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Exploring the Drugs-Crime Connection within the Electronic Dance Music and Hip-Hop Nightclub Scenes

**Final Report to the National Institute of Justice
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ABSTRACT

This report explores how the cultural ethos, behavioral norms, activities, and individual and group identities (subcultural phenomena), inherent to the electronic dance music (EDM- trance, house, and techno music) and the hip hop/rap (HH) nightclub scenes in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania impact the relationship between alcohol, drugs, and crime, with additional attention to victimization (the ADC+V relationship). These two music scenes provide a major source of leisure and entertainment activity for many young adults today, yet the subcultures surrounding them are disparate and have been linked to diverse social problems, including alcohol and illegal drug abuse, criminal activity and victimization. This understudied, but increasingly popular social phenomenon has the potential to expand the scope of the drugs - crime debate to settings and populations not previously studied, and also to account for increasingly salient issues in contemporary society.

We also elaborate on how the ADC+V relationship varies by two dimensions: the demographic make-up of participants (e.g., race/ethnicity and gender) and their involvement with and commitment to the subcultures surrounding the respective nightclub scenes. This second dimension establishes a typology or profile of EDM and HH fans, which can be used to advance both an academic understanding of this important youth culture phenomena and produce effective prevention or intervention strategies to circumvent personal and social consequences. The main research questions were: 1) What are the patterns and meanings of drug and alcohol use among participants in these settings and what consequences arise from them? 2) What are the patterns of criminal activity among participants and how are they experienced? 3) What are the patterns of victimization among participants and how is victimization experienced? How

does victimization differ from that documented in other settings of criminological interest? 4)

What is the nature of the relationship between alcohol, drugs, crime, and victimization and how do the subcultural phenomena associated with these scenes impact it? 5) How do extant theoretical frameworks fare in explaining the ADC+V link among the diverse groups of participants in both nightclub settings?

This study utilized a multi-faceted ethnographic approach, featuring in-depth interviews and ongoing e-mail communications (for six months) with 51 diverse participants (the unit of analysis) in the electronic dance music (EDM) and hip hop/rap (HH) nightclub scenes in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was triangulated with direct observation of 33 club events, nominated by respondents to provide important organizational structure information of the EDM and HH events.

Executive Summary

Today, cities such as New York, Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia are entertainment sites with thriving nightclub-centered leisure economies, where youth and young adults interact. Nationally, at least two nightclub-based subcultures have emerged in the urban corporate entertainment industry: the hip-hop (HH) scene and the electronic dance music (EDM) scene. Both cater to youth and young adults from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds (Bennett 2001). The phenomenon has brought renewed resources (in terms of businesses, tourism, and service sector employment) to American cities. However, in addition to the socio-economic benefits, the growth of a nightclub-centered leisure industry has also resulted in a number of social problems.

Currently, media accounts suggest that nightclub events might be “hot spots” of criminal activity, characterized by alcohol use and abuse, illicit drug using and selling, and physical and sexual assault. News reports and other anecdotal information have surfaced about dangerous and illegal activities related to the EDM and HH scenes in major metropolitan areas. Reports from New York (Berkey-Gerard 2001) cited death, overdose, violence, and murder among club drug users at nightclubs. In addition, Holmberg (2001) claims that drug using and selling takes place at most nightclubs and restaurants catering to young adults in major U.S. cities. This phenomenon also exists abroad, in nations such as England, which also has a thriving youth-oriented leisure economy. Chatterton and Hollands (2002:102) have noted that “mainstream nightlife culture continues to be awash on a sea of alcohol, with heavy circuit drinking, vandalism, and violence still commonplace.”

Nightclubs housing HH and EDM events have come under scrutiny by local, state, and federal authorities as being noisy, socially disruptive breeding grounds for drug use and sales, as well as sites conducive to violent crime such as sexual and physical assault (Johnson 2001;

Mosler 2001; U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice 1994; Valdez 2002). As such, activities occurring at nightclub events have the potential to impact both local economies and the criminal justice system. While scholars have begun to investigate such phenomena more recently, generally speaking, empirical investigation of the urban nightclub economy has been scant. In addition to the lack of empirical research, an important theoretical question centers on whether previous work on the alcohol-drugs-and crime (ADC) connection can be of use in understanding the various problems among youth and young adults in the contemporary urban leisure economy.

Criminological research examining the ADC+V relationship has most often focused on low-income individuals at risk for exposure to myriad illicit activities residing in transitional, socially disorganized neighborhoods (Goldstein 1985; Goldstein et al. 1989). In other words, research on the relationship between drugs and crime has most often focused on street-level, inner-city crime in residential locations. It has not been studied in alternative social contexts, such as bars and nightclubs. *The failure to investigate the drugs-crime connection in social contexts other than urban residential areas, or in open drug markets on city streets, constitutes one of the main objectives of this study. Subsequent findings and theoretical innovations are potentially promising for several other problematic social contexts: locations that heavily cater to tourists, university life and college parties, concerts and other public and private leisure venues and activities.*

There have also been important changes since the 1980s, when Goldstein's seminal work was conducted, that might alter the drugs-crime relationship. In particular, the crack-cocaine "epidemic" has subsided, while new drug use trends have emerged (Golub and Johnson 1999). As mentioned earlier, two of the most prominent new trends are 1) club drug use among middle

class white youth and young adults who associate with the rave and EDM scene, and 2) marijuana and alcohol use among black youth and young adults from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, who favor hip-hop and rap music (Golub and Johnson 1999; Golub, Johnson, and Dunlap 2005). Regrettably, such changes have received little attention in theoretical and empirical work addressing the ADC connection.

Objectives

This report explores how the cultural ethos, behavioral norms, activities, and individual and group identities (subcultural phenomena), inherent to the electronic dance music (EDM- trance, house, and techno music) and the hip hop/rap (HH) nightclub scenes in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania impact the relationship between alcohol, drugs, and crime, with additional attention to victimization (the ADC+V relationship). The subcultures surrounding these musical genres are disparate and have been linked to diverse social problems, including alcohol and illegal drug abuse, criminal activity and victimization. This understudied, but increasingly popular social phenomenon has the potential to expand the scope of the drugs - crime debate to settings and populations not previously studied, and also to account for increasingly salient issues in contemporary society.

We also elaborate on how the ADC+V relationship varies by two dimensions: the demographic make-up of participants (e.g., race/ethnicity and gender) and their involvement with and commitment to the subcultures surrounding the respective nightclub scenes. This second dimension establishes a typology or profile of EDM and HH fans, which can be used to advance both an academic understanding of this important youth culture phenomena and produce effective prevention or intervention strategies to circumvent personal and social consequences. The main research questions were: 1) what are the patterns and meanings of drug and alcohol use

among participants in these settings and what consequences arise from them? 2) What are the patterns of criminal activity among participants and how are they experienced? 3) What are the patterns of victimization among participants and how is victimization experienced? How does victimization differ from that documented in other settings of criminological interest? 4) What is the nature of the relationship between alcohol, drugs, crime, and victimization and how do the subcultural phenomena associated with these scenes impact it? 5) How do extant theoretical frameworks fare in explaining the ADC+V link among the diverse groups of participants in both nightclub settings?

Methodology

This study utilized a multi-faceted ethnographic approach, featuring in-depth interviews and ongoing e-mail communications (for six months) with 51 diverse participants (the unit of analysis) in the electronic dance music (EDM) and hip hop/rap (HH) nightclub scenes in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was triangulated with direct observation of 33 club events, nominated by respondents to provide important cultural and organizational or structural information of the EDM and HH events.

Findings in Brief

- Six major kinds of crime and victimization at EDM and HH nightclub events were uncovered: illegal drug use (marijuana, ecstasy, cocaine, crystal methamphetamine, miscellaneous hallucinogens, and prescription drugs-narcotics), illegal drug sales (mostly club drugs but also cocaine and marijuana), property crime (theft of personal effects), vandalism (major and minor inside and outside the clubs), physical assault (minor and major), and sexual assault and harassment (both major and minor varieties).

- The six crime and victimization types were not evenly distributed across music scene (HH or EDM), by type of club event (commercial or underground), nor were they equally experienced by clubbers therein.
- Drug use was more prevalent and serious (i.e., types of drugs used) at commercial EDM events, while alcohol abuse was most serious at commercial hip hop events.
- Drug dealing was more common at EDM events of all kinds, but occurred at other events as well.
- Physical and sexual assault (all kinds) were, by far, more common at commercial events, with hip hop events being the most problematic.
- Property crime and vandalism were slightly more likely to happen at EDM events.
- Certain clubbers were more at risk for some crimes and victimization than others. Males reported committing all types of crime more often than females and for some crimes, there were also gender differences in victimization rates (e.g., physical and sexual assault).
- The most prominent race or ethnicity pattern found was the increased likelihood of physical assault at race-segregated parties. However, we also found that racial insults-- mostly of minorities by whites-- instigated some violence as well.
- In addition, we also discovered that theory about the drugs-crime connection will not apply equally across crime and victimization type.
- With regard to alcohol and drug use at nightclubs, people define alcohol consumption – and even over consumption – as a normal part of the clubbing experience, even if they did not normally drink very much. Binge drinking was rampant and aided by alcohol promotions and related gimmicks by the establishment.

- While moderate to heavy alcohol use was a behavioral expectation at both EDM and HH events, the levels of consumption were also contingent on the type of club – that is, whether it was a commercial or underground event at the venue. In general, binge-drinking and alcohol abuse was far more common at commercial events than at underground ones.
- There was also indication that alcohol consumption was heavier at commercial HH events than at commercial EDM or underground EDM or HH parties.
- Excessive alcohol use was often encouraged by clubs. Alcohol promotions and drink specials functioned to increase alcohol consumption, and were often reasons that people chose certain club events.
- Occasionally, routine alcohol consumption at events – both underground and commercial ones – resulted in negative experiences for the respondents. These most often included blackouts, hangovers, vomiting and nausea, employment difficulties such as missing work, and occasionally legal consequences, such as arrest for drunk driving.
- When respondents offered sentiment about gendered patterns of drinking, people claimed that men and women drank differently. One difference was less alcohol consumption by females or similar alcohol consumption by both males and females but females suffering more consequences.
- With respect to race, white males displayed higher “binge-drinking” levels of alcohol consumption.
- Use of marijuana in both the context of the club scene (both HH and EDM) and in the everyday lives of the participants was widespread and normalized.
- There were no significant race or sex differences with respect to the consumption of

marijuana, although use of it was more commonly reported among HH respondents.

- Marijuana use was often “discouraged but tolerated” by clubs, as long as patrons were discrete. Other club events allowed marijuana consumption outright.
- While excessive marijuana use was a normal part of the club scene, it was not associated with the aggression or sexual problems as alcohol often was.
- Use of ecstasy, cocaine, and other drugs was far more common at commercial club events in both the EDM and HH scenes.
- Some respondents in both scenes reported that cocaine use was becoming a normal part of the clubbing experience.
- Unlike marijuana, however, excessive use of cocaine was typically stigmatized – both by those who used as well as those who witnessed its use.
- Ecstasy use remained part of the EDM scene, but again, it was far more common at commercial events, one-offs, or annual “corporate rave” type events. Surprisingly, ecstasy had made some inroads into the commercial and underground HH scenes.
- Most respondents reported witnessing drugs like ecstasy, marijuana, cocaine and crystal methamphetamine being sold at nightclub events, although most respondents bought their drugs prior to the event.
- Most respondents bought their drugs from friends or close associates operating informally and on a small-scale.
- Small-scale, intimate, and informal drug-selling activities are difficult for law enforcement and club staff to detect and diffuse.
- Respondents reported being the victims of property crime more often than perpetrators of it and the most frequently reported type of property crime victimization was minor theft

(i.e., jackets and other personal affects like bags, purses, and clothing had been stolen at both HH and EDM club events).

- When the respondents did report committing property crime, it was most often minor acts of vandalism, with graffiti being the most common. Males reported engaging in graffiti-based vandalism far more often than females.
- Another salient property crime pattern was major acts of vandalism. Respondents recalled stories about smashed windows of cars or that cars were broken into with personal affects stolen.
- EDM scene respondents reported more acts of theft in all categories compared to HH scene respondents. However, roughly the same number of respondents in both HH and EDM scenes reported witnessing and committing acts of graffiti. In addition, there were no differences between the two scenes with respect to more serious vandalism.
- The relationship between substance use (illegal drugs and alcohol) and property crime (theft and vandalism) varied less by scene type (i.e., EDM versus Hip Hop) and more by event or nightclub type: commercial versus underground, with more crime reported at commercial events.
- A considerable amount of minor physical assault (mostly fights with punching, kicking and biting) and a small amount of major assault (stabblings, gunshot wounds) was discovered in the nightclub setting.
- Fighting was not necessarily widespread among our respondents. However, those who did engage in fighting seemed to do so often.

- Similar to assaults in general, physical assaults were most often committed by males. The assaults were acts of bravado- influenced by the club’s environment– and about women or small personal affronts.
- Fights were also more often at commercialized and larger parties, both those in the EDM and HH scenes. However, slightly more reports about minor physical assault, and especially major assault, were at commercialized HH parties, especially those with younger crowds.
- Some physical assault was race-related in two ways. The first was intra-racial violence at race or ethnic-segregated parties. This was especially the case at Asian parties or at clubs where rooms were fairly segregated by race. A second instance was more inter-racial and had to do with racist comments and behaviors that incited altercations between clubbers. Such comments were most made by whites to members of ethnic and racial minority groups.
- Several varieties of sexual assault victimization (SAV), of mostly females, were also discovered. The most common form of harassment was being called a “bitch or whore” by a male after a female turned down his dancing request or sexual advance.
- Unwanted groping or fondling of female clubbers by male clubbers was reported by nearly all of the female respondents.
- While most accounts of such groping did not escalate to more serious assault, in some instances, the groping became more violent.
- While victims may be able to mobilize others to prevent the escalation of such incidents, male perpetrators also have support systems that encourage and help facilitate their deviant behavior and criminal offending.

- About 1 in 4 women in our study had their drinks spiked at club events. The frequency of being victimized by spiked drinks was lower for men.
- The respondents reported more serious forms of SAV (rape, attempted rape, and stalking) among “friends” of clubbing buddies or acquaintance males they knew from clubbing. They reported less serious forms of SAV (e.g., groping, verbal harassment) among random male clubbers.
- The incidence and prevalence of SAV reported varied significantly by type of nightclub scene. Respondents frequenting commercial hip hop events catering to young (18-25) clubbers, reported a higher incidence of SAV, followed by commercial dance music parties within the same age group.
- Two major subculture or social context-type concepts were found to impact the alcohol, drugs and crime connection in ways not previously considered. The first is commonly referred to as the party’s *vibe* and the second is the club’s *social organization*.
- We found two major types of vibes: (1) commercial or mainstream and (2) independent or underground. An event’s vibe clearly helps define a party and it is also a significant predictor of the kinds of behaviors that take place therein and who it is likely to attract.
- A party’s vibe allows prediction what kinds of deviant behaviors are likely to occur at an event. It also shapes the nature of the drugs-crime connection.
- A nightclub’s social organization is second concept that impacts the alcohol, drugs, and crime connection at nightclub events. The club’s physical layout and use of space, its attendance-level and capacity, its staff responsibilities and operational style, and its use of drink specials (or contests) and entertainment props or gimmicks (e.g., scantily clad female dancers) are important determinants of the party’s social context and influence

clubber's deviant behavior or victimization. It provides environmental opportunities for the ADC+V link to materialize.

- Three major areas of policy implications are relevant for several types of agencies and the administrators and practitioners who work at them.
- The first area is for law enforcement—with a focus on mostly public police forces rather than private security firms.
- A second area of recommendations are for private nightclub and bar owners to provide their clientele with a safe clubbing experience while reducing their liability- civil and criminal.
- Third are educational and prevention-oriented suggestions for clubbers themselves.
- The discoveries of this study remind us that nightclubs are important settings for deviance, crime and victimization. Problems happen while the nightclub is open and hosting a party and after it closes, when people leave it.
- Another important revelation is that social context is an under-studied unit in criminological inquiry, yet it is a strong influence on behavior.

Introduction

Purpose and Objectives. The main research objective of project 2004-IJ-CX-0040 was to explore how the cultural ethos, behavioral norms, activities, and individual and group identities (i.e., subcultural phenomena), inherent to the electronic dance music (EDM- trance, house, and techno music) and the hip hop/rap (HH) nightclub scenes in Philadelphia, impacted the relationship between alcohol, drugs, and crime, with additional attention to victimization (i.e., the ADC + V link). These two music scenes provide a major source of leisure activity for many young adults today, yet the subcultures surrounding them are disparate and have been linked to diverse social problems, including alcohol and illegal drug abuse, criminal activity and victimization. This understudied, but increasingly popular social phenomenon has the potential to expand the scope of the drugs/crime debate to settings and populations not previously studied and to increasingly salient issues in contemporary society.

Secondary objectives include elaborating on how the ADC + V relationship varies by two dimensions: the demographic make-up of participants (e.g., race/ethnicity and gender) and their involvement with and commitment to the subcultures surrounding the respective nightclub scenes. This second dimension has the potential to establish a typology or profile of EDM and HH fans, which can be used to advance both an academic understanding of this important youth culture phenomena and produce effective prevention or intervention strategies to circumvent personal and social consequences.

Research Questions. Main research questions include: 1) What are the patterns and meanings of drug and alcohol use among participants in these settings and what consequences arise from them? 2) What are the patterns of criminal activity among participants and how are they experienced? 3) What are the patterns of victimization among participants and how is it

experienced? How does victimization differ from that documented in other settings of criminological interest? 4) What is the nature of the relationship between alcohol, drugs, crime and victimization and how do subcultural phenomena impact it? 5) How do extant theories fare in explaining the ADC + V link among the diverse groups of participants in both nightclub settings?

We begin our report with a discussion of the two music scenes we studied: HH and EDM, giving special attention to the problems and concerns they present to the criminal justice system and other social service agencies. Next, we discuss the methodology we used to address our research questions, including some of the issues we faced while doing the fieldwork and the potential contributions and limitations of it. The major section of the report reviews our substantive findings. We organize them by the research questions listed above. Specifically, we first review the drugs, crime, and victimization patterns we found. The findings synthesize several types of crime information: self-reports of offending and victimization, and reports of having witnessed others committing crime or being victimized at club events from in-depth interviews and field notes from direct observation at club events. Included in our discussion of the alcohol, drugs, crime and victimization patterns are demographic variation where we found it (addressing our project's secondary objectives). Next, we address questions #4 and #5 about the alcohol, drugs and crime link at nightclub events. Here, we review our findings and offer contributions to extant criminological theories. Recommendations for further research are also discussed. We end the report with policy recommendations for officials, practitioners, and private interests.

Music Scenes, Crime and Social Consequence

Today, cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Washington D.C. are entertainment sites with thriving nightclub-centered leisure economies, where youth and young adults interact. Nationally, at least two nightclub-based subcultures have emerged in the urban corporate entertainment industry: the hip-hop (HH) scene and the electronic dance music (EDM) scene. Both cater to youth and young adults from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds (Bennett 2001). The phenomenon has brought renewed resources (in terms of businesses, tourism, and service sector employment) to American cities. However, in addition to the socio-economic benefits, the growth of a nightclub-centered leisure industry has also resulted in a number of serious social problems.

Currently, media accounts suggest that nightclub events might be “hot spots” of criminal activity, characterized by alcohol use abuse, illicit drug selling and using, weapons offenses, and physical and sexual assault. News reports and other anecdotal information have surfaced about dangerous and illegal activities related to the EDM and HH scenes in major metropolitan areas. Reports from New York (Berkey-Gerard 2001) cited death, overdose, violence, and murder among club drug users at nightclubs. In addition, Holmberg (2001) claims that drug using and selling takes place at most nightclubs and restaurants catering to young adults in major U.S. cities. This phenomenon also exists abroad, in nations such as England, which also has a thriving youth-oriented leisure economy. Chatterton and Hollands (2002:102) have noted that “mainstream nightlife culture continues to be awash on a sea of alcohol, with heavy circuit drinking, vandalism, and violence still commonplace.”

Nightclubs housing HH and EDM events have come under scrutiny by local, state, and federal authorities as being noisy, socially disruptive breeding grounds for drug use and sales, as

well as sites conducive to violent crime, such as sexual and physical assault (Johnson 2001; Mosler 2001; U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice 1994; Valdez 2002). As such, activities occurring at nightclub events have the potential to impact both local economies and the criminal justice system. While scholars have begun to investigate such phenomena more recently, generally speaking, empirical investigation of the urban nightclub economy has been scant. In addition to the lack of empirical research, an important theoretical question centers on whether previous work on the alcohol-drugs-and crime (ADC) connection can be of use in understanding the various problems among youth and young adults in the contemporary urban leisure economy.

A Brief Glance at Philadelphia. Philadelphia is the largest city in Pennsylvania and the fifth largest in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau 2000). It has been called a "black and white" city, comprised mostly of native born African Americans and White Americans. For example, Philadelphia's more than 1.5 million¹ residents are 45% white, 43% African-American, 4.4% Asian, and about 7% from other racial groups. Roughly nine percent are also from Hispanic backgrounds. Still, Philadelphia's Hispanics and Asian American populations have increased over the past 20 years and continue to accelerate.

The racial composition of Philadelphia is important in understanding the city's musical landscape. Sociologist Herbert Gans (1999) has argued that people's musical preferences constitute "taste publics" and are related to their demographic background. Given its roots as a social protest music by urban African-Americans (Fricke and Ahearn 2002; George 1998), HH is especially favored among Philadelphia's black population, even though its' more commercialized or pop radio variant has successfully crossed over to whites and others (Kitwana

¹ The 2005 population estimate from the Census Bureau is 1.4 million residents in the city proper. We use this number to calculate crime rates in Table 7 below.

2002). On the other hand, the global and national EDM scenes have boasted racial diversity since their early rave days, but these claims may be overstated. Previous rave studies (Anderson 2007; Reynolds 1999; Thornton 1996) and our own fieldwork found that participants in past and current EDM or rave-like events were predominantly white. Still, such events are also regularly attended by African Americans, Asians, Hispanics and others. In general then, while the hip hop scene is more heavily African American and the EDM scene more heavily white, both scenes have considerable race and ethnic diversity, which indicates that the musical tastes vary not only by peoples' social locations but also within them.

