



Problem-Oriented Guides for Police  
Problem-Specific Guides Series  
**No. 14**

# Rave Parties

by  
Michael S. Scott





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Guide No. 14

# Rave Parties

Michael S. Scott

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## About the Problem-Specific Guides Series

The *Problem-Specific Guides* summarize knowledge about how police can reduce the harm caused by specific crime and disorder problems. They are guides to prevention and to improving the overall response to incidents, not to investigating offenses or handling specific incidents. The guides are written for police—of whatever rank or assignment—who must address the specific problem the guides cover. The guides will be most useful to officers who

- **Understand basic problem-oriented policing principles and methods.** The guides are not primers in problem-oriented policing. They deal only briefly with the initial decision to focus on a particular problem, methods to analyze the problem, and means to assess the results of a problem-oriented policing project. They are designed to help police decide how best to analyze and address a problem they have already identified. (An assessment guide has been produced as a companion to this series and the COPS Office has also published an introductory guide to problem analysis. For those who want to learn more about the principles and methods of problem-oriented policing, the assessment and analysis guides, along with other recommended readings, are listed at the back of this guide.)
  - **Can look at a problem in depth.** Depending on the complexity of the problem, you should be prepared to spend perhaps weeks, or even months, analyzing and responding to it. Carefully studying a problem before responding helps you design the right strategy, one that is most likely to work in your community. You should not blindly adopt the responses others have used; you must decide whether they are appropriate to your local
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situation. What is true in one place may not be true elsewhere; what works in one place may not work everywhere.

- **Are willing to consider new ways of doing police business.** The guides describe responses that other police departments have used or that researchers have tested. While not all of these responses will be appropriate to your particular problem, they should help give a broader view of the kinds of things you could do. You may think you cannot implement some of these responses in your jurisdiction, but perhaps you can. In many places, when police have discovered a more effective response, they have succeeded in having laws and policies changed, improving the response to the problem.
  - **Understand the value and the limits of research knowledge.** For some types of problems, a lot of useful research is available to the police; for other problems, little is available. Accordingly, some guides in this series summarize existing research whereas other guides illustrate the need for more research on that particular problem. Regardless, research has not provided definitive answers to all the questions you might have about the problem. The research may help get you started in designing your own responses, but it cannot tell you exactly what to do. This will depend greatly on the particular nature of your local problem. In the interest of keeping the guides readable, not every piece of relevant research has been cited, nor has every point been attributed to its sources. To have done so would have overwhelmed and distracted the reader. The references listed at the end of each guide are those drawn on most heavily; they are not a complete bibliography of research on the subject.
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- **Are willing to work with other community agencies to find effective solutions to the problem.** The police alone cannot implement many of the responses discussed in the guides. They must frequently implement them in partnership with other responsible private and public entities. An effective problem-solver must know how to forge genuine partnerships with others and be prepared to invest considerable effort in making these partnerships work.

These guides have drawn on research findings and police practices in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia. Even though laws, customs and police practices vary from country to country, it is apparent that the police everywhere experience common problems. In a world that is becoming increasingly interconnected, it is important that police be aware of research and successful practices beyond the borders of their own countries.

The COPS Office and the authors encourage you to provide feedback on this guide and to report on your own agency's experiences dealing with a similar problem. Your agency may have effectively addressed a problem using responses not considered in these guides and your experiences and knowledge could benefit others. This information will be used to update the guides. If you wish to provide feedback and share your experiences it should be sent via e-mail to **[cops\\_pubs@usdoj.gov](mailto:cops_pubs@usdoj.gov)**.



For more information about problem-oriented policing, visit the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing online at [www.popcenter.org](http://www.popcenter.org) or via the COPS website at [www.cops.usdoj.gov](http://www.cops.usdoj.gov). This website offers free online access to:

- the *Problem-Specific Guides* series,
- the companion *Response Guides* and *Problem-Solving Tools* series,
- instructional information about problem-oriented policing and related topics,
- an interactive training exercise, and
- online access to important police research and practices.





## Acknowledgments

The *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police* are very much a collaborative effort. While each guide has a primary author, other project team members, COPS Office staff and anonymous peer reviewers contributed to each guide by proposing text, recommending research and offering suggestions on matters of format and style.

The principal project team developing the guide series comprised Herman Goldstein, professor emeritus, University of Wisconsin Law School; Ronald V. Clarke, professor of criminal justice, Rutgers University; John E. Eck, associate professor of criminal justice, University of Cincinnati; Michael S. Scott, clinical assistant professor, University of Wisconsin Law School; Rana Sampson, police consultant, San Diego; and Deborah Lamm Weisel, director of police research, North Carolina State University.

Karin Schmerler, Rita Varano and Nancy Leach oversaw the project for the COPS Office. Suzanne Fregly edited the guides. Research for the guides was conducted at the Criminal Justice Library at Rutgers University under the direction of Phyllis Schultze.

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## The Problem of Rave Parties

This guide addresses problems associated with rave parties. Rave parties—or, more simply, raves—are dance parties that feature fast-paced, repetitive electronic music and accompanying light shows. Raves are the focus of rave culture, a youth-oriented subculture that blends music, art and social ideals (e.g., peace, love, unity, respect, tolerance, happiness). Rave culture also entails the use of a range of licit and illicit drugs. Drug use is intended to enhance ravers' sensations and boost their energy so they can dance for long periods.

Rave party problems will be familiar to many police officers working in communities where raves have been held; they will be unfamiliar to many other officers who have never experienced raves or, perhaps, even heard of them. In many jurisdictions, the first time a young person dies while or after attending a rave and using rave-related drugs sparks media, public and political pressure on police to take action.<sup>1</sup>

In some respects, rave party problems are unique; they combine a particular blend of attitudes, drugs and behavior not found in other forms of youth culture. In other respects, rave party problems are but the latest variation in an ongoing history of problems associated with youth entertainment, experimentation, rebellion, and self-discovery.<sup>2</sup>

Dealing appropriately with raves is difficult for police. On the one hand, police often face substantial pressure from mainstream society to put an end to raves, usually through aggressive law enforcement. On the other hand, raves are enormously popular among a significant minority of teenagers and young adults, most of whom are generally law-

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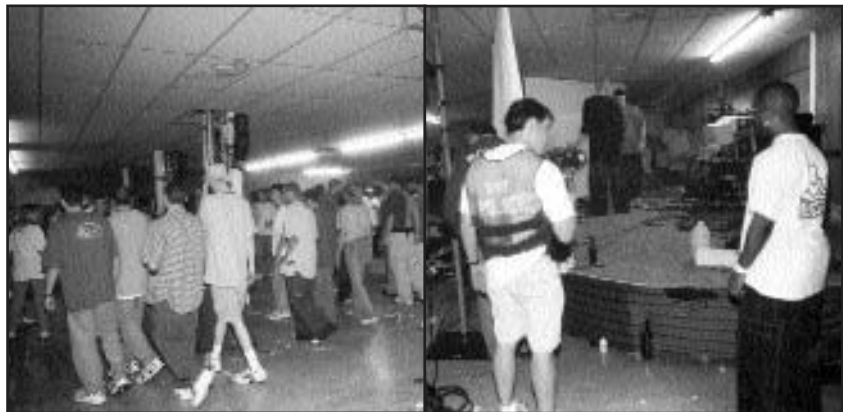


abiding and responsible. Strict enforcement efforts can alienate a key segment of this population from government in general, and the police in particular. To be sure, raves can pose genuine risks, but those risks are frequently exaggerated in the public's mind. It is important that police recognize that most rave-related harms happen to the ravers themselves, and while ravers are not wholly responsible for those harms, they willingly assume much of the risk for them. Accordingly, rave party problems are at least as much public health problems as they are crime and disorder problems. It is critical that you establish a solid base of facts about rave-related harms in your community, facts from which you can intelligently develop local policies and responses.

