Keywords										
	Newspaper Name	Word Count	Rave	Illegal Drug	Ecstasy	MDMA	Cocaine Heroin	Ketamine	GHB	Young People	Death
8/9/98	The Scotsman	988	1	26	4	0	3	0	0	1	8
10/30/98	The Independent	574	1	11	9	1	0	0	0	1	3
10/30/98	The Observer	160	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
11/8/98	Tampa Tribune	537	6	17	2	0	0	0	0	8	2
11/12/98	The Scotsman	578	1	5	2	0	2	0	0	33	1
11/27/98	The Herald	49	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	1
12/2/98	The Herald	643	3	11	9	0	0	0	0	2	3
12/13/98	Sunday Times	83	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1/13/99	The Times	450	2	9	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
6/15/99	Toronto Sun	481	1	5	7	5	0	0	0	3	3
9/7/99	The Scotsman	121	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
9/24/99	Los Angeles Times	380	3	8	1	0	0	0	0	6	4
10/19/99	Toronto Sun	487	10	2	8	0	0	0	0	5	3
10/26/99	Toronto Sun	70	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
11/5/99	Ottawa Citizen	572	9	11	0	0	0	0	2	7	10
11/13/99	Toronto Sun	1272	7	8	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
12/18/99	Chicago Sun Times	346	8	6	5	0	1	0	1	8	0
12/23/99	The Times	38	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
12/23/99	The Scotsman	393	1	12	5	0	0	0	4	0	0
1/31/00	Toronto Sun	1100	22	13	5	0	0	0	2	10	11
2/1/00	Toronto Sun	291	1	7	6	0	0	0	0	8	0
3/12/00	Toronto Sun	449	1	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
4/5/00	The Scotsman	384	1	7	56	0	0	0	0	3	0
4/20/00	Ottawa Citizen	379	8	5	4	0	0	0	1	8	5
4/26/00	Ottawa Citizen	392	0	9	4	1	0	0	0	1	0
5/21/00	Toronto Sun	829	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	5	9
5/22/00	Chicago Sun	524	2	23	8	4	0	0	0	6	14
6/4/00	Toronto Sun	86	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6/6/00	The Gazette	393	4	16	11	0	3	2	1	0	4
6/6/00	Toronto Sun	308	6	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
6/30/00	Chicago Sun	377	1	11	2	0	1	0	0	3	4
7/2/00	Chicago Sun	457	0	11	4	1	0	2	2	0	4
7/16/00	South China	416	2	16	5	0	0	1	0	10	1
7/25/00	Toronto Sun	553	4	9	12	3	0	0	0	3	4

Date of Article	Selected Keywords										
	Newspaper Name	Word Count	Rave	Illegal Drug	Ecstasy	MDMA	Cocaine Heroin	Ketamine	GHB	Young People	Death
8/2/00	The Dominion	153	1	5	0	0	0	0	5	2	2
8/9/00	Southerland Times	281	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
8/15/00	Ottawa Citizen	981	5	25	15	2	1	0	0	4	1
8/16/00	South China Post	2252	11	39	16	5	14	11	3	8	0
9/26/00	Pittsburgh Post	1323	15	31	8	0	0	4	5	8	0
9/30/00	St. Petersburg	685	3	28	8	0	0	0	0	0	17
11/5/00	South China	39	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
11/15/00	Denver Post	439	6	8	1	0	0	8	0	0	0
11/16/00	Denver Post	596	3	7	1	0	0	9	0	0	1
11/18/00	Denver Post	423	1	8	0	0	0	5	0	1	2
11/27/00	Toronto Sun	55	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
12/10/00	South China	230	2	6	2	0	0	2	0	0	1
12/11/00	Houston Chronicle	780	30	24	6	0	0	0	0	1	0
12/26/00	Toronto Sun	277	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
12/27/00	The Gazette	2154	31	42	10	0	1	1	5	8	12
1/3/01	Tampa Tribune	415	1	7	7	2	1	0	0	2	2
1/5/01	St. Louis Post	795	10	10	2	0	1	1	1	1	0
1/11/01	South China	427	2	9	2	0	0	0	0	6	0
1/20/01	Toronto Sun	351	1	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
3/9/01	Buffalo News	433	1	6	6	0	0	0	0	8	1