

From “Candy Kids” to “Chemi-Kids”: A Typology of Young Adults Who Attend Raves in the Midwestern United States

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Although young people attending raves have been most visibly associated with the use of ecstasy and other “club drugs” in the United States, there is reason to believe that they are not a homogenous group in terms of their drug use practices. The purpose of this article is to begin developing a typology of young adult ecstasy users involved in the rave subculture—known as Ravers or Party Kids. The study is based on focus groups and qualitative interviews conducted between November 2001 and September 2003 with 36 current and former ecstasy users, aged 19–31, in central Ohio, as well as participant observation conducted in raves, clubs, and bars where “club drugs” are often used. Findings suggest the existence of five main subgroups in attendance at raves—Chemi-Kids, Candy Kids, non-affiliated Party Kids, Junglists, and Old School Ravers. These groups differ in regard to musical taste, philosophy, style of clothing worn, amount of time in the rave subculture, and most importantly, patterns of drug use. For example, while the use of ecstasy appears most common among Candy Kids, Junglists tend to be more involved with the use of ketamine and methamphetamine. The use of alcohol, cocaine, marijuana, and hallucinogens is also widespread in the rave subculture. The typology can aid in the development of communication strategies necessary for successful prevention activities among some categories of ecstasy users.

Keywords MDMA; ecstasy; ethnography; substance misuse; prevention; rave; “club drugs”

“... We are a culture, we have our own laws, we have our own, ya know, way of communicating” ~Susy, 2002

Introduction

Over the course of the 1990s, numerous studies indicated increases in the use of 3,4-methylenedioxymethamphetamine (MDMA/ecstasy) in the United States (Hellig, 2002; Landry, 2002; Community Epidemiology Work Group, 2000; Johnston et al., 2004; Johnston, O'Malley, and Bachman, 2003) Drug Abuse Warning Network, 2000; Community Epidemiology Work Group, 2001). These increases may have been augmented in part by media attention paid to the rave subculture, which diffused at a rapid pace worldwide in the last decades before the millennium (Reynolds, 1998). In the United States, increases

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in ecstasy use were noted among white high school- and college-age adolescents and young adults (Yacoubian, 2002). However, the most recent survey data suggest that the prevalence of ecstasy use among both high school and college students in the United States has been declining since reaching its peak in 2001 (Johnston, 2004; Maxwell, 2004). And yet, while the use of ecstasy appears to be declining among many groups that had previously shown increases (Carlson, in press; Sterk, 2003), the use of ecstasy and other club drugs (i.e., LSD, methamphetamine, ketamine) persists among a group of adolescents and young adults known as “Ravers” (Yacoubian, 2003; Brecht and von Mayrhauser, 2002). This continuation of a long-standing pattern of use among a specific population suggests that new perspectives and fresh approaches could be helpful in prevention and other intervention efforts targeting Ravers.

Young people who attend raves have been associated with the use of ecstasy since the late 1980s, when seminal social and behavioral research was produced (Beck, 1994). In the midwestern United States, attendance at raves has been most commonly associated with young people raised in suburban areas surrounding larger urban centers (Reynolds, 1998). Since Beck and Rosenbaum’s research was published, the widespread use of ecstasy has been associated with this group of adolescents and young adults in the popular broadcast media in the form of news specials, feature films, and talk shows dedicated to the subject of ecstasy use (Reynolds, 1998). From a cultural studies perspective, a great deal of knowledge has since been produced, relating the history, origins, and general characteristics of the dance-and-drug-party phenomenon known as the rave subculture or “rave scene” (Reynolds, 1998; Epstein, 1998; Redhead, 1993).

Briefly, raves developed in Europe in the 1980s as “underground” secret parties for a fringe subculture, growing in size and popularity throughout the United States during the decades of the 1980s and 1990s. However, over the years, “*raves have evolved into a highly organized, commercialized, worldwide party culture*” (National Drug Intelligence Center Information, 2001). The use of the Internet and other new communication technologies, such as chat rooms and e-mails, to advertise these parties has augmented the global reach of the subculture. In addition, the increasing sponsorship and promotion of raves by multinational corporations, such as soft drink companies, have contributed to the growth of the subculture, as well as to its popularization among groups that could be considered “mainstream”—in opposition to the formerly “underground” or “countercultural” identification of traditional rave participants (Reynolds, 1998; Takahashi and Olaveson, 2003). In Australia, Asia, Canada (Weir, 2003), Great Britain (Meesham, 2001), and the United States (Hutson, 2000), raves have become known as popular venues for young people to gather and listen to music known as electronica, as well as places where they would often use ecstasy. As time has passed, the use of other “club drugs,” such as methamphetamine, ketamine, gamma-hydroxybutyrate (GHB), and LSD have also come to be associated with attendance at raves (Maxwell, 2001; Beck and Rosenbaum, 1994; National Drug Intelligence Center Information, 2001).

Based largely on the popular media’s presentations, many parents and educators tend to perceive Ravers as a homogenous group in terms of their social behaviors, philosophy, appearance, and drug-use patterns (Yacoubian, 2003; Willis, 2003). Oftentimes, all Ravers are portrayed as habitually ingesting ecstasy and dressing in very bright, colorful clothing (Reynolds, 1998). The purpose of this study is to present a preliminary epidemiologic typology of young people who attend raves in the midwestern United States. Specifically, we describe five main subgroups of young people who may be found at raves—*Chemical Kids*, *Candy Kids*, *Junglists*, *nonaffiliated Party Kids*, and *Old School Ravers*. Each group is different, not only in terms of the visual markers by which they can be identified—for example, their clothing—but more importantly, in their prevailing philosophies and typical

drug-use practices. Furthermore, simple attendance at a rave does not necessarily indicate membership within the rave subculture. Rather, such membership is predicated on a host of cultural factors. That is to say, one may be present at a rave without being accepted by “Ravers” as a member of their subculture. We discuss the ways in which members of these subgroups perceive themselves and their drug use in the context of the rave subculture. The results can inform prevention and intervention strategies targeting young people who use ecstasy and other drugs by clearly illustrating that ecstasy users—even when limited to those who attend raves—are not a homogenous group.

Methods

Sample

Participants in this study included 36 young adults who participated in the Young Adult Health Study, a natural history study exploring the use of ecstasy and other “club drugs” in relation to HIV/STD sex risk behaviors. Participants were recruited through a blend of convenience and chain-referral sampling by the first author, and by two male consultants who held degrees in social work. Our consultants approached acquaintances whom they felt might be eligible for the study; the first author approached potential participants based on their apparent ages, as well as on her developing understanding of the visual markers—such as clothing, hair, and jewelry styles—that might indicate familiarity with “club drug” use (Takahashi and Olaveson, 2003). Efforts were made to include participants of various socioeconomic backgrounds, genders, ethnicities, sexual orientations, and ages by recruiting in various locations, including coffee shops, clubs, raves, and in public areas where young people tend to congregate. Potential participants were informed of the confidential nature of the research project, the length of the study, the forms of the various interviews, the stipends available to participants, and the possible benefits of conducting such research for “club drug” users in general.