The principal rave-related concerns for police are:

- drug overdoses and associated medical hazards;
- drug trafficking and the potential for violence associated with it;
- noise (from rave music, crowds and traffic);
- driving under the influence; and
- traffic control and parking congestion.

*Bob Morris*



**Police must balance some public pressure to stop raves altogether and protect young people from harm without completely alienating them.**



## Related Problems

Rave party problems are only one set of problems relating to youth, large crowds and illegal drugs, problems police are partially responsible for addressing. Other problems not directly addressed in this guide include:

- problems associated with crowds at music clubs (e.g., hip-hop clubs), and at concerts and other big events;
- assaults in and around bars;
- thefts of and from cars in parking facilities;
- disorderly youth in public places;
- graffiti;
- street-level drug dealing;
- clandestine drug labs;
- high-level trafficking in rave-related drugs; and
- use of illicit drugs in acquaintance rape.

† For descriptions of the history and evolution of rave culture, see Measham, Parker and Aldridge (1998); Presdee (2000); Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999); Morel (1999); Critcher (2000); Farley (2000); and National Drug Intelligence Center (2001).

## Factors Contributing to Rave Party Problems

Understanding the factors that contribute to your problem will help you frame your own local analysis questions, determine good effectiveness measures, recognize key intervention points, and select appropriate responses.

### *Rave Culture and the Rave Scene*

Although only a little more than a decade old, rave culture and the rave scene have evolved into different forms, with variations in music styles, settings, drugs used, and ravers' ages. The rave scene is variously referred to in the literature as the "club scene" or "dance scene" (and the drugs variously referred to as "rave drugs," "club drugs" or "dance drugs"). Here we provide only a brief and general history and description of rave culture and the rave scene; the culture and scene may vary somewhat from community to community.†



† Among the variations of rave music styles are those known as house (or garage), acid house, ambient, hardcore, happy hardcore, techno, trance, progressive trance, cybertrance, drum 'n' bass, techstep, big beat, and jungle music.

Raves emerged in U.K. youth culture in the late 1980s, having started amidst the party atmosphere of Ibiza, a Mediterranean island frequented by British youth on vacation.<sup>3</sup> Rave music originated in the United States, mainly in Detroit, Chicago and New York.<sup>4†</sup> The rave scene soon spread to other European and North American countries, to Australia, to New Zealand, and elsewhere around the world. Raves, especially those held in large clubs, have been prominent in such North American cities as Toronto, Dallas, New Orleans, Atlanta, and Tampa and Orlando, Fla.; and in British cities such as Manchester, Liverpool and London.<sup>5</sup>

Raves vary in size: some draw a few hundred people, while others draw tens of thousands. Raves are commonly advertised in flyers distributed in clubs and music stores, and on Internet websites. Oftentimes, the flyer or website lists only the city, the date, the rave title, and a telephone number. Those who call the number are given directions to the rave or to another location where they can find out where the rave is.

Raves usually start late at night and continue into the morning. A well-known disk jockey is often the rave's main attraction. Ravers often wear or carry glow sticks or other

*Bob Morris*



**Some ravers inhale mentholated vapor rub to enhance ecstasy's effects.**





brightly lit accessories, and eat lollipops and candy necklaces. Some wear painters' masks with mentholated vapor rub applied to the inside to enhance ecstasy's effects.

Rave culture has become increasingly commercialized since its early days, and today accounts for a large part of the youth entertainment industry.<sup>6</sup> Regular ravers spend around \$50 to \$75 (£35 to £50) a week just on admission, drugs and drinks.<sup>7</sup> So-called "energy drinks" (nonalcoholic beverages laced with amino acids) are often heavily marketed at rave clubs. Bottled water is also prevalent at raves—ravers drink a lot of water to try to keep their bodies hydrated and their body temperatures down. Selling bottled water at raves can be highly profitable. There are large profits to be made selling anything associated with raves, from clothing to accessories to beverages.

In the early years, most raves were unlicensed, unregulated events held in clandestine locations—usually in remote sites like open fields, caves or tunnels, and sometimes indoors in empty warehouses, airplane hangars or barns. Rave locations were kept secret until the day of the event: ticket holders called special telephone numbers to learn where to go. Largely due to police crackdowns on these unlicensed and unregulated clandestine raves, the rave scene moved to large clubs in urban and suburban areas.<sup>†</sup>

Raves predictably attract a young crowd—as young as 13 at unlicensed raves, but more typically in the 17-to-early-20s range in licensed clubs.<sup>††</sup> Younger ravers are sometimes called "candy ravers": they are more likely to wear costumes. Ravers come from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, though most are white.<sup>8</sup> Most are employed, which is not surprising given the costs of regular rave attendance.<sup>9</sup> Slightly more males than females attend raves.<sup>10</sup> Different clubs that promote different types of rave music attract different races and sexual orientations. Regular ravers appear to derive great pleasure

<sup>†</sup> Outdoor raves have effectively been banned entirely in the United Kingdom under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act of 1994, a national law passed specifically in response to raves (Presdee 2000; Shapiro 1999). The law gives police broad powers to detain people traveling to raves, seize electronic equipment and shut raves down, powers that would likely be seen as overbroad in the United States.

<sup>††</sup> Ravers' ages depend partly on local laws regulating the ages at which people can be admitted to clubs.



from their involvement in the rave scene, and are committed to it in spite of the risks and costs.<sup>11</sup>

† MDMA is only one of perhaps over 200 analogues to the chemical MDA (3,4 - methylenedioxyamphetamine) (Spruit 1999).

†† Because Ketamine is used as a veterinary anesthetic, trafficking in it is often connected to burglaries of veterinary clinics and pharmacies (U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy 2001).

††† PMA has been connected with several deaths in recent years in the United States, Canada and Australia (DanceSafe 2001; National Institute on Drug Abuse 2001).

### *Rave-Related Drugs*

Although ravers might use any number of legal and illegal drugs, certain drugs are most commonly associated with the rave scene. Among them are:

- ecstasy (or MDMA),<sup>†</sup>
- Ketamine,<sup>††</sup>
- LSD (or "acid"),
- Rohypnol, and
- GHB (see Appendix B for more information on these drugs).

Ravers also use amphetamines, methamphetamine, cannabis, alcohol, and cocaine, but such use transcends involvement in the rave culture. Crack and heroin are not yet prominent in rave culture, but heroin use appears to be increasing among ravers in some jurisdictions.<sup>12</sup>

Other drugs associated with rave culture include:

- MDEA (or "Eve") (3,4-methylenedioxyethylamphetamine);
- MMDA (3-methoxy-4,5-methylenediosyamphetamine);
- PMA (paramethoxyamphetamine);<sup>†††</sup>
- fentanyl;
- PCP (or "angel dust") (phencyclidine);
- psilocybin (or "magic mushrooms");
- methaqualone;
- DMT (dimethyltryptamine);
- over-the-counter drugs such as pseudoephedrine, ephedra, caffeine, menthol inhalants, and vaporizing ointments;
- prescription drugs such as Viagra, Prozac and DXM (dextromethorphan, a cough elixir); and
- legal substances such as nitrous oxide (or "laughing gas" or "whippets").