Musically, HH and rhythm and blues have had a stronghold on Philadelphia for quite some time. NYC's East Coast HH sound had a significant impact on Philadelphia, something aided by I95- the northeast corridor expressway. Philadelphia is also home to HH icons like DJ Jazzy Jeff and Will Smith, who helped pioneer the sound and scene in Philadelphia. While the electronic scene also had its Philadelphia pioneers (e.g., Josh Wink and Dieselboy), it has struggled compared to vibrant scenes in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco (Anderson 2007). Table 1 below illustrates the dominance of HH in Philadelphia's nightclub scene during the two years prior to our study (2003-2004) and during the first full year of our data collection (2005).

Table 1²

**Philadelphia City Paper’s DJ Events:
A 2003-2005 Comparison of Club Events**

Primary³ Genre Listed

<i>Year</i>	<i>EDM⁴</i>	<i>Hip Hop</i>	<i>Funk/Soul</i>	<i>Other⁵</i>	<i>Total Events</i>
2003	99 (46%)	62 (29%)	18 (8%)	36 (17%)	215
2004	101 (44%)	76 (33%)	11 (5%)	41 (18%)	229
2005	79 (30%)	114(43%)	18 (7%)	56 (21%)	267

In the city of Philadelphia, four neighborhoods host the majority of the parties listed in Table 1 and are commonly believed by locals to be the city’s night-time hotspots. The first is Old City, which is situated on the east side of center city. Located here are smaller clubs, bars and lounges that offer mostly commercial parties—but also some independent or underground ones-- for mostly over-21 year old clubbers from inside Philadelphia or the surrounding areas

²This table is compiled from Sean O’Neal’s “DJ Nights” column in Philadelphia’s City Paper. It is weekly listing of who’s spinning what and where at weeklies, monthlies, one-offs etc within the city limits. While the column does not list every DJ-ed party, it is comprehensive and considered the best of its kind in Philadelphia. For this table, we randomly chose a week– the second week in May– for a sample yearly comparison. While there may be some seasonal or annual variation in events, comparing the same week each year allows for a meaning analysis. Percentages are rounded up, thus they may not total 100.

³“Primary” is defined as the first genre listed in the event’s entry. Many events list more than one genre of music, but there is a general understanding that what Sean O’Neal lists as the first genre, is largely how the event is identified and what people can expect to hear at it.

⁴This category includes all house, deep house and progressive house, trance, techno, electro, and drum and bass- genres all considered within the EDM scene.

⁵This category includes world music, rock/pop, reggae, Latin, ambient, industrial/goth, and trip hop.

(e.g., southern New Jersey and northern Delaware). Old City is also one of Philadelphia's hottest cultural spots and is busy with tourists on a daily basis. A second major clubbing area is Rittenhouse Square, which is located on the west side of center city. It boasts the city's major private employers and retail shops. Nightclubs here are also small, commercially-oriented (with some exception for occasional underground parties), and cater to a somewhat wealthier and more local crowd than clubs in Old City. Rittenhouse Square clubs are almost exclusively over 21-year old venues with only minor exception for special events. A third major clubbing neighborhood is in Northern Liberties. It houses the city's largest nightclubs—superclubs-- and is located on the northeast side of the city. All kinds of events and clubbers populate (many allow 18-20 year olds entry and employ different alcohol rules) these clubs and the events vary between commercial and underground, albeit somewhat less so than in the other neighborhoods. A fourth major clubbing district lies on Philadelphia's riverfront and is commonly called Riverfront. Like Northern Liberties, Riverfront clubs are large and commercially-oriented. They attract some of the youngest clubbers—as does Northern Liberties—in all of Philadelphia.⁶

A main point of distinction between clubs in the Riverfront and Northern Liberties areas versus the Old City and Rittenhouse Square area are the clubs' hours. Most of the city's after-hour parties are housed at clubs in Northern Liberties and Riverfront. This means at 2am when most clubs in the city close, many clubbers in Old City and Rittenhouse Square “spillover” into Riverfront and Northern Liberties parties in order to drink and party longer (Anderson 2007). At extended-hours parties, many health, social and criminal problems arise for clubbers, club

⁶ Still another clubbing area – the Gayborhood—is home to Philadelphia's gay culture, technically situated between center city east and west, it contains both large and small clubs that cater to the gay community. Since our investigation did not query gay culture and clubbing, we did not include this area in our fieldwork, although lots of clubbing- and the problems that accompany it—happen there.

owners and staff, and local law enforcement (see Anderson 2007). Still, criminal mayhem happens at many clubs operating during the standard 10pm – 2am framework. Later in the report, (in Table 7), we present crime data on these four neighborhoods using a geographic crime database assembled at the University of Pennsylvania (see <http://cml.upenn.edu/crimebase>). The table shows that levels of crime in these neighborhoods exceeds city averages, adding support to our contention that clubbing districts are hot spots for criminal activity and should be prioritized in crime research and policy.

The EDM Scene. Since the mid-1980s, the rave and EDM scene has been linked to the use and sale of club drugs such as ecstasy, GHB, Rohypnol, and cocaine (Fendrich, Wislar, Johnson and Hubbell 2003; Mesham, Parker, and Aldridge 2001; ONDCP 2003). Historically, ecstasy has been the most common drug associated with the rave scene in England and Europe (Lenton, Boys, and Norcross 1997; Ward and Fitch 1998), and research has confirmed its popularity among participants in the U.S. as well (Yacoubian, Boyle, Harding, and Loftus 2003; Yacoubian, Deutsch, Schumacher 2004). Presently, ecstasy use has spread beyond “underground” raves, and its use has become common in nightclub venues that house the contemporary EDM scene, as well as inner-city neighborhood bars and taverns (Boeri, Sterk, and Elifson 2005). Generally speaking research on the contemporary EDM scene has focused mainly on the demographic profiles of drug users and their patterns of use (Banta-Green, Goldbaum, Kingston, Golden, Harruff, and Logan 2005; Bellis, Hughes, Bennett, Thompson 2003; Boys, Lenton, and Norcross 1997; Kelly 2005; Hammersley, Ditton, Short and Smith 1999; Parsons, Halkitis, and Bimbi 2006; Lua, Lin, Tseng, Hu, Pei 2003; McCaughan, Carlson, Falck, Siegal 2005; Riley, James, Gregory, Dingle, Cadger. 2001; Yacoubian, Deutsch, and Schmacher 2004), the extent of drug use at EDM events (Soellner 2005; Sterk, Theall, and Elifson 2006), the

validity of self-reported drug use (Yacoubian and Wish 2006; Zhao, Brenneisen, Scholer, McNally, El Sohly, Murphy, and Salamone 2001), dangers from amounts of drug use (Irvine, Keane, Felgate, McCann, Callaghan, and White 2006), and the extent to which specific kinds of drugs are abused (McDowell 2005; Moore, Sklerov, Levine, and Jacobs 2001). Recent research has found a shift from ecstasy to powder cocaine as an emerging trend in the EDM scene (Murphy et al. 2005).

Other work has examined issues surrounding drug supply and availability at rave events (Forsyth 1996; Sanders 2005; Schensul, Diamond, Sarah, Disch, William, Bermudez, Rey, and Julie Eiserman. 2005; Van De Wijngaart, Braam, De Bruin, Fris, Maalste, Nicole, and Verbraeck 1999). The drug market in the EDM scene - particularly with respect to ecstasy - has been linked to organized criminal networks (DEA 2000). The sale of drugs at EDM events is associated with gang activity and risk of violent victimization (Valdez 2002). Others have documented more informal drug marketing in the EDM scene and has concluded that ecstasy users and sellers are often one-in-the- same. Most EDM scene participants are characterized as low to mid-level sellers (Jacinto, Duterte, Sales, and Murphy 2007). The opportunity to use the drug with, and sell the drug to, close friends and acquaintances is one way that ecstasy sellers avert the stigma associated with drug dealing (Murphy, Sales, Duterte, and Jacinto 2005).

In addition to documenting patterns related to illegal drug sale and consumption, research has also found that EDM club attendees engage in numerous risk behaviors related to drug use. Behaviors such as driving under the influence of drugs and alcohol (Degenhardt, Dillon, Duff and Ross 2006; Duff and Rowland 2006; Furr-Holden, Voas, Kelley-Baker, and Miller 2006), poly-substance abuse (Barrett, Gross, Garand and Pihl 2005; Miller, Furr-Holden, Voas and Bright 2005), prescription narcotics use (Kurtz, Inicardi, and Surrat 2005), increased sexual

promiscuity and exposure to STD's (Fidler, Dhillon, Gertner, and Burroughs 1996; McElrath 2005; Novoa, Ompad, Wu, Vlahov and Galea 2005; Sterk, Theall, and Elifson 2006), life management and interpersonal problems (Krebs and Steffey 2005; Levy, O'Grady, Wish and Amelia 2005; Topp, Hando, Dillon, Roche and Solowij 1999), dependence and addiction (Yacoubian, Deutsch, and Schumacher 2004; Yacoubian et al. 2004), and physical and emotional problems (Parks 2004; Parrott 2004; Parrott, Rodgers, Buchanan, Ling, Heffernan and Scholey 2006; Travers and Lyvers 2005) have all been documented. Rape and sexual victimization are also problems in the EDM scene (Moore and Valverde 2000; RAIIN 2001). Drug impurity is another concern. Ecstasy pills in the U.S. can come in widely varying forms of purity and quality (Murphy, Sales, Duterte, and Jacinto 2005). A given kind of ecstasy pill can contain a wide variety of other substances. Some of these additives can cause severe adverse reactions (Camilleri and Caldicott 2005; DanceSafe 2000; Irvine et al. 2006; Mejias, Rossignol, Debatisse, Streel, Servais, Guérit, Philippot and Campanella 2005) and in some cases, can even be fatal (Brown, Jarvie, and Simpson 1995; Garcia-Repetto, Moreno, Soriano, Jurado, Gimenez and Menendez 2003; Gill, Hayes, DeSouza, Marker, and Stajic 2002; Karlovšek, Zorec, Alibegović and Balažic 2005).

However, in spite of the recent and increasing influx of scholarship on the EDM scene drug use, and associated risks and consequences, important gaps persist in our understanding of both the club-going population and club setting, specifically with regard to issues of crime and deviance. That is, while research has focused extensive attention on identifying drug use patterns and risk behaviors that occur in the EDM scene, we know very little about EDM participants' other criminal activities and victimization experiences, and how scene drug use and other scene norms may be related to such experiences.

The Hip Hop Scene. While the EDM scene has been plagued with issues of drug use and other dangerous behaviors, the HH scene has been troubled by reports of weapons offenses, assault, and other violence (Colarossi 2004; Holmberg 2001; Mahiri and Conner 2003), as well as considerable marijuana use (Golub and Johnson 1999; Golub, Johnson, and Dunlap 2005). This has given it an increased visibility on the criminal justice radar screen. However, unlike the EDM scene, which has become a veritable hotbed of activity for public health and substance use scholars in more recent years, there has been a dearth of academic inquiry into drug use and risk behaviors at HH nightclubs or events. Furthermore, as with the EDM scene, we know very little about HH participants' other criminal activities and victimization experiences, and how the unique scene culture may be related to such experiences.

Most scholarly literature has addressed the effects of HH and rap music in the general population, with specific attention to lyrics and content. Generally speaking, the unique influential aspect HH and rap music has for youth in terms of role modeling has been addressed (Hall 1998; Johnson 1985; Kubrin 2006), particularly with regard to deviant and criminal behavior (Ferrell 1995, 1999; Miranda and Claes 2004). Studies on the influence of HH have found that HH music elicits significantly more anger than other kinds of music (Ballard and Coates 1995). Other studies have shown that HH and rap music perpetuates rigid gender stereotypes and misogyny (Adams and Fuller 2006; Iwamoto 2003; McCall 1995; Payne 2006; Stephens and Few 2007), and can facilitate sexually aggressive behavior (Barongan and Hall 1995).

HH and rap music have also been shown to promote violence and time in prison as acceptable parts of life (Johnson, Adams, Ashburn and Reed 1995; McCall 1995; Squires, Kohn-Wood, Chavous and Carter 2006; Wright 2000). HH music is also associated with extensive

marijuana (Golub, Johnson, and Dunlap 2005; Sifaneck, Johnson, and Dunlap 2005) and excessive alcohol use (Herd 2005), and more recently, ecstasy use (Diamond, Bermudez, and Schensul 2006). In a recent study of college-aged bar patrons, Graham, Osgood, Wells and Stockwell (2006) found that listening to rap music in this social context was significantly and positively associated with all of the aforementioned behaviors - problematic alcohol use, illicit drug use, and aggressive behavior.

Presently, most of the attention to HH nightclub complications comes from anecdotal media accounts. Berkey-Gerard (2001:116) notes: “High profile cases of guns and violence at clubs, particularly involving famous hip-hop stars, have also created negative perception... [and] have apparently inspired the New York Police Department to create a special hip-hop patrol unit that cruises by certain hot spots looking for rappers involved in illicit activities.” What little work has examined HH nightclub scenes has found that rigid gender stereotypes do exist at certain types of HH clubs (Hutchinson 1999) whereas events located in the underground, non-commercial HH scene feature more positive interaction styles (Dowdy 2007). Unfortunately, there are few studies available on the dynamics of the HH nightclub scene with respect to drug and alcohol use patterns, specific kinds of criminal activities, risk behaviors, and presence and nature of sexual harassment or assault. In short, rigorous investigation into the dynamics of the HH scene is sorely lacking in research on drugs and crime in the urban nightclub industry.

Theorizing the Alcohol, Drugs, and Crime Relationship

Criminological research examining the ADC+V relationship has most often focused on low-income individuals at risk for exposure to myriad illicit activities residing in transitional, socially disorganized neighborhoods (Goldstein 1985; Goldstein, Brownstein, Ryan and Bellucci 1988). In other words, research on the relationship between drugs and crime has most often

focused on street-level, inner-city crime in residential locations. It has been under-studied in alternative social contexts, such as bars and nightclubs. *The failure to investigate the drugs-crime connection in social contexts other than urban residential areas, or open drug markets on city streets, constitutes one of the main objectives of this study. Subsequent findings and theoretical innovations are potentially promising for several problematic social contexts: locations that heavily cater to tourists, university life and college parties, concerts and other public and private leisure venues and activities.*

A second concern with the extant literature on the drugs-crime relationship has to do with important changes since the 1980s, when Goldstein's seminal work was conducted. In particular, the crack-cocaine "epidemic" has subsided, while new drug use trends have emerged (Golub and Johnson 1999). As mentioned earlier, two of the most prominent new trends are 1) club drug use among middle class white youth and young adults who associate with the rave and EDM scene, and 2) marijuana and alcohol use among black youth and young adults from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, who favor hip-hop and rap music (Golub and Johnson 1999; Golub, Johnson, and Dunlap 2005). Regrettably, such changes have received little attention in theoretical and empirical work addressing the ADC connection, including two of the most seminal theoretical frameworks that have guided research in this area - Goldstein's (1985) tripartite model and White's (1990; White and Gorman 2000) common cause model.

Goldstein's tripartite framework posits that drugs and crime have three connections: systemic, economic-compulsive, and psychopharmacological. In all three forms, drugs are claimed to precede or motivate criminal activity. Failed drug deals or turf battles among dealers are examples of a systemic connection to crime, one said to result from the drug marketing business. Drug users often resort to theft and other types of crime to raise money to pay for

drugs in a sort of economic-compulsive fashion. A substance's chemistry or pharmacology, it is claimed, may alter one's behaviors and motivations toward criminal activity. This is commonly referred to as the psychopharmacological connection.

The Acommon cause@ model postulates that the relationship between substance use and crime is better understood as sharing common causes instead of having a direct link (White 1990; White, Brick, and Hansell 1993). One reason for this has to do with the difficulty in teasing which precedes the other – drug use or criminal activity—or identifying which one is an independent variable. Given this temporal quagmire and that drug use and property or violent crime often share common predictors, drugs and crime may simply be two correlated outcomes.

In a comprehensive review, White and Gorman (2000) have shown some advances in the ADC+V link over the years, but gaps and uncertainty are persistent. They also note that anti-drug and anti-crime policies and programs frequently appear despite a lack of scientific evidence demonstrating their efficacy (Buchanan and Wallack 1998; Gorman 1998; Reinerman and Levine 1989; Reuter 1997). At least one source of confusion pertains to how the ADC+V link varies by type of drug and its user. White and Gorman (2000) state: “Given that there are different paths into drug use and crime, and hence, different subgroups of criminals and drug users, the nature of the drug-crime relationship varies, depending on which subgroup is analyzed (p. 152).” It is reasonable, therefore, to ask about how diverse patterns of alcohol and drug use (e.g., club drug use, alcohol use, and blunt smoking) within diverse subcultural settings (the EDM and HH club scenes), impact the ADC+V relationship.

How might the subcultures surrounding the EDM and HH scenes impact the ADC+V relationship as we know it today? Of the numerous theoretical models available today to

understand this relationship, the common cause model might be the most relevant. The paragraphs below review some common causes of both drug use and crime.

Demographic Characteristics. To date, research has documented demographic variation (i.e., race/ethnicity, gender, and social class) in the ADC+V relationship. Briefly, data on ethnic and racial differences in the drugs-crime association are largely inconsistent. For example, Valdez et al. (1995) found ethnicity/gender interactions on the drug-crime relationship among male DUF arrestees in San Antonio. Whites were more likely to be involved in aggressive crimes than Mexican-Americans. However, the combined use of alcohol and drugs was more strongly related to aggressive crimes for Mexican-Americans (Valdez, Yin, and Kaplan 1997). Generally speaking, propensity toward ADC+V is not contingent on the racial or ethnic homogeneity of the group.

Gender may be more salient to the ADC+V relationship, and likely underscores the relevance of White's and Gorman's (2000) common cause model. For example, young males account for a disproportionate share of crime and are also the heaviest drinkers and drug users; as such, this model would suggest that being male is the common link in the ADC+V relationship, due to either biological and/or social factors. Furthermore, gender norms such as male honor or masculine status many reinforce both criminal behavior and substance use, particularly with respect to alcohol and violence and aggression at bars and nightclubs (Graham and Wells 2001; Graham and Wells 2003; Graham, Wells, and Jelley 2002; Graham, West, and Wells 2000; Leonard, Quigley, and Collins 2003; Norstrom 1998; Polk 1999). That is, young males may view both crime and drug use as proof of masculinity, which would spuriously inflate the relationship between crime and substance use (Fagan and Chin 1990; Gorman and White 1995; White and

Gorman 2000). This complication can be exacerbated by subcultural involvement (for example, gang affiliation) which can normalize deviant behavior (see below).

It is apparent, then, that “common causes” such as sex role expectations and stereotypes can interact with the psycho-pharmacological effects of the substances consumed in unique ways not previously explored. Yet, none of this research was conducted within the bars, nightclubs or tavern settings, begging the question of how race and gender-based variations in the ADC link vary by social context.

Prior Drug-Crime Involvement. In addition to demographics, prior research has found that for both criminal activity and drug use, past behaviors and generally the best predictors of present and future ones. For example, heavy drinkers were equally likely to commit property crimes and violent crimes. Lipton and Johnson (1998) found in a study of cocaine-heroin users, that robbery was associated with cocaine use, but not with marijuana, pill, or alcohol use before, during, or after crime commission (Lipton and Johnson 1998). The drugs-property crime model (e.g., Goldstein’s 1985 “economic-compulsive” link) was rooted in the notion that heroin (and other drug) abusers committed property crimes to raise money for drugs (Nurco, Shaffer, Ball and Kinlock 1984; McGlothlin, Anglin, and Wilson 1978). The cocaine/crack epidemic of the 1980s subsequently altered the nature of the drug-crime relationship. Violent crime tied to drug selling increased markedly and earned a new label: “systemic violence” (crime resulting from the business of drug sale - Goldstein 1985). Research is most consistent about the alcohol and crime relationship, demonstrating support for Goldstein’s (1985) “psycho-pharmacological” link.

Subcultural/Scene Involvement. While demographic characteristics and prior drug-crime involvement are important explanatory concepts, insight from research and theory on drug-involved and other deviant subcultures is of key importance in theoretically situating the

ADC+V relationship. It is also a body of scholarship that prior theoretical models have not explored in sufficient detail. Both the EDM and HH scenes are characterized as having prominent and largely distinctive subcultures (Shuker 2002; Bennett 1999, 2001; Mahiri and Conner 2003) with considerable cultural and behavioral diversity. Considering the manner in which these norms operate is of central importance in specifying the manner in which the ADC+V relationship plays out in the nightclub industry, and how this relationship may vary by scene (EDM v. HH).

The idea of commitment to and involvement with unconventional activities is not new to criminology. These insights stem from Sutherland's (1947) differential association-social learning theory (see also Akers 1973), Cohen's (1955, 1965) theory of class-based delinquent subcultures, and Hirschi's (1969) theory of social bonding. Both classic and modern sociological and criminological studies have further cited the importance of subcultural phenomena in explaining the drugs-crime relationship (Stephens 1991). Also, Singer (1981) has argued that a deviant subcultural (normative) system increases the likelihood of alternations between the role of offender and victim, because the deviant subculture provides values and norms that justify and support both crime commission and victimization. In addition to consequences, drug-involved subcultures often provide solutions (positive identity, employment, leisure activity, etc.) for members. Subcultures have particular components (e.g., values, symbols, language, activities) which serve their concerns and define their group identities. These identities exist in local environments (e.g., club events) where people interact.

Drug-centered subcultures can foster pro-drug and crime attitudes, directly or indirectly, through the various components that comprise them. These components involve such things as a common set of values, interests (ethos), ideology, identities, behavioral norms and activities

(Anderson 1998 a - d). In previous work, Anderson (1995, 1998; Anderson and Mott 1998) demonstrated the importance of the presence and nature subcultural phenomena to the drug-related identity experience. Accordingly, it is likely that the drug use, criminal activity, and victimization will be positively affected by the amount of EDM and HH subcultural components present and the degree to which they are conducive around illegal activities.