Data Collection

Data were collected from 45 audiotaped ethnographic interviews and four audiotaped focus groups with ecstasy users, conducted by the first and second authors, between November 2001 and September 2003. Focus groups and semi-structured individual interviews lasted 1 to 2 hours, and they were conducted in the field office located in a large urban center in central Ohio. The names of all the participants have been changed for their protection. Informed consent, approved by Wright State University’s Institutional Review Board, was administered to all participants, who were compensated \$20 for their time for each interview or focus group. Supplementary data were gathered through 10 participant observations conducted in central Ohio at raves and at dance club events that our participants suggested would be popular among both Ravers and non-Ravers.

Data Analysis

Focus groups and qualitative interviews were transcribed and entered into a textual database, Folio Views 4.2, enabling a broad analysis of research codes (Buchignani, 1996). Transcripts were verified in relation to the audiotaped sessions, and research codes for predefined and emergent categories were applied. This process of “open coding” enabled us to develop an index to the text that was based on the interviews (Fielding and Lee, 1998; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The relevant open codes were searched and compared, and text concerning specific themes was then summarized. An example of one

such code is [1CandyKids], which was used to designate passages in the transcripts where descriptions of Candy Kids were located.

After a draft of the manuscript had been completed, five participants were chosen to review it for accuracy. They provided their own opinions and explanations in both audio-taped individual interviews and a focus group. These “social validity” interviews gave us the opportunity to check our results against the experiences of the research participants (McCaughan in press; Pilotta et al., 2001; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The participants’ commentary was incorporated into the final draft, as indicated in brackets throughout the text. This process enabled us to refine our understanding and correct misinterpretations.

Results

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Participants’ ages ranged from 19 to 31 years old, with an average age of 21. While 34 (94%) of the participants were white, one was Asian and one was African-American. One-third (33.3 %) of the participants were women. Of the sample, 91.6% reported a heterosexual orientation, one was a gay man, and two (one man and one woman) reported a bisexual orientation. Almost one-third (30.5%) chose to describe themselves as “Ravers” according to their own understanding of that term. The amount of time these respondents reported attending raves and being part of “the rave scene” ranged from 2 to 9 years. Levels of education varied, with 58.3% of the participants currently enrolled as college undergraduates. About one-third (30.5%) had completed high school. Three participants had obtained college degrees.

Drug-Use Practices

The length of time that participants were involved with ecstasy use varied substantially, ranging from 6 months to 9 years. The majority of the participants reported having used ecstasy for 4 or fewer years. Reported occasions of ecstasy use ranged from 2 to 700 times, with about 35 times being the average (after removing the one outlier who had used ecstasy 700 times). The number of tablets used per occasion ranged from one to 7.5, with the average dose being 1.5 tablets. Current frequency of ecstasy use varied from five times a week to one time every 6 months. Many participants described earlier periods—generally lasting a few months—during which they had used ecstasy every weekend. However, most participants in the qualitative interviews slowed down to a rate of using ecstasy about once or twice a month after the “novelty” of using ecstasy had worn off. As many participants explained, once they had experienced the effects of the drug a number of times, using the drug no longer held much interest for them.

As with the use of ecstasy, the use of other drugs varied as well. While a few participants had tried only alcohol, marijuana, and ecstasy, the majority had experience with a wide range of substances. Current use of tobacco cigarettes was reported by 83.3% of participants. Similarly, only two of the participants reported currently abstaining from alcohol, and all of them had used alcohol in the past. In fact, while 17 of the participants had not yet attained the legal age for drinking alcohol, all of them reported current use of alcohol; 27.7% (Maxwell, 2004) of the 36 respondents reported always avoiding alcohol when using ecstasy. Marijuana use was nearly universal, with 94.4% reporting use within the last 6 months; 72.2% (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) of the sample reported using marijuana three or more times per week in the last 6 months. In comparison with alcohol, marijuana was regularly used in conjunction with ecstasy. Seventy-two percent of respondents had

used marijuana immediately before, during, or after using ecstasy. However, their descriptions of the effects of combining marijuana with ecstasy varied. While some participants stated that marijuana could cause the effects of ecstasy to continue for a longer period of time, others reported using marijuana as a means to calm down and fall asleep after using ecstasy.

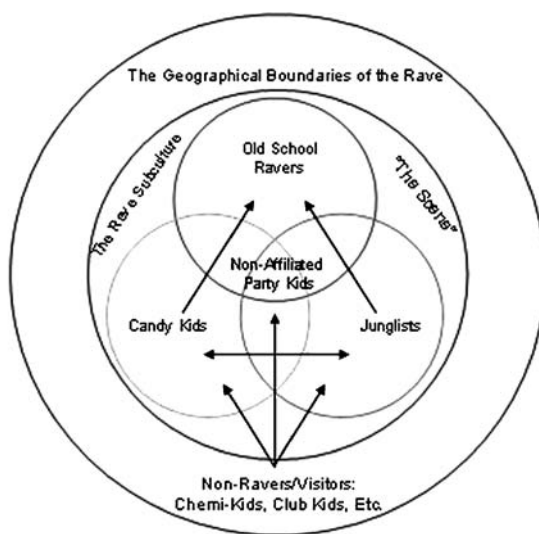
Lifetime experimentation with different drugs appeared to be the norm among these participants. Use of psilocybin mushrooms was reported by 86.1%, and use of LSD was reported by 77.7%. Use of methamphetamine (either intranasally or by smoking) was reported by 30.5% of the sample. Intranasal use of ketamine was reported by about 61% of the sample, and two of those participants had also experimented with injecting ketamine intramuscularly. Lifetime use of gamma-hydroxybutyrate (GHB) was reported by about 22% of the sample, but recent use was extremely uncommon.

Lifetime use of cocaine HCl was reported by 47.2%. In comparison, lifetime use of crack cocaine use was uncommon and reported by only 8.3% (Community Epidemiology Work Group, 2000) of the participants. Lifetime heroin use was reported by 11.1% (Johnston, 2004) of the participants. Two of these participants were current heroin injectors, whereas two participants reported inhaling heroin only once. In addition, 19.4% (Community Epidemiology Work Group, 2001) reported using OxyContin[®] (oxycodone time release). The two participants who reported injecting heroin also reported injecting OxyContin. The others reported using OxyContin either orally or intranasally.