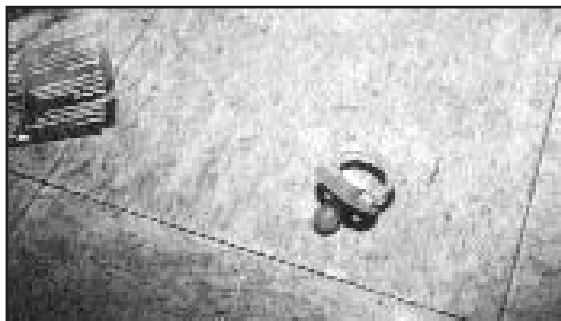


Drug use patterns can vary significantly across regions and countries, so while one drug might be popular in one jurisdiction, it might be unknown in others.<sup>13</sup> Because most of the drugs are illegal and therefore not subject to quality control, users do not necessarily know exactly what chemicals they are ingesting.

Ecstasy is the drug most closely associated with the rave scene, and an increasingly popular one.<sup>14</sup> Drug control officials are concerned that its use has spread from the smaller rave culture to the mainstream youth culture, as drug use becomes increasingly normalized among the current generation.<sup>15</sup> Ecstasy use has been expanding from primarily white, middle-class, suburban youth to minority and urban youth.<sup>16</sup>

Two of ecstasy's common side effects are jaw-clenching and teeth-grinding. Ecstasy users at raves often suck on baby pacifiers to cope with these effects. Ecstasy users typically take one to two tablets per rave session.<sup>17</sup> Because many rave-related drugs are manufactured illegally, users cannot be sure of the exact chemical contents of what they take. What is sold as ecstasy, for example, may actually be a different drug, or a mixture of ecstasy and other active drugs or adulterants.<sup>18</sup>

*Bob Morris*



Ecstasy users at raves often suck on baby pacifiers to cope with the drug's jaw-clenching and teeth-grinding side effects.

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Traditionally, alcohol has not been associated with the rave scene because many ravers have felt it promotes aggression and undermines the peace ideal at raves.<sup>19</sup> But as the rave scene has moved to licensed clubs, and as alcohol distributors have sought to profit from rave culture, alcohol has become more heavily used at raves, and more heavily marketed to appeal to the rave audience.<sup>20</sup> Alcohol can alter the effects of other drugs taken, in unpredictable and dangerous ways.

As noted, heroin and crack use is also less common among ravers, although about one-fifth to one-third of ravers have tried heroin.<sup>21</sup>

While it is true that not everyone who attends raves uses illegal drugs, and not everyone who uses illegal drugs attends raves, there is substantial evidence that rave attendance and certain patterns of drug use are closely linked.<sup>22</sup> People who attend raves tend to have more drug experience than those who do not, and people who use the drugs associated with raves are more likely to attend raves.<sup>23</sup>

#### *Harms Caused by Rave-Related Drugs and Raves*

The use of rave-related drugs has not been strongly linked to other crimes, as has been the case with other drugs such as cocaine and heroin.<sup>24</sup> And unlike other youth events or other types of concerts, raves do not typically involve much assault.<sup>25</sup> The few reports of rave-related violence are usually attributable to clashes between ravers and police when police try to shut raves down.<sup>26</sup> Even these confrontations are rare. There has been some violence in British clubs where organized drug gangs have tried to control the drug distribution and private security markets.<sup>27</sup> At raves to which most people have traveled by car, there will also likely be problems such as thefts from and of cars, vandalism and graffiti, but these problems are not unique to raves.

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There are some concerns that people who take certain rave-related drugs are more vulnerable to sexual assault, but there is little published literature indicating that rave-related sexual assaults are prevalent.<sup>†</sup> In fact, the evidence of rave-related drugs' effects on sexual activity is mixed: rave culture discourages sexual aggressiveness, and while some drugs do lower sexual inhibitions, they also can inhibit sexual performance. So in some respects, raves are safer places for young people, especially women, than conventional bars and clubs.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>†</sup> Some scholars have noted that warnings about young women's sexual vulnerability are frequently connected to emerging drug use, to generate public support for official crackdowns (Rietveld 1993; Jenkins 1999).

As a whole, those ravers who use rave-related drugs seem to manage their drug use, not letting it seriously disrupt other facets of their lives—work, school and personal relationships<sup>29</sup>—although this is clearly not the case for all ravers.<sup>30</sup> Few rave-related drug users get seriously addicted to the drugs, and few turn to crime to finance their drug use.<sup>31</sup> To the extent that regular rave attendance and rave-related drug use do create other life-management problems, those problems tend to be worse for younger and female ravers, and for those who use combinations or excessive doses of drugs.<sup>32</sup>

Common unpleasant aftereffects of rave attendance include fatigue, insomnia, exhaustion, muscle aches, numbness, profuse sweating, listlessness, depression, amnesia, paranoia, and excessive mood swings.<sup>33</sup> Some people also experience anxiety or panic attacks, blurred vision, dizziness, appetite and weight problems, nausea, headaches, stomach pains, vomiting, skin problems, irregular menstrual periods, and passing out. These effects are undoubtedly caused by a combination of overexertion and drug use. Some ravers try to medicate themselves to manage the aftereffects of drug use.<sup>34</sup> The long-term effects of some of the drugs are not yet fully understood, but there is evidence that chronic ecstasy use can cause permanent brain damage.<sup>35</sup>



† Tests in the Netherlands and Canada of drugs that users believed to be ecstasy revealed that only about one-fourth to one-third of the drugs actually contained MDMA (Spruit 1999; Royal Canadian Mounted Police 2000).

Most of the deaths that have been linked to raves have been caused not by the toxicity of the drugs per se, but by the effects they have on key bodily functions.<sup>36</sup> Many deaths are attributed to the users' bodies overheating (hyperthermia), dehydrating or losing blood sodium (hyponatraemia). These effects occur because some drugs, ecstasy in particular, inhibit the body's temperature-regulating mechanisms, and body temperatures can rise to fatal levels. This effect is compounded by users' overexertion through dancing and by the loss of bodily fluids from sweating or vomiting. Many ecstasy users drink a lot of water to prevent dehydration, but unless they are dancing and sweating, drinking too much water can prove equally dangerous because it can cause kidney failure. Ecstasy use can impair the kidneys' capacity to produce urine.<sup>37</sup> Several studies of ecstasy users reveal that many of them only vaguely understand the risks of hyperthermia and hyponatraemia, and how to prevent them.<sup>38</sup>

While rave-related drug deaths are, of course, tragic, and taking rave-related drugs increases the risk of death or serious illness, deaths and medical emergencies remain relatively rare.<sup>39</sup> Rave-related drugs are not yet showing up in large numbers in emergency room mentions, but they are increasingly being noted.<sup>40</sup> Some deaths and medical emergencies can be attributed to users' ingesting a combination of drugs or a combination of drugs and alcohol (referred to as potentiation effects).<sup>41</sup> Yet others can be attributed to users' allergic reactions or hypersensitivity to rave-related drugs, or to the drugs' triggering some other preexisting medical condition.<sup>42</sup> Treatment is sometimes complicated because users often do not know exactly what chemicals they have ingested, or they have ingested combinations of chemicals.<sup>†</sup>



### *Rave-Related Drug Trafficking*

Although this guide does not directly address large-scale trafficking in rave-related drugs, a few points about drug dealing at raves are in order. Most ravers obtain and use illegal drugs before arriving at the venue.<sup>43</sup> This is so for several reasons:

- as rave operators increasingly search ravers for drugs upon entry, drug users avoid having their drugs confiscated by taking them before they arrive;
- some rave-related drugs take an hour or more to take effect, so users want them to be working when they get to the venue; and
- experienced drug users prefer to get drugs from a dealer they know and trust, rather than risk getting bad drugs from an unknown dealer at a venue (where they will also probably pay more).