The presence and nature of subcultures at EDM and HH club settings is not, however, sufficient to understand the ADC+V link. We must understand the degree to which diverse participants are involved with or attached to them. Heavy drug and alcohol use has the unique potential not only to isolate individuals from conventional social networks (Giordano, Cernkovich, and Rudolph 2002), but also to insulate and embed an individual in a deviant social group (Becker 1963; Hagedorn 1994; Adler 1993). This is particularly true with respect to drug use. As the individual becomes increasingly involved with drugs, their social group becomes increasingly homogeneous, comprised almost exclusively of other drug users (Coumans and Spreen 2003), with whom they develop unique and powerful social bonds (Schroeder, Giordano, and Cernkovich 2007).

Expectations about how the involvement/attachment to subcultures impacts the ADC+V relationship are dependent on the profiles that eventually emerge among participants. However, as a general rule, those with higher levels of involvement and attachment to the EDM and HH scenes are at greatest risk for drug use, criminal activity, and victimization. Still, two important qualifications must be made. First, there will likely be variation in the ADC+V relationship even among those most attached/involved with the subcultures, since other concepts could mutually influence the relationship. Second, there may be contradictory results on involvement/attachment and the ADC+V relationship due to the important differences between the EDM and HH scenes.

Bars and Nightclubs as New Settings for Crime. Currently, media accounts suggest that club events might be hot spots of criminal activity (e.g., places filled with alcohol abuse, illicit drug selling and using, weapons offenses, and physical and sexual assault). News reports and anecdotal information has surfaced about dangerous and illegal activities related to the EDM and HH scenes in major metropolitan areas. Far less scientific information is available.

For example, reports from New York (Berkey-Gerard 2001) cited death, overdose, violence and murder among club drug users at nightclubs. In addition, Holmberg (2001) claims that drug using and selling takes place at most clubs and restaurants catering to young adults in cities like New York. Physical and sexual victimization are also problematic. Victimization data show that most off campus rapes occur in residences, but that bars and nightclubs are a close second (RAIIN 2001). Threatened victimizations are also likely to take place in clubs. Club drugs like GHB and Rohypnol are also currently classified as predatory drugs by the DEA for their use in the facilitation of sexual assault (ONDCP 2003). Media reports show that drugs like GHB, for example, are often carried in water bottles and eye drop containers and are prevalent in many nightclubs (Colarossi 2004).

Routine activities theory provide some additional insights into the ADC+V relationship, articulating situational factors that prior scholarship does not sufficiently consider. Prior work by Roncek and Meier (1991) indicated that bars and nightclubs are attractive locations for crime because they bring together 1) motivated offenders (drug sellers), 2) suitable targets (persons under the influence of alcohol and drugs), and 3) lack of effective guardianship (insufficient social control inside the venue) - all the key variables articulated by routine activities theory. They did not, however, indicate the amount of crime and deviance located within the club setting or in its immediate proximity. Research has shown that the suitable targets (Parks and Miller

1997; Parks and Scheidt 2000; Parks and Zetes-Zanatta 1999; Parks, Miller, Collins, and Zetes-Zanatta 1998) and lack of effective guardianship (Fox and Sobol 2000; Homel and Clark 1994) variables are particularly salient with respect to sexual assault and harassment in bars and nightclubs. Other studies have shown that property crime - particularly theft - are more likely to occur as a result of motivated offenders and lack of effective guardianship (Hayslett-McCall 2005; Smith, Bowers, and Johnson 2006).

However, club location and type of clientele may contribute to a spurious relationship between alcohol, drug use, and crime and routine activities variables (see Fagan 1993 for a more detailed discussion), making it difficult to establish a causal relationship. Recent research has found that bars and clubs - and the spatial locations in their immediate vicinity - are significantly more prone to physical assault (Graham and Wells 2001; Graham et al. 2004; Graham, Wells, and Jelley 2002; Hopkins 2004; Lipton and Gruenewald 2002), sexual assault and harassment (Buddie and Parks 2003; Parks et al. 1998), drug dealing (Cohen, Gorr, and Singh 2002), and auto theft crimes (Murray 2005). These problems tend to be more severe and difficult to control or eliminate when the venues are located in more socially disorganized neighborhoods. Instances of physical aggression can also be impacted by the physical characteristics of the venue (Leather and Lawrence 1995).

Brantingham and Brantingham (1999) noted that crime “hot-spots” are best understood by considering environmental context, activity patterns, the distribution of crime facilitators, the situational characteristics of venues, and the content of ecological labels attached to them. Taken together, this evidence supports a broader focus on the ADC+V link and how it is manifested in routine interaction at EDM and HH events, not only bars and taverns. More broadly, it demonstrates how existing models on alcohol, drugs, crime, and victimization (Goldstein 1985;

White and Gorman 2000) may benefit from other theoretical insights. *Specifically, prior theoretical work on the ADC+V connection has failed to sufficiently account for social context and environment as an influencing factor.*

While the intuitive appeal of Goldstein's (1985) tripartite model and the parsimony of White's (1990; White and Gorman 2000) common cause model have proven useful in conceptualizing the drugs-crime relationship, these models fail to address how this relationship is affected by contextual and situational factors. Conversely, research on situational environments has focused almost exclusive attention on the alcohol - violence relationship, with bars and taverns the premiere sites of interest. None of this work has considered the impact of the EDM and HH nightclub scenes as a research setting, or how the drug trends associated with these scenes may uniquely impact this relationship across a broader spectrum of criminal activities. Our study is intended to fill this gap.

Methodology

Our study utilized a multi-faceted ethnographic approach, featuring 1) in-depth interviews with 51 diverse participants (the unit of analysis) in the EDM and HH nightclub scenes of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2) two web-based follow-up surveys with the respondents (administered at 2-3 month intervals beginning two months after the date of the interview), and 3) direct observation of 33⁷ diverse nightclub events in the EDM and HH scenes of Philadelphia. We interviewed participants in the two scenes to provide information about how the subcultural phenomena of their respective scenes impacted the ADC+V connection within the nightclub setting. Interviews and follow-up surveys also furnished detailed accounts on participant

⁷ We planned to conduct direct observation of 24 club events at the proposal stage but ended up conducting it at 33 events (direct observation of nine additional club events) because our fieldwork warranted it and because we were able to use our grant resources efficiently. As a result, the findings are better grounded and our concepts more robust.

interactions in nightclubs. The direct observation component documented how the organizational (physical and social) structure of the nightclub events impacted the ADC+V relationship. The study was approved by the University of Delaware IRB and data collection began in the spring of 2005.

Our study utilized a grounded theory design (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), featuring the systematic coding and analysis of all qualitative information with computer software. We adopted this method in an effort to both discover new theory about the ADC+V connection or to reconstruct existing theory where applicable (Strauss and Corbin 1990). The theory underlying socio-cultural systems such as the EDM and HH scenes developed directly from respondent accounts (in-depth interviewing and follow-up surveys) as well as through direct observation at EDM and HH club events.

Research Setting and Recruitment. Our study was situated in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Philadelphia has vibrant EDM and HH scenes, characterized by numerous, diverse venues that attract participants from across the country and around the world. The “DJ Nights” section *Philadelphia City Paper* (O’Neil 2004) routinely listed approximately 100 EDM and HH events per week. Resident (local) and guest (national and international) DJs are featured at these events, drawing fans locally, nationally, and internationally (see the text and Table 1 above for more about Philadelphia).

All individuals over 18 years of age and who attended EDM or HH club events were eligible to participate in the study. Recruitment began at two small, independent record stores. Both are central locations for Philadelphia’s EDM and HH scenes. Commencement of recruitment at these locations follows the conventions of ethnographic mapping, common in qualitative research (see more below).

The first store specializes in all forms of electronic dance music including house, techno, and trance. It has been one of Philadelphia's leading independent and specialized EDM record stores since it opened over ten years ago. The record store staff estimates that more than 100 people pass through it, on average, each day, providing an ample pool for respondent recruitment. The second record store specializes in hip hop and R & B music and sits a few doors away from the EDM store. It has also been open for many years, is a hub for hip hop fans and DJs in the city, and enjoys even more consumer traffic due to hip hop's greater popularity. Early on, store staff—key informants—at both locations assisted in recruiting respondents for the study. These key informants operated in a similar fashion as do outreach workers in street-level drug abuse studies. According to Ouellett, Weibel, Jimenez (1995; 184), “Outreach workers (indigenous leaders) are former addicts who were selected for their familiarity, credibility, and trustworthiness with the target audience.” (1995:184). Our key informants have the same kinds of ties to the two respective music scenes as Ouellett et al's (1995) outreach workers had to drug networks.

The key informants told store customers about the study and asked them if they'd be willing to participate. Recruitment in this fashion was very successful: it yielded a 90% response rate. This is largely because the music store customers were very committed to the music and their respective scenes and wanted to share their experiences. They were, in short, HH and EDM scene insiders. The high response rates were also the result of the key informants' clout as trusted scene insiders. Record store key informants helped recruit slightly more than half (30) of the respondents.

Other respondents were recruited live at EDM and HH nightclub events while research staff conducted direct observation or were referred to us by those recruited live. When recruiting

“live,” project staff engaged potential respondents in a discussion about the project and then invited them to participate. This live recruitment at HH and EDM events yielded some respondents, but the response rate was low; about 20%. Other ethnographies of the nightclub setting (Murphy et al. 2005) reported similar troubles. Still, we generated about 12 respondents in this fashion and obtained the remaining 9 with a “snowball” sampling technique with those recruited live, i.e., we asked the “live” respondent pool to nominate people they knew for the study. We paid respondents a “finder’s fee” for helping us recruit these additional respondents. This latter approach is similar to the respondent driven sampling (RDS) model articulated by Heckathorn (1997). Along with the “live” recruitment, it helped us expand our respondent pool and reduce selection bias.

All qualitative studies encounter potential problems with selection bias and the external validity of their findings. One reason is that qualitative samples are not randomly selected (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Given this, discussion about the potential biases among our respondents is warranted. Moreover, respondent bias may be further complicated here since not all of our respondents were recruited in the same fashion.

To begin, the scene insider portion of the respondent pool may have different viewpoints or experiences with the subject matter than those recruited otherwise, i.e., live at events or via friendship networks. This is because scene insiders often have scene ties that other respondents do not have (i.e., they work in the scene or leisure industry, have more experience with it, and have different motivations for continued participation). It is difficult to gauge how these connections might bias respondents’ testimony. Given their stakes in and commitment to the respective scenes, respondents could under-report negative experiences or activities (to avoid

stigma that could discredit their work, etc.) or they could exaggerate them (i.e., to conjure up official attention or to simply vent frustrations, etc.).

Our analysis did not yield any discernible patterns or biases among respondents in their perceptions about the phenomena we studied, including the major independent variables in our study (i.e., event vibe and social organization). No matter how recruited, respondents were in agreement about things such as underground/independent and commercial vibes and culture. We did find, however, variation in drug use, crime and victimization experiences between scene insiders and respondents recruited differently (see below). However, this is not a form of bias, but rather a significant finding. In short, respondents recruited by the record store key informants more frequently attended underground events and, consequently, reported the kinds of crime, drugs, and victimization experiences associated with them (see below). Respondents recruited live at events or through friendship networks (RDS model) more often attended commercial events and reported drugs, crime, and victimization experiences common to those types of events (see more below).

Overall, we had a difficult time recruiting minority hip hop fans and Asians active in the EDM scene. Our sampling design (see below) required representation of several race/gender groups. We easily filled cells for white respondents and more slowly filled them for minorities, especially Asians. We were not successful recruiting Asians live at club events. Instead, we relied on key informants and friendship networks. Despite this, Asian respondents reported similar patterns as other respondents, i.e., namely that more problems occurred at commercial rather than underground events.

At recruitment, interviews were scheduled at private locations in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. The majority of the interviews were conducted in a private office of the record

store where recruitment was initially based. Others took place at quiet spots in restaurants, coffee shops, or common space at universities. Confidentiality was, therefore, strictly maintained during the interviews.

The Respondent Pool. Our sample emerged from two methodological strategies: 1) ethnographic mapping and 2) maximum variation sampling (Morse 1998; Strauss and Corbin 1990). The first step involved mapping or identifying certain areas or locations (the record stores, various EDM and HH events) where numerous potential subjects could be located. This is where we were able to identify key informants who could help us recruit people for our study in much the same way as do outreach workers (Ouellett et al. 1995).

The second step featured a maximum variation sampling strategy, which included a process of purposely selecting a heterogeneous demographic group (race/ethnicity and gender) of respondents and observing their similarities and differences. The logic of maximum variation sampling presumes any common patterns emerging from great variation are of value in understanding the core experiences of participants (Morse 1998). Because our goal was to secure heterogeneity among respondents, we had to adopt the three recruitment strategies (key informants, live events, and RDS friendship networks) described above. Table 2 indicates the sex and race breakdown of the respondent pool.

Table 2. Respondent Race and Sex Breakdown by Scene.

Race / Sex	EDM Scene	HH Scene	Totals
White Male	6	3	9
White Fem.	5	2	7
Black Male	3	7	10
Black Fem.	2	9	11
Asian Male	2	2	4
Asian Fem.	1	5	6
Hispanic Male	2	1	3
Hispanic Fem.	0	1	1
Totals	21	30	51

An examination of the demographic breakdown in Table 2 indicates that while the sample is roughly equal in terms of sex (26 males, 25 females), it is comprised of a larger number of blacks (N = 21) compared to whites (N = 16). Other racial groups were well-represented (e.g., Hispanics N=4), especially Asians (N=10) which we may have over-sampled. Overall, our respondents closely represent the racial and ethnic composition of Philadelphia (see above population estimates). The reasoning behind the inclusion of diversity in sampling is that it not only guards against biases unique to race, ethnicity or gender, but also promotes useful comparisons between groups. Of the 51 participants, 11 were not born in the U.S. Most of those who were not born in the U.S. were from east African or Asian and Pacific Island nations. It is also pertinent to note that 11 of the respondents identified as participating in both the EDM and HH scenes, and were assigned a “primary scene” (EDM or HH) based on the types of clubs they attended more recently. In terms of race and sex, those who identified as participating in both

scenes were: 1 white male, 1 black male, 2 black females, 3 Asian males, 3 Asian females, and 1 Hispanic male. Tables 3 and 4 provide a more detailed demographic breakdown of the EDM and HH respondents, with respect to mean age and social class.

Table 3. EDM Respondents' Demographic Characteristic

Race/Sex	Total	Mean Age	Mean Income	#Completed High Sch.	#Completed Some Coll.	#Completed BA or MA	Job Prestige Score⁸
White Male	6	26.8	\$29,600	2	3	1	49.04
White Fem.	5	24	\$23,650	2	2	1	35.68
Black Male	3	26.7	\$32,500	1	2	0	33.76
Black Fem.	2	19.5	\$20,000	1	1	0	40.36
Asian Male	2	29.5	\$57,500	0	2	0	45.11
Asian Fem.	1	25	\$24,000	1	0	0	28.08
Hisp. Male	2	24	\$20,500	1	1	0	34.4
Totals/Means	21	25	\$29,700	8	11	2	38.06

⁸ Job prestige scores were assigned to respondents' primary, or full-time jobs. The prestige scores were taken from the 1989 General Social Survey (GSS). GSS respondents were asked to rate 110 different occupations on a scale of 1 to 9. These scores were converted, using a formula, so that the prestige scores would have a logical range from 0 (lowest) to 100 (highest).

Table 4. Hip-Hop Respondents' Demographic Characteristics

Race/Sex	Total	Mean Age	Mean Income	#Completed High Sch.	#Completed Some Coll.	Completed BA or MA	Job Prestige Score
White Male	3	26.3	\$23,000	1	2	0	42.68
White Fem.	2	28.5	\$38,000	0	1	1	49.68
Black Male	7	26	\$28,000	1	4	2	37.42
Black Fem.	9	23.7	\$26,830 ⁹	0	4	5	57.74
Asian Male	2	26.5	\$60,000	1	0	1	62.75
Asian Fem.	5	25.4	\$34,500	1	1	3	58.24
Hisp. Male	1	29	\$50,000	0	1	0	53.99
Hisp. Fem.	1	25	\$4,800	1	0	0	54.81
Totals/Means	30	26.3	\$33,140	5	13	12	52.16

An examination of Tables 3 and 4 indicates that, generally speaking, the respondents in both scenes are in their mid 20's (with an age range of 18 - 33). On average, the HH respondents are slightly older, have a slightly higher mean annual income and moderately higher mean job prestige rankings than the EDM respondents. For the most part, respondents in both scenes are situated in the lower to upper-middle classes. Level of employment spanned from lower-level service positions (ex: waitress, bartender, retail, and file clerk), to white collar positions (ex: accountant, IT support, research, engineer, advertising/marketing, and mid-level management).

⁹ The mean income for black females may be artificially inflated due to one respondent earning \$69,000 a year. If she is excluded, the mean income for this category drops to \$18,400. However, the mean job prestige score only decreases to 54.5

Twenty-four had second, part-time jobs, and many revolved around the EDM and HH nightclub scenes (N = 17).¹⁰

The majority of respondents in both scenes have had some education at the college level (N = 38). Additionally, roughly one-fifth were in the process of completing a 4-year or advanced degrees. Of those who reported their living situations (N = 46), the vast majority were renting their residences (N = 35), most sharing an apartment or house with one or more roommates (N = 26), or living with parents (N = 6). Most respondents were native to Philadelphia or the surrounding area, although some relocated there to attend college, or for other reasons. The majority of the sample was heterosexual (N = 50). Most respondents were unmarried. Although roughly half had significant others, very few lived with them.

In-Depth Interviews. Our face-to-face, in-depth interviews comprised the primary source of information on micro-level phenomena or social interactions. In-depth interviewing from structured, but open-ended instruments ensures consistent inquiries by researchers across topics and domains, while it avoids the framing of respondents' experiences according to limited response categories. Furthermore, it ensures consistent inquiries among respondents, without precluding the possibility of discovery of other relevant issues. The open-ended nature of the responses allowed the interviewees to frame their responses according to their own perspective about relevant concepts and relationships. Research staff probed for clarification and elaboration, and occasionally followed up with questions not included in the interview guide in order to address other relevant issues as they emerged.

¹⁰ The prevalence (nearly 33%) of respondents with part-time jobs in either the EDM or HH scenes might indicate a slight bias in our findings toward those with greater commitment and involvement in clubbing and music. Our analysis did not find any such bias. See above section on recruitment for more on this point.

The interview guide included structured and open-ended questions about the respondent's background, living situation and lifestyle, involvement and commitment to the EDM and HH scenes, nightclub culture and interaction therein, and experiences with drugs, criminal activity, and victimization. In short, it contained questions reflecting each of the explanatory concepts in the study. Interviews lasted an average time of two hours each, with a range of 1.5 - 3 hours. Respondents were each paid \$25 for the interview. Interviews were tape-recorded by mutual consent to capture the words, stories, and ways of thinking of respondents. Tape-recording allowed interviewers to concentrate on asking questions and appropriate probes, and to pose alternative possibilities. The tape-recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim. No personal identifiers appeared in the transcribed electronic (MS Word) file. Names of respondents, as well as names of nightclubs or specific events appear as pseudonyms.

Follow-up Surveys. Two months after the date of their interview, we sent respondents a generic e-mail prompt informing them that it was time to complete their first follow-up survey. These surveys provided more micro-level data, e.g., current information on respondent activities. The recent nature of the time period in question (2-3 months since their interview) helped to protect against recall bias. The follow-up survey asked basic descriptive information on how many club events were attended, which ones, and the activities (including drug use and crime/victimization experiences) taking place therein.

Web-based follow-up surveys furnished more specific information on experiences and insights that arose spontaneously, after initial interviewing, and over the course of the study. Two months after the completion of the first survey, respondents were sent a second e-mail prompt informing them that it was time to complete the second follow-up survey. Respondents

did not receive any compensation for these follow-up surveys. This may be one reason that our response rates were lower than expected (see more below).

We administered the follow-up e-mails using a secure, independent URL (server). When respondents agreed to participate in this study, they were given a pseudo e-mail address (or username) and a passcode. They were instructed to communicate using this pseudo e-mail address only via the study's URL. They were encouraged not to correspond with any other e-mail address or URL. Other e-mail communications were not utilized in the study. Their unique pseudo e-mail address and the passcode protected their anonymity in the study. The URL and, therefore, the follow-up data set, did not contain a single personal identifier. Subsequently, we used respondents URL usernames (cities around the world) as their pseudonyms in the report. Moreover, the confidentiality of the survey and message content was protected with a strong encryption mechanism equivalent to that provided to consumers using credit cards for internet purchases. The URL automatically encrypted messages upon delivery. These messages could only be deciphered by the recipient and sender. Table 5 displays the completion rates for the web-based follow-up surveys.

Table 5. Follow-Up Survey Completion Rate by Race, Sex, and Participant Type.

Race/Sex	Survey 1	Survey 1 & 2	EDM	HH
White Male	6	3	5	1
White Fem.	6	2	5	1
Black Male	8	5	2	6
Black Fem.	2	1	1	1
Asian Male	3	2	3	
Asian Fem.	5	3		5
Hispanic Male	2	2	1	1
Totals	32 (65% ¹¹)	18 (56%) ¹²	17 (80%)	15 (50%)

As Table 5 indicates, roughly 63% of the respondents completed the first 2-month follow-up survey, contacted 2 months after the date of their interview. The respondents then took between 1 and 4 weeks to complete the survey, often requiring several e-mail prompts and in some cases, telephone calls. Fifty-six percent of those who completed the first follow-up survey also completed the second, at the following 2 month interval. This indicates that there was a somewhat high rate of attrition with respect to follow-up survey completion. In general, EDM scene participants completed follow-up surveys at a much higher rate than HH scene participants (80% vs. 50%).

To date, very few studies have utilized a web-based URL to collect information about drug use and crime. While our response rates are much better than traditional postal and telephone surveys, they were lower than what we had hoped. We discuss reasons for this below

¹¹ This is the percent of the 51 respondents who completed the first follow-up survey.

¹² This is the percent of the 32 respondents who completed the second follow-up survey from those who had completed the first one.

in the limitations section. However, given our limited resources to execute the task, the field's inexperience with the methodology, AND the value of the information we received, we believe further development and utility of such methods are valuable and necessary for crime and justice research in the future.