The Local Rave Subculture

From a local perspective, our findings suggest that, over the last several years, the growing popularity—and attendant notoriety—of raves has actually led to a contraction of the rave subculture in central Ohio. Large-scale raves are increasingly less feasible in central Ohio due to attention from both the local media and from law enforcement, which applies fire codes and Prohibition Era anti-dancing laws as a means to shutting down raves (Marshall, 2002). Indeed, the fragmentation and localization of the rave subculture in the United States makes localized studies of the subculture all the more important (Yacoubian et al., 2003). As some of our participants noted, the social networks and cultural practices they have experienced while attending raves in other locations, such as Florida, California, New York, and Toronto, Canada, are different from what they experience in the Midwest in terms of the popularity of various drugs, music, clothing styles, and slang terms. For example, the combined use of ecstasy and LSD may be called “*candy flipping*” in one location and “*trolling*” in another location (Maxwell, 2004). Just as the rave subculture and its opportunities to come together in central Ohio have changed over time, the slang terms used by local members have changed as well. Many of these new terms are embedded in participants’ discussions of their experiences, including: “party” (meaning “rave”), “Party Kids” (meaning “Ravers” in general), and “the scene” (meaning “the rave subculture”).

Beyond the geographical differences noted by Ravers in our study, the Ravers found in any one location in the Midwest are not the homogenous group portrayed in the media. Different groups exist within “the scene,” including Candy Kids, Junglists, and Old School Ravers, as well as a group of “nonaffiliated” Party Kids, who do not classify themselves, preferring to circulate among all of the subgroups. These specific subgroups differ from each other in five primary, yet interrelated, ways: 1) the amount of time that their members have been involved in the subculture, 2) their musical preferences, 3) clothing style and accessory choices, 4) philosophy, and 5) typical patterns of drug use. While all members of each group



(Arrows indicate possible movement between social categories on the level of the individual.)

Figure 1. Selected social components present at a rave.

do not conform rigidly to the standards discussed here, certain useful generalizations can be made based on the consensus of our research participants and the data gathered through participant observation. In addition, another group of young adults may be found at a rave, those to whom we refer as “Chemi-Kids.” While these individuals may be present at a rave, they are not considered by Ravers to be “true” members of the rave subculture. That is to say, an individual’s attendance at a rave does not automatically bestow “membership” in the subculture. In some respects, they could be considered “tourists” or visitors to the rave subculture.

Figure 1 illustrates the various social components one may encounter at a rave in central Ohio. The outer circle denotes the geographical boundaries of a party, and all individuals present at a rave are contained within that boundary. However, there is an invisible inner circle—“the scene itself”—to which admittance is granted by virtue of one’s compliance with a set of behavioral and attitudinal requirements. That is to say, even though an individual may dress as if he or she belongs in “the scene,” if one does not demonstrate through actions a philosophy compatible with one of the groups of Ravers, one will be considered a part of the “watching culture” as Susy, a 22-year-old Raver, expressed it. Specifically, one must have a particular attitude towards the many genera of music in “the scene,” as well as a particular attitude towards drug use. As indicated by arrows in the figure, these non-Ravers can enter “the scene” as full-fledged members of a group if they adopt the necessary inward and outward attributes of any one of the groups.

Within “the scene,” or the rave subculture, there are a number of subgroups that our participants described and that we observed at raves we attended. These include Candy Kids, Junglists, and Old School Ravers. As indicated by the overlapping circles in the center of the figure, these groups or networks are nondiscrete, in that individuals from one subgroup often have friends in—and interact with—other subgroups. In fact, as is the case of nonaffiliated Party Kids, it is both possible and acceptable to claim membership in none of the groups, but rather to move among the groups, having friends in any or all of the groups. In addition, as indicated by the arrows in the figure, individuals may experience

transitional phases in their self-identification, as their attitudes toward life, music, and drugs change, thus claiming and/or disclaiming membership in any of the subgroups at a given point in their experience in the rave subculture. Although the path of movement between subgroups can differ substantially from one individual to another, the pattern most commonly cited by participants was that an individual would enter “the scene” as a Candy Kid, develop over time into a Junglist, eventually claim to be a nonaffiliated Party Kid, and after many years in “the scene,” come to be regarded by others as an Old School Raver.

Perceived Homogeneity

Walking into a rave or “party,” the uninitiated might see what appears to be a division similar to that described by Henry, a 21-year-old college student who does not consider himself to be a Raver:

I would say there’s two groups. There’s the people who go to raves that just go as themselves and get wasted . . . people who’ve only been to a couple raves, like me, who . . . stick out like a sore thumb, and there’s the people who are dedicated to it, who go to it all the time; they dress up for it, and totally go crazy about it.

What Henry was describing is the main division at a rave that all the Ravers in this study noted: It is the difference between the “Chemi-Kids” (non-Ravers) and the Party Kids (Ravers), who are themselves comprised of a number of subgroups. Jonathan, a 24-year-old Raver, broke it down this way:

You got the kids in the rave scene . . . you got your Junglists, your Candy Kids, your Breakers, your DJs, your . . . promoters, . . . your Old School Ravers that are . . . in their thirties and late twenties. . . . There’s so many people that just are involved in the scene. . . . Not everybody does ecstasy, but . . . there’s a lot of people that do, and they’re all in different groups.

We first describe the main distinction between “Chemi-Kids” and Ravers/Party Kids, and then focus on three primary subgroups within the rave subculture of central Ohio.

Chemi-Kids

Although ChemiKids may attend raves, they are not considered Ravers/Party Kids. The appellation “ChemiKids” comes from Susy, a 22-year-old Raver, who explained that “Chemi” refers to the psychoactive substances that draw members of this group to raves. Their attendance at raves is seen specifically as a means to obtain drugs, not as a means towards socializing or enjoying the featured music. [“Chemi-Kid” is not a standard designation accepted by all Ravers. Some Ravers refer to them as “New Agers” or “Club Kids.” Still other Ravers make a distinction between Chemi-Kids and Club Kids, stating that Club Kids *only* go to clubs and *never* to raves (11).] “Chemi-Kids” seems to be a good word for this group because, as Susy said:

The Chemi-Kids . . . just show up there for . . . the drugs and just to . . . be messed up. . . . The first words out of their mouth as soon as they walk into a party [are], “Where can I get this [drug]? Can you get this for me?”

Henry confirmed this, stating, “A lot of people go there [to a rave] strictly to get ecstasy . . . They find the best pills, they get it, and they leave.” Randy, a 21-year-old Raver, agreed: “Basically the rave culture is one big drug flea market [now] . . . and that’s the part that pissed me off.” Although the rave subculture is an inclusive place, where the acceptance of difference is valued, Chemi-Kids are generally not welcome. However, this is not a hard and fast rule. Friendships can and do develop between Ravers and Chemi-Kids, and some Chemi-Kids eventually choose to become part of the rave subculture; in general, however, there is segregation.