So while some drug dealing does occur at rave venues, they are not the predominant location for rave-related drug distribution. A considerable amount of drug dealing may occur in the area around the rave venue, particularly if rave operators are effective at keeping drug dealers and drugs out of the venue. One of the potential unintended consequences of searching ravers for drugs upon entry is that it encourages some ravers to take large doses of drugs before they arrive, to prolong the effects throughout the rave.<sup>44</sup>

Drug dealing operations in clubs can be elaborate, with different people playing different roles: primary dealer, floor dealer, referrer, spotter/protector.<sup>45</sup> To varying degrees, rave operators, disk jockeys and security staff are sometimes

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involved in drug trafficking. Their involvement may range from turning a blind eye to it (sometimes because they are intimidated by dealers), to taking payments from dealers to allow dealing, to actually dealing themselves.<sup>46</sup>

#### *Environmental Risk Factors at Raves*

Certain environmental conditions common to raves create health and safety risks for ravers. Chief among them are heat, humidity and loud music. The heat and humidity are generated by large crowds of people whose body temperatures rise due to strenuous dancing and the chemical effects of some rave-related drugs. Where heat and humidity are not compensated for through good ventilation, air conditioning and ready access to cool drinking water, the risks are compounded. Prolonged exposure to loud music can cause temporary or permanent hearing loss: sound levels at many raves average around 135 decibels, well above the level that can cause hearing loss.<sup>47</sup>





## Understanding Your Local Problem

The information provided above is only a generalized description of rave party problems. You must combine the basic facts with a more specific understanding of your local problem. Analyzing the local problem carefully will help you design a more effective response strategy.

† DAWN surveys provide emergency room data for selected U.S. sites.

## Asking the Right Questions

The following are some critical questions you should ask in analyzing your particular rave party problems, even if the answers are not always readily available. Your answers to these and other questions will help you choose the most appropriate set of responses later on.

You may answer some of these questions by referring to police or health authority statistics. However, talks with ravers, club owners and others associated with raves will also be necessary. Further, covert and overt surveillance of clubs and exterior areas is essential for getting a firsthand picture of how raves operate.

### *Rave-Related Incidents*

- How many medical emergencies are attributable to raves? (Emergency room and emergency medical service records, raver surveys and police records are sources for this information.)<sup>†</sup>
  - What are the particular medical conditions (e.g., dehydration, hyperthermia, hyponatraemia)?
  - Which drugs appear to cause or contribute to these conditions?
  - Do rave staff appropriately call emergency medical personnel for rave-related medical emergencies? (Some staff may be reluctant to call for fear that such emergencies will be used as evidence to support enforcement actions against rave promoters.)
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- Does noise from rave venues disturb people? If so, what, specifically, is the source of the noise (rave music, vehicles, patrons outside the venue)?
- How many traffic crashes involve drivers traveling to and from raves? Are drivers under the influence when the crashes occur?
- Are traffic congestion and parking a problem around rave venues?
- Have any assaults (sexual or nonsexual) occurred at, or been connected to, raves? If so, what, precisely, has been the connection?
- To what extent do problems such as thefts from cars, vandalism and graffiti occur in the area around rave venues during raves?

#### *Rave-Related Drug Trafficking*

- How much drug trafficking occurs inside rave venues? In the area around the venues during or before the raves?
- How organized and of what scale are the drug dealing operations?
- Are any of the rave staff (disk jockeys, security personnel, promoters) involved in drug dealing? If so, what is their involvement?
- Which rave-related drugs are most popular in your jurisdiction?

#### *Rave Location and Management*

- Do raves occur in licensed or unlicensed venues? In what specific types of venues (clubs, warehouses, open fields, caves, hangars, etc.)?
  - Who owns and/or controls access to the property where raves occur? Is there a legally binding agreement between the property owner and rave operator governing property use? If so, what are its provisions regarding safety, security and liability?
  - What are the particular problems associated with licensed and unlicensed venues, respectively?
  - Where have raves occurred in the past in the jurisdiction?
-



- Is alcohol served at raves?
- Are minors admitted to raves? If so, what problems, if any, does this cause?
- How many people typically attend a rave? Is crowding a problem in the venue or in the line waiting to enter the venue?
- Where do ravers live in relation to the raves? Are most local, or have they traveled far to attend?
- What is your jurisdiction's reputation among ravers? Do they see your jurisdiction as a desirable place to attend a rave? (Monitoring Internet chat rooms and interviewing ravers might provide some answers to these questions.)
- How profitable are raves for rave operators and property owners? (Understanding the business aspects of raves can help you influence the actions of operators and owners.)
- Are commodities essential to ravers' health, such as water, sold at exorbitant prices in venues?
- Are ravers properly screened and/or searched for illegal drugs and weapons before they enter venues? Are all ravers properly screened, or are some allowed in unchecked?
- Are ravers allowed to leave and reenter venues? If so, do they have to pay an additional admission charge?
- Are tickets sold at remote sites before the rave, or only at the door on the day of the rave?

### *Current Responses*

- How do police learn of upcoming raves? By monitoring websites and flyers? By interviewing young people? How often are police unaware of raves until they take place?
  - Do any laws regulate raves? If so, do the regulations apply to the particular rave party problems in your jurisdiction?
  - Which agencies are responsible for enforcing the regulations? Do they enforce them adequately?
  - Are there multidisciplinary groups to plan and monitor raves?
  - What security staff, if any, work at raves? Do police provide security at raves? If there are private security staff, are they adequately screened and trained? Who screens and trains them? Is there an adequate ratio of staff to ravers?
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- Are the safety measures commonly recommended for running raves in place? (See response 1 for a list of common safety recommendations.)
- What is the police department policy with respect to enforcing drug laws at raves? Is personal use of rave-related drugs tolerated, or are all applicable laws strictly enforced? How does the official department policy compare with actual enforcement practice?
- Is anonymous drug testing conducted at raves? If so, do police endorse it?

### Measuring Your Effectiveness

Measurement allows you to determine to what degree your efforts have succeeded, and suggests how you might modify your responses if they are not producing the intended results. You should take measures of your problem *before* you implement responses, to determine how serious the problem is, and *after* you implement them, to determine whether they have been effective. All measures should be taken in both the target area and the surrounding area. (For more detailed guidance on measuring effectiveness, see the companion guide to this series, *Assessing Responses to Problems: An Introductory Guide for Police Problem-Solvers*.)

The following are potentially useful measures of the effectiveness of responses to rave party problems:

- number of rave-related medical emergencies;
  - severity of rave-related medical emergencies;
  - number of complaints about noise, traffic and other rave-related nuisances;
  - number and severity of offenses such as thefts from cars, vandalism and graffiti that occur around rave venues during raves; and
  - number and severity of traffic crashes and amount of traffic congestion associated with raves.
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The volume of rave-related drugs police seize is not a direct measure of your effectiveness, although it may provide you with some insights into drug trafficking and drug use in the jurisdiction. You should also be alert to any evidence that raves have been displaced to another jurisdiction as a result of your efforts, or conversely, that they have been displaced to your jurisdiction from another jurisdiction.





## Responses to the Problem of Rave Parties

Your analysis of your local problem should give you a better understanding of the factors contributing to it. Once you have analyzed your local problem and established a baseline for measuring effectiveness, you should consider possible responses to address the problem.

The following response strategies provide a foundation of ideas for addressing your particular problem. These strategies are drawn from a variety of research studies and police reports. Several of these strategies may apply to your community's problem. It is critical that you tailor responses to local circumstances, and that you can justify each response based on reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing several different responses. Law enforcement responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problem. Do not limit yourself to considering what police can do: give careful consideration to who else in your community shares responsibility for the problem and can help police better respond to it. Also, give careful consideration to involving others in developing responses, especially people immersed in the rave culture.