Direct Observation. A third type of data was direct observation of nightclub events in the EDM and HH scenes of Philadelphia. Its purpose was to obtain structural or macro-level information on the organizational (social and physical) structure of the club events and to document any potential effect on participant interaction, and how this may further impact the ADC connection. These events define, to a large extent, the respondent's experiences in the HH and EDM scenes, and their experiences with issues related to alcohol, drugs, and crime (see research questions #1 and #4).

The designated time period of observation was from April 2005 to mid December of 2006. Events were attended roughly every week, (with four weeks off in August), for a total of 33 events over the specified period of observation. We alternated between weeknight (Sunday through Thursday) and weekend (Friday or Saturday) events. This ensured an adequate representation of diverse kinds of events attended. With respect to the selection of events, in many cases the nightclub events attended were nominated by interview participants and were generally located within the areas servicing both scenes. In other cases, events attended were chosen based on a comprehensive listing of events in the "DJ Nights" section of the *Philadelphia City Paper* (O'Neil 2004), as depicted in Table 1 above. Both event selection strategies were consistent with our ethnographic mapping approach since the events were located in parts of Philadelphia that housed the two scenes.

Table 6. Direct Observation of Nightclub Events by Type.

Event Type	Com. EDM ¹³	Com. HH	Und. EDM ¹⁴	Und. HH	Mash-up ¹⁵	Totals
Weeklies ¹⁶	6	1	5	1	0	13
Monthlies ¹⁷	2	1	4	3	2	12
One-offs ¹⁸	2	3	0	1	2	8
Totals	10	5	9	5	4	33

Table 6 describes the breakdown of direct observations with respect to event type. We attended events in both the EDM and HH scenes that were both underground and commercial in nature. Again, this ensured an adequate representation of diverse kinds of club events. In Philadelphia, nightclub events generally run from 11 PM to 2 AM. As such, this was the time period of observation. Some large-scale commercial venues have extended hours alcohol

¹³ *Com.* is an abbreviation for *commercial*. This term refers to large events at clubs that replicate and appeal to mainstream music interests, styles, and forms and are marketed to as many clubbers as possible. These parties are primarily focused on profit and feature music played on commercial radio or that which is widely recognized.

¹⁴ *Und.* is an abbreviation for *underground*. This term refers to smaller parties held at smaller clubs for those loyal to or interested in music that is not commercially available or played in conventional outlets.

¹⁵ *Mash-ups* are a newly emerging music scene centered on a DJ mixing together vastly different genres of music (reggae, HH, pop, house, rock) to a slower, danceable rhythm.

¹⁶ *Weeklies* are named parties held on a particular day every week, usually from 9pm until 2am. They tend to draw smaller crowds and are heavily populated by scene insiders or enthusiasts.

¹⁷ *Monthlies* are named parties held once a month—usually on a weekend and from 9pm until 2-3am. They tend to draw slightly larger crowds, have more status, and are populated by scene enthusiasts and some “outsiders.”

¹⁸ *One-offs* are one-time events that often obtain special permits to run past normal bar hours. They feature a commercially popular DJ or DJs and are typically held at large clubs to accommodate large, demographically diverse crowds.

licensing, so certain events did not end until between 3 and 6 AM. These events were observed for longer period of time. Over the specified period of observation there were eight of these events. The mean time that events were observed was around 3.5 hours, with a range of between 3 and 5 hours.

We documented the direct observations in a small, pocket-sized field journal at the particular event where they occurred, and a second, more interpretive version of these field notes the following day on a personal computer. This allowed for elaboration on the events and the particular observation experiences shortly after they took place. When writing field notes, the researchers included descriptive (straightforward documenting of behaviors, patterns, and trends) as well as inferential (assessing perceived motivations and emotions of the subjects engaging in behavior) information. Any researcher-attendee interactions were also documented, including interview recruitment attempts. Most of the inferential information was recorded when the second iteration of field notes was generated. Recording inferential information was of key importance in describing the nightclub setting and the cultural ethos (mood or vibe) in as much detail as possible (Wolfinger 2002).

Data Management and Analysis. Data management and some data analysis occurred simultaneously with data collection. For example, our field journals were filled with notes from interviews and direct observations. Project staff reviewed these notes on a weekly basis in order to meet project goals and timelines, to deliver semi-annual progress reports, and to prepare papers for conference presentations. Also, as we collected our data, electronic versions of all transcripts, follow-up surveys, and field notes were entered into *ATLAS.ti*, a sophisticated computer program that permits easy management and analysis of large amounts of qualitative

information. *ATLAS.ti* has the capacity to identify any word combination in a paragraph and to link related information regardless of location in the info-base.

The key task in qualitative data analysis involves locating appropriate sections of text from the myriad pages of transcripts and field notes stored in the project databases that are directly relevant to a given analytic theme or issue. Most material (textual segments) directly relevant to a given topic or theme was able to be rapidly located and retrieved for analysis. Every individual subject and every transcript or field note in the database was identified with the month and year of collection. Similarly, every question in the open-ended interview schedule was identified with an open-coding method, and specific codes were then assigned to the response. Textual material about given themes (such as drug use and criminal behaviors) were able to be quickly accessed at any point.

Analysis of textual materials from qualitative studies often begins by developing and assigning codes to textual segments in transcripts and field notes. While completing open coding, and throughout the data collection process, theoretical and methodological memos were recorded. Through memo-ing the data, conceptual codes were connected. In addition, this process helped to clarify holes in the analysis, providing new directions for data collection. Numerous types of notes were taken throughout the data collection process, and as soon as possible after collection. These included observational, methodological, and theoretical notes. One of the key reasons for memo-ing is to begin identifying reoccurring patterns and themes early on in the analysis process.

An initial list of codes was developed directly from the memos. Codes are labels of reoccurring subject areas or areas needing elaboration. Resultant codes were be revised as the data were continually analyzed. *ATLAS.ti* allows for coding and recoding of all text. Linkages

between codes followed the paradigmatic model. This was done by shifting back and forth between the data and the evolving paradigm while checking into meaningful categories. Coding, memo-ing, and paradigm building all are aspects of the grounded theory approach. This approach was employed to assess recurring regularities between observational and interview data, or to identify patterns that could be sorted into categories. Categories were then evaluated by their internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity. The emerging paradigms were then modified as necessary, during analysis (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

Inter-Coder Reliability. There are two phases of research during which inter-rater reliability can be measured: data collection and analysis (Goodwin and Goodwin 1984). During data collection, inter-rater reliability is demonstrated when multiple researchers' independently collected data resemble that of the other. During this study, we met frequently to share interview and observation notes and reviewed interview transcripts, noting discrepancies and offering suggestions.

During the analysis stage, inter-rater reliability is demonstrated when researchers agree upon data segments to be coded, categories of codes to be used, the placing of data segments into the same conceptual categories, and the subsequent interpretations made (Goodwin and Goodwin 1984). This is how we coded at the analysis stage. Project researchers were assigned different topics to code. We also used a "stepwise replication" (Lincoln and Guba 1985:317) approach. This method involved two researchers each studying the data independently, meeting frequently to make sure that emerging codes and concepts for investigation were similar. This rigorous strategy ensured reliability during the actual coding stage of the analysis, and any discrepancies or issues were able to be reconciled fairly quickly, rather than doing a post-analysis audit (see Lincoln and Guba 1985).

It is worth noting that in qualitative investigations, data are understood to be generated as a collaborative act between the researcher and the subject, rather than collected by the researcher with minimal influence on the subject. Therefore, the specific features of data generated in each context (in this study, interviews and direct observation) by different researchers would be unique. Accordingly, the notion of reliability in qualitative research is more general: that is, credible researchers studying the same or similar contexts will generate consistent overall results, and any variation will be traceable to documented differences in respondents (or observation sites) or researchers.

Limitations: Validity and Reliability. Qualitative research studies typically encounter three major scientific limitations. The first pertains to the validity and reliability of testimonial information obtained from interview data. Most commonly, respondents are susceptible to recall error when recounting past experiences. Moreover, misrepresentation of the truth due to social desirability effects is a cause for concern. While studies have shown that people are usually truthful when interviewed about illicit activities if provided with confidentiality (Stephens 1991), reporting victimization experiences or other sensitive information may be more problematic.

We encountered some of these obstacles during the study and securing reliable information about illegal activities and drug use was sometimes challenging. During the in-depth interviews, some respondents were reluctant to disclose the extent of their use patterns, due in part to being tape recorded or other related concerns about confidentiality. Many of these problems were quelled when we matched interviewers and respondents on demographic characteristics (age and sex). Prior research has shown that when possible, demographic matching is preferable (Daily and Claus 2001; Wilson, Brown, Mejia and Lavori 2002). However, researcher-interviewer demographic matching was not possible in all of the interviews

performed. For example, all interviewers were white, which disallowed matching by race or ethnicity.

We encountered a related problem with inadequate briefing of recruited respondents by key informants. In at least one case, this resulted in the respondent refusing to complete the background section of the interview, although we were able to obtain information on ADC+V topics. In other cases, we tried to establish shared identity with the respondents and disclose personal information, when appropriate, to both make respondents more comfortable about sharing sensitive information and to equalize the power differential between interviewers and respondents.

The second key limitation pertains to the generalizability of the research findings. Generally speaking, numerous interviews and observations of a representative sample need to take place in order to generalize the findings. This is especially difficult when looking at particular demographic groups (males, females, race and ethnic groups, etc.) across two different types of populations (EDM club attendees and HH club attendees), across a city as large as Philadelphia. Members of these two different nightclub scenes are expected to possess unique characteristics with respect to the across-scene comparison component of this study, as well as important within-scene differences. However, given that this study utilized a broad conceptual design, diverse (with respect to race and recruitment strategy) respondent pool, and numerous data sources with subcultural phenomena that connect local, national and international scenes, considerable generalizability was obtained.

Still, even though we are confident about the generalizability of our study, qualitative studies relying on one form of data, or exclusively on snowball sampling techniques, encounter numerous problems. Specifically, live recruitment at club events was sometimes misinterpreted

as a form of flirting (i.e., a new variant of pick-up line) among younger research staff or viewed with suspicion as law enforcement activity with older research staff. Both cases of misinterpretation discouraged participation in the study. This was more problematic with males attempting to recruit female subjects, and more problematic at mainstream commercial events than at smaller independent or underground ones. In spite of these problems, there were still a number of instances of successful across-sex and age live recruitments. Still, our recruitment of subjects live during direct observation was likely biased in terms of the highly motivated.

A third limitation of this study pertains to the web-based follow-up surveys. Recently, Hessler, Downing, Beltz, Pelliccio, Powell and Vale (2003) reviewed the literature and found numerous complications with this strategy. They included technical difficulties (Rosencrance 2000) and privacy issues (Samoriski, Huffman, and Truth 1996; Fonseca 2000). While security of data or confidentiality was the most common concern in other studies, in this research project, most of the problems we experienced were related to technical issues, attrition, and the challenges of dealing with a transient population.

First, the respondents needed several e-mail prompts and occasionally, telephone calls in order to complete the surveys. We suspect that part of this complication was because many respondents had several e-mail addresses, as well as spam message filters on their e-mail accounts. With respect to those who needed telephone prompts to complete the survey, we found that in some cases, their telephone numbers were disconnected, or that the respondents had changed addresses and not provided research staff or former roommates with their new contact information. We also think administering paid incentives for follow-up survey completion might have motivated a better response rate. There were problems with the technical aspect of logging into the project URL. This required the assistance of University IT support on more than one

occasion, and it is possible that respondents who had technical difficulties completing the follow-up surveys on their first attempt were frustrated and discouraged by this, leading them to ignore subsequent contacts. Due to these issues, there was a decline in completion percentages from the first to second survey, with only slightly more than half of those who completed the first survey going on to complete the second one.

We also encountered some reliability problems with some questions on the follow-up surveys. To begin, not all questions were answered with equal frequency or quality. In general, questions tapping respondents' clubbing frequency provided the best information: complete and clear answers with greatest frequency across respondents. We plan to include this information in future papers addressing individual biographies, clubbing patterns and deviant behavior. On the contrary, questions that asked about respondents' drug and alcohol use or participation in crime yielded the most problematic data. In the technologically advanced 21st century, we surmise that such data problems result from fears associated with computer crime, identity theft, and other potential breaches of confidentiality and anonymity. Still, the surveys enabled us to document clubbing patterns over time, suggesting that respondents run high risks of continued problems with alcohol, drugs and crime.

Patterns of Criminal Activity and Victimization at Nightclub Events

In this section, we discuss our findings regarding patterns of alcohol, drugs, crime and victimization at HH and EDM nightclub events. We found six major kinds of crime and victimization: illegal drug use (marijuana, ecstasy, cocaine, crystal methamphetamine, miscellaneous hallucinogens, and prescription drugs-narcotics), illegal drug sales (mostly club drugs but also cocaine and marijuana), property crime (theft of personal effects), vandalism (major and minor inside and outside the clubs), physical assault (minor and major), and sexual

assault and harassment (both major and minor varieties). Our fieldwork revealed other types of problems as well, including alcohol abuse, drug overdoses, STD transmission and HIV risk. We report on some of these instances below but constrain our report to information that directly bears on the six major kinds of crime we discovered and their connection to our research questions.

The six crime and victimization types were not evenly distributed across music scene (HH or EDM), by type of club event (commercial or underground), nor were they equally experienced by clubbers therein. Briefly, drug use was both slightly more prevalent and serious (i.e., types of drugs used) at commercial EDM events, while alcohol abuse was most serious at commercial hip hop events. Drug dealing was more common at EDM events of all kinds, but occurred at other events as well. Physical and sexual assault (all kinds) were, by far, more common at commercial events, with hip hop events being the most problematic. Property crime and vandalism were slightly more likely to happen at EDM events.

We also found certain clubbers more at risk for some crimes and victimization than others. Males reported committing all types of crime more often than females and for some crimes, there were also gender differences in victimization rates (e.g., physical and sexual assault). The most prominent race or ethnicity pattern we found was the increased likelihood of physical assault at segregated parties, e.g., Asian hip hop and trance parties. However, we also found that racial insults and stereotypes instigated some violence as well. Thus, our study uncovered diversity within crime and victimization type. In addition, we also discovered some nuances in explanations for them, indicating that theory about the drugs-crime connection will not apply equally across crime and victimization type. We discuss these explanations more in the next section.

Table 7.
Arrests for Selected Crimes in Philadelphia’s Major Clubbing Areas (2005)
<http://cml.upenn.edu/crimebase/default.asp>.

	Old City¹⁹	Rittenhouse Square	Northern Liberties	Riverfront	City Total ²⁰ and Rate²¹
All Serious Incidents (Excluding Homicide/Rape)	2,928 (#) 126.6 (rate)	1,765 (#) 69.2 (rate)	1,297 (#) 88.8 (rate)	245 (#) 315.7 (rate)	88,107 (#) 62.9 (rate)
Aggravated Assault	311 (#) 13.4 (rate)	119 (#) 4.6 (rate)	115 (#) 7.9 (rate)	24 (#) 30.9 (rate)	9,806 (#) 7.0 (rate)
All Serious Property Incidents (Burglary, Theft, Auto Theft)	2,280 (#) 98.6 (rate)	1,366 (#) 53.5 (rate)	1,040 (#) 71.2 (rate)	199 (#) 256.4 (rate)	68,610 (#) 49 (rate)
Vandalism and Property Damage	723 (#) 31.2 (rate)	389 (#) 15.2 (rate)	326 (#) 22.3 (rate)	57 (#) 73.5 (rate)	21,609 (#) 15.4 (rate)
Weapons Violations	72 (#) 3.1 (rate)	49 (#) 1.9 (rate)	31 (#) 2.1 (rate)	7 (#) 9.0 (rate)	2,186 (#) 1.5 (rate)
All Narcotics Arrests	435 (#) 18.8 (rate)	270 (#) 10.6 (rate)	202 (#) 13.8 (rate)	35 (#) 45 (rate)	12,051 (#) 8.6 (rate)
Other Assaults	975 (#) 42.2 (rate)	558 (#) 21.8 (rate)	417 (#) 28.5 (rate)	90 (#) 115.9 (rate)	27,645 (#) 19.8 (rate)
Harassment	158 (#) 6.8 (rate)	82 (#) 3.2 (rate)	67 (#) 4.6 (rate)	15 (#) 19.3 (rate)	4,748 (#) 3.4 (rate)

Table 7 depicts arrests for certain crimes by The Philadelphia Metropolitan Police Department in the city’s four leading clubbing neighborhoods for 2005. We present this information to provide important background context to the information from our field work.

¹⁹ Population figures for the four neighborhoods are: 23,129 (Old City), 25,522 (Rittenhouse Square), 14601 (Northern Liberties), and 776 (Delaware Ave or Riverfront).

²⁰ The first number in each neighborhood/crime cell is the total number of arrest for that particular crime. The second number in each cell is the rate per every 1,000 residents of that neighborhood. Incidentally, while graffiti was commonly reported in our study, there was no arrest data for it in the Philadelphia CrimeBase.

²¹ We use the 2005 Bureau of the Census population estimate of 1.4 million residents in Philadelphia—city proper—to calculate arrest rates for the city.

The crimes in Table 7 are especially relevant to our study since they are most closely related to the crime types reported by our respondents or were among those we witnessed or heard about during direct observation. While we cannot ascertain how much crime in a given neighborhood is located at nightclubs or bars from these statistics, the amount of arrests and the arrest rates therein are good indicators of the social context in which clubbing takes place. Moreover, the data are likely indicative of certain neighborhoods being hot spots of criminal activity, requiring law enforcement resources.

Table 7 shows there were more arrests for every type of crime in Old City than in the other three areas. Additionally, Old City arrest rates exceeded those of the city at large for each type of crime. However, the Riverfront neighborhood reported the highest rates of all crimes in 2005 even though the number of arrests there was the smallest of the four neighborhoods. It appears then, that Riverfront and Old City are the most prominent areas for crime among the clubbing neighborhoods. While these arrests are likely a function of police activity and population density, they point to both Old City and Riverfront as potential crime “hot spots” that require a considerable amount of police resources. Arrests rates in Northern Liberties were also high, exceeding the city average for each type of crime. However, Rittenhouse Square reported the second largest number of crimes across category, but the lowest crime rates among the four neighborhoods.

In the paragraphs below, we report on fieldwork that describes crime in these areas. Our fieldwork is consistent with these official data: respondents reported a lot of crime and victimization at clubs and parties in Old City and Rittenhouse Square and on Delaware Avenue. Moreover, given the text above on the kinds of clubs in each of these neighborhoods, the official

data support our contention below that the most problematic clubs for crime and victimization are commercial venues (see more below).

Drug and Alcohol use and Related Consequences (Research Question #1)

Table 7 above presents all arrests for narcotics violations by the four clubbing areas and for the city (a total of 12,051 narcotics arrests in Philadelphia with an average of about 8.6 arrests for every 1,000 residents). Accordingly, it shows drug arrests for 2005 the highest in Old City (n=435) and that its drug arrest rate of 18.8 per 1,000 residents is more than twice the city average (8.8/1,000). However, Riverfront (Delaware Avenue) reported the highest drug arrest rate at 45 per every 1,000 residents.²² Drug arrest rates in Rittenhouse Square (10.6/1,000) and Northern Liberties (13.8/1,000) also exceeded the city average. Moreover, the neighborhood crime database showed that drug arrests were up for each of the four clubbing areas between 2004 and 2005, especially in Old City.²³ This upward trend was not experienced city-wide, thus indicating a worsening problem with drugs in the clubbing areas. Taken together, these data indicate a lot of drug-related police activity in at least three of the clubbing neighborhoods. Below, we report on drug use patterns we found during our fieldwork to provide even more detail on the presence of drugs in Philadelphia's nightclub scenes.

With regard to alcohol and drug use at nightclubs, one of the main things we discovered was that people define alcohol consumption – and even over consumption – as a normal part of

²² Here is where some context is helpful for understanding these data. Riverfront has just over 775 residents, but it houses many of the city's leisure establishments or cultural spots. It also has a very high average household income compared to the other neighborhoods. We contend that Riverfront is a bit of a nuance here and might account for an apples and oranges comparison with the other locations. When making comparisons across unit, it may be wiser to use rates.

²³ The trend data by neighborhood in the University of Pennsylvania's crime database is not presented numerically but rather graphically. We do not include any graphs in this report because it would take too much space since the graphs are constructed by neighborhood and for each crime. We did, however, analyze them visually to arrive at the claims made. For more information on this database, please see <http://cml.upenn.edu/crimebase/default.asp>.

the clubbing experience, even if they did not normally drink very much. Their expectations were that they would engage in a higher amount of alcohol consumption at club events than they would in other situational contexts. Second, many have cavalier attitudes about drug use, especially marijuana whose use we found commonplace.

To a lot of people, I know that **IS** the event. For some people, smoking a blunt²⁴ before you go in the club, taking a break and going outside to smoke a blunt during the party... It's like, they gotta be really high the whole time. Other people, they have to be drinking heavily all night or they think they miss out. (Prague, a 27 year-old white male)

By far, alcohol and marijuana were the most commonly abused substances among respondents in both the EDM and HH scenes. Use of alcohol and marijuana was reported both at nightclub events as well as outside the context of the nightclub scenes. Generally speaking, the amount of alcohol used at EDM or HH events was greater than levels of use outside of this context.

Alcohol Use. Of the entire sample, 82% reported current use of alcohol. Of them, 47% reported drinking between three and seven days a week. This percentage was skewed toward white, Asian, and Hispanic males in both scenes, followed by black females in the HH scene. Twenty-one percent reported drinking alcohol more casually (1-2 days a week), mostly females in the EDM scene. There were no notable race differences. Roughly 32% consumed alcohol between 1-3 times in a month, more in the HH scene. Again, there were no notable race or sex differences. Of those who reported less frequent alcohol use (1-2 times a week or a few times a month), the vast majority reported drinking alcohol strictly as part of a “night out” at a club event. All of the respondents reported drinking more alcohol at club events than in other social contexts. While club-based alcohol use was self-reported as moderate or light, when further

²⁴ A blunt is a hollowed out cigar shell filled with marijuana.

queried on the number and type of drinks consumed, it became evident in the majority of cases that alcohol use at night-clubs often approached or exceeded binge-drinking levels. Our direct observations confirmed this pattern. The following field journal entries illustrate this point, at weekly commercial nightclub events:

Weekly EDM Event: Again I really want to stress how much alcohol consumption was occurring. Bottles of beer, glasses of beer, mixed drinks, shots. Everyone was drinking, and drinking rather quickly.