Many Ravers blame the extreme drug use characteristic of Chemi-Kids for the decline of the rave subculture, while other Ravers point to the greed of some promoters who do not practice “ROAR” (rights of admission refusal), reportedly allowing adolescents as young as 12 to enter a party. As Susy explained, “The Chemi-Kids are destroying our culture. . . . We don’t associate [with them].” For many Ravers—who use drugs themselves—the problem is not so much the Chemi-Kids’ drug use as it is their *emphasis* on drug use, rather than on the importance of the music. Lisa, a 19-year-old non-Raver, recounted the complaint about Chemi-Kids voiced by one Raver she had met: “It’s not as much about going to raves and the music—how it was before. Now, . . . people [Chemi-Kids] just do it like, ‘Oh yeah, cool, ecstasy.’”

Henry’s extensive pattern of drug use provides a fairly typical example of Chemi-Kid behavior. Like many Chemi-Kids, he attended raves only to find drugs, and he was not at all interested in the music that was being played. While Henry had only used ecstasy four times—two tablets each time—upon entering the study at age 21, he reported having used LSD on 200 occasions. At age 16, he overdosed on GHB, leading to a cardiac arrhythmia. At age 18, he was ordered to attend a drug abuse treatment program as a result of underage consumption of alcohol. In addition, Henry reported lifetime use of cocaine, heroin, methamphetamine, ketamine, various prescription opioids including OxyContin, inhalants, and psilocybin mushrooms. His current pattern of drug use involved smoking marijuana and cigarettes daily as well as drinking alcohol three to five times per week, using tranquilizers one to three times per month, and bingeing on cocaine at least once per month (inhaling 1–2 grams of cocaine per occasion). When we last spoke with him, he did not intend to use ecstasy again, and he claimed that his days of experimenting with new drugs were over since he would be graduating from college soon.

While excessive drug use characterizes the Chemi-Kids, several Ravers noted that their style of clothing enables their quick identification—and avoidance—at a rave. According to Jason, a 19-year-old Raver,

[They] are so easy to find. . . . The girls wear . . . black tight clothes and . . . weird sparkly shirts, and the guys always wear . . . black pants, black shoes, . . . some either [a] sparkly shirt or like a nicer dress shirt, and usually they have leather jackets, and they have their hair all done pretty and stuff.

“Preppy,” meaning conservative, was often used to describe Chemi-Kids. There also seems to be a distinction between Ravers and Chemi-Kids in terms of age and education. “College kids” and “older” were common terms used to describe Chemi-Kids, while Ravers were generally seen as younger and tend to be less educated—high school students or graduates who have chosen not to attend college.

In summary, many of the participants in this study regarded clothing style as an outward sign of a person’s social circle, level of acceptance of mainstream tastes and values, and philosophy towards life and drug use. For many Ravers, the Chemi-Kids are symbolic

of the degeneration of their subculture, and they blame them for the negative perception of raves that is portrayed by the media. Simultaneously, Ravers perceive the attendance of Chemi-Kids at raves as a direct result of negative and sensational media representations that characterize raves as wild parties and good places to find drugs. The growing corporate sponsorship of raves by companies promoting stereo equipment, sports drinks, clothing, and other products is also perceived as both a cause and an effect of this shift (Reynolds, 1998). As Susy explained, "Right now, it's commercialized—mainstream. It's gone from being an underground—the unspeakable culture—to 'Hey, okay, this might be cool.'"

Types of Ravers

The Role of Drugs and Music. Within the rave subculture, some groups are more visible than others. A constant evolution is taking place within this subculture, on both individual and group levels. Some of this is driven by the natural maturation of individuals in the subculture. For the Ravers we interviewed, the rave subculture ideally centered on the music, not the drugs (Takahashi and Olaveson, 2003). As Susy explained, "Music is not music. It's spiritual, and a lot of the kids live by that rule . . . Music is our religion." Randy, who has been in "the rave scene" since 1992, explained his views about the current situation in relation to the past: "It was all about the music . . . the dancing, having the fun, having the unity . . . Drugs were there, . . . but they didn't play as pertinent of a point as they do now." As the central concept within the rave subculture, the changing music styles are most visibly responsible for the changes in the subgroups. Some of the most basic subgenera, and those most important to this discussion, include House, Trance, and Happy Hardcore—which are considered by Ravers to be relatively simplistic forms of electronica, resembling pop music in many ways—and Drum 'n' Bass, and Jungle, which are perceived as more "evolved," "complex," and "darker" subgenera by Ravers interviewed for this study.

As there are so many choices available musically within the rave subculture, there are many choices of subgroups—and even splinter subgroups—with which to associate oneself. According to Ravers, the choice of music is the defining characteristic of each group, with individual taste in music often developing according to the amount of time one spends in the Rave subculture. An individual's identification with a particular subgroup is often discernable from outward signs, such as clothing style, which often can serve as a visual marker related to more hidden characteristics, such as one's philosophy and drug use practices. Three of the main "stereotypical" subgroups are the Candy Kids, the Junglists, and the Old School Ravers, but there is also one "generic" subgroup: the nonaffiliated Party Kids.

Nonaffiliated Party Kids. Some Ravers/Party Kids see themselves as transcending the various groups altogether—as is the case with nonaffiliated Party Kids, who refuse to limit themselves to membership in only one "clique." Many of these "generic" or "straight" (as in "plain") Party Kids have "evolved" through the different subgroups—claiming membership in one or all of them at particular times in their lives, and thus their philosophy tends to emphasize inclusivity and understanding towards all of the groups found within the subculture.

While constantly shifting styles and alliances are perceived by Ravers as being based on the changes that take place in the music, some of the most important transformations are those that are represented by different drug-use patterns and the consequent psychological and behavioral changes that tend to be associated with the use of different drugs. Most notably, many Ravers cited the shift from using ecstasy to methamphetamine as being most

often responsible for extreme lifestyle and philosophical changes in themselves and/or those around them. We were told many tales of how once-happy ecstasy users had become angry, cynical methamphetamine users.

Candy Kids. Candy Kids are the most visible subgroup of Ravers in contradistinction to the mainstream culture because of their jewelry and clothing choices, and this is one reason that the media often focuses upon them as “the” Ravers. Initiates to the rave subculture will often be drawn to the Candy Kids first, in part because of their welcoming and happy nature. Jonathan, a 24-year-old nonaffiliated Party Kid who first entered the rave scene as a Candy Kid, explained:

[Candy] kids are . . . mainly newbies . . . [and] have been in the scene for about a year to two years. Most of them get out of that stage; after a while, they’re like, “Why am I wearing these stupid bracelets and these stupid beads?” . . . Those are the kids that are mainly eating the ecstasy . . . and then that’s also your younger Ravers—a lot of them . . . are fourteen years old. [Upon reading a draft of this article, Jonathan commented that the age range for Candy Kids is generally 13 to 16 years old.]