### General Considerations for an Effective Strategy

There are two general approaches to addressing rave party problems. One is *prohibition*—strictly enforcing all drug laws and banning raves (either directly or through intensive regulation). The other is *harm reduction*—acknowledging that some illegal drug use and raves are inevitable, and trying to minimize the harms that can occur to drug users and ravers.<sup>†</sup> Many jurisdictions blend enforcement with harm reduction

<sup>†</sup> For arguments favoring harm reduction policies, see Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998); Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Jenkins (1999); Spruit (1999); Branigan and Wellings (1999); Adlaf and Smart (1997); Weir (2000); Toronto Dance Safety Committee (2000); and Akram and Galt (1999).



† British police and legislative policies have been effective in moving raves to licensed indoor venues (Critchler 2000).

approaches. Whatever approach you ultimately adopt, it should at least be coherent and consistent. For example, if you choose to emphasize harm reduction, it would be inconsistent to then use rave operators' adoption of harm reduction strategies, such as hiring private emergency medical staff, stocking bottled water or establishing rest areas ("chill out" areas), as evidence that they are condoning and promoting illicit drug use. Conversely, if you adopt a strict drug prohibition approach, it would be inconsistent to permit, for example, anonymous drug testing at raves.

Local public and political attitudes, as well as police policies regarding similar problems, will influence the general stance your agency takes. It is important to consider how the public, and the various communities within it, will perceive the police response to rave party problems, particularly as that response is compared with police responses to similar problems. In some communities, the police have been criticized for taking a different stance on enforcement at raves, which are predominantly attended by white youth, than they have been perceived to take at events that are predominantly attended by minority youth.

To some extent, police and other regulators are forced to choose between the lesser of the harms arising from raves held in licensed venues and those held in unlicensed, clandestine venues.<sup>†</sup> (This has some similarities to the public policy choices governing indoor vs. outdoor prostitution.) Shutting down all rave clubs would probably move raves and their associated problems back to outdoor, unlicensed and clandestine locations. Perhaps the biggest drawback to moving raves to indoor licensed venues is that it increasingly makes alcohol more available to ravers, increasing the medical risks from combining alcohol and rave-related drugs.

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## Specific Responses To Address Rave Party Problems

**1. Regulating rave venues to ensure basic health and safety measures are in place.** The basic measures widely deemed necessary for ravers' health and safety are:

- keeping the venue well-ventilated and controlling heat and humidity;
- providing a rest area where ravers can rest and cool off;
- having trained emergency medical staff readily accessible to ravers, especially for drug-related ailments;
- making drinking water readily available to ravers (sometimes requiring that it be provided for free);
- hiring properly trained and screened private security staff, primarily to search ravers for illegal drugs and to monitor drug sales and use inside the venue;
- providing reliable and credible information to ravers about the effects of rave-related drugs and harm prevention measures (see response 6 below);
- posting and advertising policies prohibiting illegal drugs in the venue;
- ensuring there is adequate transportation to and from venues, especially for those who might be impaired by drugs and alcohol;
- keeping ravers away from hazardous areas (such as off of loudspeakers that might topple over); and
- keeping noise levels outside the venue tolerable and providing earplugs for ravers.<sup>48</sup>

Regulations also commonly include requiring rave promoters to obtain special permits from the local jurisdiction, applications for which must be filed sufficiently early to allow officials to check the backgrounds of promoters and their

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staff. Stricter U.K. laws allow police to call for a review of a club's license up to seven times a year, rather than the previous annual review.<sup>49</sup> A national U.K. law authorizes local governments to close clubs where there is evidence that drugs are being sold or used on the premises.<sup>50</sup> Enforcement of fire safety codes, licensing ordinances and other health and safety regulations has also been part of some jurisdictions' response strategies.<sup>51</sup>

Some venues, in cooperation with police, have placed so-called "amnesty boxes" at the entrances to rave venues. Ravers are encouraged to put any weapons and illegal drugs in these secured boxes, without threat of arrest. Security staff also put any contraband they find in the boxes. Police later seize the contents.<sup>52</sup>

In some jurisdictions, these sorts of measures are required by local law; elsewhere, they are merely promoted as good practice. Either way, police should work closely with venue management to identify emerging problems, develop mutually agreed-upon responses, and determine the relative responsibilities and commitments of venue management and police.<sup>53</sup>

Where adequate regulations already are in place, police and other agencies may merely need to give special attention to enforcing those regulations. Where they do not exist, police and others may need to develop and advocate new regulations.

**2. Encouraging and supporting property owners in exercising control over raves.** For raves held in leased properties other than licensed nightclubs, police can



encourage and support property owners in their efforts to control those raves. Some owners may not appreciate what raves are when they agree to lease their properties and, accordingly, may not insist on certain lease provisions that would minimize the nuisances and harms that arise from improperly run raves. Charlotte, N.C., police report success working with owners to restrict and regulate raves.<sup>54</sup>

**3. Prohibiting juveniles and adults from being admitted to the same raves.** Allowing young people at raves clearly exposes them to certain illegal drugs they might otherwise not be exposed to, at least not as prominently.<sup>55</sup> Because early drug use often leads to lengthier, more problematic drug use, it makes sense to try to keep the youngest rave fans out of raves. The city of Denver prohibits alcohol sales in any club that admits patrons under the legal drinking age.<sup>56</sup> Raleigh and Charlotte, N.C., set earlier mandatory closing times for clubs that admit younger patrons.<sup>57</sup> If there are to be raves for juveniles, they should be carefully regulated and monitored to ensure that illegal drugs are not available to the juveniles. Obviously, juvenile raves should end earlier than adult raves, and other factors such as noise levels and safe transportation should be even more closely monitored than they might be for adult raves. Where applicable, enforcement of juvenile curfew laws can help keep young ravers safer.

**4. Applying nuisance abatement laws to rave venues.** Some police departments have initiated nuisance abatement actions against properties where poorly managed raves have been held.<sup>58</sup> Although little is known about the overall effectiveness of this response, it is obviously most applicable to venues where raves are frequently held.

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† The New Orleans case ended when the defendants accepted a plea bargain, leaving room for debate as to whether the strategy was successful overall. See National Drug Intelligence Center (2001) for tips on preparing similar cases.

**5. Prosecuting rave operators and/or property owners criminally for drug-related offenses.** Some federal and state laws prohibiting the use of property for drug trafficking might be applied to some rave venues. Federal prosecutors in New Orleans filed criminal charges against the operators/owners of a large nightclub for permitting the premises to be used in drug trafficking.<sup>59</sup> Proving that operators/owners had knowledge of drug dealing can be difficult, however.<sup>†</sup>

**6. Educating ravers about the risks of drug use and overexertion.** Researchers have generally concluded that ravers do make rational choices about illegal drug use, even if their choices do not always turn out well.<sup>60</sup> If true, then providing potential drug users with accurate, credible information about the consequences of using various drugs can help them manage their risks and reduce the likelihood that they will suffer serious and permanent harm from taking drugs.<sup>61</sup> Public health officials, police and nonprofit organizations are increasingly distributing information to ravers about the risks of rave-related drug use and overexertion from dancing.<sup>62</sup> Although few of these education campaigns have been carefully evaluated, most observers stress the importance of providing accurate, specific and credible information.<sup>63</sup> When it comes to the complex neurochemical effects of drug use, having only a little knowledge can be dangerous. Popular wisdom about rave-related drugs and raves is often wrong. Most ravers, however, are interested in getting reliable information.<sup>64</sup>

Education campaigns typically include data on the effects of rave-related drugs, precautions about health and safety, and information about possible legal consequences for drug use. Nonjudgmentally conveying information about rave-related drugs and tailoring messages to the specific target audience can enhance credibility with ravers. Information targeted at

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younger ravers with less drug experience should take a somewhat different tone than that targeted at older, more drug-experienced ravers.<sup>65</sup> Messages that promote total abstinence from illegal drugs and peer-pressure resistance are unlikely to be effective with older, more drug-experienced ravers. Information targeted at males should take a different tone than that targeted at females, since males are more reluctant to take measures to protect themselves from the risks of rave-related drugs.<sup>66</sup> In a rave-related drug education campaign in London, information that was prominently displayed in the public transportation system did not provoke a negative public reaction, as was expected.<sup>67</sup> Education campaigns might also try to reach younger ravers' parents, who might be unaware of the risks of raves.