Weekly HH Event: I noticed a fair amount of alcohol abuse - The one girl mentioned she was already fucked up, as she put it, by the time I engaged her in conversation around 11:45 pm -12.00 midnight. Her friend was drinking all evening - not particularly quickly, but I saw her consume 4 drinks from the time I engaged their group.

While moderate to heavy alcohol use was indeed a behavioral expectation at both EDM and HH events, the levels of consumption were also contingent on the type of club – that is, whether it was a commercial or underground venue. In general, binge-drinking and alcohol abuse was far more common at commercial venues than at underground clubs. Furthermore, binge-drinking in these kinds of clubs was far more common among college-aged white males. This field journal entry describes the alcohol use at a commercial HH club:

The crowd was drinking, liberally. There were people who were drinking at the bar, literally, the entire night. They never even went to the dance floor. Bottles of domestic beer (Coors, Miller, and Bud light) were 2 bucks before midnight. At close to midnight people were buying two and three beers at a time. Alcohol consumption and lots of it was

definitely an expectation. The Jello shots²⁵ were popular, and I noticed the waitress persuading guys to buy them, after they initially declined. Once I noticed a white male and his friend each do three in a row. Overall the alcohol consumption of the white male attendees seemed to be much higher.

There was also some indication that alcohol consumption was heavier at commercial HH events than at commercial EDM or underground EDM or HH parties. While earlier work by Dowdy (2007) has addressed differences between commercial and underground HH clubs in terms of social interaction styles, no previous work has addressed differences with respect to drug and alcohol consumption. The following testimony describes the alcohol consumption norms at a commercial HH club:

You get drunk as shit. You just drink a lot of tequilas and it will be a memorable night. I'm talking about you are just WOOOO!! It is like when you are at a rave and the whole crowd is just dancing and you can't even move and there are sweaty people and there are parts when you can get up and see everyone on the dance floor. It's kind of like the rave setting, but hip hop. Detroit (a 20 year-old black female).

It is worth noting that the respondent quoted above is underage. She used a fake ID to get into nightclubs to drink like this.

Excessive alcohol use was often encouraged by club venues. Alcohol promotions and drink specials functioned to increase alcohol consumption, and were often reasons that people chose certain club events. Bombay—a 27 year-old Asian female reported:

²⁵ A Jello shot is a small gelatin cube with alcohol, usually vodka, in it. They are similar to doing a “shot” of alcohol. They are commonly sold at club events.

Well honestly, since I'm still technically not a student but I'm broke all the time anyway, we're always looking for free events, happy hours, stuff that's going on where you get like 2 dollar drinks and like specials and stuff like that.

Such drink promotions and specials were more likely to be offered at commercial events in both the HH and EDM scenes. While club owners used drink specials to attract people to the club, bartenders helped promote over-consumption as well by drinking with patrons at times. The following was noted in an ethnographer's journal about a commercial hip hop and house event:

As discussed earlier, there were noticeable gender differences in alcohol consumption. These were both actual and perceived. In general, males in both scenes reported consuming far greater amounts of alcohol than females. This pattern was confirmed by our direct observations. Bogota—a 21 year-old black female—spoke about the possible reasoning behind the consumption difference:

I noticed that when I was at RAVE Y there were a lot more guys in the bar than girls... Its more guys drinking and I guess some girls don't want to get too trashed especially if they are by themselves.

While consuming greater quantities of alcohol during the clubbing experience as opposed to other contexts was a commonality shared by both the EDM and HH scenes, there was some variation with regard to type of alcohol consumed. While beer consumption was more common at EDM events (usually domestic brands), at HH clubs, the majority of the crowd would consume liquor and mixed drinks, not beer. The following field journal entry of a weekly HH event illustrates this pattern:

Even the males were mostly drinking drinks. I couldn't gauge what kinds, but it was a clear majority. All those who were drinking beer (mostly males, though a few females as

well) were drinking Corona. In fact, Budweiser was having some kind of advertising or marketing night at the club, where two mid-20s females gave everyone in the club a free Bud [*Budweiser*] beer. I drank mine, simply to quench my thirst without having to pay for a drink, but other than that I noticed that only 2 people - 1 black female and 1 black male - were drinking their free Buds. Everyone else stuck with drinks or Coronas. Closer to the end of the evening I noticed a bunch of full Buds sitting on the various tables around the club.

Occasionally, routine alcohol consumption at events – both underground and commercial ones – resulted in negative experiences for the respondents. These most often included blackouts, hangovers, vomiting and nausea, employment difficulties such as missing work, and occasionally police and legal consequences, such as arrest for drunk driving. Physical illness and hangovers due to excessive use, however, were the most common problems reported. Pittsburgh- a 28 year-old black male-- in the HH scene told us:

My friends have gotten DUIs but for the most part, not many problems, like besides maybe throwing up... I usually throw up the next day, I mean I may throw up outside of the club or something like that, but its not, you know, that's the only problem that I may have, like just getting sick, you know, just being too drunk.

Excessive alcohol use in nightclub settings also caused respondents' behaviors to change, often resulting in interpersonal complications. In particular, several female respondents reported engaging in promiscuous sexual behavior and later regretting it. Bangkok—a 25 year-old white female-- in the EDM scene elaborated on the impact alcohol has on her tendency toward promiscuous behavior:

I am blaming alcohol for all my indiscretions. I mean I could be wrong, the drugs could

play a big part and I don't know, I mean the drugs aren't around that much, so ultimately it is an alcohol.

When respondents offered sentiment about gendered patterns of drinking, people did in fact perceive that men and women drank differently. One difference was less alcohol consumption by females or similar alcohol consumption by both males and females but females suffering more consequences. Views on gender differences were mired in sexism, particularly among HH respondents, suggesting a possible scene/genre effect here (see Adams and Fuller 2006; Iwamoto 2003; McCall 1995; Payne 2006; Stephens and Few 2007). More specifically, the ability to drink more alcohol was equated with social worth, and privileged men. Rangoon—a 23 year-old black male-- in the HH scene described how female's excessive alcohol consumption negatively impacts their behavior at nightclub events:

I think most girls when they go out, they drink but they can't handle it. I mean I don't know about you, but most of the time there's always at least two or three girls that are being walked out like this, and there's a guy too but for the most part it seems like most chicks don't handle their alcohol very well, most girls are lightweight in that they can't handle [their alcohol].

While male respondents were often quick to point out that the connection between excessive alcohol use and problematic behavior is more common among female nightclub attendees, interview data revealed a similar connection among males. However, here, problematic behavior due to excessive alcohol use was more likely to manifest itself not only in terms of flirtatious or promiscuous sexual behavior, but also in more physically aggressive terms. Santiago—a 31 year-old Hispanic male—told us about alcohol's effects on behavior:

I'm more likely to do something dumb, you know what I mean. Like I said, I'm

aggressive so I'm not going to - whereas right now, you know what I mean, I will diffuse a situation, but if I have liquored up in the club, I'm probably going to be more aggressive, you know what I mean. Women, same thing, if I'm boozed up, someone I normally wouldn't talk to or wouldn't want to talk to, I try to talk to, you know what I mean.

In sum, with respect to alcohol consumption, we found that excessive consumption of alcohol at club events is both a norm and an expectation, for both males and females, in both scenes. With respect to race, white males displayed higher “binge-drinking” levels of alcohol consumption. While there were some indications that alcohol use was heavier at commercial HH events compared to commercial EDM or underground HH and EDM events, it is important to stress that respondents in each of these scenes reported drinking far more at clubs than in other social contexts, regardless of scene or event type. Furthermore, excessive drinking was often encouraged by the club venue, by way of drink specials, and bartenders drinking with patrons. Excessive drinking typically resulted in more sexually-related problems for females, and more aggressive, physical confrontation issues for males.

Marijuana Use. A substantial number of respondents in both the EDM and HH scenes were current users of marijuana (64% of the entire sample). Extensive use was common. Of those who were current users, 72% reported semi-weekly (3 or more times a week) marijuana use, with over three-fourths (76%) of this group self-reporting daily use. Some reported using marijuana use multiple times a day. This frequency of use was somewhat more common among males than females, with whites and blacks more likely to use this way than Hispanics, Asians or others.

Most reported using marijuana outside of night-clubs, and use patterns tended to be

established before involvement in the club scene. Regardless of the context or onset of use, it was clear from talking to our respondents that, in many cases, daily or weekly marijuana use was a common part of their lives. This provides evidence for a possible cohort shift in drug use trends suggested by prior studies (Golub and Johnson 1999; Golub, Johnson, and Dunlap 2005).

Helsinki—a 26 year-old white male-- elaborates on how marijuana use is normalized:

I smoke daily. It is just part of the habitual cycle. I mean for one I used to live with DJs that is the end of it. Now I live with bunch of guys who, you know, they don't go to the school, they're just working their daily shifts, they come home and they want to drink, smoke, and hang out. That's what we do.

Many respondents reported consuming marijuana before attending nightclub events, due to its illegality and the potential consequences for public use (see Golub, Johnson, and Dunlap 2007). Others reported leaving the club several times during a club event to consume marijuana with peers, re-entering the club again after use. On various occasions we witnessed respondents' leave events and re-enter the venue, presumably to smoke marijuana and respondent testimony confirmed that this was a normative behavior. As the following exchange between Edmonton—a 21 year-old white female-- and an interviewer illustrates, doing so is not problematic or complicated:

Edmonton: I might smoke some weed before, maybe at the club if I'm invited to.

Interviewer: Is it complicated smoking weed at a club?

Edmonton: You just go outside. You go outside, smoke it, and then come back in.

While marijuana use is common among respondents in both the EDM and HH scenes, using marijuana in the context of club events was more of an established norm in the HH scene. This finding supports prior research suggesting that marijuana use among youth and young

adults is an emerging trend, with a somewhat stronger connection to city residents who favor HH and rap music (Golub and Johnson 1999; Golub, Johnson, and Dunlap 2005). Some of our respondents suggested marijuana use in the HH scene is even more common and socially accepted than alcohol use. Prague--a 27 year-old white male-- from the HH scene noted:

A lot of people in hip hop, they don't really drink that much, but they smoke. I never used to drink too much, but I was smoking weed a lot. I know a lot of people are the same way. I know people still, it's like they barely ever have a drink, but like they are constantly high.

While it is common to smoke marijuana before attending club events, or to leave during the course of the evening to consume marijuana, several respondents indicated that use in club venues is typical, even tolerated by certain nightclubs. This was apparent during our direct observations in both the EDM and HH scenes, where we smelled open marijuana smoking at certain events. Baghdad—a 33 year-old white male—described marijuana use at EDM and HH events as an established scene norm:

I've seen people smoking pot at club events. Not all the time or anything you know, but yeah it's not unusual.

And Santiago- a 31 year-old Hispanic male-- added:

My friends, they smoke blunts on the way, in the car, you know what I mean. They smoke outside, inside. Everybody smokes weed at the club all the time. The last time I was in a place that they were smoking weed at was CLUB R. That's a once a month party but it's really good. You walk in, you smell the weed, you know what I mean.

A female respondent—Vancouver (23 year-old black female) was interviewed after an ethnographer attended the weekly mash-up party the respondent promotes in the city. At this

event, the ethnographer saw people passing around a hookah and smelled marijuana. During the interview, the respondent asked the ethnographer about this:

Did you see the hookah that Friday? You can pay the guy extra and he'll hook you up like you pay him extra and you give him pure product and he'll mix it in the pack so it doesn't smell all like weed.

While marijuana use was normative and permitted (even enabled) at certain clubs, other respondents discussed that using it in club venues was dubiously acknowledged, and frowned upon. Still, it was not necessarily the case that such norms deterred patrons' usage. Salzburg—a 29 year-old white female-- elaborated on marijuana use at club venues.

If we can do it and it's not going to be a problem like I'm not trying to cause a problem or get kicked out or nothing like that cause most people at the venues know me. So I'm not trying to be super disrespectful. It depends on the club. Nobody allows it really. There used to be venues that would turn the other way, but anymore, it's just a matter of if you get away with it.

With respect to marijuana use, we found that the use of marijuana in both the context of the club scene (both HH and EDM) and in the everyday lives of the participants was normalized. Use of marijuana was not stigmatized, or viewed as harmful. Rather, it was perceived as a way to relax, or manage stress. There were no significant race or sex differences with respect to the consumption of marijuana more generally, although use in the specific context of the club scene was more commonly reported among HH respondents. Marijuana use was often “discouraged but tolerated” by club venues, as long as patron use was somewhat discrete. Other club events allowed marijuana consumption outright, with some venues providing hookahs to enable use. While excessive marijuana use was a normal part of the club scene, its use was not associated

with the aggression or sexual problems, as alcohol often was.

Ecstasy, Cocaine, and Other Drug Use. As expected, EDM scene respondents reported use of a wider range of illicit substances. The most commonly reported were ecstasy and cocaine use. With regard to ecstasy, forty-seven percent of the entire respondent pool had used ecstasy. Roughly 27% were current users, and the clear majority was affiliated with the EDM scene. Current use was reported as infrequent, however, most often bi-monthly or bi-annually. Only one respondent reported weekly use of this drug. There were no notable demographic differences in use. In most cases, the use of ecstasy was associated with rave or rave-like events (one-offs), with clubbers looking to re-capture the experience of the ecstasy-laden raves that were prominent in the late 1990s. However, we found that more regular ecstasy use had also become more commonplace at more commercial nightclub venues in the EDM scene. Beijing—a 28 year-old white male—commented:

The day before, I was at a rave on 4 pills and everybody else was too. Now, you go to electronic music events, there aren't that many people rolling or on drugs. I mean you might catch a couple people doing a couple things. You go to CLUB C or CLUB D, it's fucking crazy! I feel like I'm at a rave!

Our direct observations also revealed that ecstasy use was more common at commercial EDM club events. However, drug use at these events was not limited to ecstasy use. Cocaine (powder, not crack cocaine) use was also common at commercial events. In our sample, 24% reported that they had used cocaine at some point, with roughly 16% self-reporting current use of the drug. Use was more commonly reported among males, and was slightly more common among those affiliated with the EDM scene. While the number of users in this sample was not overwhelming, our respondents reported that it was a somewhat new and growing trend in

Philadelphia. Recently, other research also found a shift from ecstasy to cocaine as an emerging trend in the EDM scene in other U.S. cities (Murphy et al. 2005). This indicates that this may be an emerging scene-based trend, not one that is contingent on specific geographic locale.

However, as with ecstasy, cocaine use was more common in commercial nightclubs. The following field-journal entry provides evidence of this:

I saw some signs of cocaine use there. This was based on seeing a guy exit the bathroom rubbing his nose. The vibe of the event, with its identity markers and interaction patterns certainly pointed to casual cocaine use. Any upscale or commercial club culture events - particularly higher status events - showcase more cocaine than ecstasy pills.

This particular finding is something that prior research (Murphy et al. 2005; Soellner 2005; Sterk, Theall, and Elifson 2006; Yacoubian et al. 2004) has failed to address. That is, that drug use (type of drug and extent of use) is largely dependent on the type of venue (commercial vs. underground) that one attends, rather than simply being an inherent feature of the EDM scene more generally. We also found that the use or sale of cocaine in the actual nightclub environment was often further contingent on the particular nightclub venue one attended – and subject to the particular norms established in that environment. Through our interviews we found that in some cases, certain nightclubs had normalized the use of cocaine in these settings. Bogota—a 21 year-old black female—commented:

It's funny cause like I brought like some coke there once and the guy was like yeah be careful the bouncer's right there and ten minutes later I see the bouncer coming down the steps and there is this guy sitting there with me and he takes out a bag of coke and the bouncer does some.

We also found that cocaine had a more functional purpose, and was used so that clubbers could

fulfill the demands of nightlife:

I do coke from time to time. Maybe like once a month or twice a month if it's like a whole night event. Like you know, my main purpose for doing that is not because I like it, I am not going to lie, it keeps me awake. Chicago (31 year-old white female).

The EDM scene respondents also reported experimentation with and occasional use of a wide variety of other illicit substances. Current attitudes and beliefs about more serious drugs (including cocaine and ecstasy) varied among the respondent pool, but we did not find outright contempt or strong disdain regarding the use of any drugs. There were few exceptions to this pattern. In addition to cocaine and ecstasy, the use of pills, including various prescription narcotics (e.g., Vicodin, Oxycontin, and Percoset) and other pills (e.g., Xanax) were also used at commercial EDM nightclubs. This finding corresponds with recent research suggesting this is an emerging trend (i.e., in cities like Miami--Kurtz et al. 2005), and/or that this may be more of a scene based trend rather than one that is geographically isolated. As for other substances, the use of psychedelic mushrooms, crystal methamphetamine, and GHB was also reported.

With regard to the use of pills and prescription narcotics, however, was not reported as frequent, but more occasional. Use was often a function of circumstance, or being in the right place at the right time. Prescription narcotics were not sought out, but when they were available, were often used without question. Edmonton—a 21 year-old white female-- discussed how prescription drug use is casually normalized among some EDM club attendees:

I like downers like Vicodin and Percoset and things like that... I'll be offered from like a friend or something, like it's really innocent like I'll never go to the dealer, like my friend will go to the dentist and be prescribed to some Hydrocodone and I'll get some that way. They get Vicodin from their dentist, and they'll be like I have Vicodin and then I'll be

like ok I'll take one.

Sometimes, negative consequences would occur from use. Chicago- a 31 year-old white female-- described an incident at a commercial EDM club:

Since I started going out in Philadelphia it seems more like there are a ton of drugs.

Somebody gave me GHB one time in my drink. It was supposed to be funny, like a joke, but I was almost rushed to the hospital because I thought I was dying. So, when I go out and I see people drinking GHB I think you are fucking loser because I don't know why you want to drink something, sit in the corner, and look like have drool coming out of your mouth for an entire night. My sister's friend takes pills all the time. People are taking them for fun.

Similar to that found in other research studies (see Camilleri and Caldicott 2005; Jacinto, Duterte, Sales, and Murphy 2007), drug impurity was also a concern, and adverse reactions to unknown combinations were discussed among several respondents in the EDM scene. As Dublin—a 27 year-old Hispanic male—noted. “People were getting messed up cause the drugs weren't drugs, they were something else.”

As prior research has found, impurities are common, with particular respect to ecstasy. A given kind of ecstasy pill can contain a wide variety of other substances, such as ketamine, PCP, various kinds of amphetamines. While research has noted that some of these additives can cause severe adverse reactions (Camilleri and Caldicott 2005; DanceSafe 2000; Irvine et al. 2006; Mejias et al. 2005), our respondents described a more adverse “type of high” that such combinations would produce, rather than describing any physiological dangers specifically. Barbados—a 24 year-old white male-- elaborated on this:

Especially with ecstasy since it is so difficult to make, you would get like weird

combinations of phenylalanine tabulates...like MEP, or other weird things. Phenylalanine are these huge families of speeds, they all do different things to you. Ecstasy is one very specific type, but like naturally effective pills, they are parts of the chemical structure that haven't fully processed into MDMA and so, I mean those too, they do different stuff to you.

Two of the EDM respondents reported using crystal methamphetamine, both females. While present use of meth was not reported by a large number of respondents, a greater number (N = 5) reported past experimentation and more frequent use (all males, all in the context of the EDM scene). Those who reported current use of did not use frequently. Similar to prescription narcotics, use was infrequent, occurring once every month, or every few months. Still, problems were noted, one of them being impurities of the drugs used. Jerusalem—a 28 year-old Asian female-- described this:

It got to the point where everything was cut so much that if you did a bump of crystal [*methamphetamine*] or you did do K [*Ketamine*] you might speed ball because the mixes were off and so it can really control your personality for the night.

The use of psychedelic mushrooms was also reported, with 13 percent of the sample reporting current use. Much like ecstasy, use of mushrooms was reported as occasional (bi-monthly, annually), typically reserved for special events (one-offs) or during multi-day music festival events, or outside of the club scene altogether. No complications were reported from use.

At smaller, independently organized events, ecstasy or other substance use was not common. In fact, it was generally regarded as the exception, rather than the rule. Helena—a 31 year-old white male—commented about this:

I would say with fairly strong certainty there is no drug use, which I am sorry to have

grown up, but I'm glad there is no drug use, the people I'm involved with organizing events work very hard to prevent drug use. In some of my soap-box rants I've strived to prove the government wrong by having this scene exist in the absence of drugs.

Rather, casual to moderate alcohol use was more common in these settings. During our direct observations, we were repeatedly noting how common alcohol use was in these smaller scenes. If drug use did occur, it was on a smaller scale than that of commercial events. Our direct observations suggest that the most common drug used here was ecstasy, and it was usually associated with intense, individualized dancing.

In addition to commercial EDM events, our direct observations confirmed that drug use was by far the most common at corporate-sponsored extended hours rave events. These events were typically housed in large commercial clubs, extending to tents connected to the outside of the club venue. At these events, we were offered ecstasy and crystal methamphetamine several times or asked if we knew where to get some. Excessive drug use was most definitely a norm and an expectation. The following field-journal entry describes this in detail:

Everyone I talked to made it a point of telling me they were on drugs, or admitted that they were after I had asked them. Most people had taken E [*ecstasy*], except for a 19 yr old white female, who had taken acid and mescaline. I got the distinct impression that more exotic drugs were being taken outside in the porto-potty area. The 19 yr old said things to this effect, and indicated that all of her friends were taking pills. She asked me what I had taken, and I lied and said I had taken E earlier, but that it had worn off. This outside area was just a beacon for drug use; just a haven for drug users to conglomerate. Everyone seemed fucked up here, more than any other place inside the actual venue. A security guard told me someone was too fucked up and puked. He pointed to the ground

behind him and I saw that I was standing right next to the pile of watery vomit. Again, I noticed a lot of people on drugs, some who were acting blatantly bizarre - sitting on the floor, muttering, smiling widely and staring blankly, some wearing sunglasses at night.