It is important to note that there are also many Candy Kids who are in their late teens and even twenties because the values and philosophy of the Candy Kids continue to resonate with them personally, and they continue to like the music popular with Candy Kids. They tend to favor House, Trance and “. . . Happy Hardcore. It’s like really happy music, fast-paced,” as Jason, a former Candy Kid, explained. It has a simple, repetitive beat, and it is easy to dance to.

Visually, it is fairly easy to identify a Candy Kid. Most of the non-Ravers in the study, like Linda, could describe the look: “raved out,” which involves wearing “bright colors and . . . huge pants . . . they just get huge at the bottom.” Candy Kids revel in being flamboyant; they may wear fluorescent green false eyelashes, butterfly wings, or backpacks made of stuffed animals. They are often the ones who are wearing surgical masks smeared with Vick’s VapoRubTM and playing with glow sticks. (Both of these practices are commonly identified as means toward heightening one’s sensory experiences while using ecstasy.) For Candy Kids, being at a rave is all about being happy and having fun.

Beyond the clothing, the most significant visual marker of a Candy Kid is the “candy” itself—necklaces and bracelets made from plastic beads—from which the group takes its name. “Candy” jewelry is not made of candy, but is rather described as “eye candy.” This jewelry serves a social function, and it illustrates some of the aspects of the philosophy that Candy Kids share. As Randy, a former Candy Kid explained,

If you saw another person with candy, you’d go up to them, you’d talk to them: “Hey, let’s do some trading.” . . . It’s kinda like little kids with . . . baseball cards . . . but it’s more on a social interaction level.

For Susy and other Candy Kids we interviewed, the candy can function as a sign of one’s intentions upon entering “the scene,” differentiating a willing initiate from a Chemi-Kid:

Ya know, you can dress the part. You can buy yourself a brand new pair of UFOs [a popular brand of nylon pants], and you can dress yourself head to toe in candy. You can try; that’s a true believer. . . . That’s how you get accepted.

The spirit of being happy and having fun relates both to ecstasy's role as the drug of choice for most Candy Kids and to their philosophy. The entactogenic properties of ecstasy are wholly compatible with the Candy Kid philosophy, as well as the code by which they and many other Ravers live: "PLUR." As noted in other studies of the rave subculture (Takahashi and Olaveson, 2003; Meesham, Aldridge, and Parker, 2001; Hutson, 2000), PLUR is an acronym for the guiding philosophy shared by many Ravers. Standing for "Peace, Love, Unity, and Respect," some Ravers, like Jonathan, also add "Responsibility," making it PLURR.

This philosophy of PLUR is directly related to the perception of Ravers as the heirs to the hippies of the 1960s and 1970s. Some non-Ravers, like Matt, look at the rave subculture and identify all Ravers as "hippies . . . you usually don't see Ravers or anything fight; they're all about peace and love." However, within the subculture, it is the provenance of the Candy Kids to be the "modern day hippies," more so than any of the other groups. As Kari, a 19-year-old Raver exclaimed:

There are very few people who stay Candy Kids, I think . . . and those people really, God bless those people, 'cause they're the new hippies.

Following from this identification as "the new hippies," Candy Kids often take pride in their roles as helpers or nurturers. Caring and sharing are key practices for them. They tell stories of sharing drugs and other commodities indiscriminately at raves. They are also known for helping out individuals who are experiencing the negative effects of ecstasy or who do not appear to be following the commonly accepted guidelines for "safe" drug-using behavior. This nurturing behavior was evident to us during participant observations, with Candy Kids comforting and helping sick young people whom they had clearly never met before. We noticed one young woman who, after vomiting in a bathroom stall, was approached by two female Candy Kids, given a bottle of water, a hug, and some general advice on how to feel better.

Susy, a 22-year-old Candy Kid, exemplified both this philosophy and a drug-use pattern typical among Candy Kids when we first met her at a rave. Upon entering our study, she estimated having taken a total of 150 tablets of ecstasy on the 90 occasions she had used it, and she considered it to be her drug of choice, stating "I'm pretty much rolling all the time." In addition, she reported using ketamine twice a week in the month prior to her first interview, smoking marijuana daily, and using nonprescribed Adderall[®] once per month. In addition, she had used LSD and psilocybin mushrooms in the past. At that time, she expressed extremely negative attitudes toward methamphetamine, cocaine, and OxyContin. For example, she stated, "I don't approve of crank [methamphetamine]. . . , but . . . my friends pretty much keep that stuff away from me."

When we spoke with her 1 year later, she appeared to be going through a transitional period in her self-identification and in her drug use. She seemed to be disengaging from the rave subculture to an extent. She had not been to a rave in several months, she had not used ecstasy in more than 7 months, and she was only using ketamine once every 3 months. Rather, she had begun using methamphetamine, alcohol, and cocaine, while continuing to use marijuana three to five times per week. In this regard, her behavior mirrored that which many former Candy Kids described when discussing their transition out of that group. For some people, the next stage of their journey through the rave scene is to become a Junglist.

Junglists. Often times, an individual's transition through the rave subculture might include a phase—during which time he or she might just refer to him- or herself as a "straight"

(or nonaffiliated) Party Kid—and some degree of disillusionment takes place. After going through the Candy phase, some of the newness of “the scene” seems to wear off for the majority of Ravers, and they eventually start to move away from the flamboyant and juvenescent behavior characteristic of Candy Kids. On the other side of that transition, as Jason describes it, one may find oneself at the opposite end of the spectrum, actually “hating on Candy Kids.”

People with this type of attitude are often described as “Junglists,” who typically focus a great deal of attention and anger on the commercialization they perceive as taking place in “the scene.” If we adopt the metaphor of “the scene” as a “family,” as often expressed by Ravers themselves, we may see Candy Kids as being the youngest “children” and Junglists as being the alienated “adolescents.” [Upon reading this section, Gary, a Candy Kid, commented, “Yeah, Junglists are like the older brother picking on the younger brother, ‘cause they’ll, like, tear our bracelets off, and they are so mean!”]

The movement from Candy Kid to Junglist is usually described by Junglists in terms of a positive maturation process within the subculture. They point to the changes in their appreciation for more “complex” and “intelligent” genres of electronica—Jungle (hence the subgroup’s name) and Drum ‘n’ Bass in particular. They also emphasize their changed perception of “the scene” and the changes in their use of drugs. [As Kyle, an 18-year-old Junglist explained, “Junglists . . . do drugs everyday, but they’re more hidden about it. Candy Kids . . . get more shit for it because they’re more blatant about it.”] This inner transformation is often signaled outwardly by changes in an individual’s appearance. Many Junglists have “shed their beads,” as Jason puts it, which they perceive as an outward sign of their change in identity and philosophy:

Yeah, wearing bright colors and a lot of beads and just being generally very, very happy people . . . I decided . . . I wasn’t happy enough, didn’t have the spirit to . . . be happy all the time. Just didn’t . . . so, I took the beads off, and I just became . . . a Straight [nonaffiliated] Raver kid, and now, like, I’ve evolved again, now I’m just a . . . Jungle kid.