Ravers should be advised to wear loose-fitting clothing, drink plenty of water if they are sweating, and take breaks from dancing to rest and cool off. Rave-related drug users should also eat salty foods to prevent hyponatraemia. In addition, they should save small amounts of the drugs they use in the event they need to be tested during emergency medical treatment (obviously, though, saving illegal drugs also increases the risk of arrest). They should stay close to their friends and have a plan for safe transportation to and from the event.<sup>68</sup>

*Bob Morris*



Ravers usually wear little or loose-fitting clothing to try to keep cool: prolonged dancing and taking ecstasy raises body temperatures significantly.

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Warning the general public about the harms caused by new drugs can have the unintended effect of advertising the drugs and inadvertently encouraging previously uninformed people to experiment with them.<sup>69</sup> For this reason, more-targeted education campaigns aimed at known or higher-risk users like ravers may be preferable to wider public education campaigns.

### Responses With Limited Effectiveness

**7. Banning all raves.** Given the popularity of rave culture and raves, it is highly unlikely that absolute bans on raves will either stop them or stop the use of rave-related drugs. The most likely effect of a total ban is that raves will move to unlicensed, clandestine locations where it is more difficult to implement harm reduction strategies.

**8. Providing anonymous drug-testing services to ravers.** Some jurisdictions provide anonymous testing of rave-related drugs to ravers to reduce the risk of overdose or ingestion of dangerous chemicals.<sup>70</sup> The SafeHouse Campaign in the Netherlands, DanceSafe in the United States and RaveSafe in Canada are among the organizations that conduct anonymous testing and provide drug users with information about the drugs they are planning to use. DanceSafe, which has chapters in over a dozen U.S. cities, claims that it has received police support in each of those cities.<sup>71</sup> Of course, not all communities or police agencies will find anonymous drug testing to be an acceptable response to rave problems, because it might be perceived to condone illicit drug use.<sup>72</sup> Thus far, there is no evidence that anonymous testing increases drug use. Field testing of drugs is not always reliable, however; some harmful chemicals may not show up in this less sophisticated testing.

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**9. Deploying off-duty police officers at raves.** Although some jurisdictions now require rave operators to hire off-duty police officers to provide security at raves, other jurisdictions discourage or prohibit this practice.<sup>73</sup> Rave promoters complain that it is an unnecessarily expensive requirement.<sup>74</sup> If officers are permitted to work at raves, they should, at a minimum, be adequately informed about rave culture, rave-related harms and agency policies regarding enforcement at raves.

**10. Having uniformed police officers conduct random patrols at raves.** Having uniformed police officers conduct random patrols at raves may discourage some illegal drug use, but because most ravers take their drugs before arriving at raves, the impact will likely be minimal. Rave operators and ravers will likely perceive this practice as harassment, undermining cooperation in implementing harm reduction strategies. Uniformed patrol is more likely to prevent some drug dealing in the area around the rave venue and, possibly, some opportunistic crimes such as thefts from cars.

**11. Conducting roadblocks and vehicle searches before and after raves.** One of the unintended consequences of conducting roadblocks and vehicle searches before and after raves is that drug users will be more inclined to take larger quantities of drugs at one time to avoid having the drugs confiscated.<sup>75</sup> Overingestion can result in medical dangers and increase the risk of impaired driving.

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## Appendix A: Summary of Responses to the Problem of Rave Parties

The table below summarizes the responses to rave party problems, the mechanism by which they are intended to work, the conditions under which they ought to work best, and some factors you should consider before implementing a particular response. It is critical that you tailor responses to local circumstances, and that you can justify each response based on reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing several different responses. Law enforcement responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problems.

<b>Response No.</b>	<b>Page No.</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>How It Works</b>	<b>Works Best If...</b>	<b>Considerations</b>
<i>Specific Responses To Address Rave Party Problems</i>					
1.	21	Regulating rave venues to ensure basic health and safety measures are in place	Controls environmental factors to reduce ravers' risk of medical emergencies	...laws require adherence to health and safety regulations, or rave promoters and/or property owners agree voluntarily to abide by regulations; unlicensed raves are prohibited; and police work cooperatively with promoters and/or owners to ensure adherence to regulations	Costs to promoters and/or owners; may require new legislation



<b>Response No.</b>	<b>Page No.</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>How It Works</b>	<b>Works Best If...</b>	<b>Considerations</b>
2.	22	Encouraging and supporting property owners in exercising control over raves	Reduces the likelihood that raves will be poorly managed	...owners are either unaware of the risks associated with raves or unsure how to exercise control over them, and police have good working relationships with owners	Some owners may resent perceived police interference with their opportunities to profit from leasing property to rave operators
3.	23	Prohibiting juveniles and adults from being admitted to the same raves	Reduces the likelihood that juveniles will be exposed to rave-related drugs and alcohol	...there are adequate opportunities for juveniles to listen and dance to rave music in venues where drugs and alcohol are less available	May cause some financial hardship to rave promoters; may require new legislation
4.	23	Applying nuisance abatement laws to rave venues	Compels rave operators and property owners to adhere to health and safety regulations	...operators and owners are otherwise unwilling to adhere to regulations and/or cooperate with police	Investigative and legal costs associated with developing a nuisance abatement case; may worsen relationships between police and operators and owners
5.	24	Prosecuting rave operators and/or property owners criminally for drug-related offenses	Deters operators and/or owners from conspiring in or knowingly permitting drug-related offenses	...laws in the jurisdiction allow for such prosecutions, and there is solid evidence to support a prosecution	Unproven method because it has rarely been applied; substantial investigative and legal costs associated with developing a criminal case



<b>Response No.</b>	<b>Page No.</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>How It Works</b>	<b>Works Best If...</b>	<b>Considerations</b>
6.	24	Educating ravers about the risks of drug use and overexertion	Reduces the likelihood that ravers will suffer serious harm from rave-related activities	...information is accurate, specific, credible, and nonjudgmentally conveyed; and messages are tailored to specific rave groups	May be public or police opposition on the grounds that illegal activity appears to be tolerated; education campaigns pitched to the general public rather than targeted to higher-risk audiences may inadvertently promote drug experimentation
<i>Responses With Limited Effectiveness</i>					
7.	26	Banning all raves			Unintended consequence will likely be that rave parties move to unlicensed, unregulated and clandestine locations
8.	26	Providing anonymous drug-testing services to ravers	Reduces the likelihood that ravers will ingest harmful chemicals	...a drug testing organization serves the jurisdiction, drug testing methods are accurate and reliable, and police endorse anonymous drug testing	May be public or police opposition on the grounds that illegal activity appears to be condoned; field testing methods may not be sophisticated enough to detect some dangerous chemicals



<b>Response No.</b>	<b>Page No.</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>How It Works</b>	<b>Works Best If...</b>	<b>Considerations</b>
9.	27	Deploying off-duty police officers at raves	Intended to discourage drug use and dealing at raves		Most ravers who use drugs take them before arriving at raves, so detection and deterrence are minimized; some rave operators and/or property owners may believe police are assuming primary responsibility for ravers' health and safety
10.	27	Having uniformed police officers conduct random patrols at raves	Intended to discourage drug use and dealing at raves		Most ravers who use drugs take them before arriving at raves, so detection and deterrence are minimized; rave operators and ravers may perceive it as harassment, undermining harm reduction strategies
11.	27	Conducting roadblocks and vehicle searches before and after raves	Intended to deter illegal drug use		Unintended consequence may be that drug users take greater quantities of drugs to avoid detection