With respect to the HH scene, respondents most commonly reported the use of ecstasy and cocaine. Prior research has noted the increased popularity of ecstasy in the HH scene (Diamond, Bermudez, and Schensul 2006). Current use patterns were about the same as those of the EDM respondents. Most of the HH respondents in our sample reported using ecstasy only on special occasions or holidays such as birthdays, anniversaries, summer holiday weekends, etc. Furthermore, for the most part, the respondents in our sample reported using these drugs outside of the club scene. Similar to the EDM scene, use of these drugs was reported as more common in the mainstream or commercial scenes. Rangoon- a 23 year-old black male—told us:

I would say ecstasy is probably the biggest designer drug that's going on right now, it's sort of new, like how the rave kids are kind of done with it, the hip hop scene has just now discovered it.

Again, prior research has not drawn any distinctions with respect to drug use and type of scene (commercial vs. underground). While prior work on HH and drug use has articulated the increased popularity of ecstasy (Diamond, Bermudez, and Schensul 2006), the popularity of cocaine use has not been addressed in this research. We found evidence that the use of cocaine was almost as popular as that of ecstasy, and was often used with greater regularity. Vienna—a 28 year-old black female—told us about the prevalence of cocaine on the commercial HH and mash-up scene.

We see probably more coke [*cocaine*] than anything - more than weed, more than anything else. It's very trifling in our circle, more than E even, cocaine is the drug of

choice for Philadelphia. I've been other places and E has been the drug of choice, but coke was big here, like you'll be sitting in VIP²⁶ and you'll look over at someone next to you and that shit's on their hand.

While reports of the increased prevalence of cocaine use on the Philadelphia HH scene were somewhat common among our respondents, the use patterns of our sample were more occasional. Where ecstasy use was reported as annual or semi-yearly, cocaine use was often reported as monthly or a few times a month. Often times, cocaine use was casually normalized with respondents reporting that they indulged only by virtue of circumstance. Most made it a point to stress that they had never purchased the drug – rather, friends would have it, and they would partake. Such rationalizations served to minimize the potential seriousness of use, and neutralize the stigma associated with it. Pittsburgh—a 28 year-old black male—indicated:

Coke, I messed with that. It's not a habit, but if someone was to have it, I might partake in it. I have only done coke at a club like once. It was before the club, but it wasn't like inside. It was in the car and then go to the club.

In general, respondents reported that at more mainstream commercial HH events, intoxication - by one method or another - was an expectation and a norm:

I think that from my experiences it's very rare to go anywhere and talk to a sober clear headed mind, I don't think you will ever find that at a club these days, just a sober person that hasn't done anything all night, it's very rare. It's very rare that I'm out somewhere and I'm not on something. Rangoon (23 year-old black male).

²⁶ VIP sections in clubs are reserved for people who pay extra fees for private space, personal waiters, and special services at clubs. Such sections carry lots of status or clubbing capital (Thornton 1996).

There were some reports of prescription narcotics use in the HH scene, but overall, use of pills²⁷ was very rare among those in our sample. Moreover, those who had used pills did so very infrequently, or viewed it as a thing of the past. Use was also stigmatized, or viewed in somewhat of a negative light.

Similar to the smaller, underground EDM scene venues, the smaller, more underground HH clubs also featured less designer drug use and placed a greater emphasis on moderate to excessive alcohol consumption. During direct observations, we found that alcohol consumption at underground HH events was far greater than that of smaller underground EDM events: The following field journal entry illustrates the consumption patterns here:

Some of the individuals I talked with increased the speed at which they finished a drink as the time approached when the open bar would close. The area immediately around the bar got more crowded during this time as well, as others tried to get in as many drinks as possible. People wanted to get their money's worth. Also, I heard many people with slurred speech, observed uninhibited dancing behaviors, and virtually no one without a drink in hand.

There were other differences between the underground EDM and HH scenes as well. The most notable was that marijuana use was featured more prominently at these events than at underground EDM events. The following field journal entry discusses an interaction with a patron at an underground HH venue during an interview recruitment attempt:

He looked at me with eyes he could hardly open, and just smiled, nodded and walked away. My inclinations were that he had smoked a pretty fair amount of marijuana that

²⁷ The term "pills" was commonly used by respondents in our study to describe prescription drugs. However, in the first author's recent London research (Anderson 2007), "pills" was slang for ecstasy.

night, and just wanted to dance to the music.

In both scenes, respondents – especially those most committed to a particular scene and who were music enthusiasts – classified clubbers in many ways. The most common classifications revolved around substance use. There were those people who went to events to hear the music or a good DJ and those who went to simply get drunk and or use drugs high. When people labeled others as simply going to get high or drunk, they were making a derogatory statement. Again, this classification was often articulated in terms of commercial vs. underground scenes. Beijing—a 28 year-old white male—reported:

I think it crosses over into the mainstream, non mainstream thing. Because I know for a fact, if I go to CLUB A, which I don't, but if I did go to CLUB A or a mainstream club, or a mainstream hip hop event, you know, they are going to be smoking blunts out the ass, people are going to be drinking and getting crazy drunk, you know what I mean. And then they are missing the fucking show because they are twisted. You go to an [underground] hip hop show man, kids wanna hear words, and they wanna hear it. They wanna be blown away. That's why they go there because they are really into it like that. And the same thing with electronic music, man, like, that's it. Go to CLUB D and go to CLUB T and you will see the difference. CLUB T you got a bunch of people dancing to house music, I mean yea they are drinking, but they aren't getting, they're not like I'm going to get drunk, that's not the purpose. They want to listen to good house music.

CLUB D, people are like, I wonder if so and so is going to have pills there tonight.

It is highly unlikely that the “kind” of person labeled this way would take offense, as many people freely admit to going out to get drunk or high. The failure of this label to act as a stigma in the way it is intended speaks to the power of excessive alcohol and causal drug use social

norms in the clubbing scene at both EDM and HH events, and varying according to whether the events is a commercial or underground one.

With respect to the use of ecstasy, cocaine, and other drugs, it is important to note that use was far more common at commercial club venues in both the EDM and HH scenes. This was a recurring theme in our research – more drug and alcohol use (and related problems) at large-scale, commercial events, than at smaller-scale underground ones. Respondents in both scenes also reported that cocaine use was becoming a normal part of the clubbing experience for some. Unlike marijuana, however, excessive use of cocaine was typically stigmatized – both by those who used, as well as those who witnessed its use. Ecstasy use was still somewhat big in the EDM scene, but again, was far more common at commercial events, one-offs, or annual “corporate rave” type events. We were also surprised to find reports of ecstasy making inroads into the commercial and underground HH scenes. Although prior research on the HH scene has suggested that this may be an emerging trend, our respondents indicated that ecstasy use was far from commonplace. Rather, use was reported as occurring on special occasions – usually on summer holiday weekends such as the fourth of July – rather than as a common part of the clubbing experience.

The use of other drugs such as prescription narcotics, crystal methamphetamine, LSD, and GHB was reported as well. The majority of use of these drugs was reported among EDM scene respondents. Use of these substances was reported as infrequent, typically occurring at “bigger” events, or at corporate raves, housed in commercial nightclub venues. The primary consequence occurring from the use of these other drugs was impurities, resulting in unanticipated or unwanted drug effects. Reports of overdosing were infrequent, and typically

involved combining the use of drugs such as GHB or prescription narcotics with prolonged or excessive alcohol consumption.

Drug Selling. Most of the respondents have reported seeing drugs being sold at club events, rave or EDM events specifically. Many respondents have purchased drugs like ecstasy, GHB, crystal methamphetamine, and marijuana at club events - especially EDM events. Respondents reported that drug selling at clubs has decreased substantially and that people are much more discrete and nervous about it today than they were in the past. They claim to be nervous about undercover cops. In an exchange with the interviewer, Barbados—a 24 year-old white male—described this.

Interviewer: How important are drugs and alcohol to your experiences at EDM events?

Barbados: Anymore, really not so much, but back in the day they did hold some importance but I think that might have been a personal thing. They shouldn't hold importance, although they do hold importance in everybody's life, regardless of EDM. We have beer at our parties, we actually give away free beer. We don't promote that we do, but we just do it for our members, our members know that we do, you know what I mean?

The kinds of drugs that were sold include ecstasy, LSD, mushrooms, crystal methamphetamine, cocaine, and marijuana. There were no reports of crack and heroin sold at club events, in either scene. Generally speaking, males sold drugs more often than females, but females sold them as well. The style of selling we encountered was similar to that found in Murphy et al. (2005) and Jacinto et al. (2007), i.e., friends supplied friends on a very low-key basis. Motives for selling ranged from wanting people to have a good time, to creating an environment conducive to raves, to making a modest profit or paying for their own consumption.

People who sell in this fashion buy ecstasy pills cheaply outside of the event and in advance and then take more than they need to a party and sell what they have.

In our study, however, we found that most sales were even more informal than this. Most respondents reported securing drugs from well-known, safe and reliable contacts, and then often shared with other friends in the scene. Others reported partaking in drug use when their friends offered them the opportunity to use. Most drug exchanges were of a very informal nature, often occurring between long-time friends, or friends of friends, with respondents often acting in a “middle-man” kind of role. Sales at clubs are generally discrete and happen in bathrooms and other secluded locations. Most are kept out of sight and earshot of security. No one in our sample reported club staff or security being involved in drug selling. Later in the report, however, we discuss bartenders’ involvement in spiked drink episodes.

There were some instances where drug dealing conformed more closely to a street-sales model. For example, a few people talked about participating in or knowing about regular and large ecstasy sales operations at clubs. They discussed drug selling hierarchies and motives that were business oriented and consequences (arrests, danger, violence, etc.). However, even these more traditional dealers fall well short of previously articulated models of illicit drug selling. Consequently, this means that different styles of selling and different organizational structures operate in illegal activity and may fly under the radar screen of law enforcement. This is especially likely since this kind of selling also takes place in private venue businesses, placing the burden on club staff and owners to identify it.

The main finding here, however, is with regard to the informal networks and well-integrated friendship associations relied upon to both sell and acquire drugs. This is significant for two reasons. First, it makes targeting high-level drug dealers very difficult. Second, it

provided the respondents with a relatively safe and easy way to secure drugs, virtually eliminating negative consequences such as robbery or theft. Related to point two, this method of sale and acquisition also had the effect of insulating respondents from stigma, and thereby normalizing drug use.

Property Crime and Vandalism (Research Questions #2-3)

Property Crime. Neighborhood data on serious property crime as well as vandalism and other forms of property are also reported in Table 7. In 2005, there were 68,610 arrests for serious property crime in Philadelphia and 21,609 for vandalism and other property crime. That amounts to a rate of 49 serious property crime arrest for every 1,000 Philadelphia residents and 15.4 vandalism and other property crime arrests for them as well in 2005. Once again, Old City led the pack in the amount of arrests for both types of property crime (2,280 and 723 respectively). However, it's rate of 98.6 serious property crimes per 1,000 residents and 31.2 vandalism and other property crime arrests per 1,000 well exceeds the city average, but is, once again, less than those reported by Riverfront (256.4/1,000 and 73.5/1,000 respectively). Northern Liberties property crime (71.2/1,000) and vandalism (22.3/1,000) rates also exceeded city rates, but not as much as did those in old City or Riverfront. Comparable rates in Rittenhouse Square were lower than the other three clubbing areas and close to city averages. A perusal of trend graphs shows serious property crime arrests rates had decreased for each of the four clubbing areas (please consult <http://cml.upenn.edu/crimebase/default.asp>).

In the Fall of 2006, we presented a paper on property crime at nightclub events at the annual meetings of the American Society of Criminology. Our analysis revealed three major patterns regarding property crime and victimization at nightclub events. First, the respondents reported being the victims of property crime more often than perpetrators of it and the most

frequently reported type of property crime victimization was minor theft. The respondents told us their jackets and other personal affects like bags, purses, and clothing had been stolen at both HH and EDM club events. For example, Manchester—a 28 year-old Asian male—told us that he has had things taken from him often while clubbing:

Interviewer: How many times would you say this happens?

Manchester: I would say the amount that I am going out now, 2 or 3 times a week. I am a little more cautious about my stuff. I never bring stuff that I'm going to sit down that's not expendable. I'm not going to bring a leather jacket and sit it down at a club. I would say 2 or 3 times a year either mine or someone I'm there with, like a jacket got swiped, a book bag lying on the ground gets swiped.

Second, when the respondents did report committing property crime, it was most often minor acts of vandalism, with graffiti being the most common. Males reported engaging in graffiti-based vandalism far more often than women. For example, Brussels—a 21 year-old Hispanic male--told us he engaged in graffiti at clubs frequently, while Copenhagen—an 18 year-old Middle-Eastern female- described witnessing it but not committing it.

Interviewer: How many times have you done it?

Brussels: I've done it 20 times probably.

Interviewer: Where would you do it?

Brussels: doors and seats.

Interviewer: How about people vandalizing, marking up, or damaging property?

Copenhagen: I see it all the time.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example?

Copenhagen: In the club bathroom, there is stuff everywhere.

Other more serious types of vandalism included breaking bottles in or outside of the club. While performing direct observation at a club event, one ethnographer noted people were drinking beverages – all kinds—out of plastic cups. She asked club staff (bartenders and security) about this and they informed her that a clubber had been hit over the head with a bottle the week prior and had to be taken to the hospital. The club responded by doing away with glass (see more about this incident and others below). While this episode is more a case of assault, Dublin—a 27 year-old Hispanic male-- told us how easily beer bottles and alcohol pops can be tools for both vandalism and assault:

Dublin: People break bottles for no reason.

Interviewer: Breaking bottles for no reason other than being drunk?

Dublin: Yea, they throw bottles. I have seen people throw bottles. I got hit by a bottle.

A third pattern was reports of committing or witnessing other major acts of vandalism.

Respondents recalled stories about smashed windows of cars or that cars were broken into with personal affects stolen. At times, respondents were unsure if other clubbers did the vandalism or people in the neighborhood. Glasgow—a 21 year-old white female-- told us:

Interviewer: What about vandalizing people's cars or bikes outside?

Glasgow: Oh, man yeah, especially at CLUB PP on that big parking lot. You get your tires flattened all the time. People had their cars broke into. That still happens now, but you know I don't really know if it is so much to do with a club scene itself. I think it just has to do with random people walking by. I had my window smashed last year in my neighborhood in Virginia. I had whole bunch of shit on a back seat, but they didn't take anything, they just smashed the window.

Scene and Club Variation. Our analysis of property crime revealed some important differences by scene. For example, EDM scene respondents reported more acts of theft in all categories compared to HH scene respondents. However, roughly the same number of respondents in both HH and EDM scenes reported witnessing and committing acts of graffiti. In addition, there were no differences between the two scenes with respect to more serious vandalism. All reports of vandalism in both EDM and HH scenes are vehicular-related. However, EDM scene respondents reported experiencing and witnessing a greater number of incidents.

Further review of our data indicated that the relationship between substance use (illegal drugs and alcohol) and property crime (theft and vandalism) varied less by scene type (i.e., EDM versus HH) and more by event or nightclub type: commercial versus underground. For example, most incidents of theft and minor vandalism were reported at commercial events. Respondents told us the impersonal atmosphere of commercial events contributed to this. Also, there was excessive alcohol consumption at more commercial events, which contributed to victim precipitation and minor vandalism, such as breaking bottles, etc.

Consistent with our premise that the environment is as important influence on the drugs/crime relationship, we found that alternative norms in commercial venues helped define theft as “par for the course.” In other words, nightclub-based norms justified some criminal acts. Respondents stressed personal responsibility in their victimization. The result is that many victims of theft become jaded and turned into offenders themselves. Manchester—a 28 year-old Asian male—told us about a theft experience at a commercial EDM venue:

Not last winter, the winter prior to that at CLUB J my Adidas jacket was stolen. I mean it’s not my fault, you shouldn’t be stealing my shit, but you know, I’m leaving it down,

I'm going up and down three floors, like I just throw my shit in the corner and hope it's there when I get back.

While not reported with frequency or regularity, theft was often acknowledged as a somewhat routine part of the clubbing experience. Roughly half of those we interviewed either experienced an act of theft, witnessed an act of theft, or knew of someone who was a victim of theft.

Rangoon—a 23 year-old black male-- noted:

Probably one out of five times I go out I've seen someone lifting something. I remember last year I actually saw it... I saw this guy really quickly dig into this guys' back pocket, it was like that (snaps)... I didn't know him or that guy that did it, and I damn sure wasn't going to step in.

Respondents often stressed a level of personal responsibility in their victimization experiences. Occasionally, some theft victims became jaded and turned into offenders themselves. It was not necessarily the case that victims would turn into habitual offenders, but rather that stealing someone else's property was subsequently viewed as less deviant or problematic than it was prior to their victimization experience. Often times their subsequent theft behavior was rationalized with an "eye for an eye" kind of attitude. Helsinki—a 27 year-old white male-- explained:

I brought up how my walkman had been stolen, and my whole backpack disappeared at this big rave a few years ago... Like, my wallet, my money was gone and everything. And at the very end of the night I saw my bag on pile and I opened my bag and there is a new pair of New Balances in there, but all my stuff is gone. But it was my bag with a new pair of sneakers. It looked like somebody took them off because they didn't want them to

get dirty and put them in bag they stole from me. So, I just took the bag and walked out.

What was I supposed to do? It was my bag, you stole my shit, so I stole your shit.

With respect to graffiti, we also found it a normative part of scene culture. Most respondents did not regard “tagging” as a crime, but rather as art. Unfortunately, major acts of vandalism were also considered “par for the course.” While some respondents assigned blame to bad neighborhoods and to their own carelessness, few assigned any responsibility to the club or its staff. Baghdad- a 33 year-old white male-- explained how it was ultimately his fault that he was car-jacked outside of a commercial EDM nightclub:

That was our fault because we pulled in and there were people sitting outside. We put our stuff in the trunk and we should’ve drove out – put the stuff in the trunk and went somewhere else, you know what I mean?

Yet, we found that characteristics of venue also impacted the ADC relationship. For example, club security plays a role as well as the physical layout of the club. We found theft more common in clubs with multiple rooms / floors and where security were scarce. This resonates well with criminology’s routine activities theory of crime and victimization and could easily be addressed by venues or club owners.

Physical Assault: Major and Minor

Currently, there is a considerable literature on physical assault at bars and nightclubs. Much of this work has targeted physical violence among male patrons, linking it to drug and alcohol consumption (Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister 2003; Leonard et al. 2003; Graham and Wells 2001; Graham, West and Wells 2000). Specifically, natural drinking settings (e.g., nightclubs) may be especially problematic with regard to violent victimization since they merge certain

behavioral expectancies with the effects of alcohol (Graham, West, and Wells 2000). Our fieldwork substantiates this literature, while offering new discoveries and insights.

At the aggregate level, Table 7 shows some problematic aggravated assault rates for the four clubbing neighborhoods. As with the type of crime reported above, Old City and Riverfront both reported rates aggravated assault and other assault higher than the city average and than the other two clubbing areas. Rates for Riverfront (i.e., 30.9 and 115.9/1,000 respectively) were almost five times the city average, while rates in Old City (i.e., 13.4/ and 42.2/1,000 respectively) were about twice the city average. Northern Liberties and Rittenhouse Square had lower rates of assault than both Riverfront and Old City, however, even their rates exceeded the city average. Of special importance here are data on “other assaults,” which constitute a less serious form of assault, since this is the type of assault (e.g., a fight would be classified an “other assault”) that we found most common in our field work.

To begin, our fieldwork revealed a considerable amount of minor physical assault (mostly fights with punching, kicking and biting—examples of “other assaults” from Table 7) and a small amount of major assault (stabbings, gunshot wounds—aggravated assault in Table 7- - and the closely related crime of weapons offenses). As with the other types of crime and victimization, we heard more about them during our interviews than we saw live during direct observation. Still, we were able to witness some of it live during our fieldwork or could see how its occurrence impacted the clubbing scene. For example, we saw club security details become more intense and punitive after a fight or assault. Second, musical genres and the DJs that played them were eliminated by club ownership if perceived as too problematic. For example, two clubs got rid of their hip hop rooms during our investigation and one club was temporarily closed down the week after we visited it because of a fatal shooting in the hip hop room. Third,

alcohol policies were changed after physical assault. In one case, bartenders were disallowed to serve any beverage in a glass bottle or container and had, instead, to shift to pouring everyone's drink in a plastic cup when injuries resulted from fights with broken bottles.

In terms of the respondents, most reported witnessing acts of physical assault at clubs rather than being directly involved in them either as perpetrators or victims. Fighting was not necessarily widespread among our respondents. However, those who did fight seemed to do so often. This indicates that certain clubbers may become more risky inside the clubbing environment than others, begging further analysis into their backgrounds. We begin our discussion of the physical assault experiences of our respondents with patterns among the perpetrators.

Similar to assaults in general, physical assaults were most often committed by male respondents. The assaults were acts of bravado- influenced by the club's environment- and about women or small personal affronts. For example, Santiago- a 31 year-old Hispanic male-- told us about a fight related to alcohol and a hostile environment:

Like recently, I got in a fucking fight, you know what I mean, and it wasn't my fault. I was leaving the bar and somebody I had a previous problem with decided to start talking. And I said I don't have time for this. And I was dead drunk, music is blaring, college kids all over the place, I just want to go home. He came out and I ended up punching him in the mouth. I mean if you're dead drunk, you're going to end up on the floor, there is no balance. You know what I mean, you have just got to be good on the floor, which I, rolling around on the ground, I can do some work, some damage.

Later, he described some health consequences resulting from such nightclub fights:

Unfortunately, it usually ends up being brawls, not like a one-on-one, you know what I mean, shake hands after that shit. It's like a brawl, people get sent to the hospital. Matter of fact, when that dude called me a "Spic," the fucking dude bit me, fucking bit the shit out of me, you know what I mean? It fucked me up. I had to get tested, HIV tested, all that shit man.

Women respondents reported participating in fights less often and perpetrating far fewer physical assault than males. However, several women told us about their club fighting, which was usually with other women (but not always), about girlfriend/boyfriend drama, or acts of perceived self-defense from unwanted male attention. Chicago— a 31 year-old white female— reported an exception to this pattern:

He tried to put a hand on my skirt and grab my ass. I didn't have any underwear on. It was so aggressive, but by the time he could actually grab or anything like that, I just punched him in his face, and his eye got black and blue. The bouncers had to pull me off him because I was kicking him like a freaking animal. Like I don't take that shit.