Candy Kids and many nonaffiliated Party Kids often described Junglists in fairly negative terms—such as “jaded,” “shady,” and “cynical.” When asked what “shady” behavior would include, participants listed stealing, lying, using counterfeit money to buy drugs, and selling “fake” drugs. [Upon reviewing this section, both Candy Kids and Junglists alike felt that it was important to note that “not all Junglists are mean, or bad, or out to get you,” as one Raver, Kari, put it. Several Party Kids also noted that there is a subgroup of Junglists who listen mainly to Break Beats music, and these would be the “Breakers,” or break dancers. As this type of dancing requires a great deal of concentration and agility, Breakers are said to rarely use any drugs.]

Upon entering a rave, an outsider might not readily notice the Junglists as one would the Candy Kids, and they generally do not show up in mainstream media presentations of the rave subculture. They are a more “hidden” population. Oftentimes, they are former Candy Kids; other times, one might enter “the scene” at this level, particularly if one’s friends happen to be Junglists. Although some of the sartorial choices of Junglists trade off of a loose or former association with Candy Kids, their dress is more “mainstream”—even “preppy.” As Jonathan explained,

They got the long sweaters . . . and they wear khaki pants or jeans . . . or . . . tan UFOs, . . . and . . . the girls have short hair with the slicked-down

look...Junglists wear visors...and they use their visors...to dance with, too, so it's all fluid, and it all...goes together...It looks pretty good.... They just use their hat as part of their dancing. [Jonathan later added that their style of dancing is referred to as "poppin'," which is related to break dancing, but which does not involve all of the spinning maneuvers.]

Central to the descriptions of Junglists that came from both Candy Kids and Junglists alike are the drugs that this group tends to favor and the effects that those drugs have on their behavior. Many Ravers pointed to high levels of methamphetamine and ketamine use among Junglists, and a decreased use of ecstasy. Carl, a 20-year-old Junglist who reported using ketamine at least 75 times, explained, "We still do drugs... just not as much ecstasy." Having used ecstasy over 100 times himself, he doubted he would ever use it again. He continued, "*The smell of Vick'sTM makes me sick.*" He explained that many Junglists get to the point where they "just start hating [the rave subculture. They] won't even go to raves anymore." Jonathan, a nonaffiliated Party Kid, was more direct:

They [Junglists] are the assholes of the rave subculture... They hate everybody and everybody hates them... because a lot of them do a whole lot of speed [methamphetamine] and... K [ketamine], and when you're up for three, four days, you get cranky and you turn into an asshole,... and then you start getting paranoid delusions 'cause you're on so much methamphetamine that... you're thinking everybody's out to get you.

While methamphetamine is perceived as making users more angry and "jaded," ketamine is portrayed as slowing a user down and deadening, to an extent, one's ability to happily socialize at a rave in the way that Candy Kids are known to do. All the same, varying amounts of ketamine use were reported by all the types of Ravers we interviewed.

Junglists themselves often use "jaded" to describe their worldview. Kyle, an 18-year-old put it this way, "Jaded Junglists. That's what they all say. 'I'm a jaded Junglist.'" Jason explained, "They hate on Candy Kids. They hate on everything. That's their philosophy. 'Jaded' comes into play." In opposition to the Candy Kids' version of PLUR, Ravers who have grown out of that phase have different, somewhat mocking, meanings for the phrase. Jonathan explained this type of attitude with one example: "Yeah, PLUR... 'people look ugly rolling'... we tend to make fun of some kids 'cause they're like all fucking drooling on themselves."

A 19-year-old Junglist himself, Jason confirmed this idea when describing what a party full of Junglists might be like, and his drug use patterns are typical of this group to a certain extent:

[You'll see] a lot different drug culture there, mostly speeded up kids... Junglists... are most of the time... shady,... sketched out,... all secretive and stuff... because they're having withdrawal from glass [methamphetamine], and they want more.... The drug of choice for Junglists... is glass.

Jason's own experience with drugs began in his mid-teens when he entered the rave subculture. While he was initially drawn to the Candy Kids by their happy-go-lucky attitude, he soon came to feel as though he could not be that happy all the time and now describes himself as a Junglist.

At his initial interview, Jason reported having used a total of 75 tablets of ecstasy on 40 occasions in his lifetime, stating that he had used it every weekend during his Candy Kid phase. While he continues to use ecstasy occasionally (roughly once per 6-month period), he prefers smoking methamphetamine and inhaling ketamine. Like many other Junglists in our study, Jason expressed a belief that he had used ecstasy to the point where he had depleted all of his serotonin and that the drug would no longer work for him. Jason had also experimented with injecting ketamine intramuscularly, but found that he enjoyed the effects of the drug more when used intranasally. Although he reported a period where he felt as though he were dependent upon methamphetamine, going on week-long binges during which he neither ate nor slept, he most recently reported using that drug once per month. In addition, he drinks alcohol and smokes marijuana and cigarettes almost daily. He has also begun using LSD more frequently, and he has used psilocybin mushrooms, tranquilizers, and nonprescription opioids, including OxyContin, in his lifetime.

Although there are always exceptions to any generalization, Candy Kids are often younger adolescents or newcomers to the rave subculture, while Junglists are usually older (18 to 25 years old) and have been in the subculture for a few years. For many Junglists, this is their last stop; many will soon leave the subculture altogether because of their jaded perspective. They have seen the “dark side” of the rave subculture—the selling of fake drugs, the lying, the stealing, “the ignorance.” They feel they have come to the conclusion that their subculture is just a microcosm of the wider world, not the especially caring “family” that so many Candy Kids perceive it to be. As Kari, a 19-year-old Raver, put it, “Everybody is not your friend. It just seems like it when you’re on ecstasy.” Those Junglists who don’t become so jaded—who haven’t given up hope on the subculture, who don’t leave “the scene”—often become Old School Ravers.

Old School Ravers. In some ways, one might say that the Old School Ravers are the patriarchs and matriarchs of “the rave scene.” The amount of time that one has been in “the scene” is a major factor in determining the amount of respect one will get. However, the amount of time required to become an “Old School Raver” is fluid. Rather, it has to do with one’s ability to speak from personal experience about “the way things used to be”—that is, before the commodification and corporate sponsorship of the rave subculture reached its current level (Reynolds, 1998; Takahashi and Olaveson, 2003).