## Appendix B: Common Rave-Related Drugs

<b>Drug</b>	<b>Drug Nicknames</b>	<b>Drug Type</b>	<b>Intended Pleasurable Effects</b>	<b>Possible Harmful Effects</b>	<b>Cost</b>	<b>Ingestion Method</b>
MDMA (3,4-meth); illicit manufacturing makes it difficult for users to know the exact contents	Ecstasy, XTC, E, X, Adam, love drug, hug drug, roll	Stimulant (amphetamine) hybrid and mild hallucinogen	Reduction of inhibitions; feelings of empathy, well-being and relaxation; elimination of anxiety; enhancement of self-esteem and confidence; intensification of touch and taste senses; suppression of appetite and the need for sleep	Dehydration, hyperthermia (body temperatures can reach 109° F), profuse sweating, rapid heart rate (tachycardia), jaw-clenching and teeth-grinding, loss of consciousness, damage to brain cells, permanent brain damage, anxiety, paranoia, depression, learning difficulties, confusion, memory loss, fatigue, kidney failure (difficulty producing urine), hyponatraemia, skin disorders	\$10 to \$50 (U.S.) per dose	Taken orally, usually in tablet or capsule form; can be snorted, injected or taken in suppository form



<b>Drug</b>	<b>Drug Nicknames</b>	<b>Drug Type</b>	<b>Intended Pleasurable Effects</b>	<b>Possible Harmful Effects</b>	<b>Cost</b>	<b>Ingestion Method</b>
Rohypnol (flunitrazepam)	Roofie, rophie, roche, roach, roach-2, R-2, rib, roopie, rope, ropie, ruffie, forget-me pill, circle, Mexican Valium	Sleeping pill and preanesthetic medication	Intoxication without a hangover	Amnesia, decreased blood pressure, drowsiness, visual disturbances, dizziness, confusion, gastrointestinal disturbances, urinary retention	\$5 to \$20 per tablet	Taken orally
LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide)	Acid, boomer, yellow sunshine, cid, dose, trip, hit, purple haze, microdot, or any number of names associated with the graphic design on blotter paper	Hallucinogen	Hallucinations, feelings of relaxation	Frightening hallucinations, panic, confusion, suspicion, anxiety, flashbacks, nausea, impaired distance perception, unpredictable behavior	\$1 to \$10 per dose	Taken orally, usually in small tablet form, in gelatin squares or on blotter paper

Sources include Weir (2000); Lenton, Boys and Norcross (1997); Royal Canadian Mounted Police (2000); U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy (2001); National Institute on Drug Abuse (2001); U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (2000); Office of Applied Studies, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2000); Spruit (1999); National Drug Intelligence Center (2001).



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## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Redhead (1993); Jenkins (1999); Critcher (2000); Toronto Dance Safety Committee (2000); Shapiro (1999).
  - <sup>2</sup> Presdee (2000); Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001).
  - <sup>3</sup> Presdee (2000); Rietveld (1993); Jenkins (1999); Shapiro (1999).
  - <sup>4</sup> Pedersen and Skrondal (1999).
  - <sup>5</sup> Jenkins (1999); Steinhauer (2001); Redhead (1993); Shapiro (1999).
  - <sup>6</sup> Presdee (2000); Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998); Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Shapiro (1999); Morel (1999).
  - <sup>7</sup> Presdee (2000); Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998).
  - <sup>8</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy (2001); Spruit (1999); Addiction and Mental Health Services Corp. (1998); New Zealand Ministry of Health (1999).
  - <sup>9</sup> Akram and Galt (1999); Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001).
  - <sup>10</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Morel (1999); Akram and Galt (1999).
  - <sup>11</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001).
  - <sup>12</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Addiction and Mental Health Services Corp. (1998); Sherlock and Conner (1999); Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999); National Drug Intelligence Center (2001).
  - <sup>13</sup> Patterns associated with these so-called rave or club drugs are monitored and reported by various U.S. drug-monitoring agencies, including the National Institute on Drug Abuse; the U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy; the Office of Applied Studies, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration [in the Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN) "Monitoring the Future" study]; and the Drug Enforcement Administration. For studies on rave-related drug use in the United Kingdom, see Sherlock and Conner (1999); Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998); Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Akram and Galt (1999); Morris (1998, citing Release 1997). For studies in the Netherlands, see Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999). For studies in Australia, see Lenton and Davidson (1999); Lenton, Boys and Norcross (1997); Topp et al. (1999). For studies in Canada, see Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (2000); Addiction and Mental Health Services Corp. (1998).
  - <sup>14</sup> Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998); Redhead (1993); Jenkins (1999); Pedersen and Skrondal (1999); Maryland Cabinet Council on Criminal and Juvenile Justice (2001); National Drug Intelligence Center (2001).
  - <sup>15</sup> Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998); Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); South (1999); Shapiro (1999).
  - <sup>16</sup> U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy (2001).
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- <sup>17</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Sherlock and Conner (1999); Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999); Topp et al. (1999).
- <sup>18</sup> U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy (2001); Spruit (1999); Weir (2000); Royal Canadian Mounted Police (2000).
- <sup>19</sup> Rietveld (1993); Weir (2000); Critcher (2000); Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999); Lenton and Davidson (1999); Addiction and Mental Health Services Corp. (1998).
- <sup>20</sup> Measham, Parker and Aldridge (1998); Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998); Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Shapiro (1999).
- <sup>21</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Sherlock and Conner (1999); Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999); Akram and Galt (1999); Pedersen and Skronnal (1999); Topp et al. (1999).
- <sup>22</sup> Presdee (2000); Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Lenton, Boys and Norcross (1997).
- <sup>23</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (2000); Morris (1998, citing Release 1997); Spruit (1999); Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999); Morel (1999); Adlaf and Smart (1997); Lenton, Boys and Norcross (1997).
- <sup>24</sup> Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998).
- <sup>25</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Shapiro (1999); Royal Canadian Mounted Police (2000); Addiction and Mental Health Services Corp. (1998); Critcher (2000).
- <sup>26</sup> Shapiro (1999).
- <sup>27</sup> Shapiro (1999).
- <sup>28</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001).
- <sup>29</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999).
- <sup>30</sup> Topp et al. (1999).
- <sup>31</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001).
- <sup>32</sup> Topp et al. (1999).
- <sup>33</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999); Topp et al. (1999).
- <sup>34</sup> Topp et al. (1999).
- <sup>35</sup> Royal Canadian Mounted Police (2000) (citing Mathias 1999).
- <sup>36</sup> Jenkins (1999); Measham, Parker and Aldridge (1998); Shapiro (1999); Spruit (1999).
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- <sup>37</sup> Lenton, Boys and Norcross (1997); Akram and Galt (1999); New Zealand Ministry of Health (1999); Topp et al. (1999).
- <sup>38</sup> Akram and Galt (1999); Lenton, Boys and Norcross (1997).
- <sup>39</sup> Measham, Parker and Aldridge (1998); Critcher (2000); Office of Applied Studies, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2000); Spruit (1999).
- <sup>40</sup> U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy (2001); National Drug Intelligence Center (2001).
- <sup>41</sup> Office of Applied Studies, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2000).
- <sup>42</sup> Spruit (1999); Akram and Galt (1999).
- <sup>43</sup> Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999); Lenton and Davidson (1999); Shapiro (1999).
- <sup>44</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001).
- <sup>45</sup> Morris (1998).
- <sup>46</sup> U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy (2001); Morris (1998).
- <sup>47</sup> Calgary Police Service (1999).
- <sup>48</sup> Steinhauer (2001); Shapiro (1999); Spruit (1999); Toronto Dance Safety Committee (2000); New Zealand Ministry of Health (1999); Calgary Police Service (1999); Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001); Morris (1998); Spruit (1999); DanceSafe (2001); Morel (1999).
- <sup>49</sup> Rietveld (1993).
- <sup>50</sup> Shapiro (1999).
- <sup>51</sup> National Drug Intelligence Center (2001).
- <sup>52</sup> Morris (1998).
- <sup>53</sup> Morris (1998).
- <sup>54</sup> Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department (2000); Moore (2000).
- <sup>55</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001).
- <sup>56</sup> Steinhauer (2001).
- <sup>57</sup> Moore (2000).
- <sup>58</sup> Steinhauer (2001); Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department (2000).
- <sup>59</sup> Steinhauer (2001); Cloud (2001); National Drug Intelligence Center (2001).
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- <sup>60</sup> Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998); Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001).
- <sup>61</sup> Measham, Aldridge and Parker (2001).
- <sup>62</sup> Spruit (1999); Branigan and Wellings (1999); Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999); Morel (1999); Royal Canadian Mounted Police (2000); Maryland Cabinet Council on Criminal and Juvenile Justice (2001); Calgary Police Service (1999).
- <sup>63</sup> Parker, Aldridge and Measham (1998); Measham, Parker and Aldridge (1998); Spruit (1999); Branigan and Wellings (1999); Weir (2000); Akram and Galt (1999); Lenton, Boys and Norcross (1997); Topp et al. (1999); Toronto Dance Safety Committee (2000); New Zealand Ministry of Health (1999); Morel (1999).
- <sup>64</sup> Akram and Galt (1999); Morel (1999); Addiction and Mental Health Services Corp. (1998).
- <sup>65</sup> Akram and Galt (1999).
- <sup>66</sup> Akram and Galt (1999).
- <sup>67</sup> Branigan and Wellings (1999).
- <sup>68</sup> Shapiro (1999); Calgary Police Service (1999).
- <sup>69</sup> Jenkins (1999).
- <sup>70</sup> Spruit (1999); Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999).
- <sup>71</sup> DanceSafe (2001).
- <sup>72</sup> Spruit (1999); Van de Wijngaart et al. (1999).
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## About the Author