There was some sentiment among the respondents that serious fights in clubs were on the rise and involving more and more weapons. Manchester— a 28 year-old Asian male-- recounted an incident in which he was involved:

We basically strangled the shit out of these guys, made them sit down, and said to them 'Okay, you are the one who is really starting the fucking problems here. So as soon as this boat docks, we are going to pull you off the boat and teach you a fucking lesson.' We weren't going to kill the guy by any means. We were going to rough him up a little bit because he beat the shit out of six of my other friends.

I: When was this?

Manchester: Two summers ago. That was an extreme case of club fighting, like guns being drawn and all that. I mean obviously you see on the news that it happens. I definitely think there has been an influx in guns and knives showing up in Philadelphia in the last five years, seven years. I mean once or twice a year someone gets shot and a club closes down. And that has been going on a lot recently, once a year is a lot.

Reports of having witnessed a fight or physical assault at a club were plentiful among the respondent pool. However, some respondents reported seeing them happen more often than other respondents. In general, women were more troubled than men by the physical assaults they witnessed at clubs. Some even reported altering their clubbing patterns afterwards in a sort of physical and psychological harm reduction strategy. Consider Chicago's experience:

It was just terrible. It was really scary and I just grabbed my car, called the cops, and they came in, locked the door, yeah I don't like to be around that stuff. Like I don't like to get involved. Like my fiancé sometimes has the tendency to be like 'yeah, lets try it.' Like one time, I saw all these black guys in GEORGIA on ARIZONA, in middle of the street in front of home. I mean there are these four guys just being in bloody ...to the point that they followed our car, and we couldn't even go around. It was just the most horrible thing and my fiancé just like no let's just...I am like no, get the fuck...please I don't want to be around, I don't like to see that kind of stuff.

Copenhagen—an 18 year-old Middle Eastern female added:

At this one party I went to, this one drunken girl threw a chair at another girl. She started gushing blood everywhere.

Interviewer: Was that at you?

Copenhagen: No, but the chair went literally across my face. The chair to the face was just horrible.

The fights witnessed by the respondents took place both inside and outside the nightclub, both while the party was going on and after it ended. The fights were also more often at commercialized and larger parties, both those in the EDM and HH scenes. However, slightly more reports about minor physical assault, and especially major assault, were at commercialized HH parties, especially those with younger crowds.

In these instances, respondents have seen insults, egos or status, perceived inappropriate attention to a girlfriend or boyfriend, stares and glances, and prior altercations work to tip off physical assaults. At times, fights are ignited by unintended personal affronts. Managua—a 24 year-old white male-- told us fights usually start over small things:

I don't know, my friends are a bunch of idiots. It starts over stupid, little shit. Stepping on shoes, bumping into people, spilling drinks.

Other times, the fights seem provoked and based on serious indignities. Most respondents believe that alcohol is often the tipping point for the assault, as it is believed to help provoke a fight that might not happen with abstinence. Havana—a 28 year-old black male-- recounted:

It was at a club where we were, the DJ...to dance music, but then they did like a set of heavy metal music for an hour, so this you know big skinhead guy came out and was dancing, pushing people around. This big skinhead guy was kind of, I guess, a tough guy. He bumped to my friend Eric and you know my friend Eric is white too, but he said something to him and it ended up...I didn't see it happened because I just walked down to a bar, and when I came back he was gone and I didn't know what happened with him because we came together. He called me, he was in a hospital. He needed stitches

because the guy hit him in his head. They went to a court and it was like the whole thing.

The other guy was arrested.

Interviewer: Was alcohol involved?

Havana: Oh, sure. I know my friend was drinking and actually I was drinking too because at that point it was late at night. That is usually when people get a little crazy

Race-related Physical Assault. Underneath some of the quotes above are race-related motives for club-based physical assaults. In fact, one of the most prominent patterns we discovered with physical assault had to do with race. There were two variations. The first was intra-racial violence at race or ethnic-segregated parties. Here, fighting seemed to be more common and more serious. This was especially the case at Asian parties or at clubs where rooms were fairly segregated by race. A second instance was more inter-racial. It had to do with racist comments and behaviors that incited altercations between clubbers. Melbourne—a 27 year-old Asian Male-- described both varieties:

A lot of them [*fights*] happened in more of the mainstream events, so anytime I'd go to an old city, with my old city friends, or if I go to an Asian party with my Asian friends, there is always going to be some kind of altercation. You have your stereotypical frat boy kind of guys in old city who stink, and who think it's okay to make fun of Asian guys or something like that. I'm not that type of person who will back down from stuff like that, especially when I have been drinking. So there is just a lot of face to face, a lot of pushing, things like that. Then, on the Asian side, I'm not exactly your typical Asian either. So, I'll go, but I am also very cynical towards the Asian scene. So, I can give you an instance. This one time we went to a party at the old CLUB AU, I don't know if you ever heard of it. It was short lived. I went with a white friend who doesn't exactly fit in,

he's a 6'4 Irish guy, and they decided to start with him. He was a small little Asian guy, but he had 14 friends behind him. This guys was just harassing his girlfriend and this other guy. This just started picking and picking and picking and was like, 'you don't fucking belong here,' and all this stuff. My friend got mad, pushed him, and the minute he pushed him, he got jumped by 14 guys.

Interviewer: For how many of these altercations is the source of the altercation something related to a female?

Melbourne: 90% of the time. I think 90% female, 10% race.

While conducting direct observation at a commercial club with three different scenes (Asians and trance, African Americans and hip hop, and whites and techno), an ethnographer noted ethnic patterns in physical altercations. In her journal, she wrote:

Last night I sensed a deterioration in the quality and security of the event. Same breakdown by rooms that is always the case at CLUB D. But the tomfoolery and aggressiveness had increased. I saw two fights last night. One in the entrance hall and the other in the hip hop room. Also in the trance room—where most of the Asians were-- I saw some whites fooling around with a female and booze. An older white male put this white female up on his shoulders and was dancing around with her- rather unstably- on the dance floor. No security stopped him. He came very close to dropping her.

Traditional gender role constructions by Asians contributed to the club venue and sexuality hooking up objective. All of the fights we heard about were over females- one male encroaching on another male's female. Females are viewed as men's property and men fight for their property when another male imposes a "threat."

Sexual Assault

Data from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) show that 1.6 of every 1,000 females experienced a rape or sexual assault in 2004. However, this figure varies significantly by race, ethnicity (Abbey 2005; Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton, and McAuslan 2004), social class, and age, and geography, revealing that young (16-24 year olds) racial and ethnic minority females living in urban areas experience higher victimization rates (Catalano 2005). Research indicates that the majority sexual assault victimization (SAV) of women is perpetrated by people (i.e., males) known to them (Bachman and Saltzman 1995; Catalano 2005; Fisher, Cullen and Turner 2000; Tjaden and Thoennes 1998).

Research has also identified many individual-level factors that help explain sexual assault victimization, including drug and alcohol use (Sherley 2005; Mohler-Kuo, Dowdall, Koss 2004; Felson and Burchfield 2004), criminal propensity and personality variables (Lussier, Proulx, LeBlanc 2005; Leonard et al. 2003; Sherley 2005), attitudes and perceptions regarding sexual assault myths, various interpersonal relationship variables (Mohler-Kuo, Dowdall, Koss 2004; Sherley 2005), and power concerns and hyper-masculine values (Graham, West and Wells 2000).

These important findings have helped shape policies on violence against women, but they have not addressed the varied types of SAV (sexual assault victimization) experienced by diverse individuals in newer criminal “hot spots,” i.e., bars and nightclubs. For example, extant research on sexual assault has focused largely on forcible rape, attempted rape, battering, and stalking. While these forms of SAV are indisputably among the most serious and exact great personal and societal consequence, other forms of SAV remain under-studied, may be more prevalent, and may be related to women’s increased risk to more serious future victimizations.

Consider types of unwanted sexual contact that do not meet the legal definition of forcible rape. This might include touching, grabbing or fondling of breasts, buttocks, or genitals (e.g., groping) or other forms of unwanted sexual contact, such as kissing, licking or sucking. There is very little research on these types of SA in any location, yet they *are the kinds of sexual assault we found most prevalent in our study of EDM and HH nightclub events*. We reported some preliminary findings on this at the 2006 annual NIJ conference in Washington, DC and at the 2006 annual meetings of the American Criminological Society. Below, we report on the more comprehensive analysis of sexual assault. Before doing so, we briefly review neighborhood-level data to further contextualize our work.

The Philadelphia NIS Crimebase does not report separate data for sexual assault of any kind. Thus, we are unable to offer neighborhood level or city-wide information in order to contextualize our findings about these crimes in Philadelphia's nightclubs. The Crimebase does, however, report data on "harassment," which can be used as a barometer of sexually-motivated deviance. Table 7 shows the same patterns with harassment as it does with the other types of crimes: Riverfront reported the highest rate at 19.3 per 1,000 residents, which is more than four times the average city rate and Old City reported the most arrests for harassment of the four clubbing neighborhoods. Sexual harassment of females by males was commonly reported by the respondents in our study. The paragraphs below review our major sexual assault findings.

To begin, our fieldwork uncovered several varieties of SAV and physical abuse of mostly females, but also of some male clubbers. Harassment by sex and race was a minor form reported by both males and females. The most common form of harassment was being called a "bitch or whore" by a male after a female turned his dancing request or sexual advance down. Related incidents included persistence by the male for sexual interaction after repeated denials by

females. In an interview, both Detroit and Cleveland (two early 20s Black females) complained about the harassment:

Detroit: In my freshman year, I was naïve. I would be dancing with a guy and they would be like, 'can I take you home with me?' And it would happen so frequently and I would be like, there is something wrong there. And that is because they are serious. I thought they were complimenting my dancing!

Cleveland: After a point it gets degrading. When a dude comes up to me and approaches me. If he approaches me in a respectful manner, and if I'm not feeling it, I'm going to turn him down, and I'll even joke with him. I won't be like, "get lost" or whatever. Like you come up to me and talk to me like I'm not educated, like I don't have goals in life and let me know that you don't. And the only goal that you can see in the future is how many booties or big butts you can get. Or, "girl, what's in them jeans? How can I get in there?" I'm totally appalled by that. A lot of times I like to just sit and chill because I don't like the hassle of getting on the dance floor when a dude thinks he can just come up and grab you. Dudes come up, they have boners, first of all. And if it is a dude that you think is cute, it is just a heavy, flirtatious way of dancing, whatever, but when it is some guy that is really aggressive with it, and I'm small, I'm like no, I don't need you sweating on me.

Another variety of harassment was by race and was reported evenly among the ethnic or racial minorities in our study. Pittsburgh—a 28 year-old black male- told us:

I guess the other guy tried to come onto my friend's girlfriend and so like they were mouthing off. And then I did that little rhyme or whatever, and the dude that had the beef with my friends, he's like 'just like a nigger, always rapping.'

And Montreal—a 31 year-old Asian male- added:

I had it done in P.C. [*a town*] once somebody said it at CLUB AR. But you know what? I realize growing up, ever since I was little, racial slurs were what I grew up with. I don't take it personally anymore. My one advice that I give everybody is don't take everything too personally, if you take things too personally then that's where you just keep hating people.

As indicated above, such verbal insults among males and at times females, at commercial events especially, could often lead to physical altercations. So, such race and sex-based verbal insults and harassment should be viewed as risky behavior for subsequent crime and victimization.

For example, unwanted groping or fondling of female clubbers by male clubbers was reported by nearly all of the female respondents. They told countless stories of being sexually groped (e.g., buttocks smacked, breast grabbed or pinched, etc) at largely commercial hip hop and, to a lesser extent, commercial dance music events (i.e., house music parties). Nearly all the groping was by men and of women. Ridyah- a 24 year-old black-- female told us:

You know how guys are. They'll touch a butt or something. "Damn you got a big ass or a phat ass" and touch your butt. That always happens at a club, the mainstream clubs not at these [*underground*] clubs.

Interviewer: Has that happened to you at a mainstream club in the past five years

Ridayh: Yeah like they'll touch me on the butt and I'll be like "don't fucking touch me homey" and that'll be it.

Copenhagen—an 18 year-old Middle Eastern female—added:

Like some guy shoved his hand down my pants and I was like 'what the fuck are you doing!'

While most accounts of such groping did not escalate to more serious assault, in some instances, the groping became more violent. We found two patterns. The first was more severe groping that could produce serious injury. Providence—a 21 year-old white female—told an interviewer:

This dude just came and threw me up against the wall and just started dancing on me. So I was like no. I pushed him and I moved away. Then, he grabbed me and now he's behind me, up against the wall. I moved away. Then, he pushes me up against the wall. Now he is backing up into me. I pushed him as hard as I could. We were about to fight. This dude was like six feet something, but I was so fed up. I was just standing here, and I'm trying to tell you "no" in a nice way and you are just going to grab me. He was going to fight me. Then, this dude that I danced with earlier just came and stood by and he walked away. But this dude was seriously going to fight me because I didn't want to dance with him.

A second pattern was that groping led to physical violence between the victim and offender or between supportive males, who came to the victim's defense, and the offender. Jerusalem—a 28 year-old Asian female, told us:

Oh my God... one time two months ago I was over at CLUB E for a drum and bass event... when Therapy Session came over and that's Robin and Dylan when they came over... this guy goes up my ass crack. I turned around and grabbed him by the throat... I said "listen motherfucker... I don't know who you think..." but like right off the bat, all my friends were right there. And then all the other girls he touched and security came up and said "what he do?" I said "he fuckin tried to stick his finger up my ass"... and I was like that's a "no entry area"... his boys were fucking laughing and shit and I was grabbing the guy by his throat and like pinched him really hard. I was like "who the fuck

are you laughing at bitch... is something fucking funny?" And all of a sudden all these girls came, everybody came because those guys were doing it to everybody.

While victims may be able to mobilize others to prevent the escalation of such incidents, male perpetrators also have support systems that encourage and help facilitate their deviant behavior and criminal offending. Singapore- a 20 year-old Asian female told us:

We were dancing, I think this was probably my 3rd time going to a club and my friend is Antigen, so we went to a black club, or a majority of them were black, and this guy just pushed me against the wall and just started groping me and I just called for help and my friends pulled me away from that guy and we just left the club.

Interviewer: Were you dancing with him?

Singapore: Yeah, we were dancing. Actually, these guys, sometimes if they have the wrong motives, they would like surround you and it would be him, me, and his boy around you. They have like this system thing though so that they could block my friends out and push me against the wall.

Interviewer: Have you seen this before?

Singapore: Yeah, I've seen it before. Sometimes a guy, one of the guys in a group, will target one girl and he would start dancing with you and then all of a sudden his friends would surround you. And my friends are not there to pull me away. And then, all of a sudden, he would push me against the wall and guys are still all around, just like a wall of guys.

Spiked Drinks as Attempted Sexual Assault. There are many challenges to understanding the criminal nature of spiked drinks, i.e., beverages that are altered with intoxicants (e.g., GHB, Rohypnol) unknown to the consumer. While research has shown them to be incidents of

attempted sexual assault of females by males, there may be other motives and victims.

Complicating the matter are difficulties with ascertaining if one's drink had actually been spiked and who might have done it. During our direct observation, we did not witness anyone having a drink spiked. However, many of the respondents reported either having their drinks spiked with a drug at a club event or witnessing or hearing about someone else having that experience. It is on this basis that we claim about one in four women in our study had their drinks spiked at club events. The frequency of being victimized by spiked drinks is lower for men. In an exchange with the interviewer, Edmonton—a 21 year-old white female-- discussed her experience:

Two years ago at an after-hours club in Philadelphia, I forget what it was called, but there were not a lot of people around and I was not really well known there and somebody definitely spiked my drink.

Interviewer: You don't know who it was

Edmonton: No clue.

Interviewer: What happened?

Edmonton: I think something bad would have happened if I had been alone but I was with my husband and I don't think the person that did it knew that. I only drank one drink. I don't drink usually. I drank one drink and I got plastered and I went to the bathroom, cause I was gonna throw up. I fell asleep on the toilet seat and my husband came and picked me up and I don't remember anything after that, but there could have been some serious things that happened, there could have been something really bad, but it turns out that he was my saving grace in that situation.

Clearly, Edmonton, like other women we interviewed, was very concerned about what might have happened had someone not intervened on her behalf. From our interviews, we learned that

friends and intimate partners were critical in preventing further harm from spiked drinks, but not necessarily helpful in preventing the drink from being spiked in the first place. That is a very difficult task and was managed by the respondents through self-imposed rituals regarding drinks: not leaving a drink unattended, refusing to accept an open container from someone you don't know, etc.

We did not find any race or ethnic differences in the frequency of having one's drink spiked-- consistent with previous studies—(ONDCP 2003; Vogel 2002) and we also found that men had their drinks spiked too, sometimes by women or men for most often non-sexual reasons, e.g., for theft of the target's goods. Manchester—a 28 year-old Asian male-- told us:

A couple of months ago this past winter, I was at the bar at the place I worked at and I was talking to these 2 Polish girls and we are laughing and having a good time. And then one left and I left with her. Five minutes later the other one walked out behind me and I woke up in my bed later without any money, 200 bucks stolen from me. Now it may not have been the Polish girls, but I don't know how I got home. I don't know if I went home with them. I don't know if they walked out. I just don't know.

As with extant research, the perpetrators of harassment, groping, spiked drinks and other sexually motivated victimization were both known and unknown to female respondents. The respondents reported more serious forms of SAV (rape, attempted rape, and stalking) among “friends” of clubbing buddies or acquaintance males they knew from clubbing. They reported less serious forms of SAV (e.g., groping, verbal harassment) among random male clubbers.

Scene Variation. The incidence and prevalence of SAV reported varied significantly by type of nightclub scene. Respondents frequenting commercial hip hop events catering to young (18-25) clubbers, reported a higher incidence of SAV, followed by commercial dance music

parties within the same age group. To review, “commercial” here means large capacity venues that cater to area-wide – not genre-specific- club-going young adults via extensive marketing strategies (internet sites, newspaper listings, and drink specials). They typically feature mainstream cultural markers, such as their music selection (i.e., major studio productions played on commercial radio and television), style and fashion, and motives for clubbing (e.g., hooking up with the opposite sex). Moscow—a 25 year-old black female-- described the sexual assault threat in commercial club catering to younger clubbers:

Guys are always gonna try to pick up girls, but like, I’ve been to CLUB L, I don’t like the 18 - 21 year olds to get into the clubs. I just feel like I’m surrounded by a lot of pedophiles. There are a lot of guys preying on a lot of young girls that are too young to be in there.

Singapore—20 year-old Asian female-- described the threat at commercial clubs even more vividly:

Yeah, guys are like scavengers. They look around to see if there is someone they want to be dancing with or hit upon. Every time I go to a club, I see people observing, if they aren’t that drunk. They observe around them, who’s hot and who’s not...guys are just more like the hunters and girls are like the prey. Some girls are flaunting themselves to get something and they are all showy and guys are just there staring around looking for the target.

An ethnographer’s field journal entry provides a good example of a commercialized club environment that sets high risks for both physical, but especially sexual assault.

Journal Entry: From the moment I entered the club at 11, I saw overtly sexual dancing, although no one was on the stage. The place was a meat market and the vibe is intensely

sexual. Everyone was dancing in that close, hook-up, grinding style, and there was simulated humping going on as well. Slicked back hair in ponytails on some, open collared shirts and styling jell in the hair of most of the others. The women were dressed to show cleavage and wore short skirts. The vast majority of people were on the ground-level dance floor. It was very hot in the club, especially after 12:00am, when the club was extremely crowded. ...As with my previous observation, it seemed as if those who were dancing on the stage were doing so in a more sexual manner, as if they were putting on a show for the rest of the crowd. The crowd was certainly getting off on it, and their approval would serve to make those on stage dance more provocatively. I noticed some females dancing sexually with one another on stage, to the delight of both the crowd and the DJ, who commented approvingly. The DJ told them that the girl on girl action was coming later and that they had to slow down. In all instances, everyone was following the orders of the DJ. He was controlling the party. He would call people up on stage, and then tell them to “get the hell off the stage.” In every instance it was females who were summoned to the stage. The DJ would say things like “I want to see some big ass boobies up here right now. If you got big old boobies get up on the stage...” The club gave free shots at midnight. I was on the dance floor when the DJ announced this, and I fought my way up to the bar to observe it when it was announced. I saw mostly males walking up to the bar and getting shots poured down their throats out of a bottle by a sexually provocative looking female who was standing on the bar. Most males bought more shots after they got their free ones. At midnight, the girl on girl event started. The DJ began with a story about watching pornography with his girlfriend— a lesbian scene. The crowd cheered. He then selected a very attractive female from the audience, and had her bend

over backwards, with her buttocks sticking out, over a chair. He then selected 5 girls to come up and simulate humping her from behind. The DJ held the microphone up to the girl getting humped, so that she could pretend she was having orgasms for the crowd to hear. Whichever girl gave her the best sounding orgasm ‘won.’ He encouraged the girls to grab her breasts and pull her hair and “get all into it.” They all did. The crowd loved it, and the girls were really playing it up.

Clubbers attending underground events/clubs – across musical genre-- were the least likely to experience a SA. Underground events are located at smaller clubs, most often attended by music enthusiasts, and feature underground music not in rotation on major radio stations or television shows like MTV. Motives for attending underground parties usually have to do with musical appreciation or socializing with an intimate group of friends.

The Alcohol, Drugs and Crime Relationship

(Research Questions 4-5)

In this section of the report, we address research questions #4 and #5 about how the subcultural or social context aspects (i.e., event vibe and social organization) of the nightclub scenes impact the relationship between alcohol, drugs, and crime (questions #4) and how extant theories—like Goldstein’s tripartite framework and White’s common cause model- fare in explaining the same relationship within the nightclub setting (question #5). We begin with a description of a few explanatory concepts we constructed from our fieldwork. We describe what they are and how they impact the alcohol, drugs, crime and victimization link in new ways (research question #4) and in ways consistent with existing research and theory (research question #5).