The legitimacy of one’s claim to be “Old School” can be measured practically by one’s ability to relate the body of shared cultural knowledge pertaining to the music, the drugs, and the history of the rave subculture. It is also measured by size of one’s personal network in the subculture. Jason, who’s been in “the scene” for a couple of years, described Old Schoolers rather succinctly:

They know everybody . . . and everybody knows who they are . . . A lot of Old School people dress a certain way . . . their UFOs, they’ll pull ‘em up and let ‘em hang down like . . . the shorts style, [and] . . . sweaters [with] . . . button-down collared shirts . . . “Cracked” hats . . . [with the brim] to the side. . . . Their philosophy . . . [is], “I’ve been here so long, you can’t tell me anything.” That’s the thing about Old School: they know how it works . . . how, like, the whole system goes . . . how production companies work, how to throw a rave, just the whole scene. They know it all.

According to many Ravers in our study, Old Schoolers take on a parental role, advising less experienced Ravers on the drugs that they should or should not use and the precautions they should take, much the same way as Candy Kids do. For example, Randy, a 21-year-old

Old Schooler, recounted how he routinely advises his younger friends not to drink alcohol while using ecstasy, but rather to drink plenty of water to avoid become dehydrated. [As one Candy Kid, Gary, explained it, “Old Schoolers are like the ‘Yoda’ of the scene; they just sit back and watch everything that’s going on.”]

According to Randy, one of the main reasons that the rave subculture is “dying” is the lack of this transference of cultural knowledge to the newer “generations”:

I wish there was a way that enough people would get the knowledge . . . what the original scene used to be about. . . . The thing is, there isn’t enough of the Old Schoolers out there educating [them on] what it used to be about . . . That’s one of the major causes of the digression [towards commodification] . . . PLUR . . . has been either forgotten or disinvoked by a lot of people.

Rather than Peace, Love, Unity, and Respect being a driving force behind the organization of the raves of today, Randy and many other participants pointed to the desire of some promoters to make large sums of money from the subculture by charging steep admission fees and selling bottled water at outrageous prices.

While “Candy Kid,” “Junglist,” and “Party Kid” are descriptive labels that one may easily adopt for oneself, the appellation “Old School Raver” seems to be a term of respect that is more often bestowed upon an individual by peers. Just as referring to oneself as an “expert” may be seen as egotistical, so it seems, that calling oneself an “Old School Raver” may be considered presumptuous, and only one of our participants, Randy, chose to label himself as such. Rather, those participants who truly appeared to have the knowledge, experience, and attitude attributed to Old School Ravers tended to call themselves simply “Party Kids,” (i.e., nonaffiliated Party Kids) citing no particular group affiliation. This became clear in one instance when Jason, a Junglist, spontaneously named Jonathan as a good example of an Old School Raver, while Jonathan chose to call himself a “Party Kid.” Thus, parsing out the differences between nonaffiliated Party Kids and Old School Ravers proves to be a difficult task, and it highlights the blurriness of the boundaries in our typology. Comparing the drug use practices of Randy and Jonathan can help to point up some of these issues.

Although quite young at 21, Randy’s experience provides an example of the drug-use patterns of a self-proclaimed Old School Raver. While he reported using an extensive array of drugs in the past, at the time of his interview, he reported limiting himself to using only drugs “that’ll allow [him] to keep an eye on what’s going on.” He reported having used a total of 1400 tablets of ecstasy on approximately 700 occasions since his first use at the age of 12, when he entered “the scene” as a Candy Kid, and he reported continued use of ecstasy at the rate of two to three times per week. While he recently drank alcohol rather rarely, he smoked marijuana and cigarettes daily. He claimed to have gone through a period of dependency on methamphetamine—during which time he had identified with the Junglists—and he reported using methamphetamine intranasally on a weekly basis when we spoke with him. In addition, in his lifetime, he had used almost every other drug we inquired about at least once, including heroin, various prescription opioids, cocaine, ketamine, LSD, and psilocybin mushrooms. Randy did adopt the attitude characteristic of an Old School Raver, justifying his experimental drug use as part of his paternalistic role in the subculture, saying that he is often the first to try a psychoactive substance so that he can educate the less experienced members of his social circle. For example, he noted that he would warn less experienced friends that they might see “the shadow people” after having used methamphetamine for extended periods of time (2–3 days). Randy explained that “the

shadow people” are not real, but rather shadowy, peripheral visual hallucinations caused by the methamphetamine, and his friends should not worry about them. While Randy saw no end to his current pattern of drug use, he has been unavailable for follow-up.

Conversely, upon reading a draft of this manuscript, Jonathan exclaimed that Randy had to be lying about the extent of his current and former use of ecstasy, saying that it was impossible to use it that much and still be able to function at all. Rather, when we first interviewed Jonathan at the age of 22, he estimated that he had used a total of 100 tablets of ecstasy on approximately 50 occasions, beginning at the age of 18 when he attended his first rave in Florida, and he soon began to identify with the Candy Kids. Like Randy, Jonathan reported a very extensive drug use history, stating, “*The only things I didn’t do was heroin and crack.*” He also reported having used LSD on more than 50 occasions. He, too, described a period in his life (at the age of about 20) during which he considered himself a Junglist and had smoked methamphetamine—or “glass”—daily, losing 30 pounds because of his habit.

While Jonathan never expressed concern over his daily marijuana use, which began at the age of 13, he did express concern that he was currently becoming dependent upon powdered cocaine. However, over the course of our 2-year association with Jonathan, his use of drugs has steadily declined to the point where he now reports using alcohol less than once per month and marijuana two times per week, and he has used neither ecstasy, ketamine, nor methamphetamine in more than 6 months, nor has he attended a rave. In retrospect, it seems that he is moving off of a trajectory he discussed more than a year ago:

I meet people that are older than me, that are like 30 years old, been in the rave scene for 10, 15 years . . . I’m just glad . . . I’m not that person . . . because I don’t want to be 30 years old and completely burnt to a crisp . . . like Old School Ravers, . . . I don’t want to be that drug addict that’s there still, 30 years old, chilling. . . .

In many respects then, we may see Jonathan as an Old School Raver who, during the course of our study, has left “the scene.” In fact, most Ravers we spoke with, like Jonathan, foresaw an end to their time in the rave subculture in the future—a time to grow up and grow out of it. Many expressed a belief that major lifestyle changes, such as attending college, starting a career, or building a family, would compel them to stop using “club drugs.” For a lot of Ravers, this maturation process alone will determine the limits of their drug use. Others, however, will continue to use drugs to some extent, while still others may be swayed towards abstinence by well-designed, persuasive public service campaigns and other forms of intervention.