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Michael S. Scott is the director of the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, Inc. and clinical assistant professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison Law School. He was formerly chief of police in Lauderhill, Fla.; served in various civilian administrative positions in the St. Louis Metropolitan, Ft. Pierce, Fla., and New York City police departments; and was a police officer in the Madison, Wis., Police Department. Scott developed training programs in problem-oriented policing at the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF), and is a judge for PERF's Herman Goldstein Award for Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing. He was the 1996 recipient of the Gary P. Hayes Award for innovation and leadership in policing. Scott holds a law degree from Harvard Law School and a bachelor's degree from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.





## Recommended Readings

- ***A Police Guide to Surveying Citizens and Their Environments***, Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1993. This guide offers a practical introduction for police practitioners to two types of surveys that police find useful: surveying public opinion and surveying the physical environment. It provides guidance on whether and how to conduct cost-effective surveys.
- ***Assessing Responses to Problems: An Introductory Guide for Police Problem-Solvers***, by John E. Eck (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2001). This guide is a companion to the *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police* series. It provides basic guidance to measuring and assessing problem-oriented policing efforts.
- ***Conducting Community Surveys***, by Deborah Weisel (Bureau of Justice Statistics and Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 1999). This guide, along with accompanying computer software, provides practical, basic pointers for police in conducting community surveys. The document is also available at [www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs](http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs).
- ***Crime Prevention Studies***, edited by Ronald V. Clarke (Criminal Justice Press, 1993, et seq.). This is a series of volumes of applied and theoretical research on reducing opportunities for crime. Many chapters are evaluations of initiatives to reduce specific crime and disorder problems.



- ***Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing: The 1999 Herman Goldstein Award Winners***. This document produced by the National Institute of Justice in collaboration with the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services and the Police Executive Research Forum provides detailed reports of the best submissions to the annual award program that recognizes exemplary problem-oriented responses to various community problems. A similar publication is available for the award winners from subsequent years. The documents are also available at [www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij](http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij).
  - ***Not Rocket Science? Problem-Solving and Crime Reduction***, by Tim Read and Nick Tilley (Home Office Crime Reduction Research Series, 2000). Identifies and describes the factors that make problem-solving effective or ineffective as it is being practiced in police forces in England and Wales.
  - ***Opportunity Makes the Thief: Practical Theory for Crime Prevention***, by Marcus Felson and Ronald V. Clarke (Home Office Police Research Series, Paper No. 98, 1998). Explains how crime theories such as routine activity theory, rational choice theory and crime pattern theory have practical implications for the police in their efforts to prevent crime.
  - ***Problem Analysis in Policing***, by Rachel Boba (Police Foundation, 2003). Introduces and defines problem analysis and provides guidance on how problem analysis can be integrated and institutionalized into modern policing practices.
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- ***Problem-Oriented Policing***, by Herman Goldstein (McGraw-Hill, 1990, and Temple University Press, 1990). Explains the principles and methods of problem-oriented policing, provides examples of it in practice, and discusses how a police agency can implement the concept.
  - ***Problem-Oriented Policing and Crime Prevention***, by Anthony A. Braga (Criminal Justice Press, 2003). Provides a through review of significant policing research about problem places, high-activity offenders, and repeat victims, with a focus on the applicability of those findings to problem-oriented policing. Explains how police departments can facilitate problem-oriented policing by improving crime analysis, measuring performance, and securing productive partnerships.
  - ***Problem-Oriented Policing: Reflections on the First 20 Years***, by Michael S. Scott (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2000). Describes how the most critical elements of Herman Goldstein's problem-oriented policing model have developed in practice over its 20-year history, and proposes future directions for problem-oriented policing. The report is also available at [www.cops.usdoj.gov](http://www.cops.usdoj.gov).
  - ***Problem-Solving: Problem-Oriented Policing in Newport News***, by John E. Eck and William Spelman (Police Executive Research Forum, 1987). Explains the rationale behind problem-oriented policing and the problem-solving process, and provides examples of effective problem-solving in one agency.
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- ***Problem-Solving Tips: A Guide to Reducing Crime and Disorder Through Problem-Solving Partnerships*** by Karin Schmerler, Matt Perkins, Scott Phillips, Tammy Rinehart and Meg Townsend. (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 1998) (also available at [www.cops.usdoj.gov](http://www.cops.usdoj.gov)). Provides a brief introduction to problem-solving, basic information on the SARA model and detailed suggestions about the problem-solving process.
  - ***Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies***, Second Edition, edited by Ronald V. Clarke (Harrow and Heston, 1997). Explains the principles and methods of situational crime prevention, and presents over 20 case studies of effective crime prevention initiatives.
  - ***Tackling Crime and Other Public-Safety Problems: Case Studies in Problem-Solving***, by Rana Sampson and Michael S. Scott (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2000) (also available at [www.cops.usdoj.gov](http://www.cops.usdoj.gov)). Presents case studies of effective police problem-solving on 18 types of crime and disorder problems.
  - ***Using Analysis for Problem-Solving: A Guidebook for Law Enforcement***, by Timothy S. Bynum (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2001). Provides an introduction for police to analyzing problems within the context of problem-oriented policing.
  - ***Using Research: A Primer for Law Enforcement Managers***, Second Edition, by John E. Eck and Nancy G. LaVigne (Police Executive Research Forum, 1994). Explains many of the basics of research as it applies to police management and problem-solving.
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