Event Vibe as an Important Subcultural or Contextual Concept. Our investigation uncovered two major subculture or social context-type concepts that impacted the alcohol, drugs and crime connection in ways not previously considered. The first is commonly referred to as the *party's vibe*. It is mostly the non-material or symbolic tone that defines an event's norms, expectations, identity markers, interaction patterns and other behaviors. It can be gauged by props (signage), style and fashion, musical selection, and other identity markers. The respondents distinguished two major types of vibes: (1) commercial or mainstream and (2) independent or underground. An event's vibe clearly helps define a party and it is also a significant predictor of the kinds of behaviors that take place therein and who it is likely to attract.

While few respondents made direct connections between a party's vibe and specific behaviors they engaged in (even though there was indirect evidence of this in the interview), they more often connected the vibe to other people's behaviors at clubs. Yet, few held a party's vibe accountable for victimization. In fact, few people blamed any external, contextual or structural factor on their victimization. They pointed the finger to other clubbers. Thus, clubbers are fairly unaware of the risks of the clubbing environment or at least do not hold it responsible for problems they experience therein. If they are aware of clubbing risks, they accept them, as the social pressure to club and the benefits they experience (much of which is alcohol, peer and courtship related) simply trumps the risks.

Commercial/Mainstream vibe. From our fieldwork, we learned that a commercial vibe referred to a preference for popular music (top 40 hits and anything on commercial, sponsored radio), an air of snobbery and cliques, concerns about status and style, lots of "attitude" and hooking up motives and behavior, and a potential for confrontation over minor things. Dublin- a 27 year-old Hispanic male described it as:

Basically those clubs aren't about the dance really—they are all about 'ok let's go home and fuck.'

Interviewer: hook ups?

Dublin: Yea, how much money you got, ok how nice is your car, how much you are going to spend at the bar...it's not really about the music.

An ethnographer discussed the commercial vibe in a field entry:

I was shocked at how blatantly sexual the dancing was, even among the females who weren't dancing with males. It was seriously as if they had taken all their cues from a Jay Z video. I couldn't help but chuckle at the irony when females would be singing along with sexually degrading lyrics, and males would sing along with sexually degrading lyrics to the females they were with, making a playful cutesy face as they were doing so.

After observing another commercial event, an ethnographer wrote:

Also, the dancing was sexual, but more party oriented sexual - there were several areas of the dance floor where the sexual nature of the dancing seemed more serious - and the conversation in the bathroom confirms that hooking up is an objective.

Independent/Underground Vibe. The second major type of vibe we found was nearly the opposite of the commercial variant. An independent and underground vibe was described and witnessed as warm and friendly, prioritizing the music and DJ, and celebrating uniqueness, diversity and respect. It was a relaxed and casual atmosphere in which people could be themselves. Denver—a 26 year-old black male—described it for us:

I mean the music is definitely a little more eclectic then you're going to find in other places, and the people that go there appreciate that they want to hear something new. They want to hear something different and also there's like a family feel, well you

definitely see a lot of the same people coming to these events and even if people don't know each other, they kind of feel like they know each other.

There was a clear sense among the respondents that the vibe of a party varies by the type of music scene it's connected to and by area of town. Thus, not all hip hop or EDM parties had the same vibe. The respondents described several kinds of scenes and a party's vibe also varied by this dimension as well. In fact, there is an interaction between scene type and club type which impacts vibe and, consequently, behaviors. Four major scenes were reported.

1. Commercial Hip Hop and Vocal House. An ethnographer described it as:

The environment felt masculine to me. There was a very male-type of gaze. I felt men controlled the tone of the party and I did not feel this way at the mash-up. Males seized visible power. Women's power came from their hanging out with female friends and from decisions about dancing liaisons with males. Males seemed to control physical space of venue; they also seemed to be more there to pick up females than to hang with buddies. This was the opposite for females; they seemed to be there to hang with female buddies and not as interested in hooking up. The neutral variation was the heterosexual couples.

2. Commercial EDM parties- especially trance and house. An ethnographer described it based on direct observation:

This crowd was urban chic in style. Not many were there at 11pm. The music was house, commercial or vocal house. I learned from some "members" that this was only after-hours club. It gets busy at 1:30am. I signed up for membership and must wait to be approved. The process takes two week. This club is under a garage. I'm not exaggerating. Old city yuppies, plus EDM fans were in attendance. We'll see about the

mix. Most like mainstream, least under and oppositional. Had some mainstream identity markers and style.

3. EDM Underground parties- techno, drum and bass, house, industrial, described by an ethnographer during direct observation as:

Mostly men were dancing in the circle, but there were females as well. There was a strong feeling of solidarity on the dance floor. In fact, the whole club felt that way.

People were very much in sync with one another- the range of behaviors was narrow, and people were closely connected. Almost everyone seemed to know someone other than the people they arrived with. An ethnographer commented that she felt safe there. That changed when we went over to CLUB J, where she said she didn't feel as safe and as a consequence, stayed very close to me.

4. Underground Hip Hop and/ or R & B. Rangoon, a 23 year-old black male described this perfectly as:

Like B Boys and B Girls²⁸, Timbs [*Timberland boots*] and Hoodies [*hooded sweatshirts*], kind of dark, lot of weed smoking going on, a lot of hip hop music being played. Kids from different hoods [*neighborhoods*], west Philadelphia, northeast, south Philadelphia. I think that a lot of times people just get caught up in just thinking that the only clubs and bars and spots like that are down here you know ARKANSAS old city area, but Philadelphia is a really big city and there's a lot of dope [*hip*] spots that are just kind of in neighborhoods that people wouldn't venture into. So the spots that I frequent are more off the radar type of shit.

²⁸ B Boys and B Girls are people who dance certain styles at events (e.g., break dancing and the pop-n-lock), share identity, and travel in groups.

We conclude from this that the music scene (EDM or HH) partially shapes the vibe of a party and the behaviors at it. In the proposal, we claimed that we would see differences in culture and behavior between the EDM and HH music scenes. And our analysis supported this. However, music scene is an insufficient way to understand the contextual influences on behavior at club events, as we uncovered that the club itself helped create a certain vibe given its social organization.

Race and Ethnicity. We also expected to find some differences by race and gender. With respect to vibe, we found race/ethnicity variations. The most prominently defined race/ethnicity-based vibes had to do with Asian parties, especially at commercial trance or hip hop parties. There is heavy alcohol consumption and lots of fights between men over women there. In this sexualized setting, women are viewed as men's property and Asian women compete with each other for men or engage in differentiation by status and style. When asked at what types of parties the vibe is more tense, Madrid—a 25 year-old Asian female—explained:

I think the Asian parties have a very tense and dramatic vibe. There is a fight somewhere
I think one out of every two parties.

Interviewer: Like a physical fight?

Madrid: Yes. Sometimes it happens when people get too drunk and can't hold their
liquor and somebody says something to someone or whatever and they start fighting.

The same kind of vibe was also noted at predominantly Black hip hop parties. They were consistently described by the respondents as having a heavy "thug" or "urban" element, which acts as code for racial stereotypes about blacks. Brussels—a 21 year-old Hispanic male—explained:

Brussels: If I go to an urban club.

Interviewer: What is an urban club?

Brussels: like, where a lot of hip hop music is played at. Maybe a rough area.

Interviewer: like a CLUB I or something?

Brussels: Yeah. There is always some type of trouble around those types of clubs and I'm not the person to, I don't want to get into trouble.

Montreal, a 31 year-old Asian, added:

When I promoted an Asian night, it was half trance and half of it was hip hop. And during the trance scene, there was no problem no fights, but as soon as we started playing the hardcore hip hop, what I would call the "thug" music—the kind where you are talking about jacking somebody up or killing somebody-- a fight would break out. You don't hear in the news about somebody shooting somebody else in front of a trance club. It usually involves a hip hop night club.

As the testimony above indicates, respondents tied a party's vibe to certain kinds of deviant behavior. Specifically, the vibe at commercial HH parties was linked to excessive alcohol use, sexual harassment and assault and physical altercations. On the other hand, the vibe at commercial EDM parties was linked to excessive club drug use and live drug selling, albeit we did not hear about or witness many instances of systemic violence from club-based drug dealing.

What our analysis reveals, therefore, is that the "party vibe" concept allows us to predict what kinds of deviant behaviors are likely to occur at an event. It also shapes the nature of the drug-crime connection. *Vibe sets up a specific Goldstein-type drugs-crime connection.* For example, commercial HH events place a very high value on alcohol consumption, which helps incite physical and sexual altercations between clubbers. If the vibe wasn't commercial, as is the case with underground HH parties, alcohol abuse would occur without much physical and sexual

assault, as we found during our fieldwork. More specifically, respondents reported that alcohol was connected to crime and victimization psycho-pharmacologically mostly at commercial HH events and, to a lesser extent, at commercial EDM events (especially those that are segregated by race). Yet, there was no such reported psycho-pharmacological connection at underground parties even though there was ample intoxication. What could possibly explain this?

Club-Level Social Organization as an Important Contextual Concept. A nightclub's social organization is the second contextual concept that we found to impact the alcohol, drugs, and crime connection at nightclub events. By social organization, we mean that the club's physical layout and use of space, its attendance-level and capacity, its staff responsibilities and operational style, and its use of drink specials (or contests) and entertainment props or gimmicks (e.g., scantily clad female dancers) are important determinants of the party's social context and influence clubber's deviant behavior or victimization. Clubs, or the events thrown therein, showcase their own cultures and styles of organization. For example, Cleveland and Detroit--early-20s black females—commented on club attendance or admission policies regarding age and crowding.

Cleveland: Club B is horrible. If it is 18 to get in, that gives room for 16 year olds to get in with fake I.D.s. So then when I'm 22, I don't necessary want a 16 year old around me at night.

Detroit: Yea, but at some point, you have to realize people are going to get fake I.D.s wherever. I don't think it is the fact that they are 16 year olds, it is what the club is offering. The club is offering a big dance floor. There is a minimal amount of space for drinkers. You have to think who they are catering to. They are catering to the type person that wants to go there and party and wild out. The people who want to come here are

already drunk. That is what you do. Every time you go, you wild out. You got a story to tell in the morning.

When club owners and staff employ a business organizational style (i.e., one that maximizes money, high cover charges, and specific dress codes that screen out non-club chic or “dangerous” styles, pre-occupation with liability, define clubbers as nuisances/threats or commodity consumers), it impacts the party’s vibe and clubbers’ experiences. Salzburg—a 29 year-old white female—told us:

The venue can dictate a lot of the rules as to what’s allowed in and what kind of parties they have and stuff like that. ... there are certain venues that have a dress code all the time, so they don’t want to have events like my company [*underground party promotion group*] has because we attract a crowd of people that want to come out and be comfortable and relaxed and hear good music. A lot of times, there are clubs that are looking for just a quick dollar and what’s going to make them the most money, and I think, unfortunately, the crowd that we promote to, they don’t have crazy deep pockets to be paying ten dollar cocktails. A lot of times, those places that have the dress codes and the more upscale environment have higher drink prices and stuff like that, and they end up playing more commercial music because that’s the type of crowd that comes out and gets dressed and doesn’t question a ten dollar cocktail. Like the people that go to CLUB E won’t go to the venue in Old City that has the dress code and the ten dollar cocktails. Like they just don’t go there.

At times, the social organization is based around a sexualized normative structure and club resources (staff and contests) are allocated accordingly. Santiago—a 31 year-old Hispanic male claims:

What they are doing to you in a club environment, they are giving you booze and they are putting on music for you to shake your ass to. They are basically implying sex. You know what I mean? Sex, Fun!

An ethnographer wrote about the club's role in putting on a sexually-themed party in his field journal after attendance at a commercial hip hop and booty house party in the city's major nightclub corridor:

The club owners or the people hosting the event and the DJs seemed to be openly encouraging this by giving specific commands such as "Now I want the girls with really big asses to get up on the stage." The girls rushed up to the stage and began shaking their bottoms in the direction of the crowd on the dance floor. Several times they commanded that all the guys get off the stage, and said "we only want hot-ass girls on this stage, so if you're a guy, get the hell off."

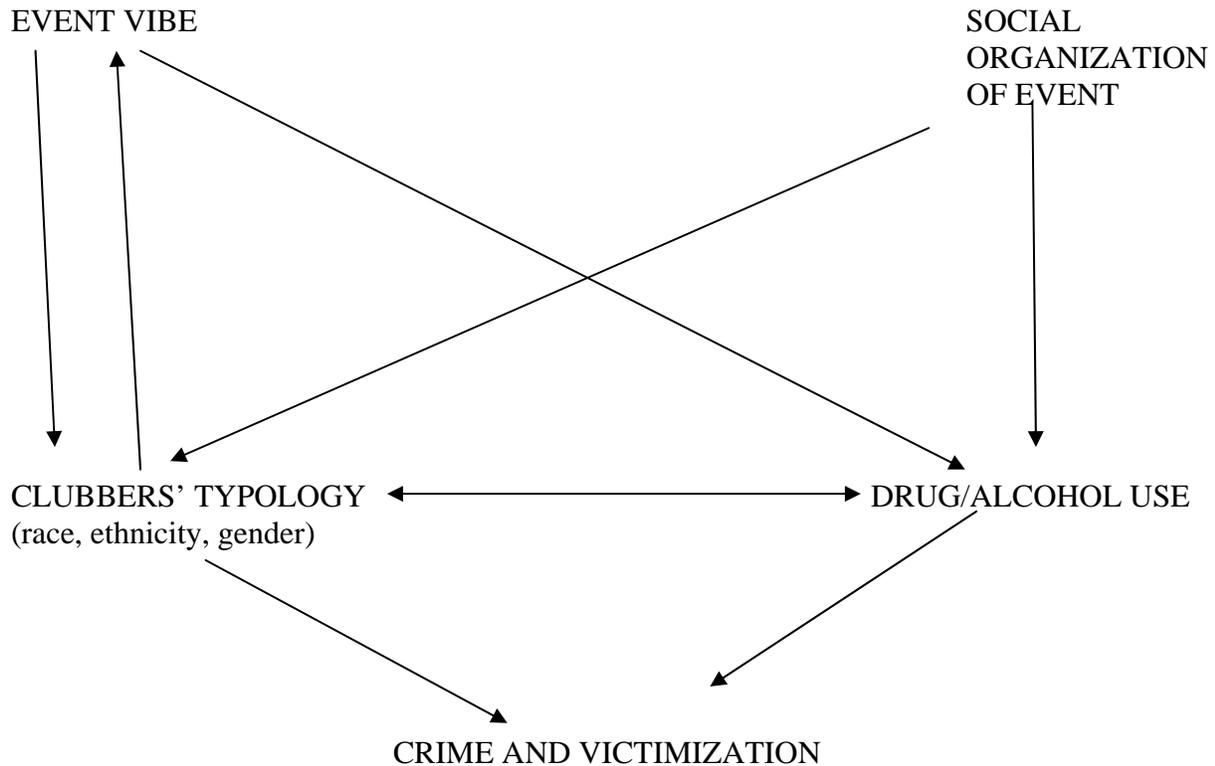
During our fieldwork, we also learned about two different kinds of staffing patterns that influenced the clubbers' experiences. One style was protective of the clubbers as it maximized their security while promoting them having a good time. Another style was more punitive. It was hostile and bouncers come across as intimidating, pre-occupied with club liability only, and not involved in clubbers having a good time. Managua—a 24 year-old white male-- spoke about the former, more friendly style.

The vibe at CLUB E is very friendly, open, and it feels kind of like you could go in there and not know anyone, and feel like you know everybody, mainly because security is so nice, they don't look down on you or think they are tough or anything like that. The bartenders are very friendly, very alert, or at least they try to be as much as they can.

A nightclub's social organization is, therefore, a second concept we discovered to have an impact on the alcohol, drugs, crime and victimization link. Like the routine activities theory claims, it provides environmental opportunities for the ADC+V link to materialize. To the extent that club owners and managers crowd a venue with young clubbers, host drink specials and other alcohol promotional gimmicks that result in quick and cheap intoxication, allow club staff to perpetuate deviant acts, and put on a highly sexualized and commercial vibe, physical and sexual assault and harassment are likely to result via a psycho-pharmacological link.

Routine activities theory maintains that crime and victimization result from a convergence in time and space of opportunities to commit crime with a pool of motivated offenders, suitable targets, and lack of capable guardians (Cohen and Felson 1979; Kennedy and Forde 1999). Based on previous research, we expected, at the outset of the study, that nightclub events were venues where such opportunities and motivations converge. Subsequently, we have found that the degree and amount of this convergence varies depending on the event's vibe and social organization as well as clubber's typologies and substance abuse patterns. The variation in opportunity and motivation, in turn, will impact criminal and victimization outcomes.

Figure 1
Preliminary Conceptual Model of
Social Context, Alcohol, Drugs and Crime



Future Research

The social organization and vibe of a club event are critical concepts in explaining crime and victimization at nightclub events. We have seen and heard how these factors shape individual motives and traits and, subsequently, what happens at a clubbing event. Thus, clubbing environments are great facilitators of positive and negative behaviors and altering them is an important intervention point. Moreover, this illustrates how important environmental factors are in shaping individual identity and behavior well into adulthood. Even if people are only temporarily in such environments, they are subjected to powerful forces therein.

The preliminary model shown above contends that a nightclub event's vibe and its social organization (use of physical space, staff/security management style and deployment, event promotion, and event gimmicks and activities), attracts and influence a typology (e.g., gender, race, class background) of diverse clubbers. Thus, a nightclub event's vibe and social organization factors foster "opportunities" for crime and victimization. Clubber's typology and their varied patterns of alcohol and drug consumption provide the motivational factor.

The theoretical discoveries of this study remind us that nightclubs are important settings for deviance, crime and victimization. Criminal justice researchers and practitioners would be wise to acknowledge that not all crime and victimization is not public or residentially-oriented. There are other types of contexts where much crime occurs. Moreover, the behaviors and interactions at nightclub events don't just happen while the event is taking place. Problems happen while the nightclub is open and hosting a party and after it closes, when people leave it. Additional victimization is likely to occur long after the event is over as people make social connections at nightclubs and interact later on on different days and weeks. Thus, another important revelation is that social context is an under-studied, meso-level unit of criminological inquiry, yet it is a strong influence on behavior. It context shapes individual and group identities and behavior. Alcohol and drugs facilitate identity work, producing a new connection to crime.

Plans for Continued Analysis. At this point in time, analysis of our data is ongoing and we hope to be able to tease out additional theoretical insights and policy suggestions over the course of time. We expect to pursue analysis of important theoretical matters that were not covered in this report AND which were not raised in the proposal, but which showed up in our data collection. Some of these include fleshing out more micro level factors in explaining the alcohol, drugs and crime link. For example, we will investigate respondents' backgrounds,

social and personal identities, and their attachment to primary and secondary groups in an effort to enrich our preliminary model. We also plan to further investigate how the social construction of race and gender in each music scene is linked to criminal and deviant outcomes. We have plans to write separate papers on sexual assault victimization and on the consequences (many kinds) of drug and alcohol abuse within the night club setting.

We foresee a methods paper detailing the epistemological contributions of our multi-method ethnographic approach, since our data are very rich and allow for two types of triangulation- within method and between method. Finally, we hope to pull together a more policy and practitioner paper for the *NIJ Journal* that will focus on the structural characteristics (physical layout, promotional gimmicks, staff behavior and deployment, vibe of event, sexual and other props, acts, contests, social control strategies etc.) of nightclubs that lead to drugs, crime, and victimization. It will also lend itself to important policy implications for public and private institutions.

Topics for Future Inquiry. There are several important issues that arose during our study that will require new research. Some of these include a full-scale study of the incidence and prevalence of physical and sexual assault in nightclubs, including that emanating from contacts made within the nightclub setting. We recommend that any such study be longitudinal in design and combine both qualitative and quantitative data collection. We also recommend further investigation into the theoretical or explanatory model offered here for additional types of crime and victimization. A useful analytical goal is to offer a model that could later be tested via a quantitative survey approach for additional validity, reliability, and utility. Finally, we recommend investigation into the social, economic, and health (mental and physical) consequences emanating from physical and sexual assault in nightclubs.

Policy Implications

Based on our analysis, we foresee three major areas for policy implications for several types of agencies and the administrators and practitioners who work at them. The first area is for law enforcement—with a focus on mostly public forces rather than private security firms. A second area of recommendations are for private nightclub and bar owners to provide their clientele with a safe clubbing experience while reducing their liability- civil and criminal. Finally, we offer educational and prevention-oriented suggestions for clubbers themselves. The following bullet points below are organized by these three areas.

Recommendations for Local Law Enforcement:

1. We recommend that local law enforcement add routine police patrols outside of bars and nightclubs in the four neighborhoods both during hours of operation and for a few hours after closing. We encourage them to give special attention to secluded areas around the club.
2. We recommend that local law enforcement establish collaborative relationships with club owners, staff, and private security, to establish common security goals and to ensure their success.
3. We also recommend setting up a nightclub crime and victimization task force to accrue expertise with city problems and to provide outreach to clubbers and drinking establishments.

Recommendations for Nightclub and Bar Owners:

1. Club Owners should improve their screening of employees' – especially bartenders and security-- backgrounds and more closely supervise their work activities to prevent collusion in deviant and criminal activity.
2. Club staff should operate with an authoritative style rather than a more punitive one based in power and machismo. Staff deployment patterns should center on the specific problems happening at the club and on hot spots within it.
3. We recommend additional security and more thorough searchers at the commercial venues for weapons and illegal drugs.
4. We also recommend against drink specials or promotional gimmicks that encourage quick and excessive alcohol consumption.
5. We encourage the hiring of bathroom attendants to help cut down on bathroom drug deals and use.

Recommendations for Clubbers:

1. We recommend a city-wide public health campaign to teach about the dangers and risks of clubbing.
2. A city-sponsored website should be constructed to inform clubbers of the dangers and penalties they face from club-based deviance and crime. This page should be linked to all city-wide night-time leisure and tourism pages. We also recommend adding content about clubbing risks and dangers to several federal web pages including those at NIJ, ONDCP, SAMSHA, etc.
3. A hotline should be setup- equipped with a toll-free number—to provide clubbers with important information to troubleshoot problems before, during and after clubbing.

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