Conclusion

The findings presented in this study are preliminary and are limited by the relatively small sample size. Most of the participants were white and heterosexual, none were under 18 years of age, and none were older than 31 years of age. In addition to these limitations, the typology does not encompass several broad categories of ecstasy users, including people who do not use ecstasy in rave settings. Understanding patterns of ecstasy use and its meanings among people outside of the rave subculture, among younger and older users, various ethnic groups, and members of the gay population in central Ohio are important topics for future research.

As with all typologies, there are exceptions to the stereotypic descriptions of the five subgroups of young people found at raves. For example, we do not mean to imply that all

Junglists use methamphetamine or that all Candy Kids use ecstasy. Despite the limitations of this study, we believe the typology has validity, as partly confirmed by participants who reviewed an earlier draft of the manuscript as well as by participant observation conducted at raves and at dance club events. As such, we suggest the typology adds clarification to epidemiologic models that portray all young people who use ecstasy as being homogenous.

This study described a typology of young people who have attended raves in the midwestern United States. Five distinct subgroups—Chemi-Kids, Candy Kids, nonaffiliated Party Kids, Junglists, and Old School Ravers—were identified. These subgroups varied from one another in terms of their taste in music, philosophy, choice of clothing styles, length of time in the rave subculture, and typical drug-use practices. An understanding of the variations among these groups within the rave subculture can inform interventions designed to prevent or reduce harm among users of ecstasy and other drugs.

Creating persuasive prevention and risk-reduction messages requires an understanding of the target audience's self-perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and practices. Current research on "drug abuse" prevention notes that success is predicated upon "*clearly defining a target audience [and] understanding their prevailing attitudes and beliefs*" (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2002). As Susy asked, "How can you make a judgment about me if you don't know who I am? . . . A Lot of parents and media and just everybody looks down on us . . . *and this is our way of life.*" In order to communicate meaningfully with Ravers and to educate them about the harmfulness of "club drugs," it will be important to illustrate a level of understanding and acceptance of their philosophies and lifestyle choices while indicating the dangers associated with the drugs they use. The results of this study provide a foundation for orienting prevention and other intervention messages that can illustrate such an understanding. The salient characteristics we have presented in regard to each category in the typology can be used to determine the communication variables that would need to be addressed to ensure that the prevention message reaches its intended audience.

Like the members of many rebellious youth cultures, Ravers generally feel that they are misunderstood by society at large. Compounding that, many of our participants expressed the belief that the misunderstanding is purposefully being used by media corporations to make money through sensationalism. Carl, a Junglist, echoed a sentiment that we heard often:

I just hate it when I see the, the specials on TV 'cause they're mostly just all wrong. . . . I hate the perception that everybody at a rave is high and . . . on ecstasy and . . . there to have an orgy, and nobody's there about the music or the people, . . . or the dancing. Everybody just talks about . . . the drugs and the orgy, or whatever.

Unless policy makers demonstrate an understanding of the variability in subgroups within the rave subculture, Ravers will likely ignore prevention messages and other risk-reduction interventions. Finally, we emphasize that the evolution of various subgroups in the rave subculture is a dynamic phenomenon that requires constant monitoring so that appropriate public health prevention and other intervention messages can be created and disseminated.

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RÉSUMÉ

Même si les jeunes qui vont aux fêtes ont été très visiblement associés à l'usage d'extase et d'autres drogues aux États-Unis, il y a une raison de croire qu'ils ne sont pas un groupe homogène quant à leur usage habituel de drogues. Le but de cet article est de commencer à développer une typologie de jeunes gens qui consomment les drogues d'extase et qui sont impliqués dans la subculture de fêtes (connus en tant que jeunes de fêtes ou "ravers"). L'étude est basée sur un "focus group" et enquêtes qualitatives menée entre Novembre 2001 et Septembre 2003 avec 36 usagers d'extase âgés de 19–31 ans dans l'Ohio central, ainsi que les participants à l'observation menée dans les fêtes, les boîtes de nuits et les bars où les "clubs drugs" sont souvent consommées. Les résultats indiquent l'existence de cinq sous-groupes dans la présence aux fêtes—"Chimi-Kids," "Candy-Kids," "Party-Kids Non-liés," "Junglists" et "Old School Ravers." Les groupes diffèrent quant au goût musical, philosophie, style d'habillement, le temps de subculture de fêtes et plus important les modèles de consommation de drogues. Par exemple, tandis que l'utilisation d'extase apparaît plus commune parmi Candy-Kids, les Junglists ont tendance à être plus évoqués dans la consommation de kétamine et de méthamphétamine. La consommation d'alcool, cocaïne, marijuana et d'hallucinogènes est aussi répandue dans la subculture de fêtes. La typologie peut aider dans le développement des stratégies de communication nécessaires aux activités prospères de préventions parmi certaines catégories de consommateurs d'extase.

RESUMEN

Aunque se ha asociado a los jóvenes que atienden las fiestas *raves* con el uso de la droga éxtasis y otras "drogas de clubes" en los Estados Unidos, hay razón para creer que estos jóvenes no forman un grupo homogéneo en sus prácticas de consumo de drogas. El propósito de este artículo es comenzar a desarrollar una tipología de los jóvenes adultos que utilizan la droga éxtasis y que participan en la subcultura de las fiestas *raves*, también conocidos como *Ravers* o *Fiesteros*. La investigación está basada en resultados obtenidos de un grupo de enfoque, así como en entrevistas cualitativas realizadas entre noviembre del 2001 y septiembre del 2003 con un grupo de 36 consumidores de la droga éxtasis en la región central del estado de Ohio. La edad de los entrevistados fluctúa entre los 19 y los 31 años. La investigación también reporta observaciones participantes obtenidas en fiestas *raves*, clubes nocturnos y bares en donde las drogas club son frecuentemente utilizadas. Los resultados sugieren la existencia de cinco subgrupos principales que asisten a las fiestas *raves*—"Chemi-Kids" (Jóvenes químicos), "Candy Kids" (Jóvenes de dulce), non-affiliated "Party Kids" (Jóvenes fiesteros no afiliados), "Junglists" (Junglistas), y los "Old School

Ravers” (Ravers de la vieja escuela). Estos grupos se diferencian en sus gustos musicales, filosofía, vestimenta, tiempo en la subcultura rave, y principalmente, en sus patrones de consumo de drogas. Por ejemplo, aunque el uso de éxtasis aparenta ser más común entre los Candy Kids (Jóvenes de dulce), los Junglists (Junglistas) tienden más hacia el consumo de quetaminas y metanfetaminas. El uso de alcohol, cocaína, marihuana y alucinógenos es también ampliamente difundido en la subcultura rave. La tipología sugerida podría ayudar en la creación de estrategias de comunicación necesarias en actividades de prevención exitosas destinadas a alguna de las categorías de consumidores de éxtasis. Palabras claves—MDMA; éxtasis; etnografía; mal uso de sustancias; prevención; rave; “clubes de drogas”

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